



TESIS DOCTORAL

Estudio de los refranes ingleses
como modelo para la
clasificación de los *européismos*

Study of English proverbs as a model for the
classification of *eupeisms*

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List of abbreviations

- DEP: *Dictionary of European Proverbs*, Strauss, E. (1994).
- ODEP: *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, Smith, W. G. (Ed.), (1980).
- ODP: *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, Speake, J. (Ed.), (2008).
- OED: *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Murray, J. A. H. et al. (Eds.), (1970).
- PU: Phraseological unit.

Introduction

In paremiology, as well as in many areas of the analysis of language, finding a single piece of uncharted territory often becomes a crushing first task for the scholar-to-be. Nevertheless, after overcoming initial frustrations, persistence allows one to eventually find a gap in which the domain of human knowledge can hopefully be expanded and obscurity can be dispelled.

Proverbs represent, possibly, one of the most generous subjects for analysis, as the amount of material they offer is both plentiful and useful for the most varied fields of the study of language. Thus, it is no surprise to see how much scientific literature is constantly published on the matter. However, the interest in proverbs is far from being something new, as publications such as collections of proverbs can be traced all the way back to Classical antiquity.¹

There are numerous intellectuals that have contributed to the development of paremiology and its recognition as a branch of linguistic studies that enjoys good health with numerous publications and conferences all around the world. Naming them all here would be a risky and prolix task, as any of them might be accidentally left out causing unnecessary grievance, since they are frequently referenced throughout the progress of the present dissertation.

In spite of the difficulties that might be faced when trying to come up with an original topic for a doctoral thesis on proverbs, extensive research on the matter proves that there seems to be an alarming lack of agreement on some of the most basic concepts, as well as a theoretical framework that allows for the classification of proverbs. This setback needs to be amended as soon as possible for paremiology to be able to develop uniformly across languages, as this should be the ultimate scope for

¹ See Lingenberg (1872), Kindstrand (1978), Aristotle (2010), among others.

paremiological studies: a broad, cross-linguistic view. In this regard, some progress in this sense may be one of the main contributions that this doctoral dissertation intends to make.

This dissertation springs from the interest stirred by the realisation of the many similarities that may exist among different paremiological systems. After the analysis of a rather large number of English proverbs, this interest has led to the intuition that there may be a way to bring some of them together in order to offer an apparatus that allows for their systematisation. Thus, in order to cover all the different facets involved in the popularisation of proverbs across languages and to offer a possibility for the classification of such proverbs, this work is divided into two major sections. The first, e.g. Chapters 1 to 5, is a general overview of paremiology, in which a definition of proverb, comprising the most frequent features noted by some of the most highly regarded paremiological authorities, with some additions and observations, will be presented. This definition is followed by an analysis of the existence of some identical proverbs in different European languages and the approaches that different scholars have taken toward the study of this phenomenon. The works of these intellectuals have inspired the creation of this dissertation after the realisation that some work could be done to contribute to the perfection of this specialty within paremiology. Chapter 3 is a rather brief historical account of the use of proverbs in some European literary texts; finally, some of the possibilities offered by present-day media for the propagation of proverbs will be commented on.

In the second part, e.g. Chapters 6 to 12, and the core of this dissertation, an all-comprising classification for proverbs will be proposed, especially for those proverbs that manifest in multiple languages. This classification is the result of the careful analysis of the 1,164 proverbs contained in *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*

from multiple points of view, taking into account that proverbs are *cross*-linguistic and social occurrences that present certain particularities as compared with plain speech, and that the only valid classification of proverbs must take these factors into account. The choice of the ODP as the main reference book for the composition of this work has been made on different grounds. First of all, it is a well-established and relied on source; additionally, it offers a significant, yet manageable, amount of proverbs; lastly, it includes various international proverbs, which, to a certain extent, contributes to demonstrating that the classification may be apt for its application to proverbs from different origins.

The proposed classification analyses English proverbs considering several *spheres*,² namely, the *morpho-syntactic*, *pragmatic*, and *rhetoric spheres*, while at the same time trying to determine some recurring patterns that may exist. It is for this reason that some of the criteria traditionally applied to the analysis of proverbs are omitted here, as they may prove useless when attempting a classification of proverbs from a cross-linguistic point of view. Conversely, some features that are often overlooked, such as their rhetoric inclination or the different ways in which they may be used, are considered here to be of major importance for the composition of the aforementioned classification.

Even though the proposed system is the fruit of thorough analyses of English proverbs focusing on different nuances, it is clear that there may be aspects that need to be refined, for which purpose the contribution of specialists from different areas, as well as the surveying of individuals, would be of paramount importance, particularly of individuals from different linguistic contexts in order to prove the eventual applicability of the proposed classification to other languages. Nevertheless, all the classification

² Cf. Corpas Pastor (1996).

criteria employed to create the suggested taxonomy are an oxymoronic combination of general specifics. That is, said criteria must be general enough so as to be applicable to different languages, whereas, at the same time, they need enough specificity to be able to create a coherent and practical framework for the classification of proverbs, in this case, English proverbs.

It is from the fascination for proverbs, and the realisation that there are aspects in proverb scholarship that need refining, that this doctoral dissertation originates in a humble attempt to do one's bit to contribute to the perfection of a discipline that is particularly appealing to many people, scholarly or otherwise.

Chapter 1

Towards a definition of *proverb*

1.1. Brief introduction to some of the terminology employed

The boundaries of phraseology and paremiology are sometimes blurry so, in order to delimit the scope of the present study, some clarifications need to be made. First of all, this dissertation will be dealing with with proverbs, despite the isolated references that may be made to other linguistic items. This allows for its inclusion in the field of paremiology, a discipline of study included in phraseology within the spectrum of linguistic studies. According to S. Fiedler (2007),

The term ‘phraseology’ can be said, firstly, to name the field of study (phraseology research) and secondly, to denote the set of linguistic units that are investigated in this field. The latter consist of phraseological units, which constitute the *phrasicon*, i.e. the block or inventory of idioms and phrases. (p. 15)

Conversely, W. Mieder (2004a, p. xii) identifies paremiology as “the study of proverbs.”³

Proverbs, being a type of phraseological unit,⁴ may sometimes be confused with other types, given the similarities among them. In order to determine the elements that will be suitable for consideration in this work the most frequent types of PU will be briefly discussed. First of all, the different definitions of *phraseological unit* that may be found generally revolve around two ideas: a stable combination of words (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 14) and idiomatic character (Timofeeva, 2008, p. 243).

G. Corpas Pastor (1996),⁵ in her *Manual de fraseología española* provides a detailed explanation of the major different types of PUs, establishing their main

³ Cf. Taylor (1931), Kuusi (1957a), Mieder (2004a), Hrisztiva-Gotthard & Varga (2015), Norrick (2015).

⁴ PU henceforward.

⁵ For different approaches and classifications of PUs, see Burger (2007), Doyle (2007b), Fiedler (2007), among others.

characteristics and providing examples for all of them. Corpas Pastor's work appears from the necessity noticed by the author (1996, p. 12) for a clear theoretical framework for phraseological studies. Thus, she decided to carry out her own research and, by taking samples from both journals and literary works, established a clear classification that fills that gap.

As has already been mentioned, there are several different types of phraseological units, which, despite the noticeable similarities among the different kinds, also present important divergences. Thus, according to Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 19-32), PUs present the following characteristics:

- Frequency
- Institutionalisation
- Stability
- Idiomatic nature
- Variation

M. A. Castillo Carballo (2015) endorses most of Corpas Pastor's points, such as for instance the inclusion of *frequency* (Castillo Carballo, 2015, p. 22), *stability* (Castillo Carballo, 2015, p. 20), *idiomatic nature* (Castillo Carballo, 2015, p. 21), or *variation* (Castillo Carballos, 2015, pp. 23-24) as some of the defining features of PUs. However, Castillo Carballo (2015, p. 18, own translation) affirms that "a sequence of words will be considered as a phraseological unit as long as it fulfils at least two

essential conditions: fixed and idiomatic character.”⁶ Additionally, Castillo Carballo (2015, pp. 22-23) highlights the *untranslatability* of PUs.⁷

According to Corpas Pastor’s (1996, pp. 20-21) thesis, the first feature necessary for a unit to be considered a PU is the fact that the elements making it up must appear together and be employed with a certain degree of *frequency*. Hence, Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 21) states that from the very moment someone combines a set of words according to the linguistic system, this combination is available for others to make use of. Consequently, the more frequently a phrase is used, the more likely it will become an established phrase, which leads to the second requisite pointed out by Corpas Pastor

The second characteristic (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 21-23) refers to the level of establishment a certain phrase acquires among the community of speakers of a certain language. This is called *institutionalisation* and it is closely related to the notion of *reproducibility*, which stands for the ability of a PU to be repeated many times without suffering variations in its form. It does not need to be mentioned that the more a unit is repeated, the more easily and quickly it enters popular imagery.

Another defining characteristic is *stability* (Corpas Pastor, 1996: 23-26) and it covers two aspects: *fixation* and *specialisation*. *Fixation* is an arbitrary property in PUs which is determined by the speaker’s use of the unit. There are a few subtypes of *fixation*, but it does not seem necessary to go into further detail at present.⁸ The other aspect is known as *semantic specialisation*, which may include meaning addition or

⁶ The original reads thus:

[U]na secuencia de palabras será considerada unidad fraseológica en la medida en que cumpla, al menos dos condiciones esenciales: fijación e idiomatidad.

⁷ Cf. Zuluaga Ospina (1999), Corpas Pastor (2000), Negro Alousque (2010).

⁸ See Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 23-24).

deletion, and it refers to phraseological units being used in concrete situations with a specific and fixed meaning, rather than one that is loose and vague.

The *idiomatic* character of PUs (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 26-27) is considered one of the most important characteristics and, as Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 26) points out, an essential aspect of PUs for some schools of phraseological research. By *idiomatic*, she (1996, p. 26) refers to the meaning that certain combinations of words acquire, which differs from the sum of the individual meanings of those words.

The next feature (Corpas Pastor, 1996, pp. 27-30), *variation*, refers to the ability of phraseological units to be changed and manipulated by speakers. As Corpas Pastor presents it, a phraseological unit may have different *variations* and *modifications*, but there is only one canonical version for every phraseological unit. *Variations* are different versions of the same unit that have the same meaning and are closely related to synonymy. On the other hand, *modifications* are creative manipulations of phraseological units. For manipulations to create the desired effect, the units meant to be manipulated must have a high degree of *institutionalisation* and be recognisable by the hearer.

After having established what requirements a phraseological unit needs to fulfil in order to be considered as such, the next step would be to establish a classification of the different units according to which of these features the units contain and how they are fulfilled. Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 32-50) presents several different classifications set up by prestigious authors and scholars, such as A. Zuluaga Ospina (1980), H. Thun (1978), J. Casares (1950), or E. Coseriu (1981). However, according to her (1996: 50), all these classifications are incomplete and not detailed enough, and, therefore, she proposes her own classification of the different types of PUs. Corpas Pastor (1996, pp.

53-87, 88-131, 132-169, 170-213) divides her classification into four *spheres*: *collocations*, *locutions*, *paremias*, and *routine formulae*, the latter two being included under the label *phraseological statements*, each category including different subtypes. Yet, it may still be hard to determine whether a certain linguistic item is suitable for phraseological or other types of analysis. There are also scholars, such as A. P. Cowie (1998), L. Luque Nadal (2008), or L. Timofeeva (2008), who have attempted to establish the boundaries of phraseological research.

Following Corpas Pastor's distinction, in the *first sphere*, *collocations* are found. As she (1996, p. 53, own translation) puts it, *collocations* "are completely free syntagms, generated from rules, but which, at the same time, present a certain degree of combining restriction determined by use."⁹ Corpas Pastor goes on to present a historical recount of the use of the term, stating (1996, p. 55) that J. R. Firth was the first scholar to use the term. Additionally, she presents the most frequent patterns for collocations in several languages, such as English, German, Romance languages, and Slavic languages. These patterns, which are divided (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 59) into *lexical*¹⁰ and *grammatical*¹¹ are the following:

- Noun (subject) + verb: time passes (*el tiempo pasa*) / not *time goes or *el tiempo se va*.
- Verb + noun (object): commit a crime (*cometer un crimen*) / not *perform a crime or *realizar un crimen*.
- Noun + adjective: fast food (*comida rápida*) / not *quick food or *comida veloz*
- Noun + preposition + noun: head to toe (*de pies a cabeza*) / not *hair to foot or *de pelos a pies*.
- Verb + adverb: remember vaguely (*recordar vagamente*) / not *remember hazily or *recordar 'neblinosamente'*.
- Adverb + adjective: richly decorated (*ricamente decorado*) / not *amply decorated or *generosamente decorado*.

⁹ The original reads thus:

[S]on sintagmas completamente libres, generados a partir de reglas, pero que, al mismo tiempo, presentan cierto grado de restricción combinatoria determinada por el uso.

¹⁰ e.g. Two lexical words.

¹¹ e.g. A lexical word and a grammatical word.

Furthermore, Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 77-81) explains how *collocations* are responsible for the creation of *lexical sets* on the paradigmatic axis and of *lexical combinations* on the syntagmatic one.

The type of PU in the *second sphere*, following Corpas Pastor's (1996, pp. 88-131) arrangement, are *locutions*¹². *Locutions* are phraseological units characterised by an internal and external fixation, and unity of meaning. However, they are not full statements and work as clause elements.¹³

These units are different from simple combinations of words in that they are institutionalised and they present a high degree of stability and a denominative function. At the same time they present semantic and morphosyntactic cohesion; that is, they provide meaning as a whole and, in order to be analysed, they must be taken as a whole. Apart from the two features just mentioned, in order to distinguish *locutions* from other units, two kinds of criteria are proposed by Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 92): the *accentual* criterion or the *orthographic* criterion. According to her, the former is not very reliable given that the existence of a rule that governs the union of different elements from this perspective has been denied; on the other hand, the latter is the one criterion traditionally used to determine what is and is not a locution.

Corpas Pastor organises the different types of *locutions* according to the function they fulfil within the clause. Thus, *nominal*, *adjectival*, *adverbial*, and *verbal locutions* are to be found. Also, the nuclei of these units could be interchanged with a different one from the same category and they would still fulfil the same function in the phrase; they are, therefore, considered to be *endocentric* elements¹⁴. Additionally,

¹² Cf. Aguilar Ruiz (2010).

¹³ See Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 88-131).

¹⁴ See Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 94).

Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 94) points out that there are also *exocentric units* in which the elements that make them up present an identical grammatical status. Moreover, there are also complex locutions formed by various groups, a verbal group included. It must be noted though, that the different types carry out the same function that the lead word would carry out in a sentence. Therefore a nominal locution would act as a subject or an object and so on. Some examples for the different types are:¹⁵

- *Nominal locutions*: smoke curtain.
- *Adjectival locutions*: safe and sound.
- *Adverbial locutions*: on board.
- *Verbal locutions*: take something or someone for...
- *Prepositional locutions*: in spite of...
- *Conjunctive Locutions*: as soon as...
- *Clausal locutions*: given that...

These units share with *paremias* a phonetic aspect that gives them a distinctive touch and which helps them be remembered. For instance, they tend to rely on alliteration or present a certain rhythmical cadence. However, one difference with proverbs is that they are closed entities which do not allow for modification to the same degree as other units. Thus, the furthest a locution can be modified is to have the deictics¹⁶ within it changed in order to adapt it to the current situation in which it is being used. Finally, similarly to other units, locutions may present *denotative*¹⁷ or *connotative* meanings¹⁸.

In the *third* and *fourth spheres*, under the label *phraseological statements*, Corpas Pastor includes *paremias* and *routine formulae* respectively. The former comprise *statements of specific value*, *quotes*, and *proverbs*; whereas the latter involve *discursive* and *psycho-social formulae*.

¹⁵ See Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 94-110).

¹⁶ See Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 374-375).

¹⁷ See Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 119).

¹⁸ See Corpas Pastor (1996, pp.125-131).

Proverbs are grouped with *statements of specific value* and *quotes*, and since they will be detailed later on, they will be omitted for the time being. By *statements of specific value* Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 137) refers to those *paremias* that are not considered to be general truth. In addition, this kind of unit includes other subcategories such as *slogans* or *mottos*.¹⁹ On the other hand, *quotes* are considered to be general truth by Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 143) but they differ from *proverbs* in that they have a known origin.

Finally, *routine formulae*²⁰ (Corpas Pastor, 1996) are

speech PUs, with the character of a statement, which differ from *paremias* due to their lack of textual autonomy, given that their appearance is determined, to a greater or lesser extent, by precise communication situations.²¹ (p. 170, own translation)

Here, Corpas Pastor (1996: 187, 192) distinguishes between *discursive* and *psycho-social formulae*. In the first group *opening* and *closing formulae*, and *transition formulae* are included;²² the second is comprised of *expressive*,²³ *commissive*,²⁴ *directive*,²⁵ *assertive*,²⁶ and *ritual formulae*²⁷.

¹⁹ See Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 141).

²⁰ Cf. Coulmas (1979), Pedicone de Parellada (2013).

²¹ The original reads thus:

UFS del habla, con carácter de enunciado, las cuales se diferencian de las *paremias* por carecer de autonomía textual, ya que su aparición viene determinada, en mayor o menor medida, por situaciones comunicativas precisas.

²² i.e. Those that contribute to structure communication exchanges (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 189).

²³ i.e. Those that constitute expressive speech acts (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 193).

²⁴ i.e. Those referring to the speaker's future (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 202).

²⁵ i.e. Those referring to the receiver's future (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 203).

²⁶ i.e. Those informing or telling the truth (Corpas Pastor, 1996, pp. 205-206).

²⁷ i.e. Those used to acknowledge someone (Corpas Pastor, 1996, p. 210). Cf. Nikleva (2011).

Two terms that will frequently be employed throughout the present dissertation are *idiom*²⁸ and *phraseme*. The former, as defined by J. Ayto (2010, p. vii) in the preface to his Ayto, 2010, is “a phrase that behaves like a word’.” Moreover, he explains that “we have to interpret the phrase as a whole, almost as if it was a single word in its own right.” As for the latter, E. Piirainen (2008b, p. 208) declares that “[t]he term *phraseme* is used as a hypernym for all kinds of word groups, while *idiom* is a term used for members of one subgroup, most of which are also figurative (idiomatic).”

As the subject of analysis of the present work is the proverb, its explanation will be provided in subsequent sections of the present study. The intention here was to establish the limits of the present study and determine its location within the field of the study of phrasemes, for which purpose, *Corpas Pastor* work has been most useful, as it provides an accurate idea of the elements that may be subject to phraseological research, establishing the points in common, as well as the distinctions, among some of the most frequently found types of PUs.

1.2. Previous scholarly definitions of *proverb*

Surprising as it may be, one of the major setbacks that one runs into while studying proverbs is that there is not a widely-accepted, universal definition of *proverb*. Even though most definitions have some important aspects in common, there are some others they disagree on. Each scholar introduces his or her own approach, often leading to confusion and inconsistencies. As a result, one may find that what one scholar considers a *proverb*, another labels as *idiom*, *proverbial expression* or some other category. This lack of agreement makes the labour of paremiographers and

²⁸ For scholarship on idioms see: Morvay (1986, 1996, 1997, 2011), Gibbs, Nayak, & Cutting (1989), Gibbs (1992), *Corpas Pastor* (1995, 1996, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, etc.), Dobrovol'skij (2005b), Molina Plaza (2005), Piirainen (2005, 2010, 2012), Timofeeva (2006, 2008), Fiedler (2007), Norrick (2007), Korhonen et al. (2008), Negro Alousque (2010), Szerszunowicz (2010), among others.

paremiologists harder than it should be, as one continually finds him or herself trying to justify why a phraseological unit has been included under a particular category.

Nevertheless, the hindrance caused by lack of agreement in terminology must be overcome. For this purpose, a set of terms that every scholar can use in order to refer to the phraseological reality he or she is talking about is needed. Apart from the burden that this lack of agreement implies, the general practice is to carry out research on the phraseological system of one's own language, not taking into account that phraseology ought to be a universal area of study with clear-cut terminology that can be applied to the study of PUs both in one's own language, as well as cross-linguistically.²⁹ H. Burger et al. (2007b) warn about this phenomenon and its shortcomings in the first chapter of their book *Phraseology: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research* where they state that

There have been complaints about terminological inconsistency since research on phraseology began outside of the former Soviet Union, and the objections are still heard today. (...) Due to the discontent with the initial chaos regarding the terminology, solitary attempts to compose consistent terminological and classificatory systems were made. However, these attempts did not lead to a fundamental standardization of terminology in research literature. (p. 10)

The purpose of the present work is not to define terminology for future scholars to use, but to outline a classification for proverbs, particularly for European proverbs, and also for proverbs in any language. For this, a fairly large amount of proverbs (1,164 in total) have been analysed to determine their most frequent features and the recurrent patterns present on different levels. However, to reach this point, finding a convenient definition of proverb is required in order to justify that all the items analysed are in fact suitable for this study.

²⁹ For some cross-linguistic studies on paremiology, see: Sevilla Muñoz (1992a), Burrell (1993), Sevilla Muñoz y Quevedo Aparicio (1995), Corpas Pastor (1995, 2000, 2001a, 2001b), Morvay (1996), Mieder (2001, 2010), Sevilla Muñoz & Cantera Ortiz de Urbina (2002), Corpas Pastor & Mena Martínez (2003, 2004), Arora (2004), Molina Plaza (2005), Sevilla Muñoz & Sevilla Muñoz (2005), Timofeeva (2006), Richard Maset (2007), Álvarez de la Granaja (2008), Leal (2008), Shariati (2012).

It would be nonsensical to attempt to formulate a definition of proverb without paying attention to what has already been said about the matter by preceding scholars. It is evident, though, that presenting all the definitions devised by the scholars who have studied the subject would fill up dozens of pages with repetitions and redundancies. For this reason, and in order to avoid excessive lengthiness, some definitions coined by some of the most prestigious and highly-regarded intellectuals in phraseology and paremiology will be brought forward. These definitions are arranged following a strictly chronological order, including some of the earliest works of modern paremiology from the beginning of the last century, which influenced more recent approaches. However, it is perhaps wise to use as a starting point the definition offered by the most authoritative reference work in the English language, the *Oxford English dictionary* (OED proverb n. 1.a),

A short pithy saying in common and recognized use; a concise sentence, often metaphorical or alliterative in form, which is held to express some truth ascertained by experience or observation and familiar to all; an adage, a wise saw.

Regarding this definition, it is not surprising to find features such as “short”, “common and recognized”, or “metaphorical or alliterative”, given that, as will be seen later, experts on the matter also highlight the same, or similar, characteristics. One shortcoming of this definition is that it has not been updated from the 1970 edition consulted for the composition of this chapter to the current definition available on the online version of the dictionary,³⁰ whereas, since then and up to this day, paremiology has experienced enormous development.

In the search for a definition of *proverb*, one of the earliest scholarly authorities in the field of modern paremiology to be considered is A. Taylor (1890-1973), often considered to be “the world’s leading paremiologist of the twentieth century” (Mieder

³⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*. Retrieved from <http://www.oed.com> 3 Apr. 2015.

2004, p. xiv) or the “precursor of paremiology” (Sevilla Muñoz et al.2005, p. 266).

Taylor (1931) states that

The definition of the proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking; and should we fortunately combine within a single definition all the essential elements and give each its proper emphasis, even then we would not have a touchstone. An incommunicable quality tells us this sentence is proverbial and that one is not. Hence no definition will enable us to identify positively a sentence as proverbial. . . . Let us be content with saying that a proverb is a saying current among the folk. At least so much of a definition is indisputable. (p. 3)

Taylor, one of the first modern paremiologists,³¹ already remarks on the difficulty of defining what a proverb is and what makes something proverbial. This question is permanently in the mind of paremiologists and finding an answer to it becomes a troublesome job. The fact that one of the first and most acclaimed paremiologists discerns no definite answer to this question is representative of how puzzling the task can be. It is evident, nonetheless, that a definition of proverb should find an answer to this and other questions. Yet, he chooses to highlight one quality that will be agreed upon by generations of paremiologists to come: their “curren[cy] among the folk.”

Chronologically, the next big figure that appeared after Taylor in the field of paremiology, as acknowledged by some³² is the Finnish author, M. Kuusi (1914-1998), whose works present an important obstacle: their inaccessibility due to the fact that most of them are written in Finnish and have not been translated into English.³³ Due to this setback, there is not much from Kuusi’s theoretical work³⁴ that can be included in the present study save a brief definition of the proverb by Kuusi as found in Mieder (1998, p. 21), where proverbs are defined as “*monumenta humana*,” though that is not much to work with. The translation of this Latin phrase into English would yield

³¹ For an account of the history of proverb scholarship see Taylor (1968b), Mieder (1997, 2000, 2004a), Calero Vaquera (1999), Doyle (2007b).

³² See Mieder (1997), Piirainen (2005), Dundes (2007a).

³³ Spurred by this hardship, W. Mieder (1998a) offers the funds “for a belated translation of this book into English. This should doubtlessly be done, and a translation could and should appear in the FFC series where numerous other books by Matti Kuusi have appeared.” (n.p.)

³⁴ Kuusi’s (1972) International type-system of proverbs will be thoroughly commented in Chapter 5.

something like “testimonies of human beings,” but it is quite hard to determine exactly what he meant since the phrase is isolated and out of context. On the one hand, what can be gathered from Mieder’s explanation is that Kuusi highlights the social aspect of proverbs including the word “*humana*”. On the other hand “*monumenta*”, “memory” or “testimony”, is probably linked to the idea of ancient knowledge that is frequently associated with proverbs and the concept of *proverbiality* as passed from generation to generation. If the interpretation of this meagre definition is correct, Kuusi focuses on two features that will be seconded by future scholars: the social character of proverbs and their ancientness.

Another renowned scholar who has dealt with the definition issues in the study of proverbs is the late A. Dundes (1934-2005), who argued that “the proverb has never been adequately defined” (Dundes, 1994, p. 44). He went on to quote B. J. Whiting, who stated that “no definition is really necessary, since all of us know what a proverb is” (Dundes, 1994, p. 44). It may be true that everyone has an intuitive notion of what a proverb is and in this sense, R. Honeck (1997, p. 2) affirms that “adults in practically every culture have been exposed to some proverbs”. However, this assumption should not be taken for granted, as it might endanger the objectivity of our analyses.

Dundes (2007a, p. 127) tries to fill the gap himself when he defines *proverb* as “a traditional propositional statement consisting of at least one descriptive element, a descriptive element consisting of a topic and a comment”. S. J. Broner (2007, p. 29), the editor of the previously mentioned collection of Dundes’ articles, defends that this “structure presumably could be identified in any language”, which matches the intention of this study for setting up a cross-linguistic framework for the analysis of proverbs. Dundes, from his folkloristic point of view, highlights the traditional character of proverbs and establishes a structure that may be used to determine what is and what is

not a proverb. Features frequently included in the definition of proverb such as their traditional character are intangible, therefore almost impossible to measure, and, in some cases, hard to demonstrate. However, Dundes' structure could be applied scientifically to analyse different kinds of phraseological units and distinguish proverbs from other types of units.

In his book *Proverbs: A handbook* (2004), W. Mieder, probably the most influential paremiologist of present day, faces the persistent problem of needing to define *proverb*. To fulfil this, he proposes several alternatives throughout his prolific career. The first one comes also from B. J. Whiting (1932), who must have made up his mind at some point and decided to propose a definition in an article entitled "The Nature of the Proverb", where he explains that

A proverb is an expression which, owing its birth to the people, testifies to its origin in form and phrase. It expresses what is apparently a fundamental truth—that is, a truism,—in homely language, often adorned, however, with alliteration and rhyme. It is usually short, but need not be; it is usually true, but need not be. Some proverbs have both a literal and figurative meaning, either of which makes perfect sense; but more often they have but one of the two. A proverb must be venerable; it must bear the sign of antiquity, and, since such signs may be counterfeited by a clever literary man, it should be attested in different places at different times. This last requirement we must often waive in dealing with very early literature, where the material at our disposal is incomplete. (p. 302)

An aspect that differentiates Whiting's definition from others is that, apart from listing some of the features he observes in proverbs, he also mentions some qualities that a PU must present in order to be considered a proverb, thus unifying descriptive and prescriptive attitudes towards the definition of proverb.

Apart from Whiting and the aforementioned quote by Taylor, Mieder (2004a, p. 4) also cites S. A. Gallacher (1949, p. 47), who argued that "A proverb is a concise statement of an apparent truth which has [had, or will have] currency among the people". This definition, in spite of its simplicity, brings the focus to something that is frequently listed as one of the defining features of proverbs in current paremiology: the character of proverbs as general truth.

Nonetheless, Mieder does not restrain himself from eventually proposing his own definition. To be more precise, he proposes two of them. The first one is obtained after surveying 55 Vermont citizens in 1985 about their own ideas concerning what a proverb is. After putting together all the shared aspects, he (2004) reached the conclusion that

A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorable form and which is handed down from generation to generation. (p. 3)

The positive aspect of this definition is that it is made up of the opinions of 55 individuals, which endows it with a unique approach to defining what a proverb is. However, an argument against Mieder's experiment might be that those 55 people may not have scholarly training or background. In spite of this, the definition assembled by Mieder seems as valid as any other covering some of the most important aspects of proverbs, although it inevitably leaves out some others, such as the origin or the aesthetic side of proverbs.

Mieder still provides a second definition that can be exclusively attributed to him, as opposed to the previous one, although it seems unavoidably influenced by the results of his experiments. This second definition is included in *American Folklore: an Encyclopedia* (Mieder, 1996b) and in it he shows, in his own words, his indebtedness to his teacher S. A. Gallacher:

Proverbs [are] concise traditional statements of apparent truths with currency among the folk. More elaborately stated, proverbs are short, generally known sentences of the folk that contain wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorable form and that are handed down from generation to generation. (p. 597)

It can be seen how similar to the Vermont people's definition this one is, as both highlight the following aspects:

- shortness
- tradition

- truthfulness
- folk origin
- metaphorical use
- fixed and memorisable structure
- transmission by word of mouth from one generation to another

On the other hand, his *Enciclopedia* definition includes the possibility of different topics (“wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views”), although it shall be shown that there are even more than those listed by Mieder.

Another scholar in the fields of phraseology and paremiology whose work deserves mentioning is G. Corpas Pastor (1996), who, in her exceptionally methodical *Manual de Fraseología Española*, establishes that

The proverb is the phraseme *par excellence*, given that the five defining features previously mentioned manifest in it: lexicalisation, syntactic and textual autonomy, value of general truth, and anonymous character. Some examples are *Water that you mustn't drink, let it go* ('Reprehends the intromission into something that is not our business or has stopped being', EDR); *Occasion makes the thief* ('Means that bad things which had not been considered are done because one sees him- or herself in the opportunity to carry them out', DR); *Scalded cat fears cold water* ('he who has suffered a chastisement is always afraid of suffering it again'. ELDR). (148, own translation)³⁵

Thus, apart from the already mentioned features (i.e. condition of general truth, syntactic autonomy, etc.), Corpas Pastor includes an idea that is usually taken for granted and which seems to have been overlooked thus far in the previous definitions: the unknown origin of proverbs. In order to achieve general agreement among the paremiological community, well-defined boundaries must be established. For this reason, anonymity, or at least the inability to trace proverbs, must be considered one of their defining features.

³⁵ The original reads thus:

El refrán es la paremia por excelencia, pues en él se dan las cinco características definitorias mencionadas anteriormente: lexicalización, autonomía sintáctica y textual, valor de verdad general y carácter anónimo. Algunos ejemplos son: *Agua que no has de beber, déjala correr* ('Reprende la intromisión en aquello que no nos concierne o ha dejado de concernirnos', EDR); *La ocasión hace al ladrón* ('Significa que muchas veces se hacen cosas malas que no se habían pensado, por verse en oportunidad para ejecutarlas', DR); *El gato escaldado, del agua fría huye* ('el que ha sufrido un escarmiento siempre teme volverlo a sufrir', ELDR).

Corpas Pastor, in order to round out her definition, quotes P. J. L. Arnaud (1991, p. 22), who provides much more to work with. Thus, Corpas Pastor (1996) supports Arnaud's thesis that

Even if the proverb is the phraseme *par excellence*, the prototypical proverb, empirically verifiable, presents other additional characteristics, such as metaphorical meaning, phonic particularities, syntactic anomalies, or special syntactic structures in which its members have precise relationships, traditional character and didactic or dogmatic purpose. (p. 150)³⁶

Demonstrating whether all proverbs are “empirically verifiable” or not would require some additional research, as well as putting the proverbs to that empirical test, which would surely yield a whole new doctoral dissertation in itself. In order to remain as neutral as possible, and to avoid making false assumptions, that task will be skipped for the time being.

On the other hand, Corpas Pastor, through the words of Arnaud, points out the “metaphorical sense of proverbs,” their “syntactical and phonological anomalies,” and their “dogmatic” character. In a religious or philosophical context, *dogma* is an unquestionable truth proclaimed by an authority and it seems to be the most suitable term to refer to the feature of proverbs by which they are taken to be absolute truths. Thus, one may talk about the “dogmatism of proverbs” as one of their defining features and one that clearly determines the way in which they are used, as shall be seen in upcoming chapters of the present study.

Another expert that provides a valuable definition of *proverb* is R. P. Honeck (1997), who claims that

a proverb is a phonological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and, some would add, a semiotic (complex sign) entity. There is no question that all proverbs exhibit regularities on one or more of these levels. But then, so do other tropes. Perhaps, then, our starting point should be a discussion of proverb identity, which amounts in part to distinguishing proverbs from other forms. (pp. 11-12)

³⁶ The original reads thus:

Si bien el refrán es la pemia por excelencia, el prototipo de refrán, verificable empíricamente, presenta otras características adicionales, como son significado metafórico, particularidades fónicas, anomalías sintácticas o estructuras sintácticas particulares en las que sus miembros mantienen relaciones precisas, carácter tradicional y propósito didáctico o dogmático.

The staunch linguistics point of view can be seen right away from the vocabulary and the aspects Honeck focuses on. When compared to Dundes' or Mieder's definitions, the elements included here are quite different. It is important, nonetheless, to take into account different perspectives about the same reality in order to reach the comprehensive definition desired. Honeck, from his cognitive linguistics standpoint, tries to explain how proverbs are processed in people's minds and how they are understood. He addresses the figurativeness of proverbs, which has generally been explained through the use of metaphor. But, as he points out, there are other devices employed by proverbs rather frequently and which also need to be accounted for.

Honeck's point of view clashes with one of the most generally-accepted theories in recent cognitive linguistics: the Conceptual Metaphor theory, which originated, as is well known in G. Lakoff and M. Turner's (1980) *Metaphors we live by*.³⁷ Both approaches have been put in contrast (Mason Bradbury, 2002), and whereas Lakoff and his followers place metaphor in a predominant position as the explanation for how figurativeness works in people's minds, Honeck defends that other devices, namely, tropes, may be just as important.

Finally, E. Piirainen and D. Dobrovolskij's (2005a) work, *Figurative language: Cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspective*, is also worthy of mention. In their book, Piirainen and Dobrovolskij (2005a: 49-50) acknowledge the issue here addressed that "a generally acknowledged definition, however, has not yet been arrived at". It must be taken into account that the subject matter of Piirainen and Dobrovolskij's analyses is not usually proverbs but idioms. Nevertheless, both *idioms* and *proverbs* are figurative uses of language and therefore, both find their way into their

³⁷ See also Lakoff & Turner (1989), Lakoff (1993), Dobrovolskij & Piirainen (2005b).

study. In this regard, they (2005a) explain that

proverbs have to be distinguished from idioms, on the one hand, but they have to be regarded as a class of phrasemes closely related to idioms on the other. [...] Proverbs play an important role in the present study for two reasons: firstly, because most of them are figurative and show various kinds of motivation, and secondly because of their far-reaching cultural significance. (p. 52)

Despite finding their field of expertise in the study of idioms, these authors (2005a) propose a number of criteria to determine which phraseological units can be labelled as proverbs and which cannot. These criteria are the following:

- (i) Proverbs are general statements that are believed to express a universal truth (sometimes called “folk wisdom”) [...]
- (ii) The second criterion is the presence of the illocutionary force of “recommendation/recommending” in the semantics of proverbs and the lack of such force in the illocutionary semantics of the sentence idioms or speech formulae. [...]
- (iii) The third criterion is a greater discourse dependence of sentence idioms as compared to proverbs. In this sense, we can speak of a discursive autonomy of proverbs and a discursive embedding of idioms. (p. 51)

The most outstanding aspects in these criteria for determining what a proverb is are the existence of an “illocutionary force” (see Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969)³⁸ and the “discursive autonomy” of proverbs as opposed to other types of phraseological units, namely, idioms. As is common knowledge in the field of Linguistics, an *illocutionary act* is when someone says something with the intention, explicit or not, of having someone else do something. This is relevant to the study of proverbs due to the fact that proverbs are often used to fill a communication necessity, in different situations and with different purposes. The dogmatic aspect of proverbs allows for this.

Additionally, proverbs differentiate themselves from other units in that they are syntactically independent, even when shortened or when referred to by mere allusion.

This can be illustrated rather easily if the following two examples are compared:

- Idiom: “(To) Kick the bucket” (Ayto, 2010, p. 194)
- Proverb: “Young men may die, but old men must die” (ODEP, p. 927; ODP, p. 355)

³⁸ This will be detailed in section 9.1.2.

The first example, the idiom, can hardly be found isolated, if not in the company of other elements, unless used as the answer to a question, and even in that case, more than likely, it would undergo some verb inflection, as in the following, made-up, sample:

Q. What happened to old John Smith?
A. Oh, he kicked the bucket.

Here we can see how an idiom needs to be complemented by other elements, as for instance a subject or verb inflection.

Instead, a proverb, or part of it, could be used as an independent response to a statement:

S1. Too bad what happened to old John Smith, isn't it?
S2. Young men may die, but old men must die. / Young men may die, but old men... / Old men must die.

In this sample of a made-up conversation it can be observed how a proverb (either in its full canonical form or in different clipped forms, see 9.2.2) suffices as a response and does not rely on external elements to make sense. Thus, one of Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen's contributions to a generally-accepted definition of proverb relies on the fact that a proverb must show syntactic independence and that it is employed to cause a certain effect on the receiver of the communicational exchange.

In this section, several instances of the definitions of proverb coined by some of the most acclaimed intellectuals in the field of phraseology and paremiology have been discussed in order to acquire an idea of what they consider to be the foundations of a proverb. After a close inspection of these definitions, one can detect recurrent ideas and find some unique contributions made by some of the scholars quoted. The fact that some of them focus on different aspects that may have gone unnoticed by the others or were deemed unimportant may be due to different reasons, such as the different fields of study from which the scholars come, or may even be a matter of opinion. In the next

section, an unbiased and comprehensive definition of proverb that includes their most frequently quoted characteristics will be proposed.

1.3. Proposal for a comprehensive definition of *proverb*

Among all the different types of phraseological units (proverbs, idioms, quotes, etc.), the proverb is the one that seems to present the greatest hardship when trying to define it. A broadly accepted definition is of the utmost necessity in order to regulate the labour of paremiologists. In the present section, a definition of proverb, comprising all the aspects noted by scholars, will be proposed for its application throughout the present study to differentiate proverbs from other phraseological units.

As was seen in the previous section, there are as many definitions of proverb as scholars studying it, and even scholars show quite a bit of uncertainty about their own definitions. In spite of the difficulty of the task, every paremiologist has faced it at some point and there is no use avoiding it, as it would only make one's work questionable in the eyes of others, particularly in a field with such vague limits. To deal with the issue, some specialists quote previous authors looking for inspiration or justification for their definitions. Likewise, some of the definitions provided by some of the most influential authors on the matter have been presented. All these definitions will be brought together in order to establish a list of characteristics that a phraseological unit must present in order to be considered a *proverb*.

Of the different types of phraseological units, *proverbs* may most frequently be confused with *quotes* and *idioms* by those unfamiliar with phraseological matters. The difference with the former is their known origin,³⁹ as the speaker is able to determine the person who uttered the phrase and popularised it; the latter, on the other hand, differ from *proverbs* in that they lack syntactic independence as they rely on the addition of

³⁹ See Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 143).

other elements for the completion of the message they intend to transmit.

To illustrate the difficulty of the matter in some cases, one example will suffice: the expression “to tilt at windmills.” Regarding this particular phrase, whereas D. Dobrovol’skij and E. Piirainen (2005a, p. 39) consider it an *idiom*,⁴⁰ W. Mieder (2004, p. 171) labels it a *proverb*. This contradiction arises from the application of different criteria to the classification of PUs. Whereas Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen may focus on the lack of syntactic independence of the phrase, Mieder seems to label it as a *proverb* based on its literary and ancient character. Yet, there are considerations to be made regardless of the category in which the phrase is included, as including it in the stock of proverbs may also conflict, to a certain extent, with the aforementioned requisite of unknown origin.⁴¹ In this regard, the fact that the phrase became popular with Don Quixote’s delusional charges at the windmills provides a good starting point when trying to determine the first record of the use of the expression.

No matter how the issue is tackled, there will always be PUs dwelling on the boundary between two different categories, which complicates classificatory attempts a great deal. Even if the criteria employed to determine the nature of a phraseological unit are debatable and provoke controversy, the necessity to establish marked boundaries in the field of phraseology, and particularly in paremiology, outweighs the arguments motivated by a matter of taste. It is precisely for this reason that a generally-accepted framework for the analysis and classification of proverbs is needed. Thus, the first step in the composition of a definition of proverb, which will be applied in the rest of the present study, will be to list the features that are repeatedly found in the definitions provided. Thus, it can be settled that a proverb is a statement

⁴⁰ See Ayto, 2010 (p. 356).

⁴¹ See Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 147), Ruiz Moreno (1998).

- 1) of relative brevity
- 2) the origin of which is found in the tradition of a people
- 3) of unknown origin
- 4) with a fixed memorisable structure
- 5) with syntactic and textual independence
- 6) used for its dogmatism
- 7) that fulfils a certain social function depending on the context
- 8) that show a certain degree of aesthetic inclination
- 9) generally used figuratively, although not necessarily so.

This list of nine features merges the aspects mentioned in the different definitions provided by scholars over a period of almost a century. Although examples may be found that do not fulfil all nine requisites, more frequently than not, all nine will be present.

To begin with, the “brevity” of proverbs is more of a subjective aspect, and even though most proverbs are indeed brief, items labelled as proverbs such as the following may be found

1. “An ape’s an ape, a varlet’s a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet” (ODEP, p. 16; ODP, p. 7).
2. “Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them, and little fleas had lesser fleas, and so *ad finitum*” (ODP, p. 26).
3. “If Candlemas day be sunny and bright, winter will have another flight; if Candlemas day be cloudy with rain, winter is gone, and won’t come again” (ODEP, p. 100; ODP, p. 43).
4. “If you would be happy for a week take a wife; if you would be happy for a month kill a pig; but if you would be happy all your life plant a garden” (ODP, p. 148) / “Let him that would be happy for a day go to the barber; for a week, marry a wife; for a month, buy him a new horse; for a year, build him a new house; for all his life time, be an honest man” (ODEP, p. 351).

Even though these four examples are generally agreed upon as belonging to the stock of proverbs, they are not short by any means, especially when compared with other proverbs that are truly short. Yet, it is a common practise for proverbs of a certain length to be shortened, generally saying only the first half (see 9.2.2). This characteristic helps

them overcome the excessive wordiness present in some of them. Examples 1-4 are only some of the most extreme cases found in the ODP. Conversely, there are also average-sized proverbs, varying in length, as well as very short proverbs made up of only two or three words, some examples of which are:

5. “Extremes meet” (ODEP, p. 235; ODP, p. 105).
6. “Finders keepers” (ODP, p. 113) / “Findings keepings” (ODEP, p. 257).
7. “Know thyself” (ODEP, p. 435; ODP, p. 174).
8. “Money talks” (ODP, p. 215).
9. “Tastes differ” (ODEP, p. 805; ODP, p. 313).
10. “Time flies” (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 320).

The fact that proverbs are pieces of orally transmitted folk wisdom of unknown origin is also generally accepted as an essential feature of proverbs. However, sometimes one comes across a phraseme that, despite having an allegedly known origin, has customarily been considered a proverb and not a quote. This distinction is a subtle but capital one, as it defines the nature of the item under analysis. In order to determine whether certain items are proverbs or quotes one must ascertain whether the phrase is commonly associated with the person who devised it or not. If it were so, then one would be dealing with a quote and not a proverb. On a similar note, the phrase may be known and used frequently by speakers, and yet the figure that created it may be unknown to the common people. In this particular case, it would be inaccurate to talk either of proverbs or quotes as the necessary conditions for either would not be fulfilled. Nevertheless, in that particular case, the use of that phrase would be closer to a proverb than anything else, due to the speaker’s ignorance of the personage who first uttered the sentence, which would fulfil the condition of unknown origin.

An illustrative example of this can be the rather well-known phrase “speak softly and carry a big stick,” generally attributed to Theodore Roosevelt, as found in the ODP (p. 297), where it is explained that he “used this saying on a number of occasions, claiming it to be a proverb, though there is no apparent evidence for this claim”. Thus,

according to what has been defended here, this phrase does not show enough evidence to be classified as a proverb, especially knowing that scholars have not been able to find uses of that phrase prior to Roosevelt's. Therefore, it should not have been included in the ODP. It may be argued against this that people may not know that it was Roosevelt who first formulated it, although that is also difficult to believe, as he was the President of the United States of America between 1901 and 1909, which made him known around the world in a fairly recent time and even if people use it without knowing its origin, it does not take much research to determine its origin.

The fourth condition listed says that proverbs are “fixed” units, that is, they are “frozen” and, to a certain extent, stable. This stability contributes to their easy memorisation and recognisability among speakers. Nevertheless, as will be explained in a future chapter (see 9.2.3), they may also be subject to manipulation, consciously or unconsciously, by speakers. This manipulability enormously enriches the use of proverbs, as it allows them to be applied to multiple situations. Nevertheless, in spite of this ability to adapt to different situations, the overall structure of the proverb should remain easily recognisable, otherwise extensive alteration might defeat the purpose of proverb-use, as the receiver may not be able to acknowledge the saying as a proverb. This can be illustrated with the following extract from W. Shakespeare's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (II.iv.93-94):

VALENTINE Why, lady, Love hath twenty pair of eyes.
THURIO They say that Love hath not an eye at all.

In this quote, Thurio denies Valentine's statement by manipulating the well-known proverb (as well as a frequent theme in literature) “Love is blind” (ODEP, p. 490; ODP, p. 196). Accordingly, Thurio rejects Valentine's assertion that “Love has twenty pair of eyes”, by declaring that “Love hath not an eye at all”. Thurio's word-choice is rather

significant as he avoids reciting the proverb in its canonical form, the reference to which still remains recognisable, and instead, makes a manipulative allusion to it. The reason for this is that, in his mind, he probably considers that this way he will cause a greater effect on his conversational counterpart.

Another characteristic of proverbs that is particularly useful for their distinction from idioms is their syntactic and textual independence, as previously explained. What is meant by this is that proverbs, regardless of the tendency of longer units towards ellipsis, do not rely on the addition of external components or the modification of the ones making them up in order to transmit a meaningful message, as opposed to idioms, which need to be complemented by other words that fill the gaps present in order to articulate a grammatically correct statement. This does not mean that proverbs may not indeed be complemented by accessory elements such as introductory formulae or by comic remarks, the latter instance giving place to what has come to be known as *wellerisms*, named after the character of Sam Weller from Dickens' *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (see 9.4.1).

Still another paramount feature in the use of proverbs and which makes them such a powerful communication tool is their character as indisputable truth. This *dogmatism*, again in the words of Arnaud (1991, p. 22), justifies their use and fulfils the purpose intended by the speaker. This character of truthfulness is probably acquired thanks to the generalised perception of proverbs as ancient pieces of wisdom. This fact is supported by yet another well-known factor in proverb-use, as shown in the extract from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* above and explained in the previous paragraph, which is the way in which they are often introduced by the above-mentioned introductory formulae such as “as my father used to say...”, “like they say...”, etc. The use of the introductory formula “they say” in this excerpt from Shakespeare's comedy

helps the reader establish the connection with the actual proverb, as well as reinforce Thurio's statement with this sense of dogmatism. However, this dogmatic side of proverbs has also been challenged by authors⁴² who have noticed the existence of contradicting proverbs. Nevertheless, this can be explained by proverbs' dependence on context, which justifies the existence of seemingly contradictory alternatives that may be used in different situations according to the needs of the speaker.

Although much attention has been devoted to the linguistic side of proverbs, it must also be pointed out that proverbs have a social side as well, given that they are used in communication with the purpose of fulfilling a certain effect in relation to the hearer. As mentioned before, this fact may be connected to Austin's (1962) concept of *illocutionary act* (see 9.1.2), which can be signalled as the motivation for a considerable amount of uses of proverbs.

The use made by proverbs of rhetorical devices is also a widely accepted characteristic and is frequently seen as an aspect of major importance in the production and use of proverbs. Not only does it contribute to the idiosyncrasy of proverbs, it also helps make them easy to memorise. To achieve this purpose, one can rely on any of the devices commonly referred to as "poetic", as shall be explained later on (see Chapter 10). Consequently, alliterative proverbs are frequent in English (mostly due to the long tradition of English alliterative poetry), but also other figures of repetition such as anaphoras, epiphoras, anadiplosis, etc., are common. Instances of this are:

11. Anaphora:⁴³ "Out of sight, out of mind" (ODEP, p. 602; ODP, p. 243)

12. Anadiplosis and chiasmus:⁴⁴ "If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain" (ODEP, p. 547; ODP, p. 217)

⁴² See Yankah (1994), Mieder (2004a, p. 1; 2007a, p. 39; 2007b, p. 394), Dundes (2007c, p. 268), Norrick (2007c, p. 381), among others.

⁴³ e.g. Anaphora is the repetition of words at the beginning of successive clauses.

⁴⁴ e.g. Anadiplosis is the repetition of words at the beginning and the end of successive clauses. Chiasmus is a repetition in inverted order.

13. Epiphora: “Better the devil you know than the devil you don’t know” (ODEP, p. 55; ODP, p. 22)
14. Epanadiplosis: “Be what you would seem to be” (ODEP, p. 33; ODP, p. 14)

One final characteristic that makes proverbs such complex and rich subjects for an analysis in different disciplines of study is the fact that they are a figurative use of language, another element shared with the different kinds of PU. The way in which people’s minds process this figurativeness has been approached from different perspectives.⁴⁵

D. Dobrovol’skij and E. Piirainen (2005, p. 14) establish two criteria to distinguish between figurative and non-figurative uses of language:

- Image requirement
- Additional naming

By image requirement they (2005, p. 14) “understand a specific conceptual structure mediating between the lexical structure and the actual meaning of figurative units.” According to the second criterion (2005, p.18), “figurative units are, so to speak, additional (not primary) means for naming things, properties, actions, states, events, and the like.”

Among the different attempts made at explaining how figurative language works in people’s minds, one of the most widely accepted theories that, at least in part, accounts for this is Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In response to this, Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen (2005) point out that their

understanding of figurativeness differs from the interpretation by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Using the example of the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 52f) point to the difference between conventional expressions like *construct a theory* or *foundation of a theory*, on the other hand, and novel metaphors such as *His theory has thousands of little rooms and long, winding corridors*. The authors describe the former as based on the “used part” of the conceptual metaphor and, therefore, “normal” and “literal”, whereas the latter is viewed as based on the “unused part” of the

⁴⁵ For a few of the most important ones see Honeck et al. (1980), Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1981), Mac Cormac (1985), Norrick (1985), Fogelin (1988), Gibbs (1989), Lakoff & Turner (1989), Lakoff (1993), Gibbs, Nayak, & Cutting (1992), Gibbs, Colston & Johnson (1996), Honeck (1997), Dobrovol’skij & Piirainen (2005a, 2005b).

conceptual metaphor and, hence, “figurative”: “These sentences fall outside the domain of normal literal language and are part of what is usually called ‘figurative’ or ‘imaginative’ language”. (pp. 13-14)

The authors (2005, p. 14) go on to acknowledge that Lakoff and Johnson’s theory “makes a lot of sense” but do not agree with their “interpretation of figurativeness.” For them (2005, p. 14) “many conventional metaphors are figurative units even if they do not fall outside the used parts of the metaphoric model in question.”

On a similar note, R. Honeck (1997) explains that

Figurative language is a form of indirectness. Something is said in such a way that its topic is classified in an odd way, and thereby referred to indirectly. This happens for metaphor, simile, metonymy, idiom, oxymoron, and proverbs. (p. 84)

Additionally, Honeck (1997, p. 84) points out that “factors such as context play a crucial role in determining the judged literalness of an utterance.” This is of major importance if one takes into account the fact that proverbs, despite being generally used figuratively, may also be used non-figuratively.

Be it as it may, the cognitive study of paremiology is out of the scope of the present study and despite being useful background information for the understanding of proverb use, it is not intended to determine here what mental mechanisms are triggered in the production, use, and understanding of proverbs.

Chapter 2

“Europeism, internationalism, or something else?”

The existence of phrasemes in an identical, or nearly identical, form in different languages is a phenomenon well-documented by scholars.¹ This occurrence, which is usually referred to as *europaisms* (Morvay, 1996) or *europeanisms* (Pirainen, 2005) when involving PUs in the languages of Europe, presents a number of possibilities for phraseological and paremiological studies. Thus, this dissertation will attempt to make a contribution to the study of this reality by proposing a system for the classification of these *europaisms*, which will be presented in subsequent chapters. It should be borne in mind, though, that unlike the use of the term *phraseme*, which may refer to different types of units, the focus of this dissertation is on proverbs and the different proposals that will be presented are for their application to the study of proverbs and not other types of PU. Accordingly, examples of proverbs existing in different European languages are:

1. A barking dog never bites (ODEP, p. 31; ODP, p. 13)
Perro ladrador, nunca buen mordedor (Martínez Kleiser, 1953, 50.051)
Bellende Hunde beissen nicht (Paczolay, 2002, p. 45)
Chien qui aboie ne mord pas (Paczolay, 2002, p. 45)
2. Walls have ears (ODEP, 864; ODP, 338)
Las paredes oyen (D&P, p. 132)
Wände haben Ohren (Paczolay, 2002, p. 143)
Les murs ont des oreilles (Paczolay, 2002, p. 143)
3. Look not a gift horse in the mouth (ODEP, 301; ODP, 128)
A caballo regalado no hay que mirarle el diente (Martínez Kleiser, 1953, 54.682)
Geschenktem Gaul schaut man nicht ins Maul (Paczolay, 2002, p. 55)
À cheval donné, ne lui regarde pas en la bouche (Paczolay, 2002, p. 55)
4. All that glitters is not gold (ODEP, 316; ODP, 130)
No es oro todo lo que reluce (Martínez Kleiser, 1953: 4.490)
Es ist nicht alles Gold, was glänzt (Paczolay, 2002, p. 126)
Tout ce qui brille n'est pas or (Paczolay, 2002, p. 126)
5. Silence gives/means consent (ODEP, 733; ODP, 287)

¹ See Permyakov (1968), Arora, 1984; Sevilla Muñoz, 1987-88, Blanco García (1993), Burrell (1993), Morvay (1996), Corpas Pastor (2000, 2001b), Corpas Pastor & Morvay (2002), Babušyté (2004), Mieder (2001, 2004a, 2010), Pirainen, (2005), Zholobova (2005), Pesetsky (2009), Gorelova (2010), Paczolay (2010), among others.

Quien calla, otorga (Martínez Kleiser, 1953, 8.643)
Wer schweigt, bejaht (Paczolay, 2002, p. 431)
Qui ne dit mot consent (Paczolay, 2002, p. 430)

All five examples are proverbs that not only share most of the elements that make them up, creating almost identical overall images in the minds of the sender and the receiver, but that also fulfil the same purpose, the *sine qua non* for a proverb to be included in this group. Otherwise, they could be considered “phraseological or paremiological false friends” (Pirainen, 2005, p. 66). Certainly, slight differences of diverse natures may be appreciated, an explanation for which may be found in the different grammars on which the different languages are sustained. Yet, the paremiological stock that has been considered for the composition of this dissertation is that of the English language.

One of the first authors that employed the term *europeism* to refer to the proverbs, as well as other units, that exist in a similar form and meaning in the different languages in Europe was K. Morvay. He (1996, p. 724, own translation), justified his choice explaining that “[i]t would be exaggerated to call these phraseologisms ‘universalisms’ or ‘internationalisms’.”² This affirmation relates to the title to this chapter, in which the question of the suitability of the terms most commonly used is posed.

Morvay (1996, p. 719) chooses the term *europeism* to refer to the fact that “[i]n the languages of Europe, whether they are Indo-European or not, there are a large number of phraseologisms (proverbs and other units) with a very similar form, almost identical.”³ This term seems to have acquired a rather relevant degree of diffusion and it

² The original reads thus:

Sería exagerado llamar estos “fraseologismos universalismos” o “internacionalismos”.

³ The original reads thus:

En las lenguas de Europa, sean indoeuropeas o no, hay un gran número de fraseologismos (refranes y otras unidades) de forma muy parecida, casi idéntica.

will be used here for convenience's sake until an alternative that is considered to be more suitable is proposed.

Regarding the origin of this type of phraseologisms, Morvay (1996) explains that

Said units could have sprung independently from each other as the product of the observation of the world around us –of the different nature phenomena, of human and animal behaviour, of references to the human body and its functioning, etc. (natural phraseology). Another part of them comes from common sources of European culture (the Bible, classical Greco-Roman literature, Latin texts from the Middle Ages, from superstitions, beliefs and fables that circulated for centuries around Europe, from collections of proverbs, adages by known authors (such as Erasmus and others), translated into many languages in Europe.⁴ (p. 719, own translation)

In the quote above, Morvay points out the most likely sources and vehicles of the diffusion of *europeisms*, namely, the observation of the world, the common sources of European culture, and the translations of renowned authors. Apart from confirming Morvay's exposition, W. Mieder (2004a, p. 13) adds another important means for the transmission of proverbs cross-linguistically: the mass media, which, as shown in Chapter 4, is of major importance for the analysis of current phraseological and paremiological trends.

Another highly reputed scholar that attempts to bring forward her own definition of *europeism* is G. Corpas Pastor. Not only does Corpas Pastor support the general explanation for the origin of common European phraseologisms, she (2001b) proposes two labels to differentiate between their origins:

On the other hand, Comparative Phraseology has stressed the coincidence in form and content of PUs belonging to different languages (cf. Corpas Pastor, 200a). We refer concretely to *europeisms* (Morvay, 1996). These units arise from the observation of the world around us (natural europeisms), originating from common sources in European culture (cultural europeisms) or they share the same origin doubly (natural-cultural europeisms). Thus, *la caja de Pandora*, whose origin dates back to the rich Greek mythology, belongs to the European cultural stock, the same as its equivalents in the rest of

⁴ The original reads thus:

Dichas unidades podían haber nacido independientemente unas de otras como producto de la observación del mundo que nos rodea -de los diversos fenómenos de la naturaleza, del comportamiento humano y animal, de las referencias al cuerpo humano y su funcionamiento, etc. (fraseología natural). Otra parte de ellas procede de fuentes comunes de la cultura europea (de la Biblia, de la literatura clásica greco-romana, de textos latinos de la Edad Media, de supersticiones, creencias, anécdotas y fábulas que circularon durante siglos por toda Europa, de colecciones de refranes, adagios de autores conocidos (tales como Erasmo y otros), traducidos a muchas lenguas de Europa.

European languages: *Pandora's box* (English); *die Büchse der Pandora* (German); *il vaso di Pandora* (Italian); *boîte de Pandore* (French); *Pandora szelencéje* (Hungarian); *cutia Pandorei* (Romanian), etc.⁵ (p. 35, own translation)

Here, Corpas Pastor illustrates the situation providing an example: “Pandora’s box”. However, according to the definition proposed in the first chapter, this may not be considered a proverb, but rather, an idiom (Ayto, 2010, p. 255). Thus, Corpas Pastor uses the term that her colleague Morvay originally employed to refer to proverbs but includes the use of idioms as well. This is a good piece of evidence of how phraseology and paremiology frequently overlap. Even though this dissertation is based on the study of proverbs, Corpas Pastor’s example works in order to prove that there is indeed a catalogue of common phraseologisms, of different characteristics and natures, shared among the different languages of Europe.

Closer to Corpas Pastor’s view is E. Piirainen’s (2005), who, however, explains that there is no proper definition of *europeism* or *europeanism*:

As terms in idiom research, Europeanism and internationalism lack a clear definition. From a theoretical viewpoint, all the crucial questions as to how relevant Europeanisms/internationalisms can be singled out and determined remain unanswered. Some seem to have never been asked: by what criteria can idioms be defined as Europeanisms/internationalisms? How many languages are to be involved? How great do the similarities have to be, and what metalanguage should be used? Further central issues include the questions of how many Europeanisms/internationalisms exist in every single language, or in all of them collectively, and to which cultural domains they belong. (p. 50)

First of all, it becomes clear from the very beginning that Piirainen is using the term to refer, not to *proverbs*, but to *idioms*. This ambivalence, again, is one of the major setbacks of the term. Thus, in order to avoid confusion, a clear set of terms would be advisable for the employment in paremiological and phraseological studies

⁵ The original reads thus:

Por otra parte, la fraseología comparada ha hecho hincapié en la coincidencia de forma y contenido de UFS pertenecientes a lenguas distintas (cf. Corpas Pastor, 2000a). Nos referimos concretamente a los *europeísmos* (Morvay, 1996). Estas unidades surgen a partir de la observación del mundo que nos rodea (*europeísmos naturales*), proceden de fuentes comunes de la cultura europea (*europeísmos culturales*) o bien comparten un mismo origen por partida doble (*europeísmos naturales-culturales*). Así, *la caja de Pandora*, cuyos orígenes se remontan a la rica mitología griega, pertenece al acervo cultural europeo, al igual que sus equivalentes en el resto de las lenguas europeas: *Pandora's box* (inglés); *die Büchse der Pandora* (alemán); *il vaso di Pandora* (italiano); *boîte de Pandore* (francés); *Pandora szelencéje* (húngaro); *cutia Pandorei* (rumano), etc.

independently, which is obviously undermined by the indistinctive use of *europeism*, or any other label for that matter, to refer to elements of different natures.

Although the term *europeism* has been used thus far, it presents a series of issues that make it an ambiguous designation for the purpose of this study. First and foremost, the lack of a generally accepted definition, which causes, therefore, the inclusion of different items under the same umbrella term.

The other big inconvenience in the employment of the term is the geographical implications it carries. It seems rather obvious that anyone who has not heard the term before and who has no prior knowledge of the concept will automatically associate it with something having to do with the European continent. As a matter of fact, according to the online edition of the *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, *europeanism*⁶ also refers to a political current that advocates European unionism. This means that the term may be ambiguous and misleading because the geographical boundaries with which it is associated do not necessarily correspond to the exact geographical area in which these elements are used. Thus, despite their typically European origin, appearing in any of the European languages, they may be used in overseas territories as well, in said European languages or in others.

Curiously enough, W. Mieder (2001, 2010) explores what, to a certain extent, may be seen as the opposite case, proverbs originating overseas and becoming popular in Europe, in his articles “El Mejor Indio Es un Indio Muerto: Sobre la Internacionalización de un Refrán Americano”; and “‘Many Roads lead to Globalization:’ The Translation and Distribution of Anglo-American Proverbs in Europe.”⁷ The proven existence of such cases also contributes to questioning the

⁶ See *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*. Europeanism. [Def. 1]. (online resource).

⁷ Additionally, Martí Solano (2013) explains the increase in the use of American English phrasemes in British English.

accuracy of the use of the term *europeism* or phrases such as “*European proverbs*” (Mieder, 2004, p. 10), also of frequent use in some dictionaries.⁸

2.1. Looking for a suitable label

The main handicap of the use of expressions such as *europeism*, *europeanism*, or *European proverb* is the ambiguity that they may raise for anyone untrained in the fields of phraseology and paremiology. Consequently, it would be preferable to have a term that is less recognisable to someone who is not familiar with phraseological or paremiological matters than to have one that may sound familiar to the average person but which could easily be misinterpreted or leave room for confusion. Thus, at the risk of becoming repetitive, and as supported by the previously mentioned articles by W. Mieder (2001, 2010) there are indeed many proverbs and idioms which undergo the opposite situation: they originate somewhere else and then pass on to the stock of the so-called *European proverbs*. This fact poses some contradictory and confusing situations that may hinder the labour of the paremiologist, requiring him or her to go the extra mile to figure out whether one phraseme may or may not be correctly included in the group of *European proverbs*.

At the same time, these terms would unavoidably imply the exclusion of countries such as the United States of America, presumably the largest producer of the entertainment consumed in European countries. Even though these forms of entertainment are not directly aimed at the distribution, popularisation, and diffusion of proverbs, they play a very important role in their spread, as well as that of idioms and other PUs, as shall be explained in a future chapter. Thus, this fact contributes to cultural globalisation, the convenience and advisability of which is often questioned,

⁸ i.e. Strauss (1994, 1998), Paczolay (2002).

particularly when the process involves elements of folklore, among which proverbs stand out.

Due to all these ambiguities, inaccuracies, and generalisations, the phenomenon of *europaisms* has raised the interest of scholars who find it necessary to propose a suitable definition and label for the analysis and classification of such proverbs. Among the scholars who have observed this and have cautiously, and sometimes even hesitantly, proposed an alternative for the study of these elements, A. Zholobova (2005) explains how Russian phraseologists and phraseographers have coped with this hardship by naming these elements “phraseological internationalisms.”

Phraseological research carried out by linguists in the field of Phraseology has confirmed that the phraseological systems of different languages have certain common features, just like there is a phraseological corpus shared by many languages. The term used to refer to this common Phraseology has received (mainly in the Soviet phraseological tradition) the denomination of International Phraseology and, in this case, they usually talk about the so-called *phraseological internationalisms*.⁹ (p. 1191, own translation)

Zholobova’s choice, *internationalism*, avoids the geographical inexactness that causes *europaism* or *europeanism* to be inaccurate by default. On the contrary, *internationalisms* would commit a similar fault, in this case by excess, as no actual limit is established. As a result, even though this possibility avoids one of the features that seemed the most controversial, it raises new imprecisions. For instance, one might question the number of languages in which one phraseme needs to exist in order to be considered a phraseological internationalism. Similarly, would they have to be languages from different origins or could they be languages from a common origin, e.g., Romance languages, that eventually developed into different independent languages? Nevertheless, the possibility of the existence of phraseological or paremiological

⁹ The original reads thus:

Las investigaciones realizadas por los lingüistas en el campo de fraseología han confirmado que los sistemas fraseológicos de distintas lenguas tienen ciertos rasgos comunes, al igual que existe un corpus fraseológico que está compartido por muchas lenguas. El término para referirse a esta fraseología común ha recibido (principalmente, en la tradición fraseológica soviética) la denominación de la fraseología internacional y, en este caso, se suele hablar de los llamados *internacionalismos fraseológicos*.

universals¹⁰ should be given the benefit of the doubt, as there are certain figurative uses of language that have been found in many languages from many different origins. Finally, the word *internationalism* leaves out a factor of major importance in the creation and use of proverbs as no limits are established for the inclusion or exclusion of phrasemes under this label.

Another remarkable aspect of the quote above is the fact that Zholobova considers a possibility that many overlook: polygenesis. While the most commonly accepted idea is that proverbs appear in a language and pass into other ones through the translation of written works or through direct communication among speakers of different languages, the possibility that proverbs using the same elements and transmitting the same idea or lesson appeared in remote places within a certain span of time cannot be discarded, as Piirainen explains (Piirainen 2005):

In antiquity, the gesture of tearing the hair was a sign of mourning, of bewailing the dead (first mentioned in the Iliad, 18.23ff, when Achilles mourns the death of Patroclus). It can be supposed that most of the European idioms in (11) go back to this classical origin, even though the cultural dimension of the gesture, its semiotic meaning and anchoring in the ancient culture, was lost in the course of history. Since the same idioms occur in languages that have little to do with the classical occidental culture, however, we should also take the possibility of independent formations into consideration. Similar gestures of grief and despair (causing oneself pain and actually tearing out one's hair) are widespread far beyond the Greek/Hellenistic sphere of influence. It is perfectly conceivable, therefore, that the corresponding idioms developed independently in different languages (cf. e.g. Levin-Steinmann 2004). (pp. 69-70)

Despite the fact that this option is often discarded, many have also named it as a possibility for the appearance of similar proverbs in remote places. As W. Mieder (1997, p. 413) puts it, “polygenesis might well be possible.”

Other scholars who have also commented on this possibility are G. Corpas Pastor and K. Morvay, who imply the possibility that a certain phrase can appear in different places as a product of observation of the environment. This can be noted by re-examining the definition they provide for *europeism* in which they (2002) affirm that

¹⁰ Cf. Sevilla Muñoz (1987), Dobrovols'skij (1988, 1992), Corpas Pastor (1995), Pesetsky (2009).

they “come from common sources of European culture (cultural europeisms) or share a double origin (natural-cultural europeisms)” (p. 175, own translation).¹¹ Their distinction between “cultural” and “natural” *europeisms* suggests that polygenesis is in fact a possibility to be taken into account. Zholobova (2005), who, at the same time, establishes the usual means of creation and dissemination of *europeisms*, or *internationalisms*, praises the convenience and usefulness of this double distinction:

When we talk about semantic loans, we talk about loans in the extralinguistic sense, considering that these units reflect the extralinguistic reality emerging in the languages of many peoples based on ideas, images, myths, events, etc. of other peoples. The most important sources in this group of internationalisms are, on the one hand, classical literature, history, and mythology and, on the other hand, the Bible. G. CORPAS PASTOR (2001: 250) uses the term cultural europeism to refer to the phraseological units of this type. The term seems quite appropriate given that they appear in all the European languages and are closely related to this part of world culture.¹² (p. 1992, own translation)

This fact is crucial, as it brings another capital element into the spotlight: culture. Even though the link between language and culture is a close one, they are not the same concept. It can be said, nevertheless, that speakers of different languages have a common shared culture, which might be the key to solving this riddle. This culture transcends both linguistic and political boundaries and finds its basis in deeper, older grounds.

What Oceanian, South African, European, or North American peoples have in common, besides their shared languages in some of the countries making up those areas and in spite of their remoteness, is that they belong to what is generally referred to as Western civilisation or the Western world. This label focuses on the common

¹¹ The original reads thus:

[Los europeísmos] proceden de fuentes comunes de la cultura europea (europeísmos culturales) o bien comparten un mismo origen por partida doble (europeísmos naturales-culturales).

¹² The original reads thus:

Cuando hablamos de préstamos semánticos hablamos de préstamos en el sentido extralingüístico, ya que estas unidades reflejan la realidad extralingüística surgiendo en las lenguas de muchos pueblos a base de ideas, imágenes, mitos, acontecimientos, etc. de otros pueblos. Las fuentes más importantes de este grupo de internacionalismos son, por un lado, la literatura, la historia y la mitología clásica y, por otro, la Biblia. G. CORPAS PASTOR (2001: 250) usa el término europeísmos culturales para referirse a las unidades fraseológicas de este tipo. El término nos parece muy adecuado, ya que éstas aparecen en todas las lenguas europeas y están estrechamente relacionadas con esta parte de la cultura mundial.

background that the peoples from these areas share. This cultural background frequently enables them to be able to successfully grasp and employ such opaque entities as proverbs or idioms, without the necessity of finding justification in the common language or geographical space they occupy. For this reason, it is strongly believed that the Europe in *europaism* should give way to some other word that includes aspects that are unavoidably left out by the employment of names such as *europaism*, *europianism*, *European proverbs*, and the like.

To determine the suitability of a word including the root western or occidental, one would need to settle whether this is an accurate use of the word. For this reason, the notion of the Western world or Western civilisation should be established. The idea of *occidentalism* seems to be particularly fit for the lack of implication of political boundaries. Greer and Lewis (2005) claim that

Most civilizations are identified by the region of the world that they occupy, or by their dominant religion—Chinese or Islamic civilization, for example. The civilization of the West, however, has come to be known by a name that does not make a straightforward statement about where it is located, let alone about its religion. Instead, the name raises a question: To the west of what? Western civilization, it seems, is defined in relation to a “somewhere else” that it lies in a particular compass direction away from—a place or civilization other than itself. (p. xxiii)

The benefit of the idea of occidental is that, even though in its Latin origin it is also a geographical term, presently known as *the West*, that geographical allusion is probably vaguer than the cultural component behind it. Kurth (2003-04, p. 5) explains that the “Western civilization was formed from three distinct traditions: (1) the classical culture of Greece and Rome; (2) the Christian religion, particularly Western Christianity; and (3) the Enlightenment of the modern era.” All three pillars of the civilisation seem consistently present in any of the countries considered as making up said Western civilisation. However, there will always be problematic sides and arguable decisions and opinions about whether to include a certain country or not. In this regard, Kurth (2003-04) notes that

The most lively consciousness of the West actually seems to be found within the East. But within the West itself (i.e. the United States, Europe, and also Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) it sometimes seems that the Western civilization of fifty years ago has become a lost civilization today. (p. 5)

An especially important aspect from the perspective of paremiology would be the exclusion of Russia from this select group of Western countries, one of the countries with the oldest and most fruitful traditions in paremiological and phraseological research. There are fairly recent historical arguments against the inclusion of Russia in the western world, as Kurth (2003-04) reminds the reader how

[t]he Cold War clarified and crystallized the political and intellectual division between the West and the East. The “Allied scheme of history,” the product of the two world wars, was elaborated and institutionalized into what we might call the “NATO scheme of history,” which fit nicely with the Cold War. (p. 7)

Greer and Lewis (2005) also confirm this conflict in the following quote:

Later on came the twentieth-century era of world wars followed by the Cold War. The rising North American countries as well as many in western Europe found themselves allied in a series of struggles, first against Germany and later against Soviet Russia. Both struggles involved conflicts between important values and interests, such as democracy against fascism, and capitalism against communism. As a result, it became standard usage on both sides of the Atlantic to speak of the common values and interests of North America and western Europe as those of “Western civilization” or “the West.” The individuality of other civilizations of the world was recognized more than before, but as a Phrase they came to be thought of as “non-Western.” (p. xxiv)

However, after the fall of the Soviet Union, and due to political changes and more openness to foreign influence, it would seem absurd to leave Russia out given that, as Greer and Lewis (2005, p. xxv) point out, both Roman and Greek traditions, and Christianity are common elements in Russian culture. Similar to the Russian question is the case of Latin American cultures, but since they also have roots in European cultures (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese, British, Dutch, etc.), they may as well be considered a part of the Western civilisation (Greer and Lewis, 2005, p. xxv).

As has been demonstrated, the geographical boundaries of the Western civilisation are vague. So much so that some¹³ already talk about “the rise of [a] multicultural world.” It is also possible that there may be societies, completely

¹³ See (Duchesne, 2011, p. 1).

unfamiliar with western culture, inhabiting some territory within a mostly-western country, as may happen in the case of some Amazonian tribes, or other archaic societies. Even though this geographical vagueness might be seen by some as a hindrance, it has been found to be rather beneficial for the present inquiry, given that the phenomenon that phraseologists and paremiologists are trying to define is of a cultural component, rather than of a geographical or political one.

After determining what the new term must include, it is believed that it would be more appropriate to talk about *occidentalisms* or *Occidental proverbial wisdom*, which seems to better suit the necessities appreciated in other terms proposed by scholars. At the same time, there is the possibility of phraseological units or figurative uses of language becoming not only continental or civilisational, but even universal, which, D. Dobrovolskij (1992, p. 280) classifies as “conceptual or cognitive phraseological universals” and “linguistic or systemic phraseological universals”.

Finally, another reason why *occidentalism* is a valid term is that people frequently talk about proverbs originating in different cultures as Chinese, Japanese, Arab, or African proverbs specifying the place or culture where they originated, as the following examples taken from the ODP show:

6. When ELEPHANTS fight, it is the grass that suffers
African proverb, meaning that the weak get hurt in conflicts between the powerful. (ODP, p. 93)
7. The FROG in the well knows nothing of the sea
Japanese proverb, meaning that one should be aware of the limitations of one's own experience. (ODP, p.125)
8. The MOUNTAINS are high, and the emperor is far away
Chinese proverb, comparable to the Russian GOD *is high above and the tsar is far away*. (ODP, p. 218)
9. Man fears TIME, but time fears the pyramids
Arab proverb. (ODP, p. 321)

The use of these foreign proverbs is not unknown to literary works. To present an interesting example, a direct reference to a foreign proverb is made in one of Sherlock Holmes' adventures, among which the use of proverbs by any of the characters fabricated by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle is scarce. In the closing lines to "A Case of Identity" (Conan Doyle, 2007) one reads:

You may remember the old Persian saying, 'There is danger for him who taketh the tiger cub, and danger also for whoso snatches a delusion from a woman.' (p. 483)

In the same way that proverbs often enjoy the status of indisputable truth for being ancient pieces of wisdom, the fact that they come from remote places may contribute to reinforcing this idea, thus justifying their use by people in situations in which they might otherwise avoid them.

To sum up, in the same way as we often talk about these foreign proverbs, one could also talk about *Western* or *Occidental proverbs*. Even though it might be unnecessary or redundant for westerners to refer to them, it would be useful for paremiologists and their studies to have a generally agreed-upon term.

2.2. Conclusions

Most people, scholarly or not, who have devoted some time to learning a foreign language will eventually come to realise that there are expressions that exist in an almost identical form, both in the native and the foreign languages. This rather surprising realisation may be due to an incorrect interpretation of their idiomatic nature. As has been explained before, proverbs, as well as other types of fossilised expressions, pass into new languages through different vehicles, some of which have also been explained here. This phenomenon poses a new difficulty to the phraseological and paremiological community: the necessity to come up with a term, as well as its corresponding definition, to name it.

In the last twenty years, works dealing with this occurrence have sprung up, K. Morvay's 1996 work being one of the earliest uses of the term in phraseological scholarship. Ever since, many of the works on the issue have revolved around the label proposed by Morvay. Sometimes it has undergone slight modifications, as for instance E. Piirainen's (2005) use of the word "*européanisme*" in the article after which the present chapter has been named; some authors choose a more neutral wording and talk about *European proverbs*; and some alternatives, such as *internationalism* in the Russian school, have been proposed. Yet, there is no general agreement on the matter.

In the last few pages an attempt has been made at showing how these frequently used labels suffer from the same malady: the geographical implications that the term carries. Bearing this in mind, it must be noted that the word Europe makes reference to a geographical area that does not correspond to all the places in which these phraseological units are used and, thus, turns out to be inaccurate. Conversely, these phraseological units are not a geographical but a cultural manifestation and, therefore, the terms Occidental or Western better represent the qualities that need to be brought to mind. Consequently, I propose the alternatives *Occidentalisms* or *Occidental proverbial wisdom* as replacements for the currently, though imprecisely, used terms .

Chapter 3

Brief historical account of the use of proverbs in some European texts

Much has been written about the subject of how there are some proverbs, as well as other types of PUs, that coexist in different languages both in Europe and overseas. Apart from oral transmission, the other usual explanation is that they pass on from one language to another through translation. In this sense, the translation of literature plays a particularly important role, for many of the translated texts eventually become part of the cultural heritage of the target language. After all, literature¹ is one of the few solid pieces of evidence conserved in abundance from times past. When trying to come up with other media that may have made a great contribution to the distribution of proverbs, one can only think of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *The Netherlandish Proverbs*, already noted by authors such as W. Mieder (2004), M. A. Sullivan (1991), and M. A. Meadow (2002).

Scholars like W. Mieder (1993, 2004), K. Morvay (1996), A. Dundes (1999), J. Sevilla Muñoz (2000), A. Zholobova (2003; 2005), D. Dobrovol'skij and E. Piirainen (2005, 2010), E. Piirainen (2008a; 2010), and many others have explained how proverbs and other phrasemes enter a new language from a foreign one, especially within the context of European languages. It must also be pointed out that the purpose of this chapter is not to determine the etymology of any proverbs, but rather to propose a hypothesis that explains a great deal of how the phenomenon that motivated this, as well as many other studies, started and developed. In the present section, a series of literary

¹ For paremiological studies on literature and literary authors, see: Taylor (1968a), Estienne & Joly (1971), Whiting (1973), Ross (1987), Bryan & Mieder (1994), Wilson (1994), Oncins Martínez (1996; 2005), Abrahams & Bacock (1997), Mieder (1997, 2007a), Castillo Blanco (1998), Sánchez García (1999), García Yelo & Sevilla Muñoz (2004-2005), Breiteneder (2007), Baranov & Dobrovol'skij (2007), Doyle (2007a), Martins-Baltar (2007), Rodríguez Martín (2011), among others.

authors and works will be discussed, in chronological order, in order to analyse how they make use of proverbs.

The aforementioned intellectuals defend the thesis that many of the proverbs that spread widely across Europe, as well as some other countries overseas, come from the readings of highly-regarded literary classics, among them, first and foremost, the Bible, followed by classical Greek and Latin authors, medieval authors, and canonical authors, both in Latin and the different vernaculars, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Cervantes, or Shakespeare among many others.

Finally, it must be pointed out that this is not intended to become a literary analysis, yet, literature is one of the most reliable sources in order to trace the use of proverbs. At the same time, this brief overview may be indicative of the confirmation or dismissal of some extended misconceptions, such as the belief that proverbs are avoided in literature for being the wisdom of the common people.² It can also be seen, nevertheless, how the use of proverbs by certain characters becomes one of their defining features. Yet, this does not intend to be an exhaustive analysis on the matter and none of the facts mentioned will be dealt with in as much depth as they deserve due to the lack of space available for that purpose. Additionally, the works chosen for their brief analysis here have been selected for their status as some of the most influential works in the development of European literature³ and culture. It soon becomes evident that many other works which may be considered just as important have been left out. The reason for this is the merely illustrative purpose of this section, where apart from the obvious focus on English literature, given the nature of this dissertation, some works by foreign authors also considered to be influential to English literature will be

² Cf. Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 160), Penadés Martínez (2006, p. 291), Shariayi (2012, p. 147)

³ See Bloom (1994, 1997).

mentioned. Furthermore, the lack of contemporary works included in this section is due to the fact that most of the works discussed belong to capital moments in the shaping of the English language, which, despite its continuous changes and adaptations up to the present day, underwent one of its most important makeovers at the time when important advancements were made like the introduction of the printing press and the appearance of the King James' Bible, among others.

3.1. Classical antiquity

Classical antiquity is one of the terms most frequently employed to refer to the historical period in which the Mediterranean Sea became the centre of the world thanks to the rapid development of the Greek and Roman civilisations. Due to this predominance, Greek and Latin classics became the foundations of European culture. Classical Greek and Latin authors have been studied for centuries and, therefore, have contributed to shaping a common cultural background for generations of Europeans. Several reasons can then be presented for the proliferation of Greek and Latin proverbs⁴ across European languages:

1. The reuse of topics and motifs from Greek culture by the Romans.
2. The extensive and long-lasting Roman Empire that covered what later would become Portugal, Spain, France, England, Greece, Turkey, Israel, the Balkan region, the whole north of Africa, etc.
3. The use of texts both in Greek and Latin in classrooms for centuries in most of the aforementioned countries.

The amount of proverbs originating at these times that can still be found today is vast, some illustrative examples of which are the following:

⁴ See King (1958), Bartlett & Kaplan (2002), Doyle (2004), Mieder (2000), Cantera Ortiz de Urbina (2006), García Romero (2008), among others.

- Greek:
 - “Big fish eats the small fish” (ODEP, p. 333; ODP, p. 25) — ἀρχαία Ἑλληνική γλῶσσα (Mieder, 1993, p. 24; 2004a, p. 35)
 - “One swallow does not make summer” (ODEP, p. 791; ODP, p. 309) — μία χειλιδὼν ἕαρ οὐ ποιεῖ (García Romero, 2008, p.132; Marret & Estévez Díez, 1992, p. 119; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 1098^a18)
 - “The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind small” (ODEP, p. 314; ODP, p. 211) — ὄψε θεῶν ἀλέουσίμύλοισι, ἀλέουσί δε λεπτά⁵ (Mieder, 2004: 50)
 - “The fish always stinks from the head downwards” (ODEP, p. 263; ODP, p. 118) — ἰχθὺς ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄζεινᾶρχεται (Mieder, 2004, p.138)

- Latin:
 - “One hand washes the other” (and both the face) (ODEP, p. 347; ODP, p. 146) — *Manus manam lavat* (Mieder, 2004, p. xii; 1993, p. 24)
 - “Love is blind” (ODEP, 490; ODP, 196) — *Amor caecus est* (Mieder, 1993, p. 24)
 - “Silence means consent” (ODEP, p. 733; ODP, p. 287) — *Qui tacet consentire videtur* (Pirainen, 2012, p. 393)
 - “Like father, like son” (ODEP, p. 248; ODP, p. 110) — *Qualis pater talis filius* (Sevilla, 1987-88, p. 233)

The proverbs originating at this time and in these languages make up a considerable amount of those found in the paremiological catalogue. Although this is an accepted reality and many studies have been carried out,⁶ there are still some authors and works that have not been given the credit they probably deserve.

One case that is particularly striking is that of Cato and his *Disticha Moralis*. This work was used in the classroom as a method to learn Latin up to rather recent times and it is more than likely that prestigious authors translated it at their grammar schools as children, as N. Mason Bradbury (2002, p. 264) notes in her study of G. Chaucer’s use of proverbs. Other scholars that give some credit to Cato’s *Disticha Moralis* are J. Cantera Ortíz de Urbina (2007b) and N. Filatkina (2010).

It is true that none of the distichs caught on word for word as a proverb, but the eminently pedagogical purpose of the work contributed to Cato’s ideas remaining in the minds of generation after generation of students that learned Latin by translating his

⁵ “The proverb has been traced back to the Greek philosopher Sextus Empiricus (c. A.D. 190), who is, however, quoting an earlier unknown poet.” (Mieder, 2004, p. 50)

⁶ See footnote 58.

famous *Disticha*. To show just one example that can demonstrate how important Cato's *Disticha* must have been for the shaping of European proverbs from its composition up to recent times, one instance from Book 2, Distich 26, can be observed:

*Rem, tibi quam noscis aptam, dimittere noli.
Fronte Capillata, post est occasio calva.*⁷

This phrase loosely translates as “do not let go what you consider adequate for you. With a hairy forehead, opportunity is bald in the back.” This particular distich yields several well-known paremiological items. On the one hand, apart from the ubiquitous motto “*carpe diem*,” or its present-day, less erudite equivalent YOLO (an acronym for “you only live once”), there are many proverbs that relate to this distich and which preach about the convenience of seizing the opportunity when it comes up:

- Opportunity never knocks twice at any man's door (ODP, p. 241)
- Make hay while the sun shines (ODEP, p. 501; ODP, p. 199)
- Strike while the iron is hot (ODEP, p. 781; ODP, p. 305)

Apart from proving that the proverbial idea of the convenience of taking advantage of an opportunity when it shows up has been present from classical antiquity, it can be used to determine the more than likely origin for yet another ancient proverb: “Take Occasion by the forelock for she is bald behind” (ODEP, p. 822).

Similar to Cato's *Disticha* is the *Durham Proverbs*,⁸ which, despite its posterior composition and the distinct language in which they were written, will be mentioned here due to the parallelism with Cato's work. The former is a collection of forty-six proverbs that, similarly to Cato's *Disticha*, was used in monastic schools. It takes its name from the fact that the manuscript is kept at the Durham Cathedral. Another similarity shared with Cato's *Disticha* is that this collection of proverbs has been overlooked by many paremiologists.

⁷ Stirling (2010, p. 23).

⁸ See Arngart (1981).

The *Durham Proverbs* presents several problems. On the one hand, it was written in Old English, which is not as well-known and widespread as Latin, which makes it harder to find accurate academic translations. On the other, the versions that have been preserved present inconsistencies and differences (Arngart, 1981, 289-290), resulting in another difficulty in the determination of the original version of the proverbs. The fact that it was written in Old English is to blame for the smaller diffusion and significance that it has had compared to Cato's *Disticha*. However, after a close examination and with basic translation skills,⁹ one can find the following:

- *Æt þearfe mann sceal frēonda tō cunnian*: “In need, a man shall find out his friends,” or, in its present-day version, “A friend in need is a friend indeed” (ODEP, p. 289; ODP, p. 124)
- *Oft on sōtigum bylige searowa licgað*: “Often in a dirty bag lies a treasure,” equivalent to our “You can’t tell a book by its cover” (ODP, 32), “the cowl does not make the monk” (ODEP, p. 152; ODP, p. 64), or “Appearances are deceptive” (ODEP, p. 6)
- *Gyf þū well sprece, wyrc æfter swā*: “If you speak well, perform thus after,” a basic version of “Practise what you preach” (ODEP, p. 643; ODP, p. 255)

As can be seen, in spite of the remoteness in space and time, some ideals and perceptions are constantly present in people’s behaviours and they have been fossilised into proverbs to be found in rather similar wordings in different languages and times, as the attitudes towards friendship or appearances shown in the examples above. This is another piece of evidence that proves that the ability of proverbs to transcend linguistic, geographical, and conventional boundaries should not be underestimated.

3.2. The Bible

The next work that cannot avoid being mentioned is the Bible, the best-selling, most translated and most widely read work of literature in the world. Little can be said that has not already been pointed out by scholars.¹⁰ In a reading of the Bible, several hundreds of quotes susceptible to having eventually given place to different types of PU

⁹ See Sweet (1976). .

¹⁰ For some paremiological studies on the Bible see Ehrhart (1953), Funk (1998), Cantera Ortiz de Urbina (1993; 2005; 2007a), Beardslee (1999), Dundes (1999), Calero Hernández (2000), among others.

can be found. Many of these PUs are proverbs, but, at the same time, it is true that many such expressions are repeated multiple times throughout the different books making up the Bible. Despite the great number of repetitions found, the total sum of proverbs and other expressions adds up to a rather large amount.

It would be a mistake to believe that that these phraseological units included in the Bible were in fact invented by those people who put the sacred text into written form. According to this view, some of the proverbs contained in the Bible and generally accepted as such would erroneously be labelled as proverbs given that they do not fulfil one of the stricter criteria in order to distinguish proverbs from other types of PU: their anonymous origin (see Chapter 1). In this regard, proverbs are not invented by their users, that is, one may freely use a proverb that he or she has learned elsewhere and that does not mean that said individual invented the proverb. Proverbs are considered a manifestation of folklore and, as the highly regarded folklorist A. Dundes (1999, p. 9) points out, it is “not enough to acknowledge that the Bible was in oral tradition before being written down with the assumption that once written down, folklore ceases to be folklore.” According to this, proverbs are lodged in the realm of folklore and, therefore, if one were to attribute the invention of the proverbs found in the Bible to whoever put it into writing, then they would stop being proverbs and should, more accurately, be referred to as quotes. Of course, to share this point of view one needs to be aware of the relationship existing between phraseology and folkloristics. As D. Ben-Amos (1971) explains, coming up with a valid definition of folklore is hard due to the multiple different types of text folklorists deal with, as well as the different disciplines of study folklore scholars originally come from (linguistics, anthropology, literature, phraseology, etc.). However, although he does not provide a clear-cut definition of folklore, Ben-Amos (1971) states that:

In spite of this diversification, it is possible to distinguish three basic conceptions of the subject underlying many definitions; accordingly, folklore is one of these three: a body of knowledge, a mode of thought, or a kind of art. These categories are not completely exclusive of each other. Very often the difference between them is a matter of emphasis rather than of essence; for example, the focus on knowledge and thought implies a stress on the contents of the materials and their perception, whereas the concentration on art puts the accent on the forms and the media of transmission. (p. 5)

Both fields of study share many common features, the most outstanding of which is the difficulty scholars find when having to provide a definition of the field of study they cultivate. Despite this setback, when reading studies carried out from both perspectives, folkloristic and paremiological, one can realise how closely related they are, both in the topics they deal with and in their approaches.

Dundes (1999) demonstrates how the Bible belongs to the sphere of folklore, adducing that, in its origin, its contents were transmitted orally and that it was only later on that it was written down and codified into a book, or more accurately a collection of books. To prove this, he provides multiple examples of inaccuracies, parallels, and contradictions that, from his point of view, prove that these originated during its oral transmission stage, therefore making it a piece of folklore. Dundes (1999) presents the following syllogism to, arguably, demonstrate that “the entire Bible qualifies as folklore” (p. 115):

1. Folklore is characterized by multiple existence and variation.
2. The Bible is permeated by multiple existence and variation.
3. The Bible is folklore! (p. 111)

Dundes’ thesis that proverbs can be studied from the optic of folklore is also defended by his friend and colleague W. Mieder (2006, p. 39), who states that “the facts speak for themselves.”

The following are some examples of rather well-known proverbs originating in the Bible:

- To be as old as/older than Methuselah (Gn. 5: 27; ODEP, p. 588)
- The tree is known by its fruit (Mt. 12: 32; Lu. 6:44; ODEP, p. 837; ODP, p. 326)
- As you sow, so shall you reap (2 Corinthians 9: 6; ODEP, p. 757; ODP, p. 295)
- To sow the wind and reap the whirlwind (Hosea 8:7; ODEP, 757; ODP, p. 295)
- No man can serve two masters (Lu. 16:13; ODEP, p. 569; ODP, p. 229)

- Man cannot live by bread alone (Deut. 8:3; Luke 4:4; ODP, p. 200)
- Judge not, that ye be not judged (Matthew 7: 1-4; Luke 6: 37; Romans 2: 1-3; James 4: 11-12; ODEP, p. 415; ODP, p. 169)

As demonstrated by their entries in the ODEP and ODP, the aforementioned examples are well-known proverbs still in current use. However, there are other examples such as “Let he who is without sin cast the first stone” (John 8:7), which, according to the definition of proverb proposed in the first chapter of the present study, may not be considered a proverb, despite being possibly considered as such, as its origin is not unknown.

The amount of proverbs and proverbial expressions found in the Bible is enormous, and their influence has long been present in the works of some of the most important writers in the history of literature, as shall be seen with Shakespeare, to name an example. It can probably be assured without much risk of inaccuracy that it is the most fecund work ever written for the field of paremiology. It is for this reason that so many phraseological and paremiological studies focusing on the Bible have been carried out.

3.3. The Middle Ages: from Latin as the *lingua franca* to the rise of the vernaculars

The next important stage in the creation and diffusion of proverbs and other types of PU, as established by some scholars¹¹ starts with the generalisation of medieval Latin. In this regard, it can easily be understood how having this *lingua franca* helped many proverbs make their way into the minds of speakers all across the continent. Although it was only the cultural elites that spoke it, as the lower classes remained mostly illiterate, it can certainly be seen how the cultural exchanges among these elites (literary, cultural, commercial, or otherwise) resulted in a profound influence on the

¹¹ Mieder (1993, 2004, 2010), Dobrovols'kij & Piirainen (2005b), Piirainen (2008a, 2012), Pamies-Bertrán (2010).

lower classes. Regarding literature, drama must have been one of the literary genres that contributed to this diffusion a great deal.

A reason why drama may have played a major role in the diffusion of proverbs and probably other types of phraseological units is the fact that performances were one of the few places where people from different classes would get together, especially when considering that drama started as a vehicle for the teaching of the Christian faith among the lay sectors of the population (CCMET, pp. 4-6). At the same time, plays in the vernacular started to appear, creating a distinction between religious plays, generally performed in Latin, and popular plays performed in the vernacular.¹² Another reason why drama might have helped the diffusion of proverbs is that the shortness and didactical purpose of proverbs must have come in quite handy in a genre that had specific subgenres with the purpose of educating or indoctrinating the masses.

There is a figure that has been pointed out by numerous scholars for his individual contribution to the diffusion of proverbial wisdom in Europe: Erasmus of Rotterdam. This influence grows as one digs into it from a paremiological point of view. As W. Mieder (2004, p. 10) points out: “Erasmus of Rotterdam played a major role in spreading this classical and medieval wisdom throughout Europe by means of the many editions of his *Adagia* (1500ff.)”. The influence that Erasmus’ *Adagia* (Barker, 2001) had among his contemporaries is remarked on by numerous scholars.¹³

The *Adages* are similar to Cato’s *Disticha* in that they became very well known on the continent, had a clear didactic purpose, and were used by students to learn Latin through their translation. Although it could be thought that they were mostly influential

¹² See CCMET (p. 9).

¹³ See Sevilla Muñoz (1987-88, 1992), Morvay (1996), Mieder (1997, 2007, 2004, 2010), G. Colón i Domenech (2004), Doyle (2004), Piirainen (2005), Feig & Sardelli (2008), García Romero (2008), Burke & R. Po-Chia Hsia (2010), B. Bock (2010), among others.

in the countries that followed the Reformation, as the fact that some proverbs found in present-day English but not in other European languages support,¹⁴ Burke and Po-Chia Hsia (2010, p. 28) reject this possibility stating that Erasmus' work was translated into Spanish quite early.

The definition of the term *adage* is also not agreed upon and the one found in R. Puig de la Bellacasa's (2000, pp. 65-66, own translation) study of Erasmus and his *Adagia*, after introducing several different ones, states that "an adage is a known saying distinguished by its witty originality."¹⁵ This is obviously a very generic statement and would not allow for the discrimination among different types of PU,¹⁶ given that "originality" and "recognisability" are common to most types of PU. Some very well-known, widely spread proverbs originating in this period are "All that glitters is not gold" (Paczolay, 2002, p. 122; ODEP, p. 316; ODP, p.130) or "Never look a gift horse in the mouth" (Paczolay, 2002, p. 122; ODP, p. 128).

Vernacular languages developed in coexistence with Latin, which remained as the *lingua franca* of the whole continent and, for a long time, as almost the exclusive vehicle of culture. Even a superficial reading of some of the best known literary works that contributed to the development of these vernaculars (*Chanson de Roland*, *Four Arthurian Romances*, *Roman de la Rose*, *The Decameron*, *The Canterbury Tales*, etc.) reveals how proverbial wisdom was present in them and in their author's minds.

Next, some influential works of literature with a strong influence on the development of some European vernaculars will be presented in order to assess their

¹⁴ i.e. "To wash the Ethiopian" (Tilley, 1950, p. 190) or "to write in water" (Doyle, 2004),

¹⁵The original reads thus:
Un adagio es un dicho conocido que se distingue por cierta ingeniosa originalidad.

¹⁶ Cf. Chapter 1.

importance to the transmission of proverbs at the earliest stages of the formation of some of the different languages spoken across Europe.

3.3.1. *Chanson de Roland*

The *Chanson de Roland* (c.1040-c.1115) is an epic poem set in the Battle of Roncevaux (778), in which the army of Charlemagne fought the Muslims and Roland emerged as a major leadership figure. It must be pointed out that, although it is the earliest of the ones chosen here, it is not the richest source, as compared to some of the examples that will be presented next. However, proverbs such as the following two examples can be found::

- “I must go, my time is precious” (Gautier, 1885, p. 19) is an allusion to the proverb “Time is money” (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 321).
- “Better to die than in dishonour [live.]” (Gautier, 1885, p. 59) refers to “Better to die on your feet than to live on your knees” (ODP, p. 22) or “Better die with honour than live with shame” (ODEP, p. 52), a representation of the medieval ideal of honour.

This may not be much to begin with, but it is still valuable to prove a couple of things. On the one hand, there is a proverbial knowledge that, even if purposefully avoided by the author, eventually emerges naturally. On the other hand, even if literature is the main resource available for a diachronic analysis of proverbs, any selection of works may yield meagre results.

3.3.2. *Four Arthurian Romances*

The next text in this section is *Four Arthurian romances* (c.1170-1181), an English translation of Chrétien de Troyes’ (c.1135-c.1183) compilation of the stories of four knights of the Round Table (Erec, Cligès, Yvain, and Lancelot). These legends

became very influential both for French and English literatures, as well as some of the best-known stories in European medieval mythology.

In the edition consulted there are several dozen proverbs identified as such, even though most of them do not correspond to any of the most commonly found proverbs nowadays. Still, some of those proverbs clearly show a proverbial knowledge that has stood the test of time. Some examples from the book are:

- “When one of two evils must be faced, one should choose the lesser one” (Kibler, 1991, p. 81). This quotation is a reference to “Of two evils choose the lesser” (ODEP, p. 233; ODP, p. 102), which can often be found in the shortened allusion to “the lesser evil”.
- “Honour is won and gained by him who associates with gentlemen” (Kibler, 1991, p. 81) seems to be a reference to “A man is known by the company he keeps” (ODP, p. 59) or “As a man is so is his company” (ODEP, p. 138).
- “He who serves a noble man is bad indeed if he does not improve in his company” (Kibler, 1991, p. 84), similar to the previous example.
- “[H]unger is itself a well mixed and concocted sauce for any food” (Kibler, 1991, p. 122) is a manipulation of “Hunger is the best sauce” (ODEP, p.392; ODP, p. 160).
- “[I]n time of need one can test his friend” (Kibler, 1991, p. 149) paraphrases “A friend in need is a friend indeed,” (ODEP, p. 289; ODP, p. 124) a rather commonly found proverb.
- “The news travelled fast” (Kibler, 1991, p. 168) and “The rumour, which swiftly flies and runs, reaches the king” (Kibler, 1991, p. 180) are most usually found today in the shape of “Bad news travel fast” (ODP, 11).
- “The rustic, who seldom errs, pertinently remarks that it is too late to close the stable when the horse is out” (Kibler, 1991, p. 200). This quote is an allusion to the

proverb “It is too late to shut the stable-door after the horse has bolted” (ODP, p. 299). The use of the word “rustic” to refer to the people who use this proverb, as well as any others, is recurrent throughout the stories and it shows the prejudice existing against the use and abuse of proverbs.¹⁷

These are only a few of the most remarkable examples included in the romances. They are also a fair amount in order to start drawing some conclusions, such as the frequency with which introductory formulae are employed.

3.3.3. *Roman de la Rose*

Another work that helped to shape European thought was the French medieval work *Roman de la Rose*. This composition was carried out in two separate stages by G. de Lorris (c. 1225) and J. de Meun (c. 1275) in a span of around fifty years. This literary work is divided in two parts: the first one, composed by de Lorris, is considered as a dream vision, whereas the second one, by de Meun, acquires a more philosophical tone.¹⁸ It is interesting for an analysis that focuses on the English language, like the present one, and literature that Geoffrey Chaucer translated the *Romaunt*¹⁹ himself.

Again, some instances of proverbial knowledge can be found, although maybe not as easily identifiable as in the previous works analysed. Here, the use of proverbs is done, in general, through more subtle references. Examples of proverbs in the *Roman de la Rose* are:

¹⁷ As can be see in the following excerpt from *Don Quixote* (Shelton, 1900, Vol.3, p. 113): ‘Now, now’, quoth Don Quixote, ‘glue, thread, fasten thy proverbs together; nobody comes: the more thou art told a thing, the more thou dost it; I bid thee leave thy proverbs, and in an instant thou hast cast out a litany of them, that are as much to the purpose as To-morrow I found a horse-shoe. Look thee, Sancho, I find not fault with a proverb brought in to some purpose, but to load and heap on proverbs, huddling together, makes a discourse wearisome and base.

¹⁸ See Singer (1999, pp. 143-146).

¹⁹ Chaucer uses this variant as the title for his translation of the *Roman*.

- “[F]or he who has been scalded must fear all water” (Johnson, 1810, p. 184): this proverb has different shapes in English and some other European languages, the closest English equivalent being “A burnt child dreads the fire” (ODEP, p. 92; ODP, p. 39).
- “For shaft and end, sooth for to tell, / Were al so blacke as fiend in Hell” (Johnson, 1810, p. 178) refers to the blackness of the devil as in “The devil is not so black as he is painted” (ODEP, p. 192; ODP, p. 75).
- "Maintaine thy selfe after thy rent, / Of robe and eke of garment, / For many sithe faire clothing / A man amendeth in much thing” (Johnson, 1810, p. 187) is a curious case given that it is a contradicting idea in multiple proverbs. This example is helpful to see a quite distinctive feature of proverbs, as commented in Chapter 1, which is that there are proverbs that contradict each other, in spite of the characteristic of proverbs that allows them to be taken as a general, indisputable truth.

More examples of the use of proverbs and proverbial allusions may be found in the *Romance*. Some of the most easily identifiable ones have been presented here in order to show that they are indeed to be found.

3.3.4. *Decameron*

G. Boccaccio’s (1313-1375) *Decameron* (c.1351) is one of the most influential works of its time. It is a collection of one hundred tales told by a party of ten young people (three men and seven women) who are escaping from the Plague and take shelter in a villa outside Florence. In order to take their minds off the drama they are fleeing, they decide to tell stories for ten days, each day dealing with a different topic (vices, fortune, romance, etc.). Similarly to what happened with many works at the time, the stories presented in the *Decameron* are found elsewhere and are not necessarily an original invention of Boccaccio.

In the translation of G. Boccaccio's (McWilliams, 1995) *Decameron* consulted, several examples of the use of proverbs and references to proverbial wisdom can be found. Generally, the use of canonical proverbs seems to be avoided. Allusions, however, are rather frequent, a handful of examples of which are the following:

- “[J]ust as you have followed my advice on the two previous occasions, you should do so again this time” (McWilliams, 1995, p. 213) refers to the proverb “Never two without three” (ODP, p. 208)
- The following fragment represents a well-established belief exemplified by the proverb “Seeing is believing” (ODEP, p. 710; ODP, p. 281):

“Never having doubted your virtue and honesty, Ghismonda, it would have never occurred to me whatever people might have said, that you would ever so much as think of yielding to a man who was not your husband. But now I have seen you doing it with my own eyes. (McWilliams, 1995, p. 272)

- “[T]he withholding of a desired object sharpens the appetite” (McWilliams, 1995, p. 294) may be seen as an allusion to “Stolen fruit is sweet” (ODP, p. 302) or “Stolen waters are sweet” (ODEP, p. 775).
- “[I]f [the tooth] stays there much longer it will certainly contaminate the ones on either side of it” (McWilliams, p. 516) is an interpretation of the proverb “The rotten apple injures its neighbour” (ODEP, p. 684; ODP, p. 281).
- “[D]aughters are very often different from either of their parents” (McWilliams, 1995, p. 784) denies a well-known piece of proverbial wisdom that manifests in proverbs such as “Like father, like son” (ODEP, p. 248; ODP, p. 110) or “Like mother, like daughter” (ODEP, p. 546; ODP, p. 217):
- “[T]here are those who maintain that whatever we mortals do is [...] inevitable and preordained by the immortal gods” (McWilliams, 1995, p. 731) reflects on the ideals behind the proverb “Man proposes, God disposes” (ODEP, p. 506; ODP, p. 201).

The number of proverbial references in the *Decameron* is of course much larger than what has been presented here. However, the examples presented should suffice to demonstrate the most remarkable characteristic of the use of proverbs in this collection of tales, that is, proverbial knowledge is present and referred to quite frequently. Yet, these references are subtler than in other works and Boccaccio seems to have sought a conscious avoidance of the inclusion of canonical proverbs. Regardless of Boccaccio's attempt at avoiding this, proverbial knowledge surfaces irremediably.

3.3.5. *The Canterbury Tales*

The first author in English that will be analysed briefly is considered by many the father of English literature: Geoffrey Chaucer (1343-1400). Just like the *Decameron*, and as its name suggests, Chaucer's *The Canterbury tales* is a collection of tales. There are multiple parallelisms between both works, the *Decameron* preceding CT in time by some fifty years. The likenesses present are such that some of the tales told in both works are the same. Other examples of coincidence in the two are the fact that in both collections the tales are told by different people, that both works include tales composed in the classical antiquity as well as tales or stories circulating orally at the time of their composition, and that in both works the authors wrote a kind of retraction afterwards. This is obviously due to the fact that Chaucer was familiar with Boccaccio's works.

N. Mason Bradbury (2002) carries out an analysis of the use of proverbs in Chaucer's *Tales* subjecting it to two different cognitive approaches: Lakoff and Turner's Conceptual Metaphor theory on the one hand, and Honeck's Conceptual Base theory on the other. Regarding the use of proverbs in the *Canterbury Tales*, Mason Bradbury (2002) points out that:

The literature of late medieval and early modern England abounds in proverbial wisdom, as the indices drawn from the works of this period testify. We can judge the pervasiveness of proverb use in Chaucer's period by the wealth of proverbs embedded in his and other

literary texts, the contemporary practice of compiling large proverb collections, and the custom of drawing attention to proverbs in written texts by means of pointing hands and other devices. Perhaps even more telling is the exuberant spillover of proverbs into visual art such as wall painting, painted glass, tapestries, and misericord carvings, as well as into what Obelkevich calls “improbable media”—tables, plates, pots, knife blades, and sundials. (p. 263)

In her article, Mason Bradbury endorses the thesis presented here that proverbs have always been used by all members of a society, even if at some points in history they were seen as less fashionable or refined for use by literary authors. She (2002) quotes A. Taylor (1931) and S. Wenzel (1968) to back this:

As Chaucer takes pains to demonstrate in *The Canterbury Tales*, one need not have been to school to value proverbs. A fourteenth-century German legal document recommends to pleaders before juries, “Wherever you can attach a proverb, do so, for the peasants like to judge according to proverbs.” Sermons reached most members of medieval society, and preaching was an important agent for the wide dissemination of proverbial wisdom. (p. 65)

It has already been mentioned that Chaucer is considered by scholars and literary experts as “the father of English literature.” This is so because of his status as the first great author in the vernacular. Not only did Chaucer contribute a great deal to the development of English literature, he also helped develop the language. Taking this into account, it is easy to understand what an important contribution he must have made to the popularisation and expansion of the proverbial lore at the time. According to this, Mason Bradbury (2002, p. 276) explains that “Chaucer draws proverbs from a wealth of written and oral sources, and, though it cannot be proved, it seems very likely that when the need arose, he too made them up.”

As examples of proverbs used in the *Canterbury Tales* (Mann, 2005) one could begin by citing the following:

We muste put our good in adventure;
A merchant, pardie, may not aye endure,
Truste me well, in his prosperity:
Sometimes his good is drenched in the sea,
And sometimes comes it safe unto the land. (p. 378)

In this first example there is a rather clear allusion to the proverb “Nothing venture, nothing gain” (ODEP, p. 581; ODP, p. 233). Similarly, “and two of us shall stronger be

than one” (Mann, 2005, p.288) alludes to “Union is strength” (ODEP, p. 854; ODP, p. 334), another well-known proverb.

Of course, even if they are scarce, some proverbs are found in their canonical form, as “for love is blind all day, and may not see” (Mann, 2005, p. 218), a reproduction of “Love is blind” (ODEP, p. 490; ODP, p. 196), seemingly a frequent motif in Medieval literature, as the proverb is also found in some of the previously cited works as well.

The proverb “Never put off until tomorrow what you can do today” (ODEP, p. 656; ODP, p. 260) is alluded to in “The goodness that thou mayest do this day, do it, and abide not to nor delay it not till to-morrow” (Mann, 2005, p. 321).

The proverb “Truth will out” (ODEP, p. 845; ODP, p. 329) is used three times (Mann, 2005, pp. 304, 348). This same proverb is also found in Cato’s *Distichs* (II.viii)²⁰ and *The consolation of Philosophy* (Boethius, 1987, p. 11), a book that was very influential in the shaping of medieval world view and a major influence for Chaucer as he even translated it.²¹

Nevertheless, the most frequent use of proverbs in the *Tales* is through allusions to them. Examples of this abound, as one can find in “but all thing hath a time;” (Mann, 2005, p. 168), which is an allusion to “There’s a time and a place for everything” (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 321). Another proverb which is referred to in Chaucer’s work is “Time is money” (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 321):²²

Well might Senec, and many a philosopher,
Bewaile time more than gold in coffer.
For loss of chattels may recover’d be,
But loss of time shendeth us, quoth he.
It will not come again, withoute dread,

²⁰ *Nolo putes pravos homes peccata lucrari./ Temporibus peccata latent, fed tempore parent;* “do not think that evil-doers will win. / Although hidden for a while, time will show their sin. (own translation)

²¹ See Jefferson (1917).

²² This proverb is also found in the *Chanson de Roland* (Gautier, 1885, p. 206).

No more than will Malkin's maidenhead. (Mann, 2005, p. 114)

Finally, one last proverbial allusion that is made in several different instances is the idea found in different proverbs such as "Every man to his taste" (ODEP, p. 230; ODP, p. 99), "There is no accounting for tastes" (ODEP, p. 2; ODP, p. 2) and the like. This proverbial idea is referred to on at least four different occasions (Mann, 2005, pp. 101, 118, 215, 240).

An attempt has been made to present some of the most frequent uses of proverbs in the *Canterbury Tales*, although there is obviously much more material to work with. Nevertheless, in order to avoid tediousness and unnecessary prolixity, a few more examples will just be mentioned:

- "Strike while the iron is hot" (Mann, 2005, p. 316; ODEP, p. 781; ODP, p. 305)
- "The rotten apple injures its neighbour" (Mann, 2005, p. 113; ODEP, p. 684; ODP, p. 273)
- "There is a remedy for everything except death" (Mann, 2005, p. 188; ODEP, p. 670; ODP, p. 266).
- "Practise what you preach" (Mann, 2005, p. 28, 114; ODEP, p. 643; ODP, p. 255)
- "Patience is a virtue" (Mann, 2005, p. 253; ODEP, p. 613; ODP, p. 245)
- "All that glitters is not gold" (Mann, 2005, p. 378; ODEP, p. 316; ODP, p. 130)
- "Fortune favours the brave" (Mann, 2005, p. 108; ODEP, p. 282; ODP, p. 123)

The place of Chaucer as one of the most important characters in the history of English language and literature is unquestionable. Additionally, his influence in the diffusion of proverbs in his major work and the richness in his use of proverbial wisdom should grant him a special place of interest in the eye of the paremiologist.

3.4. Renaissance Literature

The final stage that will be analysed here corresponds to the two most acclaimed, most widely read, and most deeply studied authors of the Renaissance in Europe: M. de Cervantes and W. Shakespeare. As happens with the Bible, these two authors have been analysed to the minutest detail and it may seem that there is not much left to say that has not already been said by scholars before. In spite of the many similarities and parallels, one capital detail must be taken into account: they reached

success through the cultivation, mainly, of different genres. Whereas Cervantes excelled in the narrative genre, Shakespeare stood out chiefly in drama, although it is also true that both wrote poetry and Cervantes also wrote some plays.

Although this work is not intended to be a literary analysis, it would at this point be almost sacrilegious to leave these two authors out since they are the most frequently translated authors in both languages, thus enabling ideas and motifs to cross borders more easily. For the purpose of this study, a number of fragments from *Don Quixote* and a few of Shakespeare's plays will be presented and commented on briefly in relation to paremiology.

As far as Shakespeare's English is concerned, there is a reference work of major importance in aiding this mission: M. P. Tilley's *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century* (1950). In his herculean task, Tilley gathers samples of proverb use from the works of the most important writers of this period, devoting an entire section to Shakespeare. Tilley's *Dictionary* is an invaluable tool for an analysis of this kind and a comparison between its contents and any present-day dictionary of proverbs could help determine if proverb-use is any more or less frequent than it used to be. At the same time, it would help to determine which proverbs are still in use four or five centuries later and which ones have fallen into oblivion.

3.4.1. *Don Quixote*

Don Quixote's first translation into English, by Thomas Shelton, appeared as soon as 1612, the first Spanish edition having come out in 1605, which is remarkably soon for that time. *Don Quixote*, and most concretely, the character of his squire, Sancho, is in itself a compendium and a study on proverbs, and folk knowledge, which

has motivated the appearance of numerous paremiological studies.²³ For this reason, it can easily be understood what a difficult task it must have been to undertake its translation.²⁴ In this sense, many of the proverbs present in the book can be translated literally to their English counterpart, being proverbs that exist in both languages, which makes them particularly attractive for the aims of this dissertation. Nevertheless, many others, as well as some manipulations must have been rather challenging for the translator. An example of this is the proverb “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush” (ODEP, 59; ODP, 26), which is found three times in the original version of *Don Quixote* (Cervantes, 2004, pp. 260, 514, 873), although manipulated substituting the noun “bird” for “vulture”. However, in Shelton’s translation (1900), the proverb is manipulated in two different ways: “a sparrow in the fist is worth more than a flying bittor” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1, p. 299) and “better is one sparrow in the hand that a vulture flying in the air” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. III, p. 320); the third time being recited almost canonically, “a bird in the hand is better than two in the bush” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. II, p. 260). Fortunately, though, the existence of such an early translation and Tilley’s *Dictionary* (1950) make a paremiological study of *Don Quixote* a great deal easier, particularly from a cross-linguistic perspective.

The difficulty encountered by scholars when attempting to come up with a valid definition of proverb has already been mentioned (see Chapter 1). However, Cervantes himself, through the lips of Don Quixote, composes a definition, which he repeats twice throughout the book, of what a proverb is. Surprisingly enough, this definition is not far from what any scholar could propose nowadays after having

²³ See Colombi (1989), Sevilla Muñoz (2005), Sevilla Muñoz, Cantera Ortiz de Urbina, & Sevilla Muñoz (2005), among others.

²⁴ I. Negro Alousque (2010) proposes a series of procedures to undergo such a task.

devoted much of his or her time to the study of proverbs. Thus, Don Quixote (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1) states that:

Methinks, Sancho, that there's no proverb that is not true; for they are all sentences taken out of experience itself, which is the universal mother of sciences; and specially that proverb that says, "Where one door is shut, another is opened." I say this because, if fortune did shut yesternight the door that we searched, deceiving us in the adventure of the iron maces, it lays us now wide open the door that may address us to a better and more certain adventure. (p. 159)

And again later on (Shelton 1900, Vol. 3):

'Look you, Sancho,' quoth Don Quixote, 'I use mine to purpose, and when I speak them, they fit as well as a little ring to the finger; but thou bringest in thine so by head and shoulders that thou rather draggest than guidest them; and, if I forget not, I told thee heretofore, that proverbs are brief sentences, drawn from the experience and speculation of our ancient sages, and a proverb ill applied is rather a foppery than a sentence; but leave we this now, and, since night comes on us, let's retire a little out of the highway, where we will pass this night, and God knows what may befall us to-morrow.' (p. 294)

As can be seen in these two quotes, when compared with the different definitions presented in Chapter 1, there is a series of elements that are often found in any definition of *proverb*, regardless of whose it is or the intention with which it has been articulated. Thus, not only is the character of general truth highlighted by Don Quixote, he also establishes the origin for many proverbs in "experience", which, to a large extent, relates to some of the theses supported by scholars such as Morvay (1996, p. 719) or Corpas Pastor (2001b, p. 35).

The abundance of proverbs in *Don Quixote* has obviously caught scholars' attention before. Many paremiological studies have been carried out on *Don Quixote*: from analysing the creation of proverbs in the novel (Rodríguez Valle, 2008), to the use of medical proverbs (Castillo de Lucas, 1996), or even comparing the use of proverbs in both the legitimate version by Cervantes and the "apocryphal" one by Avellaneda (Álvarez Curiel, 1999). However, the element that has received the most attention from paremiologists is the character of Sancho, as the studies by W. Worden (2006), A. Estévez Molinero (1999), and M. J. Barsanti Vigo (2006) focused on him demonstrate. This interest is not coincidental as it is broadly accepted that the use of proverbs by

Sancho is of major importance in his characterisation and how he is perceived by the reader.

There are so many proverbs present in the book that listing all of them would take many more pages than need to be devoted to that purpose here. For this reason, only a few examples will be brought forward in order to illustrate this analysis. Nevertheless, before getting to that point, a couple of aspects must be brought to the reader's attention.

On the one hand, as hinted above, it is usually the character of Sancho who is associated with the use, and in many cases, misuse, of proverbs all throughout the progression of the story. This is probably due to one main reason: Sancho is a low, uncultured character, whose only learning comes from the proverbs he has heard and repeats compulsively. This seems to support the thesis, already mentioned in this chapter, that it is usually low characters and people of little learning for whom it is acceptable to use proverbs in literature, whereas cultured people should avoid them. However, this conception ought to be discarded as it has been proven wrong by many instances, the most outstanding of which is the fact that a whole branch of scholarship, i.e. paremiology, devoted to the collection and analysis of proverbs exists. Moreover, a careful reader will notice one curious fact: towards the end of the second part, Chapter 67, Don Quixote resolves to give up his knighthood and decides to become a shepherd, which turns him into a low character. This has a rather remarkable effect: he starts uttering proverb after proverb. Thus, Don Quixote adopts a behaviour that he so vehemently has been criticising throughout the story, which Sancho notes and comments on. This can be read in the following passage from Chapter 68 (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 3) in the second part:

‘I have never, Sancho,’ said Don Quixote, ‘heard thee speak more elegantly than now; whereby I perceive the proverb thou often usest is true, “You may know the man by the conversation he keeps.”’

‘God’s me, master mine, I am not only he now that threads on proverbs; and they come freer from you, methinks; and betwixt yours and mine there is this only difference, that yours are fitly applied, and mine unseasonably.’ (p. 296)

A. Estévez Molinero (1999) elaborates on this fact in his article and points out that:

It is remarkable that the last proverb — and only one in the last chapter — in *Don Quixote* — “there are no birds in last years’ nest” (II, Ixxiv, 1220) — is used by Alonso Quijano; with it “Cervantes bids farewell to the represented past, and perhaps invites the readers to do the same. The sense and image of that proverb is projected retrospectively to the whole novel” (Zuluaga, 1997: 638).²⁵ (p. 160, own translation)

The paremiological richness and elaborateness of *Don Quixote* is colossal.

Another example of this is the allusions to Cato it contains, whose importance in the shaping of European proverbs has already been commented on²⁶ and which can still be perceived in *Don Quixote*. He is mentioned five times in the novel, the most outstanding example being found in the prologue to part one, where Cervantes (Shelton, 1900, vol 1) writes:

If of the instability of friends, thou hast at hand Cato freely offering his distichon, “Donec eris foelix multos numerabis amicos; Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.”²⁷ (p. xix)

What is remarkable from this quote, in relation to what has already been said about Cato’s *Distichs* in previous sections, is not the allusion to another version of the famous “A friend in need is a friend indeed” (Tilley, 1950, p. 263; ODEP, p. 289; ODP, p. 124) by Cato. It is noteworthy that the two lines quoted as being one of Cato’s *Disticha* are actually not found among the actual set of distichs. The only explanation for this is that this book was so well-known as the quintessentially pedagogical work that any phrase in Latin having a bimembral structure was erroneously attributed to Cato.

²⁵ The original reads thus:

No deja de ser significativo que el último refrán —y único del último capítulo— del Quijote—«ya en los nidos de antaño no hay pájaros hogaño» (II, Ixxiv, 1220)— lo utilice Alonso Quijano; con él, «Cervantes se despide del pasado representado, y tal vez nos invita a los lectores a hacer lo mismo. El sentido y la imagen de ese refrán se proyectan retrospectivamente a toda la novela» (Zuluaga, 1997: 638).

²⁶ See Chapter 1 and Chapter 3.

²⁷ *Donec eris felix, multos numerabis amicos, / tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris* is roughly translated as “when you are happy, you have many friends / when the times are cloudy, you are alone.”

Another curious fact about *Don Quixote* is the literal use by Cervantes of a sentence that is a well-known proverb in English but which does not seem to be so in Spanish. In part two, Chapter 26 (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 3), while staying at one of the inns, Maese Pedro puts up his puppet show and the boy that helps him narrate the story says

Friend, if towards France you go,
Ask if Gayferos be there or no.”
The rest I omit, for all prolixity is irksome. (p. 3)

There is an interesting fact about this quote: although the ODP (p. 182) cites a different version of *Don Quixote*, i.e. Jarvis’ (1742) translation, as a source for the proverb “Length begets loathing,” in Shelton’s version the wording is changed and therefore, the proverb is somehow lost. Although what the ODP acknowledges as a proverb corresponds to Don Quixote’s literal words in the original Spanish version,²⁸ none of the dictionary of proverbs in Spanish used for this dissertation²⁹ includes it as such. It would be interesting to determine whether the proverb caught on in the English language by the translation of a formula coined by Cervantes that may have passed unnoticed in Spanish or whether it was an already existing proverb in English. The former option seems more plausible as Jarvis’ translation dates from 1742 and Tilley (1950) does not list it in his *Dictionary*, for which reason it must have taken place after the appearance of the first translation of the novel in English.

The complexity of *Don Quixote* and the enormous amount of proverbs found, both current and out-dated, on its pages make it one of the most valuable literary works for a paremiological analysis. Thus, there are proverbs in the novel that may seem old-fashioned or obsolete to present-day readers, whereas some of them are just as current today as they were over four hundred years ago when the novel was written. Simply

²⁸ “[D]e la prolijidad se suele engendrar el fastidio” (Blecua & Pozo, 2004, p. 606).

²⁹ See bibliography.

listing all the proverbs shown in *Don Quixote* would take up tens of pages. Several of the, arguably, most noteworthy aspects from a paremiological scope have been presented, some of which are expected to be developed elsewhere. Therefore, a selection of proverbs used in *Don Quixote*, either literally or by allusion, will be presented in order to conclude the present subsection:

- “The Church, the sea, or the Sea, or the Court” is a clipped version of of the proverb “There are three ways: the church, the sea, the court” (ODEP, p. 818) and can be found in the following quote:

There is an old proverb in this our Spain, in mine own opinion very true (as ordinarily all proverbs are, being certain brief sentences collected out of long and discreet experiences), and it is this, ‘The Church, the Sea, or the Court.’ The meaning is, that whosoever would become wealthy, or worthy, must either follow the Church, haunt the seas by exercising the trade of merchandises, or get him a place of service and entertainment in the king’s house; for men say that ‘A king’s crumb is more worth than a lord’s loaf.’ (Shelton 1900, Vol. 2, pp. 39-40)

- “But, alas! why do I name an ass with my mouth, seeing one should not mention, a rope in one’s house that was hanged?” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1, p. 220) may be seen as a canonical use of the proverb “Never mention the rope in the house of the man who has been hanged” (ODEP, 684; ODP, 272).
- “Fortune leaves always one door open in disasters” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1, p. 107) is an allusion to the proverb “When one door shuts, another opens” (ODEP, p. 596; ODP, p. 239).
- Another rather well-known proverb that may be found in *Don Quixote* (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1, p. 290) reads “‘For all that, Sancho,’ replied Don Quixote, ‘see well what thou speakest; for ‘the earthen pitcher goes so oft to the water’”, in allusion to “The pitcher will go to the well once too often” (ODEP, p. 628; ODP, p. 250).
- “Considering how many there go to seek for wool that return again shorn themselves?” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1, p. 43) is a use of the proverb “Many go out for wool and come home shorn” (ODEP, p. 913; ODP, p. 351)

- “Don Quixote answered: ‘One swallow makes not a summer’” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1, p. 86) is a canonical use of the proverb “One swallow does not make a summer” (ODEP, p. 791; ODP, p. 309).
- “But, as it is commonly said that one evil calls on another” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1, p. 268) is an allusion to the proverb “Misfortunes never come singly” (ODEP, p. 535; ODP, p. 211).
- “Cast that bone to another dog” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 1, p. 309) is another canonical use of another well known proverb (ODEP, p. 819).
- “His making was such as, if he were well attired, men would take him to be a person of quality and good birth” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 2, pp. 27-28) is a clear reference to “Clothes make the man” (ODP, p. 56).
- “Away with those that affirm learning to surpass arms” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 2, p. 31) criticises those supporting belief expressed in proverbs such as “The pen is mightier than the sword (ODEP, p. 618; ODP, p.247).
- “It is a common proverb, beautiful lady, that ‘diligence is the mother of good hap’” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 2, p. 122) is a variant³⁰ of the proverb “Diligence is the mother of good luck” (ODP, p. 78).
- “Hunger is the best sauce in the world” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 2, p. 218) is yet another canonical use of a well-known proverb (ODEP, p. 392; ODP, p. 160).
- “Knowing the usual proverb is, ‘An ass laden with gold will go lightly uphill’” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 3, p. 71) seems to be a variant of the proverb “An ass laden with gold climbs to the top of the castle”, which has been traced all the way back to Plutarch (ODEP, p. 21).

³⁰ See Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 154).

- “[T]here’s a remedy for everything but death” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 3, p. 115; ODEP, p. 670; ODP, p. 266) is another canonical use of a fairly well-known proverb.
- “The nearer the church, the farther from God” (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 3, p. 142; ODEP, p. 557; ODP, p. 222) is a curious case in which two different, however synonymical, proverb can be found in the English and Spanish versions. Thus, in the original the proverb “The devil lurks behind the cross”³¹ (Blecua & Pozo, 2004, p. 725; ODEP, p. 182) is to be found instead of the aforementioned one.

The purpose of this sub-section is to present the richness that *Don Quixote* offers for paremiologists. This richness is not limited to the gargantuan amount of proverbs found on its pages or the different ways in which they are used. As has been shown, the lack of correspondence among some translated proverbs also offer interesting possibilities for research. Moreover, contrarily to what has been seen in some of the works previously commented, there is no purposeful avoidance of the use of proverbs, but a rather frequent and varied use of them.

3.4.2. Shakespeare’s plays

If the works of Cervantes have been subject to frequent scrutiny by scholars no less have those of W. Shakespeare. There must be few novel aspects left to study from the celebrated compositions of the Bard. Obviously, paremiologists have also had their approaches at Shakespeare’s works.³² Some significant paremiological studies dealing with Shakespeare are those by J. B. Marsh (1863), D. V. Falk (1967), R. W. Dent

³¹ The Spanish version reads thus:

—También—dijo el maestra sala—me parece a mí que vuela merced no coma de todo lo que está en esta mesa, porque lo han presentado unas monjas, y como suele decirse, detrás de la cruz esta el diablo. (Blecua & Pozo, 2004, p. 725)

³² All references made to Shakespeare’s works will follow Wordsworth Edition’s anthology (1996). Instead of giving page numbers, the abbreviation for the title of the play will be provided followed by numbers indicating the act, scene, and lines involved.

(1981), F. P. Wilson (1994), J. L. Oncins Martínez (1996, 2005), and M. Sánchez García (1998, 2008), among others.

As has also been mentioned earlier in this chapter, plays and playhouses must have carried out an important function in the transmission of proverbs, idioms, commonplaces and all sorts of phraseological units. With Shakespeare having been such a prestigious, prolific, and creative author, the imprint he left on the minds of his audiences must have been great since his works enjoyed fame and renown during his own lifetime.³³ Therefore, his contribution to the development of the English language and the expansion of many words and phraseological units among his audiences must not be understated.

According to critics, there is a frequent use of proverbs in Shakespearean plays, although a paremiological study of works written so long ago must be approached cautiously, as one may find that some of them are out-dated. In some instances in which this may be the case and one is unable to resort to M. P. Tilley's *Dictionary* (1950), proverbs can be identified because they are sometimes introduced by some formulae, as for instance when the Constable states that "I will cap that proverb with 'There is flattery in friendship.'" (*Henry V*, III.vii, 115) or:

GOTH. What, canst thou say all this and never blush?
AARON. Ay, like a black dog, as the saying is. (*Titus Andronicus*, V.i, 121-122)

Another example can be found in:

CLOWN. (...) and the old saying is, the third pays for all; the triplex, sir, is a good tripping measure; or the bells of Saint Bennet, sir, may put you in mind; one, two, three. (TN, V.i, 35-37)

And yet another one:

LAUNCE. And thereof comes the proverb,—Blessing of
your heart, you brew good ale. (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III.i, 300-301)

Finally, one last example:

³³ See Greenblatt (2010).

PROTEUS. But pearls are fair; and the old saying is,
Black men are pearls in beauteous ladies' eyes. (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, V.ii, 12-13)

The use Shakespeare makes of proverbs differs from one play to another. There are some in which proverbs abound and some in which they are scarce. To find a reason for this, several factors must be taken into account:

- The dramatic subgenre the play in question belongs to.
- The chronology of Shakespeare's plays, i.e. if there are more proverbs to be found in his earliest works or the other way round.
- The nature of the characters represented.

The consideration of these criteria should contribute to carrying out a successful and meaningful analysis of the use of proverbs made by Shakespeare in his plays, as the application of these criteria would show the existence or absence of any patterns in the use of proverbs in his works, such as the possible avoidance of proverbs by certain character-types or the distribution of proverbs across different dramatic genres.

As should be expected, the use that Shakespeare shows of proverbs in his literary works is rich and complex. He does not limit himself to quoting well-known proverbs literally, he also makes allusions to proverbial wisdom and manipulates them.³⁴ Shakespeare's contribution to the enlargement of the stock of proverbs in English can also be assumed. Nevertheless, proving this aspect would be rather complicated and controversial, as Shakespeare's authorship of a set phrase would qualify it as a quote and not as a proverb, regardless of the similarities between the two.

The ways in which proverbs appear in Shakespeare's plays are varied. There are many examples, but only a relatively small number of them will be recalled here.

³⁴ The different ways in which proverbs may be used shall be explained in depth in 9.2.3.

For instance, an allusion to the proverb “The rotten apple injures its neighbour” (ODEP, p. 684; ODP, p. 273) can be found in the following quote (*Henry V*, I.i, 61-63):

ELY The strawberry grows underneath the nettle,
And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best
Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality;

In this quotation, the Bishop of Ely contradicts the piece of proverbial wisdom just mentioned in order to justify how one might find himself or herself favoured by being surrounded by people of fewer talents.

In the following excerpt, the Earl of Westmoreland (*Henry V*, I.ii, 165-72) strings together a series of pieces of proverbial knowledge, the best-known of which is the allusion to “When the cat is away, the mice will play” (ODEP, p. 109; ODP, p. 47):

WESTMORELAND But there's a saying very old and true,
"If that you will France win,
Then with Scotland first begin."
For once the eagle England being in prey,
To her unguarded nest the weasel Scot
Comes sneaking and so sucks her princely eggs,
Playing the mouse in absence of the cat,
To tear and havoc more than she can eat.

Similarly, Proteus from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (II.iv, 190-193) links the proverbs “To fight fire with fire” (ODP, 113) and “One nail drives out another” (ODEP, p. 597; ODP, p. 239) in the following extract:

PROTEUS (...) Even as one heat another heat expels
Or as one nail by strength drives out another,
So the remembrance of my former love
Is by a newer object quite forgotten.

The Clown in *Twelfth Night* (I.v, 53-54) recites the proverb “The cowl does not make the monk” (ODEP, p. 152; ODP, p. 64) in Latin:

CLOWN. (...) *Cucullus non facit monachum*; that's as much to say, I wear not motley in my brain. Good madonna, give me leave to prove you a fool.

It is interesting to consider the fact that the Clown chooses to say the proverb in Latin, when the English version must have been rather well-known, as the much earlier

examples of the use of this proverb included both in the ODEP and the ODP demonstrate.

Another well-known proverb, still today, “Give the devil his due” (ODEP, p. 304; ODP, p. 129) is found in *Henry V* (III.vii, 118):

ORLEANS (...) And I will take up that with “Give the devil his due”.

There is a popular proverb across European languages that may be subject to variations depending on the wildlife of a certain area: “To sell the bear skin before you have killed him” (ODEP, p. 713; ODP, p. 282). The modifications that this proverb is often subject to can be observed in the following quote from *Henry V* (IV.iii, 94-95):

KING HENRY (...) The man that once did sell the lion's skin
While the beast liv'd, was kill'd with hunting him.

One of the best-known, most widely used proverbs, “Love is blind” (ODEP, p. 491; ODP, p. 196), is also found in *Henry V* (V.ii, 325-329) in two different allusions made by the Duke of Burgundy and King Henry:

KING HENRY (...) and she must be blind too.
BURGUNDY As love is, my lord, before it loves.
KING HENRY It is so; and you may, some of you, thank love for my
blindness, who cannot see many a fair French city for one fair French
maid that stands in my way.

The same proverb, a frequent motif in European literature from different ages, can be found in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (II.i, 66-70):

SPEED If you love her, you cannot see her.
VALENTINE Why?
SPEED Because Love is blind. O! that you had mine eyes; or your own
eyes had the lights they were wont to have when you chid at Sir
Proteus for going ungartered!

And yet again in the same play (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV.iv, 198), although not as explicitly:

JULIA (...) If this fond Love were not a blinded god?

Not only are the classics and the recycling of topics a source for Shakespearean phraseology, the Bible is also present. In the following utterance by King Richard

(*Richard II*, IV.i, 239-242), he refers to the proverb “To wash one’s hands of a thing” (ODEP, p. 868), which originates in the Pontius Pilate’s gesture:

KING RICHARD (...) Though some of you, with Pilate, wash your hands,
Showing an outward pity; yet you Pilates
Have here deliver'd me to my sour cross,
And water cannot wash away your sin.

Although it is obvious that the examples provided do not suffice to form an accurate paremiological profile of the dramatic composition by W. Shakespeare, the examples offered yield some interesting facts. One of the most interesting findings is, again, the lack of prejudice against the use of proverbs, as their use by characters from all social classes in the excerpts presented demonstrates, corroborating that the identification of proverbs with low, uncultivated characters is a total misconception.

3.5. Conclusions

Together with oral communication, literature has traditionally been considered one of the main vehicles for the transmission of proverbs among the speakers of a certain language, especially at times when, unlike the present day, both its popular and learned variants were the main means of linguistic expression with the purpose of entertaining and educating. Literature has also contributed to the borrowing of proverbs and proverbial ideas by the speakers of different languages and their diffusion by means of translation.³⁵ The works here presented, most of which are well-known and included in the *Western Canon* (Bloom, 1991) and are considered to be some of the most influential works of their time by scholars, reinforce the idea that proverbs have been present in literature at all times, in spite of the general, however false, belief that proverbs are a sign of ignorance and lack of education and should be avoided. If some of the most highly regarded and most influential writers of all time have made such frequent use of them, that belief has to be wrong.

³⁵ See Chapter 2.

This section intended to present some of the most important works of literature in Europe at the time in which a common language for the distribution of knowledge was shared. Later, with the evolution of the different vernaculars that would eventually develop into present-day languages, this tendency continued and became even more established. The literary works discussed have been chosen considering their influence in different European literatures and, therefore, in their respective languages. All these works, although at different levels, have proven valuable from a paremiological point of view and, unavoidably, have contributed to the homogenisation of a significant part of the proverbial stock across different European languages.

As has been repeatedly been pointed out, the importance of the works mentioned lies in multiple factors. On the one hand, some of them have been used by students as a means of learning a foreign language (i.e. Cato's *Disticha Moralis* or Erasmus' *Adages*); one of them is important due to its status as the common sacred book of the most widespread religions in Europe (e.g. the Bible); others have been brought up for the importance they had in the shaping of the languages they were written in (e.g. Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*); others for having been well known across Europe almost from the very day they were published;³⁶ and yet others for being considered the most important manifestations of literature in their respective languages (e.g. Cervantes' and Shakespeare's). This selection could be improved by adding other works but the ones chosen have proven helpful and valid to fulfil the major intentions of this analysis.

³⁶ e.g. Boccaccio's *Decameron* or de Lorris & de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*.

Chapter 4

Brief account of the use of proverbs in some present-day media

If in the previous chapter, literature was presented as one of the most important traditional vehicles for the propagation of proverbs across languages, in the current one other media of relatively recent appearance will be presented as having a similar degree of importance.

Nowadays, from the second half of the 20th century up to present day, people seem to be moving towards more audio-visual means of communication. The inventions of the radio, the motion picture, the television, and the computer have had a major impact on people's habits regarding leisure. If, for centuries, books were one of the vehicles for the spread of knowledge and one of the main forms of entertainment, the appearance and rise of radio, television, and the Internet as some of the most important and most commonly used sources of information have contributed to reshaping people's practices, leading to audio-visual ways of entertainment that were simply not available in previous times.

This complex phenomenon must be tackled by specialists of various disciplines, such as sociology, who would be more qualified to draw conclusions. Here, some of the most relevant aspects of some of the most popular means of communication in relation to paremiology will be mentioned. This phenomenon deserves to be studied in depth as it presents many complexities and, thus, there are aspects that may not be detailed here for brevity's sake. Additionally, given that the amount and variety of the means of communication that will be discussed offer multiple different possibilities, an extensive analysis is unattainable here. In order to maintain the desired shortness, one example of media that is considered to be particularly representative of the use of

proverbs will be analysed. Yet, the conclusions drawn here may very well be extended to other media.

4.1. The Internet

The importance that the Internet has gained in the last few decades, the status it has acquired, and the predominant position it enjoys today in many aspects of people's lives are unquestionable and indisputable. From a phraseological and paremiological point of view, A. Dundes (1999), J. H. Brunwald (2002), G. Corpas Pastor and K. Morvay (2002), S. J. Bronner (2007), W. Mieder (2010), A. Pamies-Bertrán (2010), J. Szerszunotic (2010), and E. Piirainen (2012), among others, have, in different ways and from different perspectives, highlighted the importance that the Internet nowadays has on the spread of proverbs and other types of PUs, but also its convenience and helpfulness for the study of phrasemes. An example of this helpfulness is the ability to find online dictionaries or to be able to use a search engine to find how many uses of a certain phrase exist on the whole World Wide Web. Additionally, the work carried out in the field of corpus linguistics¹ has provided quite useful resources for the study of the use of different phrasemes in various types of texts, such as literary or journalistic.

Being able to find a phrase in any language, as well as the lack of it, simply by typing a few letters and one mouse click is an invaluable tool that, if it had been available to older paremiologists and paremiographers, as well as scholars from any other fields of study, present-day scholars would possibly be out of work. It is impossible to imagine how to carry out the research required for the present dissertation without the use of computers and the Internet. Maybe that is a reason why paremiology has had such a late and slow development as compared to other branches of linguistic or

¹ See BYU-BNC, COCA, COHA, GloWbE, the Time Magazine Corpus, or WebCorp, among others. Even though these resources are not necessarily oriented towards the study of proverbs, they may be invaluable in aiding to find examples of the use of different combinations of words.

folkloristic study. As a justification for this late development the enormous amount of data necessary, how scattered it is, how time-consuming it is to gather, and how difficult and costly it is to access authoritative works on the subject might be argued.

The importance of mass media in the distribution of proverbs and the usual procedures they follow in order to successfully fulfil this is summarised by W. Mieder (2010), who explains the process with one example:

Brandt (...) travelled various German cities supporting this move, he closed his speeches with references to Lincoln, quoting the proverb *A house divided against itself cannot stand* together with his German translation *Ein in sich gespaltenes Haus hat keinen Bestand*. His repeated use of this successful translation of Lincoln's Bible proverb caught on. After all, thousands of people saw and heard Brandt on television or the radio, while newspapers printed parts of his speeches. The mass media carried the message to the population, and in this wording the Bible text has now become a German proverb by way of Abraham Lincoln and Willy Brandt. Many references can be found in the mass media and the internet attesting to this fact, proving that the proverb is solidly established in the German language. (pp. 49-50)

In this quote, Mieder summarises one of the, seemingly, most plausible procedures for the popularisation of phraseological units of any kind, not only proverbs.

Studies such as those by B. Mieder and W. Mieder (1994), K. J. Lau (1996), L. Guerra Salas (1997), R. Järv (1999), Martí Solano, R. (2010, 2012a), E. F. Pedicone de Parellada (2013), among others, support the idea that proverbs are an important tool in the media and advertising, traditionally considering the printed press as the most commonly accessed source and one of the furthest-reaching means of communication. However, with the general use of the Internet, people's habits are changing as they have an easier access to information. One of the changes in the practices of people in today's society is the continuous consumption of audio-visual materials to which they are exposed. Whether this exposition is voluntary or not, there are always slogans or catchphrases that become popular and widespread, according to E. Piirainen (2012). For this precise reason, proverbs are an instrument of incalculable value, thanks to their memorability and the multiplicity of possibilities they offer.

A pioneer in many fields, particularly in folklore studies, A. Dundes (1997, p. 7) soon noted the possibilities that certain technological gadgets could have in the transmission of folklore when he stated that “Perhaps the most striking example of written folklore is what has been termed photocopier or xerographic. This form of folklore is also to be found transmitted by fax, E-mail, and the Internet. There are hundreds of examples of this type of folklore.” Related to this, S. J. Bronner (2007, p. 4), in his edition of the collection of Dundes’ essays, explains that “folklore continues to be alive and well in the modern world, due in part to increased transmission via e-mail and the Internet.”

The Internet is a hodgepodge where the most diverse manifestations find shelter, thus, it would be almost impossible to cover everything that can be found online. For this reason, the focus has been placed on one particular phenomenon that may serve as an example of the way in which proverbs are transmitted in quite an interesting manner: that of ‘Internet memes’. As mentioned before, numerous scholars have noted the possibilities that the Internet offers for phraseological and paremiological diffusion. A scholar that notes a relationship between Internet means of communication and paremiology is A. Pamies-Bertrán (2010), who claims that:

Internet forums, blogs and chats are also symptomatic samples of youth's slang tendencies. It has become become (sic) a norm, e. g. recent research by Wolfgang Mieder and Anna Litovkina (2006) on English anti-proverbs was based to a considerable extent, on the Internet. (p. 34)

Here, Pamies-Bertrán highlights some elements that have been gaining importance in the communication habits of the youth for some time. These new habits determine the ways in which people communicate and this influence may sometimes be noticed in everyday face-to-face communication. These new methods of communication are not that “new” to anyone anymore, as they have been around for decades already. However, the evolution is continuous, as the on-going fad of text-messaging, which has also been

around for a long time, shows. Similarly, a relatively new phenomenon that also deserves attention is that of social networking, which enables people to share their thoughts and opinions, as well as proverbs, with the world in real time.

The lack of studies on the use of phrasemes in remote communication over the Internet is remarkable when compared to other manifestations that may have indeed been analysed. A particularly interesting subject of analysis is the one chosen by the late Alan Dundes for his study on “latrinalia” (Dundes, 1966), a term coined by himself, also referred to as “bathroom stall graffiti”. Were Dundes still alive, he would unquestionably find Internet memes a fascinating source of 21st century folklore. Furthermore, it can be stated that thanks to the Internet and with the help of memes, there is a big portion of present-day folklore that has become almost universal, which would probably require a reinterpretation of the concept in the terms that have been previously explained as something belonging to a certain culture. Similarly, it is generally believed that folklore is transmitted orally, although this is not necessarily so, as there are manifestations of folklore that cannot be transmitted orally, such as folk dances or costumes. Nevertheless, one has to put everything in perspective, and thus, the many means of communication available today may have provoked the relegation of oral, face-to-face communication to a secondary position in the transmission of folklore or popular culture. Thus, in the same way that languages, societies, means of communication, and many other aspects dealing with people’s behaviours and practices evolve, so does the way in which knowledge is transmitted. In this regard, it becomes evident that the main way in which most folklore could be transmitted up to fairly recent times was through oral communication. However, no one would hesitate to call a folktale, lullaby, dance, picture, or any other manifestation of folklore as such just because someone may have found out about it on the Internet, in a magazine, or the like.

In order to determine what folklore is, D. Ben-Amos' (1971, p. 5) states that "art puts the accent on the forms and the media of transmission" whereas "knowledge and thought implies a stress on the contents of the materials and their perception." This aspect, together with A. Dundes' (1968, p. 1) claim that "folklore is said to be or to be *in* 'oral tradition'" makes one automatically question the correctness of defining Internet memes as *folklore*. However, both Ben-Amos' and Dundes' works may be a little dated in this regard (both were published over 40 years ago) due, in part, to the rapid development of new technological means of communication that allow for the relinquishment of the dependence on face-to-face oral communication. As a result, the inclusion of Internet memes within the sphere of folklore seems reasonable for the following reasons:

- Their origin is unknown.
- They circulate among individuals.
- They have reached considerable diffusion.
- They show some of the tendencies of today's society.
- They could be used to carry out a socio-cultural analysis of a considerable segment of today's people.

These are some of the reasons, together with the vast number of topics and themes they deal with, that make them valuable items for analysis, particularly those fairly frequent cases in which memes contain, represent, or make some allusion to proverbs or proverbial wisdom.

To begin with, in spite of their extensive reach and popularity as a rather recent practice, there are people who are not familiar with memes. For this reason, a valid definition of *meme* would be needed. This also becomes an arduous task, as resorting to any traditional reference work may prove useless since most of them do not include a

definition of the word *meme*, let alone a definition of the current fad of Internet s. Similarly to what happens to the concepts of proverb and folklore as already explained, anyone who is familiar with s and publishes them or looks at them online might have a hard time coming up with a good definition that includes all the aspects necessary for a person profane in the concept to grasp its complexity.

The concept and the word-choice originated in R. Dawkins' 1976 book *The Selfish Gene*, although it took well over 30 years for the concept to be widely spread and used in the manner it is used today. In his chapter "s: The new Replicators" (pp. 189-201) Dawkins (1976) explains that

The new soup is the soup of human culture. We need a name for the new replicator, a noun that conveys the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*. 'Mi' comes from a suitable Greek root, but I want a monosyllable that sounds a bit like 'gene'. I hope my classicist friends will forgive me if I abbreviate mimeme to *meme** If it is any consolation, it could alternatively be thought of as being related to 'memory', or to the French word *meme*. It should be pronounced to rhyme with 'cream'.

Examples of memes are tunes, ideas, catch-phrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches. Just as genes propagate themselves in the gene pool by leaping from body to body via sperms or eggs, so memes propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation. If a scientist hears, or reads about, a good idea, he passes it on to his colleagues and students. He mentions it in his articles and his lectures. If the idea catches on, it can be said to propagate itself, spreading from brain to brain. (p. 192)

As already mentioned, despite the almost forty years that have passed since the publication of the book, it is only in recent times that it has become mainstream and has found its way into a dictionary. For the composition of this section several dictionaries of prestige have been consulted in order to find a valid, academically accepted definition of *meme*, to no avail. Save the edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* accessed, the rest are posterior to the publication of Dawkins' work, and yet, only the definitions found on the online versions of the *Merriam Webster Dictionary and Thesaurus* and two dictionaries compiled by Oxford University Press, the online version of the OED and the website of *Oxford Dictionaries Online*, have been found.

Thus, the online version of the *Merriam Webster Dictionary and Thesaurus* dictionary defines *meme* as “an idea, behaviour, style, or usage that spreads from person to person within a culture”² and confirms the first use of the word as Dawkins’ 1976 publication. Then, the online version of the *OED*³ provides the following definition of *meme*:

A cultural element or behavioural trait whose transmission and consequent persistence in a population, although occurring by non-genetic means (esp. imitation), is considered as analogous to the inheritance of a gene.

Similarly, the *Oxford Dictionaries Online* site states that a *meme* is

- 1 An element of a culture or system of behaviour passed from one individual to another by imitation or other non-genetic means.
- 2 An image, video, piece of text, etc., typically humorous in nature, that is copied and spread rapidly by Internet users, often with slight variations.⁴

Accordingly, a non-academic definition of Internet meme might define it as an image macro, often a stock image, that is, a picture with a superimposed text. The image generally represents a feeling, idea, concept, a well-known character, or a piece of popular culture or general knowledge. The text may be frozen or manipulated in order to produce a humorous effect. The success of Internet memes lies in the fact that they represent situations with which the receiver finds it easy to identify. Furthermore, some of the frozen formulae employed in the texts are heavily influenced by text-messaging writing and the way in which people communicate in writing on Internet forums and social networks. Sometimes, striking phenomena take place, as for instance when the misspelling of a word catches on and remains unmodified, being consciously used by the sender.

² Meme. *Merriam-Webster Dictionary and Thesaurus*. Retrieved from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/meme?show=0&t=1394126478/> March 6, 2014.

³ Meme. *OED Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Retrieved from <http://www.oed.com/> 6 Mar. 2015.

⁴ Meme. *Oxford Dictionaries*. n.p.: Oxford University Press, Retrieved from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/meme/> 6 Mar. 2015.

Attempting an academically acceptable analysis of such hard to track items turns out to be quite a challenging task. Some may even argue against the convenience of such praxis since it may not lie within the boundaries of academia. But as Dundes (1966, p. 92, original stress) put it, “[the]he study of man must include all aspects of human activity.” Therefore, there should not be any kind of human production unworthy of study by folkloristics, paremiology, linguistics, sociology, or any other discipline.

Given the difficulties caused by the nature of the items presented, as well as their origin and the manner in which they are produced, their originality can only be assessed by the inclusion of the URL under which they are hosted, with both the author and the date of update remaining unknown. Nevertheless, all the examples are submitted by anonymous contributors from around the world.

Internet memes may be comparable to comics, therefore, as W. Mieder (2004a) explains

the use of proverbs as satirical caricatures or humorous cartoons goes back at least to the seventeenth century, and certainly by the beginning of the nineteenth century sequences of framed images based on proverbs foreshadow the comic strips of today.

This tradition of illustrating proverbs for the purpose of humorous, ironical, or satirical commentaries on the sociopolitical life has been maintained by modern artists (see Mieder 1989: 277–292). They too delight in depicting common proverbs like “Strike while the iron is hot,” “The early bird gets the worm,” or “Too many cooks spoil the broth.” For some proverbs there exists an iconographic history from medieval to modern times that comprises dozens of woodcuts, misericords, emblems, paintings, caricatures, cartoons, and comic strips, including also various types of illustrated greeting cards. Usually the modern illustrations have captions to assure meaningful communication, but there are also proverb depictions that merely allude to the proverb or that exclude any caption whatsoever. In the latter case the cartoonist expects viewers to understand the proverbial message from the picture alone, something that is perfectly possible if the proverb is in fact well known. (p. 236)

As Mieder points out, the relationship between proverbs and graphic media is quite old. This contributes to demonstrating that proverbs are a versatile communication tool that proves useful in many different manners of communication practice. Accordingly, as proverbs find their way into new media, new opportunities for paremiologists to explore spring up everywhere.

In order to deal with this phenomenon of Internet memes, a folkloristic approach is probably advisable, as it may not be considered a strictly linguistic phenomenon and its characteristics seem adaptable to that kind of analysis. Additionally, the importance that Internet memes have from a paremiological point of view, depending on the item analysed, is that they are frequently used out of context (one of the most determining elements in the use of proverbs as shall be explained), illustrating the idea that the proverb represents and therefore eliminating the figurativeness that is generally attributed to the use of proverbs and other types of phraseological units. However, this figurativeness remains patent when the image that makes up the *meme* represents an idea or concept that does not necessarily have to do with the image itself, as will be shown in some of the later examples.

One of the strong points this phenomenon presents, and which is capital in an analysis of proverbs as a cross-linguistic phenomenon, is that people from different countries who communicate through these platforms do so in English, which is another aspect that demonstrates the general worldwide use of English as the *lingua franca* of the early 21st century, as supported by the use of all sorts of individuals from around the world. Furthermore, the fact that proverbs are used by people in remote places of the world and that they are appreciated by thousands of other people from other countries and speaking other languages demonstrates that said proverbs are meaningful to both sides and that there is a stock of proverbs that is well-known across languages. At the same time, it must be noted that this phenomenon contributes to preserving the good health of proverbs.

One last interesting feature is the frequent use of alliteration for the naming of the characters or ideas shown in the images making up an Internet meme, which is paralleled by the use of alliteration or other similar devices in proverbs, as will be

thoroughly explained in Chapter 10. Thus, one may find the following examples as some of the most popular Internet memes:⁵

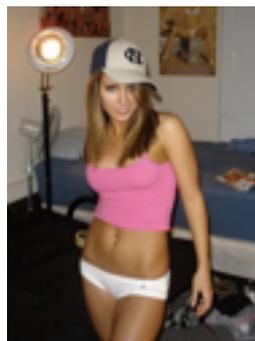
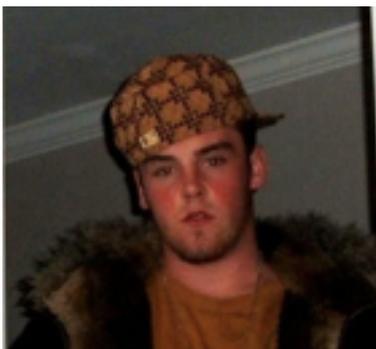
- *Good guy Greg* and his female counterpart, *Good girl Gina*, who are used to represent some act of kindness carried out in favour of someone else.



- *Bad luck Brian*, who is used to refer to situations of extreme bad fortune.



- *Scumbag Steve* and his counterpart, *Scumbag Stacy*, who are used to portray malicious behaviour that is harmful to someone else.



⁵ Memes are named by users of Internet forums who provide a formula that eventually catches on. This causes to find some cases in which different formulae are used to refer to the same picture. This inconsistency reinforces the folkloristic side of Internet memes (see Dundes,

- *Sudden clarity Clarence* is represented by the picture of a young man in the middle of the dance floor who seems to have had an epiphany, as gathered from his grimace.

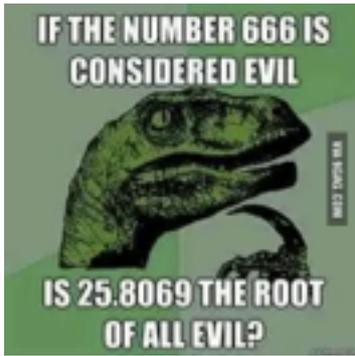


- *Minor mistake Marvin*, represented by a kid who has burned a cup of instant ramen in the microwave, is used to refer to mistakes that, despite being easily avoided, have caused some venial inconvenience.



Some examples of actual memes, as found online, created by anonymous people and including proverbs or references to proverbs are the following:⁶

⁶ All the memes presented have been obtained from the website 9gag.com, where hundreds of other examples can be found.



“Philosoraptor” is made up of a velociraptor immersed in deep reflection about philosophical and metaphysical matters, which are supposed to make the receiver wonder about the same issues. This example is a mathematical pun alluding to the proverbs “Idleness is the root of all evil” (ODEP, p. 396; ODP, p. 262) or “Money is the root of

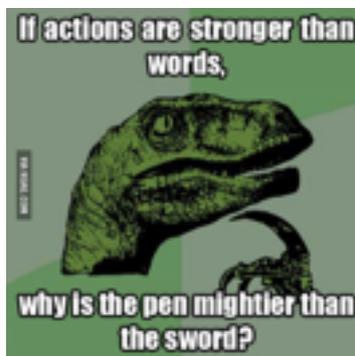
all evil” (ODP, p. 214), and other similar ones (ODEP, p. 539).



This is another allusion to “Money is the root of all evil” (ODEP, p. 539; ODP, p. 214), including a question to make the reader reflect on the relation between pecuniary goods and the Christian faith.



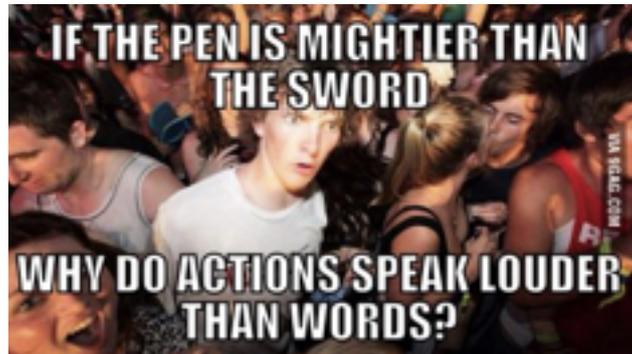
Yet another instance of a “Philosoraptor” meme seeks justification for such a reprehensible conduct as procrastination in the proverb “Everything/All things come to those who wait” (ODEP, p. 231; ODP, p. 5).



The final example of a “Philosoraptor” meme questions the validity of the well-known proverb “The pen is mightier than the sword” (ODEP, p. 618; ODP, p. 247) based on the grounds of another well-known proverb “Actions speak louder than words” (ODEP, p. 3; ODP, p. 2).

Similar to the previous example, here “Sudden Clarity Clarence” realises of a rather well-known fact: the existence of contradicting proverbs, in this case the

aforementioned “The pen is mightier than the sword” (ODEP, p. 618; ODP, p. 247) and “Actions speak louder than words” (ODEP, p. 3; ODP, p. 2).

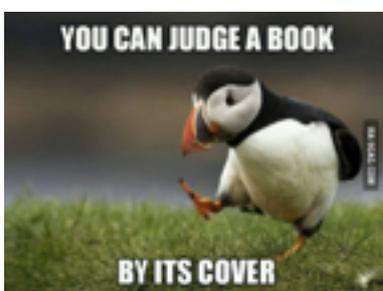


“[10] Guy” is a young man who, seemingly under the effects of some psychoactive substance, presumably cannabis, makes nonsensical remarks. In this case, he elaborates on the proverb “The enemy of my enemy is my friend” (ODP, p. 94).



“Actual Advice Mallard,” as opposed to “Malicious Advice Mallard” (which can be told apart from the red colour of its head) is employed to provide some piece of advice. In this particular case, it challenges the validity of the proverb “Practice makes perfect” (ODEP,

p. 856; ODP, p. 255).



This “Unpopular Opinion Puffin” meme is also used to challenge a proverb; this time “You can’t tell/judge a book by its cover” (ODP, p. 32).



“Terrible Twist Tiger” is another meme with an alliterative name. In this case, the top text is usually a witty or harmless remark that steers towards black humour in the text at the bottom of the picture. In this case, it includes the proverb “One man’s trash is another man’s treasure”, similar to “One man’s meat is another man’s poison” (ODEP, p. 522; ODP, p. 208).

4.2. Television fictions

The influence that television has on present-day society is unquestionable. Whether one defends or condemns this fact is irrelevant, as a TV set will probably continue to be present in almost every home and play a major role in providing people with an almost infinite source of entertainment and information. Of the wide variety that television offers, there is one genre that seems particularly suitable for a paremiological analysis: television series.

It is surprising how little attention this genre has received from paremiologists, taking into account all the possibilities it offers. It is only recently that works on the matter are starting to appear more frequently, as those by G. A. Rodríguez Martín (2015) or L. J. Tosina Fernández (forthcoming). Given the lack of scholarly analyses of this particular occurrence, the present section can only be seen as an impressionistic and subjective approach. Nonetheless, the examples shown and their analyses may contribute to starting to shed light on the relationship between TV and the use of proverbs and, therefore, may be useful for future research.

Proverbs are used constantly on television, regardless of the kind of programme being watched or the audience said programme is targeted at. In this regard, proverbs may potentially be used in all different television genres, and within television

series, they are indeed used in the most varied genres: sitcoms, dramas, soap operas, police fictions, historical fictions, cartoons, etc. The effect of this is that, as they deal with many different topics, they reach the most varied audiences. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the nature of television fictions is to be represented for people to watch, which makes the comparison with drama unavoidable.

This nature of TV fictions of being designed to be performed makes them depend on dialogical texts, which provide the perfect breeding ground for the use of proverbs, as they imitate everyday conversations. Thus, the frequent use of proverbs made in TV series plays a major role in the propagation of proverbs not only within the speakers of a certain language, but also across languages, given the global projection of some present-day TV productions. In this regard, it must also be mentioned that there are dozens of shows that count on a solid fan base across the world that seasonally accesses these shows punctually through television and Internet platforms.

A particularly interesting aspect of TV series is that they may consciously use proverbs to depict a character, making him or her more credible and easier to sympathise with, speaking to the audience in “their language”. Furthermore, characters in some series show different levels of paremiological competence depending on the intentions of the scriptwriters. Thus, characters can go from repeating the same proverb multiple times to not acknowledging a proverb, or misusing it. The multiplicity of nuances that proverbs have and their versatility turns them into a powerful tool to connect with the audience and to fulfil numerous different purposes like, for instance, seeking justification for the actions that a character has carried out.

Another feature that deserves special notice is the use of proverbs made by TV series in order to exploit their comical side. Thus, it is fairly frequent, mostly in comedies, to find characters who misuse a proverb, either misunderstanding one of its

components or maybe using it in a situation to which the proverb would hardly apply in real life, if at all. The occurrence of this phenomenon may be due to the fact that scriptwriters are aware of how common and well-known proverbs are among the audience and this allows them to use this comical side that might be found less frequently in everyday face-to-face conversation.⁷

In a similar manner to what happened in previous historical eras, and which has already been dealt with in the present study, TV shows contribute to the popularisation of a stock of proverbs that is well known across different, especially western, languages. Thus, hit television series, mostly of American or British origin, are contributing to this, again supporting the idea that English is the *lingua franca* of the 21st century, sustained by the new means of entertainment and the mass media.

As opposed to the literary works mentioned in Chapter 3, the shows presented here to illustrate this analysis are an unsystematic gathering of examples considered to be representative of the features that will be commented on. This lack of a pre-established system does more than simply reinforce the idea that proverbs are, in fact, a frequently used communication tool in television, particularly television series; at the same time, it demonstrates how different characters use proverbs differently, which results in different perceptions that the audience may have of them.

The following are excerpts from TV fictions broadcast during a three-year span (2013-2015) containing uses or references to proverbs or proverbial wisdom:

- 1) RAYMOND TUSK Can I ask why you do that?
FRANCIS UNDERWOOD Do what?
RAYMOND TUSK Tap your ring like that. I've seen you do it on TV. Two taps every time you get up from a table or leave a lectern.
FRANCIS UNDERWOOD Something my father taught me. It's meant to harden your knuckles so you don't break them if you get into a fight. It also has the added benefit of knocking on wood. My father believed that success is a mixture of preparation

⁷ A relationship may be established between the misuse of proverbs and *malapropisms*. *Malapropisms* are “[s]o called after Mrs Malaprop, a character in Sheridan’s *The Rivals* (1775), who had a habit of using polysyllabic words incorrectly.” (Cuddon, 1999, p. 489)

and luck. Tapping the table kills both birds with one stone.⁸

The first example, from the successful political drama *House of Cards*, refers to the proverb “To kill two birds with one stone” (ODEP, p. 426). It is interesting how this proverb has undergone different adaptations throughout history as hunting practises have developed. Thus, one may come across variants that include different weapons employed for the killing of the fowl (see ODEP, p. 423).

2) LORD VARYS My little birds tell me that Stannis Baratheon has taken up with a Red Priestess from Asshai.
TYRION LANNISTER What of it?
LORD VARYS You don't believe in the old powers, My Lord?
TYRION LANNISTER Blood spells, curses, shape-shifting—what do you think?
LORD VARYS I think you believe in what you see and in what those you trust have seen.⁹

In excerpt number two, taken from *Game of Thrones*, Lord Varys alludes to the proverb “Seeing is believing” (ODEP, p. 710; ODP, p. 281) to reply to Tyrion Lannister.

3) JOFFREY LANNISTER What was your duty to this traitor as you saw it?
MARGAERY TYRELL The duty of any wife to any husband—to provide him with children.
JOFFREY LANNISTER You failed to do this. Why?
MARGAERY TYRELL I...I would not speak ill of the dead, Your Grace.¹⁰

Example number three, also from *Game of Thrones*, refers to the proverbs “speak well of the dead” (ODEP, p. 761) or “Never speak ill of the dead” (ODP, p. 296), which Margaery Tyrell resorts to in order to justify to her husband why she could not bear any child in her previous marriage.

4) JAY PRITCHETT These are good. What's in them?
LONGINES It's a margarita with a shot of absinthe.
PEPPER SALTZMAN Absinthe makes the heart grow fonder.
CRISPIN Ohh, are you making a bad pun or just lisping?¹¹

⁸ Gionfriddo, G., Willimon, B. (Writers), & Coulter, A. (Director). (1 Feb. 2013). Chapter 12 (Television series episode). In D. Fincher et al. (Producers), *House of cards*. Los Gatos, CA: Netflix.

⁹ Martin, G. R. R. (Writer), & Marshall, N (Director). (27 May 2012). Blackwater (Television series episode). In M. Huffman et al. (Producers), *Game of thrones*. New York, NY: HBO.

¹⁰ Taylor, V. (Writer), & Minahan, D. (Director). (7 Apr. 2013). Dark wings, dark woods (Television series episode). In M. Huffman et al. (Producers), *Game of thrones*. New York, NY: HBO.

¹¹ Levitan, S., Richman, J. (Writers), & Koch, C. (Director). (23 Mar. 2011). Boys' night (Television series episode). In J. Morton et al. (Producers), *Modern family*. New York, NY: ABC.

Quotation number four is an interesting and funny manipulation of the proverb “Absence makes the heart grow fonder” (ODP, p. 1), also found in different variants (ODEP, p. 1) by Pepper Saltzman from *Modern Family*.

5) RAGNAR LOTHBROK Thorvard,
THORVARD My lord Ragnar.
RAGNAR LOTHBROK I hope you bring better news than the last.
THORVARD My lord, after you left, the Saxons treacherously attacked King Horik's camp at Wessex. There was a terrible slaughter. A great many warriors perished. The king and his son only just escaped with their lives.
RAGNAR LOTHBROK What about Athelstan? What happened to Athelstan?
THORVARD My lord, I don't know of whom you speak.
RAGNAR LOTHBROK Why has it taken so long for me to hear this news?
THORVARD My lord, bad news travels a great deal slower than good news¹².

In this example, number five, Thorvard, Ragnar Lothbok's legate, from the historical drama *Vikings*, misuses the proverb “Bad news travels fast” (ODP, p. 11) in order to justify himself in front of his boss.

6) HOLMES Grey fondant, when properly shaped, is almost identical to several forms of plastique. Hmm? You woke up in a madman's lair with the guts of an alarm clock wired to that, you'd deliver any message he told you to.
WATSON (knocking) You expecting anyone?
HOLMES No.
WATSON Sherlock!
LUCAS DIXON Hi. Lucas. I didn't catch your name earlier.
HOLMES Speak of the devil¹³.

In fragment number 6, from the series *Elementary*, a present-day portrait of Sherlock Holmes, Holmes makes another frequent use of proverbs by only uttering the first half of the proverb “Talk of the Devil and he is sure/bound to appear” (ODEP, p. 804; ODP, p. 313).

7) GILLIAN DARMODY The whole encounter will be balanced on a razor. Take your father's lead, but be your own man as well.
JIMMY DARMODY So I shouldn't let him cut my meat for me?
GILLIAN DARMODY I'm glad you're so cavalier.
JIMMY DARMODY It's just a dinner, ma.

¹² Hirst, M. (Writer), & Woolnough, J. (Director). (27 Mar. 2014). Answers in blood (Television series episode). In S. Wakefield, & K. Thomson (Producers), *Vikings*. Toronto: History.

¹³ Tracey, J. (Writer), & Ferland, G. (Director). (21 Mar. 2013). On the line (Television series episode). In A. Bezahl, & G. Hemwall (Producers), *Elementary*. New York, NY: CBS.

GILLIAN DARMODY With the governor, dear. Your father's worked very hard to solidify this relationship. And you know what they say about first impressions¹⁴.

Number 7, taken from *Boardwalk Empire*, is an allusion to the proverb “First impressions last longest” (ODEP, p. 262; ODP, p. 116), another fairly well-known proverb.

8) [*Squidward is sleeping until SpongeBob knocks on the door causing him to wake up*]
SPONGEBOB Oh, Squidward!
SQUIDWARD [*opens his window*] What do you want, SpongeBob?
SPONGEBOB Time for work, Squidward. Another day, another dollar. [*Laughs*]
SQUIDWARD More like another nickel.
SPONGEBOB [*Laughs*] Good one, Squidward! [*scene cuts to Squidward and SpongeBob walking down the street and SpongeBob is laughing*] Another day, another nickel. [*Laughs*]
SQUIDWARD It's not that funny.
SPONGEBOB It's funny, because it's true!¹⁵

The preceding excerpt, example number 8, is a funny and interesting one. In this conversation taken from *Spongebob Squarepants*, Spongebob encourages Squidward to get ready for work by the employment of the proverb “Another day, another dollar” (ODP, p. 6), which is then replied to by a rather discouraging manipulation of said proverb.

9) BLONDE HOOKER Have you ever been published?
LUCAS GOODWIN Many times.
BLONDE HOOKER I guess that's a stupid question. You don't seem like a starving artist.
LUCAS GOODWIN Don't judge a book by its cover.¹⁶

The last example, number 9, also from *House of Cards*, shows a manipulation of the proverb “Never judge a book by its cover (ODP, p. 32) to turn it into an order.

After close inspection of these fragments, some general features and tendencies can be detected. On the one hand, proverbs can present different degrees of deviation from their canonical saying. Thus, apart from canonical uses, one can find

¹⁴ Moses, I. (Writer), & White, S. (Director). (9 Oct. 2011). A dangerous maid (Television series episode). In T. Winter et al. (Producers), *Boardwalk empire*. New York, NY: HBO.

¹⁵ McCulloch, K., Springer, A., Waller, V. (Writers), & Yasumi, T. (Director). (30 Sep. 2005). Funny pants (Television series episode). In S. Hillenburg, & P. Tibbitt (Producers), *SpongeBob SquarePants*. New York, NY: Nickelodeon.

¹⁶ Willimon, B. (Writer), & Coulter, A. (Director). (1 Feb. 2013). Chapter 13 (Television series episode). In D. Fincher et al. (Producers), *House of cards*. Los Gatos, CA: Netflix.

manipulations, allusions, clippings or misuses. The samples presented can be arranged according to the way in which proverbs are used as follows:

- Canonical saying: samples 3 and 9.
- Manipulation: samples 1, 4, and 8.
- Allusion: samples 2 and 7.
- Clipping: sample 6
- Misuse: sample 5.

As for the purposes with which proverbs are generally used, the following may be inferred from the examples presented here:

- Teaching: sample 4.
- Assessing reality: samples 2, 3, and 6.
- Justification for one's behaviour: samples 1 and 5.
- Commanding: sample 9.
- Humorous use: sample 8.

It needs to be mentioned that no example in this list shows a moral use of proverbs, as this is a rather particular one that may only be found in certain contexts, none of which correspond to the examples presented. Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that proverbs may also be used with such purpose, as will be seen in the central section of this dissertation (see 9.3.3), despite its infrequency or unsuitability for certain channels.

4.3. Conclusions

The main conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is that proverbs enjoy good health and are still a current and frequent speech device. New technologies and trends have not contributed to their disappearance or abandonment. On the contrary, with the appearance of new ways of communication and expression, proverbs have

found their way into the 21st century and are as present in people's lives as they have ever been.

Another factor that needs to be pointed out and which is central to this study is the establishment of English as the present-day *lingua franca*. This is a current that has been going for quite a long time now. Furthermore, the explosion of the Internet as a mass phenomenon has definitely contributed to its shaping, spread and acceptance by non-native speakers, which, consequently, has contributed to the homogenisation and spread of an important part of the stock of occidental proverbs and other types of PUs.¹⁷

A distinction that must be noted, though, is that if in the Middle Ages and the modern period, Latin was the language of culture, knowledge, and learning, in present-day society, English is not only important in those fields, it has also become the language of entertainment. This can be proved by the success of many means of entertainment in English that are enjoyed by audiences and users all around the world. Some examples of this have been explained but the global success of other industries of mostly English-speaking origin, such as the film or video-game industries, which may be just as fruitful for a paremiological analysis.

As has been hinted at, similar to the vast amount of monographic studies on the use of proverbs by certain literary authors,¹⁸ there are new forms of entertainment that will prove valuable to paremiological analyses, which must be encouraged in order to have a broader scope and a more accurate view of how proverbs are used in different situations and through the employment of different means.

¹⁷ See Corpas Pastor & Mena Martínez (2004), Mieder (2010), Piirainen (2012), among others.

¹⁸ See Taylor (1968a), Estienne & Joly (1971), Whiting (1973), Ross (1987), Bryan & Mieder (1994), Wilson (1994), Oncins Martínez (1996; 2005, 2012), Abrahams & Bacock (1997), Mieder (1997, 2007a), Castillo Blanco (1998), Sánchez García (1999), García Yelo & Sevilla Muñoz (2004-2005), Breiteneder (2007), Baranov & Dobrovol'skij (2007), Doyle (2007a), Martins-Baltar (2007) Rodríguez Martín (2011), among others.

Chapter 5

Previous classification attempts for proverbs

The necessity and convenience of a classification for proverbs have already been noticed before, proof of which are the different attempts at it carried out by different scholars. However, the different approaches traditionally taken generally present different deficiencies and it is from the appreciation of these that the present dissertation is born.

There are several scholars that have attempted a comprehensive classification of proverbs, some of which introduce interesting ideas and procedures, but who often fall short for one main reason: the lack of a cross-linguistic scope. Proverbs are not exclusive to one single language or several languages. Much on the contrary, as R. Honeck (1997, p. 2) points out, “Adults in practically every culture have been exposed to some proverbs.” This assumption, which this dissertation is in no position to confirm, is, nonetheless, an important part of the motivation for its composition; mostly after the analysis of some of the most widely-accepted attempts at the classification of proverbs.

Among all the classification attempts that have been carried out by paremiologists and paremiographers, there is a procedure that stands out as, possibly, the most frequently one. This common practise consists of arranging proverbs by topic or semantic field. This is particularly useful for lexicographers and paremiographers, as it allows for a more intuitive proverb lookup. Nevertheless, this can hardly account for the complexity and richness of proverbs as it only focuses on one aspect, e.g. the lexical or semantic side of proverbs. Moreover, this arrangement of proverbs does not solve one of the major problems from which many proverb dictionaries suffer: the lack of an intuitive system that allows for the rapid location of proverbs. Very much on the contrary, the figurative use of proverbs makes it rather hard to locate a proverb that has

been included under certain head words, as there is frequently a lack of correspondence between what the proverb is meant to express and the literal meaning of the words it is made up of.

Numerous dictionaries of proverbs follow this practice and, in spite of the already mentioned shortcomings, it presents some advantages, particularly when compared with the other major practise: the alphabetical arrangement of proverbs. The latter proves to be a headache, especially when cross-referencing different dictionaries or collections of proverbs, as they do not usually agree on the key word, which turns the documentation process into a nightmare, a waste of time, and a compulsive turning of pages. Apart from this awkwardness, this kind of classification also lacks structural depth, as it only covers one of the multiple aspects that make up proverbs, i.e. the semantic one. On the other hand, it shows a rather positive feature that fulfils one of the premises defended here for the composition of a meaningful classification of proverbs: universal applicability. In consequence, there is no impediment to applying this system to the classification of any proverbial stock, although the resulting classification would not suffice to account for the full complexity of proverbs.

In this section, four classification attempts of different natures carried out by four highly representative scholars in different paremiological traditions will be presented in order to assess their efficacy when applying them to proverbs of different languages and, in particular, the classification of *europaisms*. The analysis of their proposals has been invaluable for the design of the system that will be later presented.

5.1. Luis Martínez Kleiser's *Refranero general ideológico español*

Even though most of the present analysis revolves around the proverbial stock of English as an example for the classification of multi-language proverbs, at this stage an exception will be made in order to mention L. Martínez Kleiser's (1883-1971)

Refranero General Ideológico Español (1953). In his herculean task, Martínez Kleiser gathered over 65,000 proverbs and arranged them according to the main topic they deal with. This practice, far from being exclusive to Martínez Kleiser's work, is a rather common one also followed in proverb dictionaries in other languages, such as Flavell and Flavell's *Dictionary of Proverbs and their Origins* (1993).¹ In spite of the vast amount of proverbs included in his work, not every single proverb was gathered by Martínez Kleiser himself, as he took on the work of previous paremiographers such as I. López de Mendoza (1494, 1512), G. de Correas (1627), or F. Rodríguez Marín (1926) as acknowledged by Martínez Kleiser (1953, p. xi) in the foreword to his dictionary and later on by L. A. Hernando Cuadrado (1999, p. 273).

Though he was able to dodge the tiresome and arduous task of collecting every one in the over 68,000 proverbs included in his *Refranero*, Martínez Kleiser was commissioned with the job of arranging them according to the main idea they are intended to transmit or the topic they deal with, such as "fatalism" or "lies" just to name a couple of examples. Although there are limitations to such a classification, the most important of which is the fact that the same proverb might be included under several different categories, it proposes a more intuitive system for the location of proverbs within the dictionary. This is reinforced by the fact that each proverb is given a correlative number and the head words including all of the identification numbers for each proverb listed under them are alphabetically inventoried at the end of the book, which also facilitates searching a great deal.

One particularity that distinguishes Martínez Kleiser's collection from other similar ones that may be found in different languages is the process of censorship it

¹ Flavell & Flavell's work, although using a similar arrangement, is aimed at determining early uses of the proverbs included in it. That not being the purpose of this dissertation and the amount of proverbs included in it being far inferior to those in Martínez Kleiser's *Refranero* support the choice of the latter work as an example over other similar ones.

underwent, which is not concealed or denied by the author. Thus, Martínez Kleiser had a self-imposed obligation to keep any proverbs that might seem offensive or obscene out of his *Refranero*. As the author (1953) explains,

Indeed, some linguistic licenses are found in them which sometimes, unembarrassedly, tread into the realms of vulgarity, and trespass others, freely, the borders of clergyphobia, profanity, and obscenity. A great problem for the prudent collector. His selective spirit is found between two equally dangerous chasms: The one of considering his work an open port for all sorts of paremiological merchandise that intend to disembark at a port, and the one of chopping at the root any sayings that offend modesty, faith, or good taste. In the first case, it would result in a book banned to many readers for its crudity or its injurious teachings, and in the second one it would portray with blurry strokes the real physiognomy of the people behind a veil of considerateness and blushings. To escape both terrible abysses, staying on the very narrow crest that separates them, balance itself does not generally suffice; one must look for the safe support of a handrail on which to rest one's own conscience.² (p. xx, own translation)

Thus, as F. J. Álvarez Curiel (2000, p. 62, own translation) points out, “the compiler becomes a censor”. It must be noted, though, that Martínez Kleiser's work was carried out at the height of Francisco Franco's dictatorship, a period of almost 40 years in which dealing with certain indecent or controversial topics may have prevented him from enjoying the support of the Real Academia de la Lengua. Furthermore, Álvarez Curiel (2000) finds the origins of such censorial tradition in a much earlier historical episode, thus, as he points out,

The precautions and fears subsequent to the Council of Trent (which coincides in time with the consolidation of our classical paremiologicon) influenced, undoubtedly, the absence of blasphemous proverbs, or those that threaten the Christian faith. Regarding clergyphobia (not against the institution of the Church), it is spoken about quite freely in the paremiologicon, although there was an intentional and prolonged hiding of

² The original reads thus:

En efecto, se deslizan en ellos licencias de lenguaje que se adentran unas veces, sin embarazo, por los ranchos del la grosería, y traspasan otras, libremente, las fronteras de la clerofobia, de la profanación y de la obscenidad. Gran problema para el prudente coleccionador. Su espíritu selectivo se halla colocado entre dos simas igualmente peligrosas: La de considerar su obra puerto franco para toda clase de mercancías paremiológicas que pretendan desembarcar en él, y la de talar por la raíz cuantos dichos ofendan al pudor, a la fe o al buen gusto. En el primer caso resultaría un libro vedado a muchos lectores por sus crudezas o por sus enseñanzas nocivas, y en el segundo retrataría con borrosos rasgos la fisonomía real del pueblo tras un velo de miramientos y de rubores. Para huir de ambos terribles abismos, manteniéndose sobre la cresta estrechísima que los separa, no basta, por lo general, el equilibrio propio; se ha de buscar el quitamiedo de un apoyo seguro en quien descansar la conciencia.

them in written texts, watched with an inquisitorial eye.³ (p. 63, own translation)

Accordingly, and in spite of the efforts to expurgate treacherous proverbs, it is astonishing, on the one hand, how Martínez Kleiser managed to gather such a vast amount while purposefully leaving out certain items, mostly when taking into account the fact that the tradition of humour in Spain is, often, far from politically correct. On the other hand, this aspect may be assessed from the socio-political context of the time, which relieves him of the responsibility of not having included certain proverbs, which is supported by his claim that he (1953, p. xx, own translation) left said proverbs out “not without private opposition.”⁴

Martínez Kleiser proposes an arrangement, rather than a classification, of proverbs under different keywords that may or may not be present in the proverb. Thus, one category is “*ARAÑAS*” (Martínez Kleiser, 1953, p. 56), i.e. “Spiders”, where proverbs such as the following are included:

- 5.145 The spider stole the spinning wheel from the Devil, to make the fabric from its tail;
- 5.146 Spinning spider, there is no such weaver in the world;
- 5.147 A cobweb the skinny fixes;
- 5.148 The cobweb lets go after a while and the fly fixes, or squeezes.⁵ (p. 56, own translation)

In the four proverbs included under this category, the word “*araña*”, i.e. “spider” is found in two of them, whereas the other two include the word “*telaraña*”, i.e.

³ The original reads thus:

Las precauciones y miedos subsiguientes al Concilio de Trento (que coincide en el tiempo con la consolidación de nuestro refranero clásico) influyeron, sin duda, en la ausencia de refranes blasfemos o que atentasen contra la fe cristiana. En lo tocante a la clerofobia (no contra la institución de la Iglesia) el refranero se despacha a gusto, si bien ha habido una intencionada y prologada ocultación de los mismos en textos escritos, vigilados con ojo inquisitorial.

⁴ The original reads thus:

no sin íntima contrariedad.

⁵ The original reads thus:

5.145. Al araña hurtó la rueca el Diablo, porque saque la tela del rabo.—N.—C.; 5.146. Araña hiladora, no hay en el mundo tal tejedora.—R. M.; 5.147. La telaraña lo flaco apaña.—C.; 5.148. La telaraña suelta al rato y la mosca apaña, o aprieta.—C.

“cobweb”, a compound that includes the lexeme “*araña*” in it, therefore, its inclusion under such category is unquestionable.

Conversely, there are proverbs listed under certain words that do not include said words. This may be due to the fact that the word chosen serves as a general label for different proverbs that have some feature in common. Thus, one may find categories such as “*ARGUCIAS*” (Martínez Kleiser, 1953, p. 56), i.e. “Sophistry”, including proverbs like the following:

- 5.195. Con un poco de tuerto llega el hombre a su derecho.—N. C.
- 5.196. Derecho apurado, tuerto tornado.—N.
- 5.197. A la leña tuerta, se le busca la vuelta.—R. M.*
- 5.198. Más pueden tretas que letras.—R. M.
- 5.199. Una traza con otra se contrasta.—R. M.
- 5.200. Una artimaña, con otra se engaña.—R. M.
- 5.201. En comiendo los garbanzos uno a uno, no se quebranta el ayuno.—R. M.
- 5.202. Ninguno es capeador de una capa sola.—R. M.
- 5.203. De las que sabes sabemos.—R. M.⁶ (p. 56)

As can be seen in the last group, only number 5.198 and 5.200 include words that are synonyms to the headword, i.e. “tretas” and “artimaña” respectively. The word choice in number 5.200 is particularly interesting because it provides the rhyme with “engaña”.

In addition to the ideological arrangement of proverbs, Martínez Kleiser (1953) states that

All the preceding examples and the general study of the collection of proverbs allows for the grouping of most of their thoughts and statements, according to their marked distinctive features, and in big and important sections, apart from the one that could be devoted to proverbial sentences and those which, due to their short amount, would make up the concept of various. We propose the following:

- 1.—Those which state truths learned from experience.
- 2.—Those which advise about rules of conduct.
- 3.—Those which predict the consequences of our actions and omissions.
- 4.—Those which praise.
- 5.—Those which reprobate.
- 6.—Those which warn about the existence of spiritual or material dangers.
- 7.—Those which predict future facts.
- 8.—Those which deal with the passional states of the individual.

⁶ 5.195 With a little injustice, a man gets his right.
5.196 Exhausted right, returned injustice.
5.197 In a crooked log, the good side is sought.
5.198 Tricks are more powerful than letters
5.199 A trace is with another one contrasted
5.200 A ruse is deceived by another ruse
5.201 The eating of chick peas one at a time does not break the fasting
5.202 No one is a bullfighter with just one cape
5.203 What you know, we know. (Own translation).

- 9.—Those which deal with their virtues.
- 10.—Those which deal with their vices.
- 11.—Those which contemplate aspects of collectivity.
- 12.—Those which settle opinions.
- 13.—The religious ones.
- 14.—The irreverent ones.
- 15.—The licentious ones.
- 16.—The scientific ones.
- 17.—The historical ones.
- 18.—The geographical ones.
- 19.—The meteorological ones.
- 20.—The agricultural ones.
- 21.—The nautical ones.
- 22.—The hygienic ones.
- 23.—The superstitious ones.
- 24.—Those which study professions.
- 25.—Those devoted to sport and games.
- 26.—Those which establish comparisons.
- 27.—Those which mock physical or moral imperfections or defects.
- 28.—The onomatopoeic ones.
- 29.—Those that amuse us with puns; and
- 30.—Those that could be called jingles , without conceptual content. ⁷ (pp. xxii-xxiii, own translation)

⁷ The original reads thus:

Cuantos ejemplos anteceden y el estudio general del refranero permiten agrupar la mayoría de sus pensamientos y enunciados, por sus acusados rasgos distintivos, y en grandes e importantes [sic] secciones, aparte la que podía quedar reservada para frases proverbiales y los que, dado su corto número, integrarían el concepto de varios. Se nos alcanzan las siguientes:

- 1.—Los que afirman verdades enseñadas por la experiencia.
- 2.—Los que aconsejan normas de conducta.
- 3.—Los que predicen consecuencias de nuestros actos y omisiones.
- 4.—Los que alaban.
- 5.—Los que reprueban.
- 6.—Los que advierten la existencia de peligros espirituales o materiales.
- 7.—Los que pronostican hechos futuros.
- 8.—Los que versan sobre los estados pasionales del individuo.
- 9.—Los que tratad de sus virtudes.
- 10.—Los que discurren sobre sus vicios.
- 11.—Los que contemplan aspectos de la colectividad.
- 12.—Los que sientan opiniones.
- 13.—Los religiosos.
- 14.—Los irreverentes.
- 15.—Los licenciosos.
- 16.—Los científicos.
- 17.—Los históricos.
- 18.—Los geográficos.
- 19.—Los meteorológicos.
- 20.—Los agrícolas.
- 21.—Los náuticos.
- 22.—Los higiénicos.
- 23.—Los supersticiosos.
- 24.—Los que estudian los oficios.
- 25.—Los dedicados a deportes y juego.
- 26.—Los que establecen comparaciones.
- 27.—Los que hacen mofa de imperfecciones o defectos físicos o morales.
- 28.—Los onomatopéyicos.
- 29.—Los que nos divierten con juegos de palabras; y
- 30.—Los que pudieran llamarse «de sonsonete», sin contenido conceptual.

Despite the propitiousness of Martínez Kleiser's proposal of 30 headings under which his 68,000 proverbs may be organised, he does not apply it in the pages of his collection, and therefore, it remains as only a proposal that is not put into practice. Moreover, these 30 labels may only be employed to classify proverbs according to the ideas they represent, leaving out many other aspects of proverbs that also need to be taken into consideration to achieve an all-inclusive classification.

The value of Martínez Kleiser's *Refranero* is incalculable, not only for the unprecedented number of proverbs included in it, but also for its "Preliminary Study", which comprises a whole paremiological compendium written in the most exquisite and elaborate style in barely fifteen pages, which allows the reader to catch a glimpse of his literary practices, making the reader forget that he or she is reading a linguistic analysis. Martínez Kleiser's fascination and dedication to his *magnum opus* oozes from the pages of his *Refranero* and the rich style with which he explains the nature of proverbs, is unparalleled in any other similar work. Many quotes could be extracted from its large quarto edition; however, the following has been chosen for its accurate definition of what the study of proverb is and why it should be relevant to mankind. Thus, in Martínez Kleiser's (1953) words,

Studying the body and soul of proverbs is to dive in the knowledge of the people; ensuring that our understanding sustains a dialogue with theirs; making it hear the voice of many times and many customs; talking, at the same time, with thousands of men who knew how to think, almost always with rightfulness, and who achieved, also, to a concrete, expressive, witty, and convincing shape to what they thought.⁸ (p. xviii, own translation)

Here it can be seen how Martínez Kleiser deviates from the usual style employed in the composition of paremiological or linguistic works to endow his own with a higher, more elaborate style that will definitely captivate the reader.

⁸ The original reads thus:

Estudiar el cuerpo y el alma de los refranes es bucear en el conocimiento del pueblo; procurar que nuestro entendimiento sostenga un diálogo con el suyo; hacerle oír la voz de muchos tiempos y de muchas costumbres; hablar, a la vez, con miles de hombres que supieron pensar, casi siempre con acierto, y que consiguieron, además, dar forma expresiva, concreta, donosa y convincente a cuanto pensaron.

Martínez Kleiser's work has been chosen to represent a rather common practice in proverb classification.⁹ Though there are slight divergences from what are considered to be the intentions of the present work, Martínez Kleiser's *Refranero* is of the utmost value for paremiologists for various reasons, namely, its undisputed vastness, its rich style, and its insightful introduction. The appropriateness might be questioned as far as the focus of this dissertation is concerned, given the focus of this analysis on the paremiological system of the English language. However, this dissertation aims at a cross-linguistic approach to paremiology as it would provide a much broader vision of what a proverb is. Accordingly, publications in different languages prove a valuable source for the acquisition of a comprehensive point of view that includes many aspects necessary to faithfully determine what a proverb is and which may provide points of view that differ from the own one but which will prove invaluable to reaching the all-embracing discipline that paremiology should be.

5.2. Grigorij L'vovich Permyakov's classification

G. L. Permyakov (1919 -1983) was undoubtedly one of the most important Russian paremiologists and folklore scholars ever. His research ranged from proverbs to folk-tales but regardless of what his subject of study was, some of his contributions to paremiological and folkloristic studies had a great impact on the works of scholars from different places and languages. P. Grzybek (1989, p. 181), for instance, described him as "one of the most original and inspiring scholars" in modern structural paremiology. The reason why Permyakov is included in this epigraph is the contribution he made to the categorisation and classification not only of proverbs but of different types of phraseological units, to which he referred as "clichés" (1979, p. 8). Permyakov analysed

⁹ Cf. O'Farrell (1980), Mieder, Kingsbury, & Harder (1992), Flavell & Flavell (1993), Ferguson (2000), among others.

proverbs from several different languages, particularly eastern ones, but, as K. Grigas (2001) points out, he “did not pay attention to whether they were international or not. He grouped the Russian translations of proverbs of Oriental nations according to the logical-semiotic features which, in addition, were made to agree with the so-called topical pairs.” Thus, the accuracy of Permyakov’s proceeding is rather questionable, as considering translations of proverbs to be the same as actual proverbs that are used by a community may bias the results of his study.

In spite of his status as one of the most appraised scholars in the last century, some of his works present some difficulties and are sometimes not easily understood, as O. Lauhakangas (2015, p. 56) points out. Part of the difficulties caused by Permyakov’s theses lie in his approach to “*paremias*”¹⁰ as twofold units: on the one hand, they are “language units”; on the other, they are “folklore texts”. Accordingly, they are “signs and at the same time models of various typical situations or relationships among things (or phenomena) of real life” (Permyakov, 1979, p. 137). However, as Grzybek (1994, p. 52) notes, Permyakov does not clarify the notion of *situation* and, therefore, it is up to the reader to figure it out, “if one wants to categorize proverbs in the basis of their meanings” (Grzybek, 1994, p. 52). This lack of background information provided by Permyakov must have caused him, at least in part, to come across as a rather inaccessible theoretician as well as caused the difficulties that later scholars had when attempting to apply his ideas, to which his constant illustration of his points by the use of rather complex charts must have contributed a great deal.

A rather outstanding aspect in the classification system proposed by Permyakov is the distinction between *proverbs* and *proverbial phrases*. The difference between the two is that the former are complete statements whereas the latter are

¹⁰ See Permyakov (1979, p. 136).

incomplete statements (Permyakov, 1979, p. 9). This distinction is of major importance in the system proposed by Permyakov as the whole classification revolves around it. However, the convenience of such distinction is questionable as it implies the separate analysis of elements that are generally considered as belonging in the same category, therefore complicating matters further. Yet, this distinction must not be completely given up as there are in fact proverbs articulated as complete statements and proverbs articulated as incomplete statements, as shall be detailed in 8.5. The simplest way in which Permyakov (1979, p. 52) formulated the distinction between the different classes of units can be seen in Table 1:

Language structure	Type of cliché
Part of the sentence	Phraseological unit
Open sentence	Proverbial phrase
Closed sentence	Proverb
String of sentences	Surpra-phrasal entity

Table 1

The next distinction made by Permyakov (1979, pp. 12-13) in order to classify *proverbs* and *proverbial phrases* has to do with their *motivation* (see Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen, 2005a). Thus, Permyakov distinguishes between “image motivation of general meaning” and “direct motivation of general meaning”, *proverbs* and *proverbial phrases* belonging to the former category. According to him, “image-motivated” units are those “clichés whose overall meaning is not directly derived from the component words, but is linked with them through an image” (Permyakov, 1979, p. 12). Contrarily, “direct motivated” units obtain their meaning from their components.

Another aspect of proverbs on which Permyakov (1979, pp. 16-19) focuses for classification is the type of sentence making up *proverbs* and *proverbial phrases*. Even though it is no surprise that proverbs may show declarative, imperative, or interrogative

sentences, both simple and compound, this may become a useful criterion for the distinction of different types of PU and their classification.

Permyakov (1979, pp. 108) highlights a series of “properties” present in different types of units that are present or absent depending on the kind of “cliché” being dealt with. These properties are divided into “*text*” and “*componental*” properties.

The following six are included in the first group:

1. Clichéization
2. Absence of motivation
3. Possibility of figurative interpretation with direct components present
4. Possibility of direct interpretation with figurative components present
5. General meaning always metaphoric
6. Text always monosemantic, given syntactic divisibility (pp. 108-110)

Whereas the following six properties are included under the group of “*componental properties*”:

1. All components can be direct
2. (a) Metaphoric transfer
2. (b) Metaphoric/nonmetaphoric transfer
3. Direct component necessarily present
4. Metaphoric component necessarily present
5. At least one component can be polysemic (pp. 110-111)

According to this set of properties proposed by Permyakov (1979), both *proverbs* and *proverbial phrases* in his nomenclature present the following properties:

1. Clichéization
3. Possibility of figurative interpretation with direct components present
5. General meaning always metaphoric
2. (a) Metaphoric transfer
4. Metaphoric component necessarily present
5. At least one component can be polysemic (p. 113)

Here, a conflicting point arises, as Permyakov defends, *proverbs* and *proverbial phrases* must always have a metaphoric general meaning. However, this seems to be an inaccuracy in his perception as proverbs may generally be used metaphorically but there are cases in which they may be used denotatively.¹¹ Permyakov (1979) defends his thesis with the following example:

¹¹ See Chapter 1.

For an illustration let us compare a proverb or fable (e.g. *The beam in a lavatory calls the pile in a flour-mill dirty* or *The sieve says to the skimmer: "How many holes you have, brother"*) and any anecdote or aphorism on the same theme (*Man notices faults in others but not in himself* or *An Arab says to another Arab: "Your face is dark"*). One can readily see that the proverb and the fable call for a metaphoric interpretation, whereas the aphorism and the anecdote can be understood without it. (p. 110)

Nevertheless, contrary to what Permyakov supports, it is not an infrequent occurrence to use, or understand, proverbs literally, as can be seen in the following instance:

CHERLENE Well, we should've guessed that was gonna happen. (chuckling)
ARCHER W—we should've?
CHERLENE Well, or at least could've. I mean...
ARCHER Yeah, I-I-I guess, uh I guess a leopard can't change his spots.
CHERLENE Uh I don't know that much about leopards.
ARCHER That was actually a proverb.
CHERLENE That was actually a tiger.¹²

Later in his work Permyakov (1979) provides another example that may actually shed some light in order to better understand what his conception of a *proverb* is when he states that

In a similar way, one can tell a proverb from a homonymous variable sentence. When someone says, discussing the banana as a botanical species, that "a banana plant does not bring fruit twice", all the words inside the quotation marks are construed in the direct sense as part of the description of a plant. But when the same words ("a banana plant does not bear fruit twice") are used in an obviously figurative sense to describe an act or process that cannot be repeated, they constitute a proverb (cf. *Two masses are not served for a deaf man*). Besides, as distinct from a variable sentence, a proverb is a cliché and does not allow of arbitrary replacement of its components. (p. 119)

The quote above may present a couple of problems, though. On the one hand, it is broadly accepted that the same proverb may be found with slight variations in the words making it up, especially if those words are synonyms, as is the case with "bring" and "bear" in the saying used by Permyakov as an example. Thus, controversy may arise when taking a look at these proverbs:

1. The Devil can cite Scripture for his purpose (ODEP, p. 865)
2. The Devil can quote Scripture for his own ends (ODP, p. 73)

According to Permyakov's point, one of the proverbs above might not be perceived as such or may not be a proverb at all. However, it is widely accepted, as A. Dundes (1999:, p. 4) explains, that "Multiple existence and variation are characteristic of all

¹² Reed, A. (Writer). (14 Apr. 2014). Archer Vice: Filibuster (Television series episode). In N. Holman, E. Sims, & B. Fordney (Producers), *Archer*. Irving, TX: FX.

genres of folklore: proverbs, jokes, legends, and so on.” Moreover, Permyakov seems to deny the possibility of proverb manipulation, another well-known and generally accepted fact in paremiology and which will be detailed in 9.4.1. However, later on, he (1979, p. 147) acknowledges that “paremiological transformation is not an accident but a universal property of *paremias*”.

An interesting aspect in Permyakov’s work (1979) is the establishment of the “text functions” that, according to him, proverbs may fulfil. His set is made up of the following seven *functions* (pp. 140-42):

- *Modelling*: “Its essence lies in the fact that a *paremia* possessing this function provides a verbal (or thought) model (scheme) of some real-life (or logical) situation.”
- *Instructive*: the name is quite self-explanatory as proverbs may transmit some teaching.
- *Prognostic*: the nature of which is “foretelling the future.”
- *Magical*: certain *clichés* may be intended to cause the desired effect by verbal means.”
- *Negative communication*: the purpose of this function is to “say something without telling anything, or to avoid answering.”
- *Entertainment*: *paremias* may be used for amusement.
- *Ornamental*: *clichés* may be used with the intention of adorning one’s speech.

It must be pointed out that, as shown in the following table by Permyakov (1979, p. 144), the presence of the first function, *modelling*, is the only mandatory one for proverbs, the rest being optional:

Text functions Types of paremias	1 Modelling	2 Instructive	3 Prognostic	4 Magical	5 Negative communication	6 Entertainment	7 Ornamental
1. Proverbs and proverbial phrases	+
2. Riddles	.	+
3. Omens	.	.	+
4. "Practical" sayings	.	+
5. Beliefs	.	.	+
6. Prophetic dreams	.	.	+
7. Curses	.	.	.	+	.	.	.
8. Wishes and toasts	.	.	.	+	.	.	.
9. Fortune- guessing	.	.	+
10. Problems	.	+
11. Oaths	.	.	.	+	.	.	.
12. Puzzles	.	+
13. Threats	.	.	.	+	.	.	.
14. Tongue- twisters	.	+
15. Nonsense- talk	+	.	.
16. Wellerisms	+
17. Facetious locutions
18. Spells	.	.	.	+	.	.	.
19. Fablettes and one-scene anecdotes	+
20. Facetious answers	+	.	.
21. Facetious riddles	+	.
22. Additions	+	.	.
23. "Nuisance" tales	+	.	.
24. Jokes "with a catch"	+	.
25. Tale formulas

Table 2

Yet, this set of functions brings up another peculiarity about Permyakov's conception of what a proverb is. Permyakov does not account for the rhetorical features of proverbs, as Z. Kanyo (1981, p. 90) notes and P. Grzybek confirms (1994, p. 56). According to Permyakov, the only way in which proverbs may remotely be connected to any aesthetic intention is when they are used to embellish one's speech, without paying attention to the fact that some proverbs indeed present poetic artifices (see Chapter 10).

If one of the most recurrent criticisms that Permyakov's work receives is motivated by its excessive complication and the confusion of his observations, towards the end of his study he (1979) presents the following scenario,

Thus, a locution which can acquire different meanings, e.g. *He who has not been caught red-handed is not a thief* or *Heavy rain does not last long*, varies in its practical meaning (function) depending on which type of paremia it belongs to. If the argument is "proverbs", the saying *He who has not been caught red-handed is not a thief* has a modelling function, but with the argument "practical saying", its function is instructive. The saying *Heavy rain does not last long* has a prognostic function with the argument "omens" and a modelling function with the argument "proverbs". It is possible and admissible in terms of mathematics to look at our arguments and functions from the opposite side, assuming the character of the text's practical use as argument and the paremiological type as function. The essence of the matter would not change since the inter-relationship of two variable entities would remain. If a paremia, e.g. *One does not beat a man who is down*, is used to formulate a popular "legal" rule, it belongs to the class of "practical" sayings; if it is used to describe (model) a certain situation, it is a proverb. (p. 145)

As can be inferred from this quote, Permyakov seems to defend the fact that the classification of a phraseologism varies depending on the purpose that said phraseologism fulfils. However, this seems rather preposterous, as the general conception is that PUs belong in rather well-defined categories, in spite of the lack of agreement that may arise about certain occasional cases. Contrary to what Permyakov proposes, a set of six purposes with which proverbs may be used will be presented in Chapter 9. Nevertheless, the set proposed in this dissertation does not influence the category in which a phraseologism is included but means to describe the different intentions with which proverbs may be used.

Finally, regarding the themes that paremiias deal with, Permyakov (1979, p. 155) distinguishes between “monothematic” and “polythematic” ones. In the former, analytical items, which deal with just one theme, are included, such as omens or everyday observations; whereas the latter includes synthetic clichés dealing with multiple themes, such as proverbs, proverbial phrases or riddles (Permyakov, 1979, p. 155).

G. L. Permyakov was possibly one of the first scholars that attempted to create a universal classification of proverbs. Even though some of his contributions and observations are quite attractive and he goes a great distance to present a solid, thought-out classification that could be applied to the paremiological stock of any language, he ended up creating quite a complicated system that did not allow for its application by subsequent scholars to the proverbs in their own languages. Despite all the controversy that this hardship may have caused, the imprint he left is such that he is still considered by many one of the most influential paremiologists of the Russian school.

5.3. Matti Kuusi’s International Type System of Proverbs

Matti Kuusi (1914-1998) is, hands down, one of the most highly-regarded paremiologists of the last century,¹³ as his publications¹⁴ and frequent quotations by other scholars prove. Not only did Kuusi make a great contribution to the development of paremiology as an individual discipline of study, he also studied other aspects of folklore, especially Finnish folklore. Nevertheless, it must also be pointed out that he might not have enjoyed the recognition he deserved for having published most of his works in his native tongue, Finnish, possibly one of the most inaccessible languages in Europe.

¹³ See Mieder (1998), Lampinen (1999).

¹⁴ See Kuusi (1951, 1957a, 1957b, 1972, 1992).

However, Finnish folklore and paremiology were far from his only interests, as the fact that he devoted his time to the study of African proverbs (Kuusi, 1969), particularly Ovambo (Kuusi, 1970), shows. These experiences had a major impact on the development of the work that granted him worldwide recognition in the field of paremiology, his “International Type-System of Proverbs” (Kuusi, 1972), which he started to experiment with at the beginning of the 1970’s. As Lauhakangas (2015, p. 60) puts it, “He noticed that surprisingly many proverbs in Ndonga language, which was his point of departure, had same ideas as Finnish proverbs.” Thus, as can be inferred from its name, Kuusi’s proposal seems to be closer to the purpose of the present work, even though Kuusi did not consider it adequate to make an explicit reference to *européisms*, *internationalisms*, or any other kind of multilingual concept.

Despite his success and diffusion among his colleagues, Kuusi was not the first to establish the concept of *proverb type* (Kuusi, 1972, p. 7), as K. Grigas (2001, n.p.) explains,

A famous American paremiologist Archer Taylor was the first to introduce the term 'proverb-type'. In the book *The Proverb*, published in 1931 and recognized world-wide, he dealt with proverbs as an international phenomenon from different aspects, using the examples from English, German, Latin, French works. Referring to the proverb as a property of many national cultures, he called the equivalents of the same saying expressed in one separate language or by means of several tongues, 'the variants of the proverb', while a set of variants was called 'the type' (Taylor 1931:20— 22). Discussing the ways of variation Taylor indicated the diversity of some specific details and the main features in proverbs, as well as in fairy-tales, ballads or in other genres of folklore. They are linked by similarities, the locutions being broadened either by duplicating analogues or adding contrasting elements or changing obsolete and incomprehensible details (ibid. 22).

As can be seen, both A. Taylor and M. Kuusi shared the view defended throughout the present dissertation that the study of proverbs should have a broader scope, which, unfortunately, is not always the case. The value of national and language-oriented paremiological research is invaluable for the development and perfection of the discipline. However, there are aspects in the study of proverbs that should transcend linguistic or cultural barriers, such as the proposal for a classification of proverbs.

Accordingly, as Lauhakangas (2015, p. 60) states, “The type system gathers together similar proverb titles from different nations into an international or even global type having a common idea.”

In order to achieve the system that he was after, Kuusi analysed a number of collections of proverbs applying a series of criteria to their organisation. It is not surprising, though, being familiar with the general practices in paremiology and phraseology, that only 7% of the collections analysed by Kuusi (1972, p. 14) to compose his “Type-System” employed criteria other than alphabetical or thematic categories for their organisation.

As was to be expected, Kuusi encountered several difficulties while devising his system. One particular setback (Kuusi, 1972, p. 16) that he soon ran into was the “multilevel character of correspondence” between the different types of international proverbs he gathered. In order to cope with this, Kuusi (1972, p. 16) decided that “binary opposition” was the most coherent principle that could be applied and, thus, one of the levels had to be chosen as the primary one and that any proverb “can be interpreted as a selection between two alternative responses.” However, making such a decision may also cause further inconsistencies, especially when dealing with foreign proverbs, as their idiomatic character may prove quite hard to grasp by a stranger. It is interesting to note the fact that Kuusi’s (1972, p. 16) classification endeavour was born as an attempt to “adapt Permyakov’s classification to [his] Finnish and African subject matter”. Inevitably, Kuusi ran into unexpected difficulties when attempting this and resolved to “find an alternative” (Kuusi, 1972, p. 16). Consequently, as Kuusi (1972, p. 39) explains, he did not modify Permyakov’s classification in order to make it suit his needs but, on the contrary, ended up creating his own.

In spite of all the previous work carried out by Kuusi, who originally devised a set of 21 *proverb-types*, it was not until his daughter, O. Lauhakangas eventually took up his work that the “Type-System” reached its final arrangement. Thus, Lauhakangas published a revision in 2001¹⁵ of the system her father had created. This system is made up of 13 *main themes* whose 52 *main classes* are divided into 325 *subgroups*. The 13 main themes are the following:¹⁶

- A. The practical knowledge of nature
- B. Faith and basic attitudes
- C. The basic observations and socio-logic
- D. The world and human life
- E. Sense of proportion
- F. Concepts of morality
- G. Social life
- H. Social interaction
- I. Communication
- J. Social position
- K. Agreements and norms
- L. Coping and learning
- M. Time and sense of time

Then, each major category is further divided into more specific *main classes*. For instance, the first group, “The practical knowledge of nature”¹⁷ is divided into the following:

- A1. Natural elements
- A2. Animals, human being: animal
- A3. Weather, calendar

Yet, each one of these *main classes* is divided further into more definite subsections.

Thus, *main class* A1 holds the following *subgroups*¹⁸:

- A1a. Water and fire as natural elements
- A1b. Earth and the sea as natural elements
- A1c. Types of soil and flora as natural elements
- A1d. Cultivated plants
- A1e. Cold-warm

¹⁵ *The Matti Kuusi International Type-System of Proverbs* is available online at <http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/cerp.html/>.

¹⁶ Lauhakangas, O. (2001). The M6 international type system of proverbs. n.p.: n.p. Retrieved from <http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/int/cerpint.html/> 5 Sep. 2015.

¹⁷ Lauhakangas, O. *The Matti Kuusi type-system of proverbs*. n.p.: n.p. Retrieved from <http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/intmenu/index.html/> 5 Sep. 2015.

¹⁸ Lauhakangas, O. *The Matti Kuusi type-system of proverbs*. n.p.: n.p. Retrieved from <http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/intmenu/index.html/> 5 Sep. 2015.

Finally, examples of proverbs included under the A1a *subtype* are the following:¹⁹

Water is medicine to shit. (translation!)
Water will stand in a hollow
Fire and water are good servants, but bad masters
A fire's belly is never full. (translation!)
Water is stronger than spirits, it topples even large mills. (translation!)

As can be seen from the meagre amount of proverbs included under *subgroup* “A1a. Water and fire as natural elements”, the total number of *subgroups*, 325, seems quite large to handle and, therefore, the manageability of this complex classification is questionable. This “very complex classification system”, as W. Mieder (2004a, p. 17) defines it, has “the intent of establishing universals or archetypes of human thinking. Basing his studies on a large comparative database of proverbs from basically every corner of the world.” Nevertheless, such a formidable task of establishing any universals as Kuusi intended to carry out escapes the intention here expounded of providing a suitable classification for *europaisms* and, subsequently, for proverbs from any language. Yet, attempting to determine “archetypes of human thinking”, as Mieder (2004a, p. 17) puts it, seems rather far-fetched for the purpose with which this dissertation originated.

Kuusi's system originated in a rather common way, that is, from the attempt to adapt someone else's work to one's own context. Even though some of its shortcomings are obvious, i.e. its complexity and excessive elaborateness, it cannot be denied that it has some positive aspects, the most remarkable of which is the great number of languages taken into consideration for the composition of the classification. Nonetheless, the fact that it has taken almost 40 years until Lauhakangas was able to publish it in the way it is found today proves its complexity and the unmanageableness of this system.

¹⁹ Lauhakangas, O. *The Matti Kuusi type-system of proverbs*. n.p.: n.p. Retrieved from <http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/intmenu/index.html/> 5 Sep. 2015.

Kuusi himself predicted some of the difficulties that were to be encountered when he (1972, p. 37) admitted that “the international type-system needs a couple of subgroups more in order to be able to provide all the Ovambo proverbs having structures 1.1—2.6 with precise type markers.” Inevitably, this leads one to think that the more languages included in Kuusi’s system, the more subgroups that would be necessary and, on that account, the work might never be completed. As a result, Kuusi’s classification seems to contradict the very piece of advice with which he closes the publication in which he promotes the benefits of his own system over Permyakov’s, where he (1972, p. 41) defends that “the classifier must build on a foundation that is more stable and general than varying and alternative surface patterns that are bound to language or milieu.”

Similarly to the the method of the previously commented author, G. L. Permyakov, although presenting some interesting observations, Kuusi’s system presents a rather important setback, which is the difficulty it presents for its application by anyone other than the person who devised it. For this reason, the system proposed in the present dissertation will aim at simplification and accessibility to scholars from the most diverse backgrounds and languages.

5.4. Neal R. Norrick’s *How Proverbs Mean*

The American linguist Neal R. Norrick, in his 1985 publication *How Proverbs Mean*, proposes a rather comprehensive dissection and analysis of proverbs. Even though this is not a classification of proverbs *per se*, it would be a rather good starting point for the elaboration of one. Thus, similarly to the classification here proposed and which is divided into the four linguistic *spheres* that take part in the composition and analysis of proverbs, Norrick devotes different chapters of his book to explaining different aspects that play a role in the composition, use, and understanding of proverbs.

However, one soon grows discouraged at finding out that his “study originated in a seminar on linguistic aspects of English proverbs” (Norrick, 198, p. vii), and, therefore, it lacks the cross-linguistic scope that is probably advisable for the composition of a system that allows for the classification of proverbs regardless of their language.

In Chapter 3 of his book, “Defining the proverb”, Norrick (1985, pp. 31-79) covers most of the features included in most definitions of proverbs such as pithiness (pp. 36-39), “traditionality” (pp. 39-40), the “didactic content of proverbs” (pp. 41-43), their “fixedness” (pp. 43-46), or their “poetic features” (pp. 46-51); dedicating larger sections of his work to analyse “Literal proverb meaning” (pp. 81-100) and “Figurative proverb meaning” (pp. 101-143). Norrick’s approach, however, is more cognitive than structural, devoting large sections of his study to the analysis of “how proverbs mean” in different types of text and the media (pp. 12-31) and “figurative proverb meaning” (pp. 131-45); after all, the title of the book *How Proverbs Mean* makes it clear from the very beginning that this is the author’s main concern in it. Yet, there are ideas analysed by Norrick that are necessary for a structural analysis of proverbs, including the definition he proposes and which is mentioned in first chapter of this dissertation. Additionally, another aspect that reinforces the multifaceted character of Norrick’s work is the inclusion, at the end of the book, of a glossary of “Proverbs in four Shakespearean Plays” (pp. 197-202). An aspect in which Norrick betters some of the scholars previously mentioned is that he acknowledges the fact that proverbs have a poetic side and devotes a whole section of his work²⁰ to its analysis.

As has been mentioned, Norrick’s study of proverbs yields some interesting data and presents an interesting approach, dealing with aspects that need to be included in any inquiry into proverbs. However, he does not propose an actual system for the

²⁰ See section 3.1.6 of Norrick’s work

classification of proverbs, despite providing solid grounds for the formulation of one and quoting one of the most recognised authors of a proverb classification rather often, Matti Kuusi. The reason why Norrick's work has been included here in spite of not posing a proper classification system is precisely that, the thorough analysis he proposes of proverbs, including different approaches and which has some aspects in common with the one here proposed, although he maintained the intention of remaining unbiased by former classification attempts. Nevertheless, the nature of proverbs is what it is and, therefore, it is unavoidable to run into coincidental aspects noted by different scholars in parallel.

5.5. Conclusions

In this chapter, several approaches at the classification of proverbs have been presented. The works of previous scholars have been of capital importance in the composition of the present dissertation given that their analysis has provided the grounds for the composition of a comprehensive system that compensates for some of the deficiencies appreciated.

The first classification attempt that has been presented in this section, L. Martínez Kleiser's is a somewhat different approach as it is, mainly, of a paremiographical nature. Despite the vast number of similar works, Martínez Kleiser's (1953) was chosen for the large amount of proverbs included in it, which is probably unparalleled in most similar works. Additionally, the *Refranero* includes a remarkable introductory study, which, although brief, deals with some aspects of major importance for paremiological research. Furthermore, what makes it particularly outstanding is the quasi-literary style with which paremiological matters are expounded, which deviates a great deal from the style found in similar works.

After analysing the different attempts carried out by scholars of ways in which proverbs could be organised, one fact becomes quite clear: it is by no means an easy task. As seen in 5.2, G. L. Permyakov has received some criticism for the complexity of the system he proposed. Nevertheless, his system fostered the appearance of another that was meant to make up for some of his lacks when M. Kuusi realised that Permyakov's system was hardly applicable to the stock of Finnish proverbs. Nevertheless, both of them show a resolute intent to provide a universal system that can be applied to the proverbial stock of any language.

Despite the thoroughness of both scholars and their focus on on some interesting aspects, both of them present an important disadvantage apart from the complicated nature of their analyses. In both cases little or no attention has been paid to the rhetorical side of proverbs for instance, which, if not present in every single proverb, is a quite frequent occurrence that endows proverbs with a special character and furthers their possibilities of application to different situations and contexts.

The last author mentioned in this section, N. R. Norrick (1985) differs from the first one a great deal, at least in stylistic matters. Norrick presents a rather complete scientific-like examination of proverbs in which aspects of major importance left out by other authors are included. Again, it must be pointed out that Norrick's work is not a classification as such. However, it seems like the perfect breeding ground for the composition of one based on his assessment of proverbs and its study has been quite helpful for the composition of the system proposed here.

6. Proposal for a classification of *europaisms*

The necessity to homogenise approaches to paremiology is a pressing one. Paremiology, being the discipline with proverbs as the subject of study, must have a universal scope given that proverbs are not the patrimony of one particular language or society but, on the contrary, a widespread construction existing in the most remote languages and which presents a rather high level of ease in transcending linguistic, social, and cultural boundaries. Thus, paremiological studies should be carried out with a binding intention in order to bring together the discoveries of scholars, to achieve a better understanding of proverbs, and to reach the status, as a scientific discipline, that grants it a prominent position among all the different sub-disciplines of linguistics studies.

The purpose of the present dissertation leans towards that direction: presenting an approach to proverbs existing in different languages through the use of the stock of English proverbs as a mere example. This approach intends to transcend linguistic biases and boundaries, enabling the paremiologist to subject any proverbial lore from any language in the world to the proposed classification.

Ambitious as the project may seem, it is also a necessary one in order to overcome the limited focus with which similar projects by previous scholars have been carried out. This does not mean that regionally or nationally-focused studies on proverbs are not valuable, as they are most enriching both from a linguistic and a sociological point of view; however, one of the most recurrent reproaches made of paremiology, sometimes from paremiologists themselves, is the lack of uniformity in their studies, the most hindering of which is the lack of a universal set of terms or even a definition of the object under scrutiny: proverbs. As explained in the first chapter to this study, there is no general agreement upon the definition of a proverb, even though most specialists will

agree on most of its major features. This fact illustrates the situation of paremiology, a discipline that, in spite of the good health it enjoys as shown by the amount of publications and conferences devoted to its study and betterment, presents such striking differences when presented by one scholar or another that it only hinders the task of prospective scholars.

The present project is, as previously mentioned, ambitious for its intent to bridge a gap that paremiologists frequently come across. Nevertheless, the necessity and resulting convenience of doing so overcome the staggering undertaking of such a task. It should be evident that what follows is a mere proposal, which, although carefully thought out and designed to fill the needs that have been noticed in the field of paremiological studies, might require further revisions and tweaks to achieve the most accurate classification possible. Yet, just as the longest journey begins with a single step, several such steps have already been taken, some proving to be wrong ones, in the direction that leads towards the definitive classification of proverbs.

With this in mind, in the following sections the four relevant areas or *spheres*¹ for the classification of proverbs and, particularly, *europaisms*. These *spheres* are involved in their creation, use, and interpretation, will be examined and explained in regard to their importance and influence in the aforementioned processes involving such proverbs and how they are useful for the establishment of the necessary taxonomic criteria on which the proposed classification relies. These spheres are:

- Morpho-syntactic
- Pragmatic
- Rhetoric

¹ Corpas Pastor (1996) uses the equivalent term in Spanish to categorise the different kinds of PU according to their features. Here, the term is used to refer to the different perspectives from which proverbs are analysed.

- Structural

After close examination of a fairly large amount of proverbs, these seem to be the most outstanding aspects for scrutiny and classification, keeping in mind that the purpose of this classification is universal applicability. This cross-linguistic projection means that the chosen criteria need to be flexible enough to include elements of the most varied nature under the suggested labels and with features and particularities that may be exclusive, or defining, of one particular language and inapplicable to other ones. According to the particularities observed in proverbs, the proposed set, which also includes numerous sub-categories, may prove a suitable one to achieve the intended goals: to classify any proverb according to its features and acquire a better understanding of the most frequent features present in it.

It must be noted that most of the criteria presented revolve around the linguistic side of proverbs, given that, after all, that is primarily what proverbs are: a linguistic manifestation, even if one that may often deviate from the norm. However, the complexity of proverbs makes dealing with them as merely linguistic constructions a somewhat simplistic approach. In this regard, the social aspect also becomes patent in proverb use and it is an element of capital importance that may, under no circumstances, remain excluded from any serious and comprehensive analysis of proverbs.

Proverbs are a linguistic device or communication tool that may be chosen for use because they provide the necessary means to cope with a situation, more frequently than not, including more than one individual, therefore their social side. This does not mean, however, that they may not be used by one person to address him or herself in his or her own train of thought, as they could most definitely be thus employed. Yet, it is in interpersonal communication that proverbs offer the most possibilities, including the ability to be adapted to contexts other than the generally extended canonical one.

Accordingly, the first of the spheres in the present analysis as listed above covers the strictly linguistic features of proverbs, whereas the ways and purposes with which they may be used are analysed in the second, the pragmatic one.

Regarding the rhetoric sphere, as already mentioned, one of the reasons why proverbs are so frequently resorted to and why they produce a certain effect on the hearer, which is generally sought by the speaker rather than a mere accident, is that they are deviations from everyday, denotative language. Part of this is accounted for by the fact that proverbs are figurative uses of language. However, the fact that figurativeness is an intangible asset hardly allows for its inclusion as a criterion in the classification of proverbs. Moreover, proverbs may be used figuratively or literally, depending on the communication situation the speakers are in and whether the proverb in question can be applied directly to the situation in which it is being used. Nevertheless, there is another intangible that is commonly acknowledged, if not as a feature of proverbs, then as an aspect that allows for their recognition, even if their meaning remains obscure to the hearer: their institutionalisation.² This feature, hard to define as it is, is, not entirely but to a great extent, reinforced by the inclusion of rhetoric devices in the structure of proverbs. Thus, the rhetorical aspect of proverbs, despite not being a ground-breaking innovation, may be one of the most useful elements included in this classification, as well as one of the most complex ones, as it is the only aspect that allows for a binary distinction between proverbs that include some rhetorical features and those which do not.

Finally, the fourth subdivision is that in which proverbs are analysed according to the way in which the elements making them up interrelate. Authors such as G. L. Permyakov (1979, p.153), N. R. Norrick (1985, p. 93), and W. Mieder (2004a, pp. 6-7),

² See Chapter 1.1 and Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 21-23).

have attempted to establish certain recurrent patterns in the composition of proverbs (see Chapter 11), yet, as shall be seen, most of the recurrent patterns they present are highly influenced by the grammatical requisites of their respective native languages, which deems such patterns rather useless for application to the proverbial lore of other languages. For this reason, said patterns, as noted by these authors, have been discarded in favour of other more general ones that seem to be more fitting for the purposes of the present classification.

Taking all this into consideration, the need to achieve the desired universal applicability means the impossibility of including some criteria that would otherwise be undoubtedly valuable for the analysis and classification of proverbs, such as, for instance, some grammatical patterns present in proverbs with a rather high frequency of occurrence, but which would not be suitable for the classification of proverbs in different languages. Thus, the following sections spring from the careful observation and inquiry of hundreds of proverbs, bearing in mind at all times the necessity of remaining neutral to avoid the excessive language focus that so many scholars show.

7. Lexico-semantic sphere

Of the multiple aspects that need to be considered in order to achieve an all-inclusive analysis of the composition of proverbs, the lexico-semantic sphere seems to be the one that poses the most conflicts, as it does not easily allow for a cross-linguistic classification. Given that lexical systems vary from one language to the next, this cannot be taken into account in order to fulfil the purpose of the present study. For this reason, the lexical sphere of the language will not be included in the present classification. The main reason for this is not the avoidance of cumbersome tasks or aspects that might prove controversial in the eyes of others. Quite the opposite, for a system that intends to achieve general applicability, relying on such a specific criterion as the lexicon of any particular language would prove useless in the long run, as each language has its own set of words and, despite the common origin shared by several different languages, the meaning, use, and connotational charge of words differ from one language to another, despite their similarities or shared backgrounds.

Furthermore, focusing on the lexicon of the language does not seem relevant to the classification proposed, as it would prove more troublesome than enlightening. In relation to this, one often comes across phenomena such as false friends or equivalent words that have a slightly different meaning or connotation, which can be, more often than not, a substantial shortcoming for classification purposes. A phenomenon opposing this is the appearance of borrowings, calques, and neologisms, something that in present-day technological and globalised society is an unstoppable process and which can reach the four corners of the world in just a matter of hours. Especially in the sphere

of phraseology, expressions originating in foreign languages become perfectly idiomatic and of general domain in one's own code, as can be witnessed daily.¹

Words and their meanings, undoubtedly gain importance when attempting to present a system to arrange proverbs in a dictionary, a task that has yet to be solved by paremiographers and lexicographers, but which seems to raise much debate still today.

W. Mieder (2004) notes that

there is a great need for single-language historical proverb dictionaries based on the lexicographical classification system developed by the American paremiographer par excellence Bartlett Jere Whiting in his celebrated and massive *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (1968) and his many subsequent Anglo-American proverb collections (see Taylor and Whiting 1958; Whiting 1977, 1989). Whiting actually adapted the methodology of Morris Palmer Tilley's *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1950), and both were followed by an unequalled four-volume Polish collection, *Nowa księga przysłów i wyrazen przysłowiowych polskich* (1969–1978) edited by Julian Krzyzanowski and Stanisław Swirko. These collections are historical dictionaries in which the individual proverbs and proverbial expressions are arranged alphabetically according to key words. For each proverb the editors supply historical references from the Middle Ages on, often including the earlier classical and/or biblical references. At the end of such historical monographs on individual proverbs, cross-references to other proverb collections of the language involved are cited as well. Even though this methodology for major historical proverb collections has been long established, it is being followed more or less exclusively only in the Anglo-American world and has resulted in several major proverb dictionaries. (p. 122)

As Mieder suggests, there is no universally accepted system for the arrangement of proverbs within a collection or dictionary, with B. J. Whiting's system appearing to be the most intuitive system for the user, followed later by other remarkable works such as M. P. Tilley's (1950). Still, there are numerous inconsistencies, as different dictionaries (cf. ODEP and ODP) arrange the same proverb under different key words, which makes cross-referencing proverbs a more time-consuming and frustrating task than it should be.

V. Álvarez Vives (2007), in his article evaluating the phraseographic and lexicographic procedures within the Spanish-speaking context claims that

Varela and Kubart use 'key words' to refer to those lexical elements that will facilitate us the search for UP's in the dictionary. In the «Indications for looking up in the dictionary» (p. XII) of their *Diccionario fraseológico del español modern* they warn us that

¹ An example of this can be the phenomenon of Internet memes detailed in Chapter 4. Even though they are not strictly linguistic items, they do show some features similar to those of phrasemes.

«Each entry is under the word that holds the highest rank in the *word hierarchy* that we offer next: proper nouns, nouns, adjectives, participles (agreed), adverbs, main verbs (except *to be* and modal verbs), pronouns (not interrogative), numerals, verb *to be*». On the other hand, Seco/Andrés/Ramos present the phraseological corpus of their *Diccionario del español actual* (1999) in a *Diccionario fraseológico documentado del español actual* (2004). In the latter work a great phraseographical advance can be observed. The dictionary includes two parts: a) a search guide; b) dictionary. The search guide facilitates the user's search of the locution in question. It is a big index of all the UP's gathered in the dictionary, sorted alphabetically by their first element. What is relevant about this guide is that each UP has an element highlighted in bold, which indicates where we can find the definition and also information in the dictionary.² (p. 146, own translation)

According to Álvarez Vives, procedures similar to Whiting's, although with slight variations as the implementation of a guide of use, have recently started to be used in the composition of Spanish dictionaries of proverbs, which used to list proverbs alphabetically or by topic and by alphabetical order (overlooking articles at the beginning of phrases). Yet neither procedure has resulted in a system that does not make looking up a specific proverb a more tedious and cumbersome task than it should be, especially when sorted by topic, due to the lack of correspondence between the literal meaning of the proverb and the way in which it is commonly applied. Yet, another notable difference between the practices of English and Spanish paremiographers is that the latter are more likely to explain the meaning of the different proverbs included in their collections; whereas English-speaking works do not usually make any clarifications on the issue, limiting themselves to including earlier examples of literary works where said proverbs are to be found.

² The original reads thus:

Varela y Kubart utilizan 'palabras clave para referirse a aquellos elementos léxicos que nos van a facilitar la búsqueda de las UFS en el diccionario. En las «Indicaciones para consultar el diccionario» (pág. XII) de su *Diccionario fraseológico del español moderno* nos advierten que «Cada registro se encuentra bajo la palabra que ocupa el rango más alto en la *jerarquía de palabras* que ofrecemos a continuación: nombres propios, sustantivos, adjetivos, participios (concertados), adverbios, verbos principales (excepto *ser, estar, y verbos modales*), pronombres (no interrogativos), numerales, verbo *ser*».

Por otra parte Seco/Andrés/Ramos presentan el corpus fraseológico de su *Diccionario del español actual* (1999) en un *Diccionario fraseológico documentado del español actual* (2004). En esta última obra se puede observar un gran avance fraseográfico. El diccionario contiene dos partes: a) guía de consulta; b) diccionario. La guía de consulta facilita al usuario la búsqueda de la locución en cuestión. Se trata de un gran índice de todas las UFS que recoge el diccionario ordenadas alfabéticamente por su primer elemento. Lo relevante de esta guía es que cada UF tiene un elemento destacado en negrita, que nos indica dónde podemos encontrar la definición y además información en el diccionario. [Own translation.]

Nevertheless, the intention of this section is not to propose an alternative system for the classification of proverbs within a catalogue, but to present the most frequent approaches in this matter. It must be noted, though, that when presenting the reader with a list of proverbs in upcoming sections of the present work, they will be organised following an alphabetical order as found in both of the dictionaries used as main resources for the composition of this study: W. G. Smith's (1970) *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* and J. Speake's (2008) *Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, given that any other system, such as organisation by topic, would be futile here. It must also be pointed out that both dictionaries employ a similar mechanism for the arrangement of proverbs, which is carried out through an arrangement based on key words. However, there are multiple cases in which both dictionaries focus on different key words for the same proverb, causing numerous inconsistencies. For practical reasons, the examples presented here will be arranged alphabetically following the order in which they are found in the ODP compilation due to two main features: it is the oldest of the two works and it is the most copious work.

8. Morpho-syntactic sphere

Approaching the morpho-syntactic sphere from a multi-language point of view, many problems arise. The purpose of this classification is to present a clear-cut organisation for proverbs of different languages. However, the first issue encountered when undertaking the task is that, apart from languages that sprang from a common source (e.g. Romance languages or Germanic languages), each language has its own grammar, syntax, and idiosyncrasies, which make an all-inclusive universal set of features rather hard to come up with. As has already been mentioned, this classification has been made with English in mind and using English proverbs and grammar as an example, but with the intention of making it applicable to the paremiological system of any other Western language. Bearing this in mind, the organisation proposed here was created with the objective of avoiding being too exclusive, which therefore means that features may be left out that cannot be found in English but which are present in other languages or which are significantly different from English.

An example of this complex issue can be illustrated by the use of copular constructions³ in English proverbs. It has been observed that a good one third of all the proverbs analysed presents some sort of copular construction in their canonical form. One has to consider the convenience of counting this as a defining feature of such proverbs when looking at it from a cross-linguistic point of view. As R. Pustet (2003, p. 1) explains, “Many languages have copulas. The grammatical inventory of such languages may comprise more than just one copula. In contrast, other languages do not employ copulas.” Additionally, there are languages, like English (e.g. *be*, *seem*, *look*,

³ Pustet (2003, p. 7) explains that “[a] copula is a linguistic element which co-occurs with certain lexemes in certain languages when they function as predicate nucleus. A copula does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in.”

etc.) or Spanish (e.g. *ser*, *estar*, or *parecer*), which, according to certain grammars,⁴ have several copular and even semi-copular (*permanecer*, *hallarse*, *resultar*, etc.) verbs. Conversely, as Pustet (2001, p. 2) points out, there are also languages such as Tagalog, which completely lack copulas.

In this same sense, another phenomenon can be noted, that of *zero copula*, or “copular dropping,” in Pustet’s (2001, p. 34) words, which is the omission of the copula in certain cases in languages such as Cantonese or Turkish, to name two examples as provided by Pustet. This occurrence also takes place in some dialectal varieties of English, such as African-American English or Southern American English.⁵ This is probably due to the fact that copular verbs do not really carry any meaning with them and are easily omitted by simply saying the quality that accompanies them.

This fact can easily exemplify how this classification should not be a matter of quantity but of quality, and thus, only meaningful universal factors may be taken into account. Accordingly, the aspects analysed in this epigraph will be related to the formal aspect of the proverb, that is, the elements that make it up, either from a morphological point of view (what kind of word they are), or syntactical (how they relate to each other).

As will be seen in subsequent sections, the elements analysed in this section are:

- Subject (personal, animal, action-process-state, concrete nouns, abstract nouns, subjectless constructions, and indefinite subject).
- Divisible and indivisible proverbs.
- Grammatical peculiarities: ellipsis, frequency, modality, word order, etc.

⁴ See Quirk et al. (1985).

⁵ See MacNeil & Cran (2005).

- Sentence proverbs vs. phrase proverbs.

8.1. Subject

To present the first division, we could start with the element that, in English, usually comes first: the subject.⁶ The subject is the element that carries out the action, process, or state expressed by the verb.

One characteristic of English that differentiates it from other languages is few instances in which an elliptical subject is an option. The only case in which this happens is in compound sentences in which the subject is the same for the different clauses; thus, to avoid repetition, the omission of the subject is allowed, e.g. “He who fights and runs away may live to fight another day” (ODEP, p. 256; ODP, p. 175).

After the analysis of the proverbs in the ODP, it has been noted that their subjects can be classified as:

- Personal subject
- Animal subject
- Action-process-state
- Concrete nouns
- Abstract nouns
- Impersonal subject
- Existential construction
- Indefinite subject

8.1.1. Personal subject

Since proverbs are human constructions, employed by humans to address other humans and fulfil some communication necessity (regardless of whether it is teaching,

⁶ For the distribution of the proverbs in the ODP according to their type of subject see Figure 1 in Appendix D.

chastising, moralising, etc.), it is not surprising by any means that more often than not the element around which the proverb is constructed is a personal noun or pronoun. This group is the most numerous one, comprising a considerable percentage of all the proverbs analysed. The reason for this is that since they are “*monumenta humana*” as M. Kuusi (Mieder, 2005b, p. 21) put it, it is sensible that human beings are the most frequent protagonists. However, it must also be pointed out that it is not always a person’s name or profession that acts as a subject, but an indefinite pronoun such as *he* or *one*, given the tendency of proverbs to generalise:⁷

1. He who is absent is always in the wrong (ODEP, p. 1; ODP, p. 1)
2. A blind man’s wife needs no painting / paint (ODEP, p. 68; ODP, p. 30)
3. Clergymen’s sons always turn out badly (ODEP, p. 126; ODP, p. 55)
4. Man can die but once (ODEP, p. 503) / You can only die once (ODP, p. 175)
5. One does not wash one’s dirty linen in public (ODEP, p. 868; ODP, p. 340)

The first example represents an indefinite subject as “he” does not refer to any individual in particular, which is even more noticeable in example number 5 by the employment of the indefinite pronoun “one”. In the other three, however, despite the lack of a clear reference to any particular individual, the use of the nouns “man” and “clergyman” makes the statement a more precise one.

This first group of proverbs that present a personal noun as a subject may seem fairly obvious. However, it conceals an aspect that may be controversial to some. Those proverbs in which the subject is any of the names referring to God or the Devil have been included in this category. The reason for this is that, in the Western tradition, as well as possibly in many others, both entities are generally perceived and represented as anthropomorphic beings, with human features and capable of (super)human deeds. The justification for this perception may be found in Genesis 1:27, where it is said that “God

⁷ For convenience’s sake, the examples presented in this and subsequent chapters will be numbered. The order followed relates to the alphabetical order according to which they are sorted in the reference works consulted. Additionally, as dictionaries sometimes include different variants for the same proverb, the alternatives are presented separated by slashes, when a difference exists between the versions of both of the dictionaries quoted, or in brackets when it is one of the dictionaries that includes different versions.

created mankind in his own image.” God and the Devil will be treated as people for practical purposes since the scope of this section is merely formal. The transcendental aspect will be accounted for in a different section of the study.

8.1.2. Animal subject

The amount of proverbs having an animal noun as the subject is quite large⁸ for one main reason: animals are traditionally associated with different abilities or qualities, and are often seen as embodiments or symbols of such.⁹ Hence, a certain animal is chosen as the subject of a proverb in order to convey a certain figurative meaning. This can easily be explained by using one of the examples provided: “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush” (ODEP, p. 59; ODP, p. 26), which advises against greediness when carrying out a task, as pursuing further objectives may cause one to lose what has already been attained. The choice of birds as the motif for this proverb is not coincidental, as man’s ancient longing to fly deems birds as a symbol of liberty, which causes expressions such as “Free as a bird in air” (ODEP, p. 286) to appear and contribute to the ideal representation of the figurative meaning intended.

Another reason why animals seem rather convenient for their inclusion as the subject of proverbs is that they are a part of nature and belong in a certain geographical context, where they are generally given some connotative charge by humans. This relates to the idea of *idiomatic*, as the same animal may be a symbol for different ideas in different social contexts, as D. Dobrovol’skij and E. Piirainen (2005a) point out. Some examples of proverbs with animal subjects are:

6. An ape’s an ape, a varlet a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet (ODEP, p. 16; ODP, p. 7)
7. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush (ODEP, p. 59; ODP, p. 26)
8. A cat in gloves catches no mice (ODEP, p. 108; ODP, p. 46)
9. Dog does not eat dog (ODEP, p. 194; ODP, p. 82)

⁸ For an account of proverbs about animals see Cantera Ortiz de Urbina (2006), Dundes (2007b).

⁹ For an explanation of the figurative use of animals see Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen (2005a).

Logically, the animals most frequently found in proverbs are those that belong in the geographical context where the proverb appeared. This does not mean that there are not animals from remote places that acquire certain figurative meaning and find their way into the proverbial lore of a certain language. In this regard, the fauna and the flora present in some proverbs are helpful elements to help paremiologists and paremiographers determine where a proverb might have originated.

8.1.3. Action-process-state subject

The third category of proverbs, according to their subject, is that which includes a verb form or a noun derived from a verb. This category has been named here action-process-state because that is the general idea behind the word-choice. That is, these proverbs generally advise in favour of, or against, the undertaking, undergoing, or experiencing of different actions, processes, or states. Most frequently, the subject is a non-finite verbal form, generally an *-ing* form ; nevertheless, there are cases in which the subject of the proverb is an infinitive. Examples of this kind of proverb are:

11. To err is human (to forgive divine) (ODEP, p. 225; ODP, p. 97)
12. Hanging and wiving go by destiny (ODEP, p. 350; ODP, p. 147)
13. Kissing goes by favour (ODEP, p. 430; ODP, p. 173)
14. Seeing is believing (ODEP, p. 710; ODP, p. 281)
15. Three removes / removals are as bad as a fire (ODEP, p. 817; ODP, p. 318)

Three of these five examples (12, 13, and 14) prove that it is generally an *-ing* form that functions as a subject, as English grammar dictates. In example 11 there is an infinitive; and in the final one, number 15, a noun, “removal”, which could be defined as the act of removing. Thus, in spite of being a noun, it seems more sensible to include it under this category.

8.1.4. Concrete noun subject

This group comprises all tangible things that cannot be included in the previous one. This includes objects, substances, body parts, places, buildings, etc. As can be expected, this set is rather numerous as it is made up of a miscellaneous cluster of proverbs in which the subjects are material elements that are not as significant on their own as to be considered individually

A capital aspect that must be borne in mind when dealing with such a vast collection of items and trying to find a suitable set of labels to organise them, is that creating a distinct, individual label for each category made up of only a handful of proverbs would defeat the whole purpose of the study. On the contrary, the right approach must be to homogenise and include as many similar elements as possible under the same label so the final classification is made up of a reasonable amount of sets and not as many sets as there are proverbs under analysis. Examples of proverbs included in this group are:

16. Blood will have blood (ODEP, p. 69; ODP, p. 31)
17. Good wine needs no bush (ODEP, p. 326; ODP, p. 138)
18. The mill cannot grind with water that is past (ODEP, p. 531; ODP, p. 210)
19. Riches are / Money is the root of all evil (ODEP, p. 150; ODP, p. 214)
20. Something is better than nothing (ODEP, p. 751; ODP, p. 293)

As can be inferred from the examples provided, this set includes proverbs dealing with the most varied topics. The only condition they must fulfil is that the subject to the statement be a concrete noun that does not refer to a person or an animal. As has already been mentioned, making individual groups for proverbs that have food, parts of the body, buildings, or any other type of elements represented by a concrete noun would only contribute to making the present classification impractical and unmanageable. It seems reasonable then to include all those proverbs, which would probably add up to an

amount similar to the previously presented sets, under the umbrella term of *concrete nouns* for the sake of practicality.

8.1.5. Abstract noun subject

In contrast to the previous group, there are also proverbs in which the subject is an abstract noun, that is, nouns referring to ideas or concepts. This group is also rather large, the reason for which may be found in the fact that proverbs often appear as an observation of the reality around a group of people, sometimes with the intention of transmitting some piece of knowledge. These pieces of knowledge may deal with the most varied aspects of people's daily lives such as work, romance, morals, etc., as can be seen in the following examples:

21. Absence sharpens / hinders love, presence strengthens it (ODEP, p. 1) / Absence makes the heart grow fonder (ODP, p. 1)
22. Charity begins at home (ODEP, p. 115; ODP, p. 50)
23. Experience is the mother / father of wisdom (ODEP, p. 235; ODP, p. 104)
24. Hunger is the best sauce (ODEP, p. 392; ODP, p. 160)
25. Opportunity makes a thief (ODEP, p. 600; ODP, p. 241)

As can be observed from the examples provided, the pragmatism of proverbs, which will also be dealt with in depth in Chapter 9, can be applied to different aspects of people's lives, whether they have to do with material or intangible elements.

8.1.6. Proverbs without a subject

There are also proverbs that do not have a proper subject. These constructions, impersonal and existential, may not exist in other languages, or may be carried out following different grammatical processes and strategies. Nevertheless, they present particularities that justify their inclusion in a separate group, as they are rather numerous and cannot be included in any of the other subcategories presented. The fact must be noted that these proverbs have not undergone a process of subject ellipsis, which will be accounted for in an upcoming subsection. These sentences do, in fact, have the syntactic slot for the subject in their structures filled, although the elements employed to fulfil

this do not really contribute in any significant way to the meaning of the proverb, as the elements employed are generally referred to as, respectively, *dummy it* (and *unstressed there* (Downing and Locke, 2006, pp. 44, 45).

8.1.6.1. Impersonal constructions

Although it has already been said that one of the most rigid rules of English is its practical inability to omit a subject, there are some impersonal constructions that do not have a subject *per se*, and the slot that is usually filled by a noun or pronoun is in this case filled by a *dummy it*. Examples of these are:

26. It takes all sorts to make a world (ODEP, p. 11; ODP, p. 4)
27. It takes three generations to make a gentleman (ODEP, p. 298; ODP, p. 127)
28. It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest (ODEP, p. 397; ODP, p. 163)
29. It is never too late to learn (ODEP, p. 563; ODP, p. 225)
30. It takes two to make a quarrel (ODEP, p. 852; ODP, p. 333)

This group is rather particular because the proverbs belonging to it have undergone an artificial, as well as apparently unnecessary, extension to the length of the proverb. This may be due to different reasons, either stylistic or pragmatic, such as trying to create a certain effect. Be that as it may, it seems contradictory that, whereas some proverbs undergo some manipulative processes in order to achieve the shortness expected from them, others undergo the contrary practice, unnatural lengthening of a statement that might otherwise remain shorter. The reasons for this may be of a different nature, as one may look for a particular style that provides the proverb with a certain tone, whereas others may employ more elaborate structures in order to endow their statement with a touch of proverbiality.

8.1.6.2. Existential constructions

Another structure with an empty subject that is quite frequently found in proverbs is that of existential constructions. As Downing and Locke's (2006) put it,

Existential processes are processes of existing or happening. The basic structure consists of unstressed *there* + *be* + a NG (*There's a man at the door; there was a loud bang*). *There* is not a participant as it has no semantic content, although it fulfils both a syntactic function

as Subject (...) and a textual function as ‘presentative’ element (...). The single participant is the **Existent**, which may refer to a countable entity (*There’s a good film on at the Scala*), an uncountable entity (*There’s roast lamb for lunch*) or an event (*There was an explosion*). (p. 153)

As can be gathered from this explanation, similarly to the previously mentioned group, these proverbs do not have a subject as such and what they do is fill that necessary gap, according to the grammar of the English language, with an element devoid of meaning. Thus, bearing in mind that, at the present stage, syntactic subjects seem to be particularly useful in the *morpho-syntactic* classification of proverbs, the fact that there are proverbs that do not have a real subject becomes useful in rounding up this classification. An example of this are the Spanish proverbs “Nunca llueve hasta que Dios quiere” (Martínez Kleiser, 1953, p. 428), “A la callandilla se hacen las mejores cosillas” (Martínez Kleiser, 1953, p. 98), or “A buen hambre no hay pan duro” (Martínez Kleiser, 1953, p. 337).¹⁰

Some examples of such constructions are:

31. There is no accounting for tastes (ODEP, p. 2; ODP, p. 2)
32. There’s many a slip between cup and lip (ODEP, p. 160; ODP, p. 203)
33. There’s many a good tune played on an old fiddle (ODEP, p. 325; ODP, p. 138)
34. There is luck in leisure (ODEP, p. 496; ODP, p. 197)
35. There is truth in wine (ODEP, p. 896; ODP, p. 328)

Even though there is a limited number of proverbs presenting this structure, the inability to place them in any other category and the particularity of their features make it necessary to find a place for them in the present classification. As has already been repeated throughout the present study, the final goal is to set up a theoretical framework that can be employed for the study and analysis of proverbs in other languages, for which purpose, the stock of English proverbs is serving as an exemplification of the application of said classification. In this regard, it cannot be confirmed that there are such structures in other languages. However, it can be assumed that, if not in all

¹⁰ “It never rains until God wants”, “Best things are done silently”, or “To good hunger no bread is hard.” (own translation)

languages, there must be proverbs in some other languages, which are articulated following some kind of impersonal construction, thereby justifying the inclusion of a section covering these proverbs at the present stage of this classification.

8.1.7. Indefinite subjects

As noted in 8.1.1, there is a series of proverbs in which the nature of the subject is hardly recognisable. Sometimes, as shown by some of the examples provided in the aforementioned subsection, it becomes quite obvious that the proverb in question is referring to a person, regardless of the difficulty in identifying said person or the inconsequentiality of doing so. In those cases the proverb has been identified as having a personal subject, although the tag *indefinite* has been appended to this label.

Sometimes, however, the component functioning as the subject of the saying is an indefinite pronoun, or another word such as the interrogative word *what*, the nature of which or the specific element to which it refers being unidentifiable. In spite of their scarcity, proverbs with a subject similar to any of the following examples have been marked as presenting an indefinite subject:

36. Much would have more (ODEP, p. 550; ODP, p. 219)
37. Nothing venture, nothing gain (ODEP, p. 581; ODP, p. 234)
38. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander (ODEP, p. 699; ODP, p. 277)
39. Something is better than nothing (ODEP, p. 751; ODP, p. 293)
40. All's well that ends well (ODEP, p. 879; ODP, p. 344)

As can be seen in the examples provided, there are proverbs in which the nature of the subject is not made explicit, which may contribute to make them of an easier applicability in different contexts or situations. This phenomenon is also related to the character of proverbs as a figurative use of language, in which there is no need for a direct connection between the reality to which the proverb is being applied and the content of the proverb itself. According to this feature of proverbs and considering that

certain elements of the language may be used to refer to indeterminate realities, certain phrasemes may allow for easier application to different situations.

8.2. Divisibility of proverbs

It is generally accepted among paremiologists¹¹ that there are proverbs that are so well-known and established among speakers that only reproducing a part of them suffices to produce the desired effect. This is due to the fact that proverbs have a frozen structure that acquires such a wide diffusion that speakers can omit part of it and still get their message across. As will be seen, this is not applicable to all proverbs, however, as there are some that cannot undergo this process of reduction due, mainly, to reasons of length. This does not allow for the inclusion of divisibility among the set of defining features of proverbs included in the first chapter. Even though there are, indeed, numerous proverbs in which the first few words are enough to bring the proverbial picture to the mind of the receiver,¹² there are many others in which no word may be omitted if one wants the receiver to fully grasp what is meant, or at least take the statement as a figurative use of language. For this reason, another distinction needs to be made within the syntactical arrangement of proverbs: that between divisible and indivisible proverbs.

8.2.1. Clippable proverbs

To be considered clippable, a proverb must be able to convey its meaning with the utterance of only the first few words. It must be noted that in a clippable proverb, it is generally the second half that is omitted, with the whole first part usually being uttered. Regarding this feature, there is a question that inevitably arises when considering such a characteristic: how can a proverb be understood as such by a hearer

¹¹ See Norrick (1985, p. 45), Mieder (1993 p. 21), among others.

¹² For the percentages of clippable and unclippable proverbs see Figure 2 in Appendix D.

if parts of it are omitted? The answer to this question is that, in order for a proverb to be acknowledged as such, even if it has not been recited word for word, the hearer must have a fairly large *paremiological minimum*. As W. Mieder (1994b, p. 297)¹³ explains, *paremiological minimum* refers to the “paremiological knowledge one must possess in order to communicate effectively,”¹⁴ that is, the proverbs any given person knows and employs effectively in communication.

Proverbs are a figurative use of language, and when people use them, they are taking license to employ a closed, frozen set of words as a whole in a manner that deviates from the usual way in which those words are individually employed. However, this use of language works because that set of words is identified as a proverb and the conversational counterparts know the communication convention that the use of proverbs implies, enabling the sender to successfully deliver a message, which might seem meaningless if isolated and taken literally. Accordingly, this process will fail miserably if the hearer either does not know the proverb that has just been referenced, or he or she does not acknowledge it as a proverb at all. In relation to this, among the hundreds of proverbs that can be found in any language, there are always a few that are the best known, most frequently said and heard, and most recognisable, such as those on the list put together by Mieder (1994b) for the English of America.¹⁵

¹³ In this regard, see also Permyakov (1971), Tarnovska (2005), and Penadés Martínez (2006).

¹⁴ This concept relates to the Chomskian idea of *linguistic competence* (Chomsky, 1965). Chomsky (1965, p. 4) makes a distinction between “*competence* (the speaker-hearer’s knowledge of his language) and *performance* (the actual use of language in concrete situations)”, which challenges Saussure’s (1959, p. 9-15) “*langue and parole*” because, as Chomsky (1956, p. 4) remarks, “it is necessary to reject his concept of *langue* as merely a systematic inventory of items and to return rather to the Humboldtian conception of underlying competence as a system of generative processes. In this regard, Naciscione (2001: 67) talks about “*phraseological competence*” whereas Sevilla Muñoz and Díaz (1997) talk about “*paremiological competence*”.

¹⁵ For similar studies in other languages see Permyakov (1971) for Russian; Grzybek (1991) for German; Grzybek, Skara, and Heyken (1993) for Croatian; Grzybek, Chlosta, & Roos (1994) for Hungarian; and Sevilla Muñoz (2010) for Spanish.

A related, but distinct, practice in the use of proverbs is allusion. This means that a proverb may not only be shortened, but also be referred to without reproducing a whole section of it. In proverb allusion, any piece of the proverb containing one of the images that make up said proverb may be effectively used in communication, always assuming that the *paremiological minimum* or *paremiological competence* (Sevilla Muñoz & Díaz, 1997; Sevilla Muñoz, 2010) of both conversational partners allows for the understanding of the allusion as a reference to a particular proverb. This must not be confused with the feature present in some proverbs that allows for the ellipsis of part of them, as proverbs that may not permit this division may indeed be successfully alluded to. The way in which this process works is analysed by Jakobson and Halle (1956, p. 6), who note that “once the necessity arises, speech that is elliptic on the semantic or feature level, is readily translated by the utterer into an explicit form which, if needed, is apprehended by the listener in all its explicitness.” An example of this can be found in the following dialogue from the American television drama *Boardwalk Empire*:

GILLIAN DARMODY The whole encounter will be balanced on a razor. Take your father's lead, but be your own man as well.
JIMMY DARMODY So I shouldn't let him cut my meat for me?
GILLIAN DARMODY I'm glad you're so cavalier.
JIMMY DARMODY It's just a dinner, ma.
GILLIAN DARMODY With the governor, dear. Your father's worked very hard to solidify this relationship. And you know what they say about first impressions.¹⁶

Someone with an average paremiological competence should be able to identify Mrs Darmody's intervention as an allusion to the proverb “First impressions are the most lasting” (ODEP, p. 262; ODP, p. 116). In this example, it can be observed how two words suffice to convey the meaning intended by Mrs Darmody, who employs a proverb that would hardly allow for its reduction. It could be argued that allusion is a different type of reduction. Although, technically, this may be true, it seems more appropriate to

¹⁶ Moses, I. (Writer), & White, S. (Director). (9 Oct. 2011). A dangerous maid (Television series episode). In T. Winter et al. (Producers), *Boardwalk empire*. New York, NY: HBO.

analyse it as an independent use of proverbs for two main reasons: on the one hand, it does not necessarily fulfil the above-mentioned premise by which it is always the second half of the proverb that is omitted; on the other hand, as explained in the first chapter to the present study, one of the defining features of proverbs is that they are syntactically independent. This is true both for proverbs in their canonical wording, as well as for proverbs that have undergone a process of reduction. However, this feature cannot be applied to proverbial allusion, as they depend on some sort of introductory formula to be identified as such.

To illustrate how some proverbs can be divided but still be perceived as the whole, successfully fulfilling their purpose, the following examples should suffice:

41. After a storm... (comes a calm) (ODEP, p. 6; ODP, p. 3)
42. Better the devil you know... (than the devil you don't know) (ODEP, p. 55; ODP, p. 22)
43. Birds of a feather... (flock together) (ODEP, p. 60; ODP, p. 28)
44. The devil is not so black... (as he is painted) (ODEP, p. 182; ODP, p. 75)
45. Talk of the devil... (and he is sure/bound to appear) (ODEP, p. 804; ODP, p. 313)

The division of the first proverb relies on the fact that it is structured following a cause-effect pattern. Thus, the logical outcome of the proverb may be anticipated by the receiver, even if he or she is not familiar with the proverb in its full canonical form. Example number 42 works in a manner similar to the previous one: in this case it is not a cause-effect structure, but the contrast established by the comparison. Even if the popularity of the proverb is set aside, its structure makes it easy for the receiver to anticipate how the proverb ends. Number 43 is actually listed by Mieder (1994b, p. 311) as one of his “Anglo-American High Frequency Proverbs”. The inclusion of this proverb in said list, composed after an exhaustive survey of individuals, might suffice to account for the ability of this proverb to be shortened. Yet, it may also be mentioned that, similar to example number 36, this proverb is articulated following a condition-result arrangement of elements. This means that the “birds of a feather” part sets up the

logical outcome of the proverb, which is further reinforced by rhyme. In proverb number 44 it can be seen how it may not be necessary to grasp the whole of the proverb for it to fulfil its intention. The first half, “the devil is not so black,” suffices as a statement to successfully transmit the encouraging assertion that a situation may not be as bad as it may seem. The last example of the five provided, number 45, coincidentally has the devil as one of its participants as well. This proverb is also frequently shortened and, similar to the previous example, may not rely on the proverbial knowledge of the receiver for its successful employment in conversation. However, it must be noted that the intention for the use of this proverb may depend on the proverbial competence of the receiver, as well as on the context, as it may be used as a warning or to describe a situation.

The effect that the division of a proverb may have on the meaning and use of said proverb can be so large that it might change the whole meaning of the proverb. This can be seen in the proverb “Jack of all trades and master of none” (ODEP, p. 408; ODP, p. 167). The meaning of this proverb is that “To have a superficial knowledge of many skills means no real skill in any area” (Flavell & Flavell, 1993, p. 145). However, this proverb is frequently shortened to “Jack of all trades”, which, contrary to the proverb in its whole canonical form, may be used as a compliment for a multifaceted person. This can be seen in the following excerpt from the North American TV drama *House of Cards*¹⁷:

FRANCIS [*To Claire, who is working out on a rowing machine.*] When did this happen?
CLAIRE Meechum helped me fix it. If they're not gonna let me run, I have to work out some way.
FRANCIS You carried it all the way up here?
CLAIRE For privacy. I had help.
FRANCIS Meechum.
CLAIRE That's right.
FRANCIS Jack of all trades. Handyman, furniture mover...
CLAIRE Human shield. How bad is it?

¹⁷ Mankiewicz, J., Willimon, B. (Writers), & Coles, J. (Director). (14 Feb. 2014). Chapter 24 (Television series episode). In D. Fincher et al. (Producers), *House of cards*. Los Gatos, CA: Netflix.

FRANCIS Bad. They have evidence of Doug being where he shouldn't have been.

In this piece of dialogue, Francis reduces the aforementioned proverb causing it to change its meaning as had been anticipated. Thus, what seems originally intended to be a criticism against someone who gets involved in too many things, becomes a sort of compliment used by him to praise his bodyguard and his skills.

As can be seen by the examples presented, the divisibility of proverbs is a rather frequent practice that may rely on the proverbial knowledge of both conversational partners for its success. As has been shown, the general procedure is the omission of the second half of the proverb, a practice that should not obstruct communication but which may cause variations in the use and purpose of proverbs.

8.2.2. Unclippable proverbs

The fact that some proverbs can be shortened is generally accepted, as has just been seen. However, little attention has been paid to the fact that some proverbs cannot be reduced. The reasons for this are mainly two: either they are too short or they risk not being perceived as a figurative use of language, as every individual's paremiological competence is limited.

Thus, there are many short proverbs, generally between three and five words long, which include the identification or qualification of a concept. Examples of this are:

46. Beauty is only skin-deep (ODEP, p. 38; ODP, p. 15)
47. Boys will be boys (ODEP, p. 79; ODP, p. 34)
48. Love is blind (ODEP, p. 490; ODP, p. 196)
49. Patience is a virtue (ODEP, p. 613; ODP, p. 245)
50. Punctuality is the politeness of princes (ODEP, p. 654; ODP, p. 59)

Additionally, there are proverbs like the following examples, in which every word counts and there is no possibility for the omission of any of them:

51. Civility costs nothing (ODEP, p. 125; ODP, p. 54)
52. Blood is thicker than water (ODEP, p. 69; ODP, p. 31)
53. Divide and rule (ODEP, p. 190; ODP, p. 79)
54. More haste than good speed (ODEP, p. 543) / More haste, less speed (ODP, p. 149)

Example number 51 is a brief and wise statement made up of three words. Proverb number 52 is a rather common one in which, through synecdoche and comparison, the strength of family ties is remarked upon. Number 53 is made up of two imperatives joined by a copular conjunction. 54 is an ungrammatical phrase introduced by a non-finite verb and a grammatically incorrect negation adding up to three words. Finally, number 55 is another brief statement made up of three words.

Even though there are three, four, or five-word-long proverbs that can be considered short, the shortest possible proverb is made up of two words, given that, as Honeck (1997, p. 23), points out, “one-word proverbs are unheard of, at least in English.” Examples of this are the following:

- 56. Extremes meet (ODEP, p. 235; ODP, p. 105)
- 57. Know thyself (ODEP, p. 435; ODP, p. 174)
- 58. Power corrupts (ODP, p. 255)
- 59. Tastes differ (ODEP, p. 805; ODP, p. 313)
- 60. Time flies (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 320)

Due to the idiosyncrasies of the English language, for two-word proverbs to be considered grammatically correct, the most frequent structure would be made up of an abstract noun (which may not carry any determiners) and an intransitive verb. Another possibility, within grammatically-correctness, would be an imperative and its object, as in example number 57, although the first possibility seems more common.

The second cause adduced to explain the inability of certain proverbs to be reduced is that they might not be understood or perceived as such by the receiver. Proverbs transmit some meaning that does not necessarily correspond to what the literal interpretation of the statement is. Generally, the fact that a proverb is understood as such, even if its actual meaning or purpose are not fully grasped, may be enough to fulfil the task it is intended to. This is explained by the concepts of figurativeness and

proverbiality which endow proverbs with their characteristic irrefutability. Nevertheless, for all this to take place, there is an important prerequisite that is often overlooked: both parties in the communication process must have a similar knowledge of proverbs. This is related to the already mentioned concepts of *paremiological minimum* and *paremiological competence*, which may be different among individuals even within the same social context. Scholars of varying fields have surveyed individuals regarding their knowledge of proverbs and other types of phrasemes, which has proven useful to their different fields of study.¹⁸

8.3. Grammatical peculiarities of proverbs

The fact that proverbs may present some grammatical deviation¹⁹ from what is considered the norm has been noted by some scholars.²⁰ However, this occasional unconventionality cannot be considered a defining feature of proverbs because it does not appear with enough consistency, as most proverbs are in fact grammatically and syntactically acceptable. There are different reasons for this deviation of the norm: some may be motivated by stylistic reasons, while others represent dialect or slang, and some may even be due to translational errors. Yet, this section has been included to account not only for those proverbs that do present certain deviations from what is considered the norm, but also those that include certain grammatical or syntactical features that, in spite of not being wrong, may be seen as inessential from a strictly grammatical point of view.

Examples of proverbs that present some type of grammatical unconventionality are:

¹⁸ See Mieder, (1985), Gibbs et al. (1989, 1996), Pérez Bernal (2004), Sevilla Muñoz (2010), and Piirainen (2012).

¹⁹ For the percentages of proverbs in the ODP with and without grammatical peculiarities see Figure 3 in Appendix D.

²⁰ See Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 150), Lau, Tokofsky, & Winick (2004, p. 3), Pamies Bertrán (2010, p. 34).

61. As good be an addled egg as an idle bird (ODEP, p. 4; ODP, p. 2)
62. The Devil take the hindmost (ODEP, p. 183; ODP, p. 75)
63. Eat to live, not live to eat (ODEP, p. 215; ODP, p. 92)
64. Love and a cough cannot be hid (ODEP, p. 488; ODP, p. 195)
65. A woman, a Spaniel / dog, and a walnut tree, the more you beat them the better they be (ODEP, p. 758; ODP, p. 350)

Examples number 61 and 62 diverge from the norm with their inclusion of the subjunctive, which may be seen as an archaism. The second half of number 63 uses an ungrammatical negative form of an imperative. Finally, similar to previous instances, there is a lack of agreement between the subject and the verb, although in this case such incorrectness may be motivated by stylistic intentions in the attempt to achieve rhyme.

There are also examples that, despite lacking general acceptance, present dialectal or slang deviations from standard grammar. Examples of this are:

66. If it ain't broke, don't fix it (ODP, p. 38)
67. Sussex won't be druv.²¹ (ODP, p. 308)

Number 66 is a North American proverb containing slang; whereas number 67 is a local proverb with a dialectal variation of “drove” (ODP, p. 308). Similarly, some proverbs may include archaisms, as in:

68. Be the day weary or be the day long, at least it ringeth to evensong (ODP, p. 70).
69. Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned (ODP, p. 153).

As can be observed in examples 68 and 69, some proverbs may include some primitive uses of the language, like old-fashioned verb inflection. The reason for this may be the importance of tradition and the idea of antiquity in the use and transmission of proverbs.

Another aspect that must be considered is how the translation of a proverb into a foreign language may cause awkwardness.²² As F. Boas (1938, p. 132) explains, “It has been pointed out that grammar determines the relationship between the various

²¹ According to the ODP (p. 308), “*Druv* is a dialectal variant of *drove* (standard English *driven*).”

²² For an account of the translations of phraseology see Zuluaga Ospina (1999), Corpas Pastor (2000a, 2000b), Timofeeva (2006), Mieder (2010), Negro Alousque (2010), among others. For specialised studies on the translation of Shakespeare's use of phraseology see Oncins Martínez (1996, 2005), Castillo Blanco (1998), or Sanchez García (1999). For the issues that students of foreign languages encounter when learning foreign phraseology see Richart Marset (2007). For the influence of foreign phraseology on the French press see Martí Solano (2012b).

words expressing different aspects of an experience,” which, according to Jakobson (1959, p. 116), inevitably influences translation. This remark by Jakobson might explain why certain proverbs present some irregularities. To prove this, evidence of the existence of a proverb in a certain language prior to its assimilation into the proverbial lore of a different language is needed.

There are other elements of major importance in the creation, distribution, and use of proverbs from a *morpho-syntactic* point of view. The fact that proverbs are frozen linguistic occurrences makes some of their defining features become manifest in their wording. For this reason, precise word-choice is pursued. Additionally, one of the most generally accepted features of proverbs, which allows for their use and justifies it, is their dogmatism or character of indisputable truth. According to this, the truthfulness of proverbs is often taken for granted, although there are cases in which some of the components of the proverb make it explicit in the statement. As, S. Fiedler (2007) explains

The general validity and truth of proverbial wisdom are expressed grammatically by determiners (*all, every, no*; the indefinite articles *a, an*) and certain adverbs with generalizing, ‘categorical’ meaning (*always, never*). Examples are:

All roads lead to Rome.

Every cloud has a silver lining.

Necessity knows no law.

A woman’s place is in the home.

The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence,

Never say die. (p. 45)

Apart from the determiners, as explained by Fielder, there are other elements that make a notable contribution to reinforce the authoritativeness of proverbs: frequency adverbials and modality, which shall be detailed in the following two sections.

8.3.1. Frequency

One of the elements most commonly employed to reinforce the aforementioned character of proverbs as pieces of indisputable truth is the recurrent presence in them of lexical units from the semantic field of frequency. Even though the rate of appearance of

frequency adverbs and frequency expressions in proverbs is not by any means enormous, what is remarkable is the fact that, when they are indeed employed, among the different possibilities available (“always”, “usually”, “normally”, “generally”, “often”, “frequently”, “sometimes”, “occasionally”, “seldom”, “hardly ever”, “rarely”, “never”, etc.), the ones found at both ends of the frequency scale, i.e. *always* and *never*, are the ones chosen almost exclusively. This assertiveness is not accidental and plays an important role in shaping the proverbial idea of absolute truth.

Examples of some well-known proverbs indicating frequency are the following:

70. The absent are always in the wrong (ODEP, p. 1; ODP, p. 1)
71. A barking dog seldom / never bites (ODEP, p. 31; ODP, p. 13)
72. Ne'er cast a clout till May be out (ODEP, p. 106; ODP, p. 46)
73. Misfortunes never come singly (ODEP, p. 535; ODP, p. 211)
74. Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today (ODEP, p. 656; ODP, p. 260)

It is well known by anyone, scholarly or otherwise, that one of the main purposes of proverbs is to transmit some valuable piece of knowledge or advice. With this in mind, it becomes clear why the advice-giver may avoid the use of timid statements in favour of unhesitating ones in order to provide his or her statement with the authoritativeness needed to produce the desired reaction in the receiver. Thus, frequency adverbials do not only indicate how often something happens, but reinforce the authoritativeness of the statement.

As has already been mentioned, the most commonly found adverbs in the proverbs in the ODP, by far, are “never” (55 times) and “always” (22 times). The incidence of other adverbs such as “sometimes”, “seldom”, “often”, etc., is marginal, although they can still be found in a handful of proverbs, as for instance:

75. Common fame is seldom to blame (ODEP, p. 138; ODP, p. 58)
76. Half the truth is often a whole lie (ODEP, p. 344; ODP, p. 145)
77. Homer sometimes nods (ODEP, p. 379; ODP, p. 156)
78. The pitcher will go to the well once too often (ODEP, p. 628; ODP, p. 250)
79. Seldom lies the devil dead by the gate (ODEP, p. 712)

As can be seen from the examples provided, other frequency adverbs may also be used in proverbs. However, the ratio between “always” and “never”, and the rest, is clearly favourable to the former in terms of frequency in the catalogue of proverbs analysed for the composition of this study.

The frequency with which *never* is used, as opposed to its positive counterpart *always*, may not be accidental and might prove that a solid, negative statement is more effective when attempting to transmit some sort of teaching or precept. To prove this, a cross-reference of the proverbs containing *never*, or *always*, and the purpose with which they are used (see section 9.3) should be carried out to arrive at some conclusions.

As has been shown, frequency adverbials are a recurrent device employed by proverbs to reinforce their dogmatism, which is accounted for by the fact that the adverbials employed are almost exclusively, save for a handful of exceptions, those found at both ends of the scale.

8.3.2. Modality

Following Downing and Locke’s (2006, p. 379) explanation, *modality* is “the semantic category by which speakers express two different kinds of attitude towards the event.” The first attitude is that of determining the truthfulness of something (epistemic or extrinsic modality); the second is when one imposes obligations or prohibitions on someone else (deontic or intrinsic modality). Modality is expressed through several devices, the most frequent being modal verbs and adverbs of manner, although it can also be expressed with certain nouns or verbal constructions. Thus, modality can be a rather helpful device to express the dogmatism of proverbs.

After a close inspection of the catalogue of proverbs analysed, one comes to the conclusion that deontic modality seems to be much more abundant than epistemic modality, at least in proverbs in English. The explanation for this can be found, again, in

the authoritative character of proverbs. This character becomes patent both in the proverbs with the intention of evaluating a current situation as well as in those which are intended to transmit some teaching, regardless of the nature of said teaching.

Some examples that illustrate the use of modal verbs made by proverbs are:

- Deontic modality:

80. Caesar's wife must be above suspicion (ODEP, p. 97; ODP, p. 43)
81. Children should be seen and not heard (ODEP, p. 656; ODP, p. 53)
82. Desperate diseases must have desperate remedies (ODEP, p. 178; ODP, p. 73)
83. You cannot have your cake and eat it (ODEP, p. 215; ODP, p. 150)
84. No one should be judge in his own cause (ODEP, p. 415; ODP, p. 168)

- Epistemic modality:

85. When the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch (ODEP, p. 67; ODP, p. 30)
86. He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day (ODEP, p. 256; ODP, p. 113)
87. A good horse cannot be of a bad colour (ODEP, p. 320; ODP, p. 137)
88. What must be, must be (ODEP, p. 552; ODP, p. 220)
89. All good things must come to an end (ODEP, p. 656; ODP, p. 4)

One last example that deserves to be mentioned and which brings together both types of modality is “Young men may die, but old men must die” (ODEP, p. 927; ODP, p. 355). In the first part of the proverb, corresponding to the first sentence, epistemic modality is used to explain the possibility of a young man dying as a result of an accident or an unexpected turn of events. Alternatively, the second part indicates that elderly people are destined to die once they have reached a certain age since death is something that no one can escape from, which corresponds to deontic modality.

8.3.3. Ellipsis

Among the different devices employed in the grammatical alteration of proverbs, ellipsis stands out for its frequency. According to Downing and Locke (2006):

By means of **ellipsis** we leave out those elements of the Sentence that are recoverable. As a result we highlight the new information and our discourse gains in cohesion and coherence. Information can be recovered from the linguistic co-text or from the social context. Ellipsis of the first type is **textual** and of the second **situational**. (p. 243, original emphasis)

Ellipsis can be applied to proverbs for various reasons, the most common of which is probably the attempt to achieve coherence, as mentioned by Downing and Locke, which

also provides the proverb with a wording that is memorable. Although the effect produced by this can only be explained from the scopes of other spheres of this study, such as those of stylistics and pragmatics, it has a manifest effect on the formal arrangement of the components of a proverb and, therefore, justifies its inclusion in this section.

Ellipsis brings up a conflict, though. If necessary elements of the statement are omitted, can it still be considered as syntactically independent, one of the defining features of proverbs? Generally, the omitted element in proverbs can be left out because there is an implicit idea that does not need to be verbalised. This may be motivated by the fact that proverbs are a figurative use of language, as opposed to a literal one. At the same time, one must bear in mind that proverbs are a predominantly spoken use of language, which does not mean that they are not found rather frequently in written texts as well. This oral focus means that rapidity, dynamism, and economy are more frequently sought than in written communication, and it is precisely for this reason that some unnecessary, superfluous or redundant elements are left out.

Some examples of ellipsis in proverbs are:

90. Business before pleasure (ODEP, p. 93; ODP, p. 39)
91. Once bitten, twice shy (ODEP, p. 594; ODP, p. 238)
92. No rose without a thorn (ODEP, p. 684; ODP, p. 272)
93. Six hours' sleep for a man, seven for a woman, and eight for a fool (ODEP, p. 738; ODP, p. 289)
94. Young saint, old evil (ODEP, p. 928; ODP, p. 356)

In these five examples, it can be seen how the verb has been left out and, yet, all the statements seem clear enough to avoid any misinterpretation or communication breakdown. Frequently, the verb is omitted and the elements of the proverb are joined by means of juxtaposition, as in examples 91, 93, and 94. There are many proverbs that present this structure, other examples of which are:

95. New lords, new laws (ODEP, p. 564; ODP, p. 226)
96. No pain, no gain (ODEP, p. 572; ODP, p. 230)

- 97. Once a priest, always a priest (ODEP, p. 595; ODP, p. 238)
- 98. Other times, other manners (ODEP, p. 600; ODP, p. 42)
- 99. Soon ripe, soon rotten (ODEP, p. 752; ODP, p. 293)

Here, the verbs may have been omitted because they are implied in the rest of the message and can be inferred from the other elements in the proverbs. As has already been mentioned, the most likely reason for this practice is the achievement of a phrase that is easy to remember and which creates a musical effect. This is often done by the employment of certain devices, such as anaphora (95, 96, 98, and 99), or the rather recurrent structure “once an X, always a Y.” As a matter of fact, there are several of these recurrent structures, as noted by N. R. Norrick (1985) and W. Mieder (2004), which the former (1985, p. 92) labels as “formulaic proverbs”. Some of these formulae are:²³

- “The X-er the Y-er”
- “X and Y”
- “So X so Y”
- “Better X than Y”
- “Like X, like Y”
- “No X without Y”
- “One X doesn’t make a Y”
- “If X, then Y”

As can be seen in the majority of these structures, they follow certain patterns in which both elements brought together relate to each other in a manner that does not require a verb to complete the meaning.

Another case of ellipsis is that in which one word that has already been mentioned is omitted in order to avoid redundancy:

- 100. Bad money drives out good [money] (ODEP, p. 26; ODP, p. 11)
- 101. One funeral makes many [funerals] (ODEP, p. 293; ODP, p. 126)
- 102. A stitch in time saves nine [stitches] (ODEP, p. 775; ODP, p. 302)
- 103. Two heads are better than one [head] (ODEP, p. 851; ODP, p. 331)
- 104. One wedding brings another [wedding] (ODEP, p. 875; ODP, p. 343)

This type of ellipsis has no effect on the use or intention of the proverb. It is, nevertheless, a syntactic anomaly, as the sentences are left unfinished. However, it

²³ The first three are provided Norrick (1985, p. 93), whereas the last five are provided by Mieder (2004, p. 6).

becomes clear that this omission of an element is to avoid unnecessary repetition, which, curiously enough, is sought after in some other cases.²⁴

A fourth frequent case of ellipsis among English proverbs is represented by the following examples, in which the anticipatory third person neuter pronoun *it* and its corresponding form of the verb *to be* have been intentionally left out. This is clear as the rest of the sentences follow one of the patterns noted by Mieder (2004, p. 6), “[It is] better A than B”:

- 105. Better be envied than pitied (ODEP, (1970: p. 51; ODP, p. 20)
- 106. Better safe than sorry (ODEP, p. 51; ODP, p. 21)
- 107. Better late than never (ODEP, p. 54; ODP, p. 21)
- 108. Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know (ODEP, p. 55; ODP, p. 356)
- 109. Better to wear out than to rust out (ODEP, p. 56; ODP, p. 356)

The probable reason why this choice has been made is the fact that what has been left out, i.e. *it is*, does not provide any meaning, as its only purpose is to anticipate one of the elements that follows in the sentence. Although the most usual structure of this comparison is “A is better than B,” it has been slightly modified and part of it has been left out. There is a considerable number of proverbs that follow this arrangement, including those that may verbalise the subject and the copula.

Quite similar to the examples just analysed is that of proverbs with an implicit existential sentence, in which the *there is / there are* may be omitted, as in the following examples:

- 110. [There is] Small choice in rotten apples (ODEP, p. 121; ODP, p. 291)
- 111. [There is] No rose without a thorn (ODEP, p. 684; ODP, p. 272)
- 112. [There is] A place for everything, and everything in its place (ODEP, p. 628; ODP, p. 251)
- 113. [There is] No smoke without a fire (ODEP, p. 573; ODP, p. 291)
- 114. [There is] No time like the present [time] (ODEP, p. 824; ODP, p. 322)

It must be noted that example number 114 presents two types of ellipsis. On the one hand, the unstressed *there* and the copula are left out; on the other, the repetition of the

²⁴ For multiple examples of this see 10.2.2.

noun *time* is avoided at the end of the sentence, which causes the nominalisation of the adjective *present*.

As has been shown, some proverbs have a tendency to avoid unnecessary elements in their composition and, therefore, elements that have no importance or significance are left out without hesitation. The justification for this, at least in part, can be found in the fact that proverbs belong, predominantly, to the sphere of spoken language, in which economy is capital. Another reason that explains this phenomenon is the poetic character of proverbs, which, as shall be explained in future chapters, is achieved through the employment of a myriad of rhetorical devices and artistic licenses. Finally, fixed structures contribute to their memorability.²⁵

8.4. Syntactic units making up a proverb

The final aspect that needs to be mentioned in the present section is related, again, to one of the most important features in the distinction of proverbs from other PUs: syntactic independence. As has already been explained, for a PU to be classified as a proverb, it must be possible to use it on its own, isolated from other syntactic elements.

The issue lies in the fact that, for “syntactically independent”, one might understand that the usual structure of subject + predicator + objects + complements is meant. In this regard, G. L. Permyakov (1979, p. 9) puts a special emphasis on the distinction between “proverb” and “proverbial phrase”, the former being “a complete statement” and the latter “an incomplete statement”. This does not seem to be the general tendency, as both proverbs and proverbial phrases, according to Permyakov’s formulations, are to be found in any compilation of proverbs.

²⁵ See Norrick (1985, p. 47; 2015, p. 13), Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 23-24), Mieder (1997, p. 412), Lauhakangas (2015, p. 49) among others.

Nevertheless, part of Permyakov's idea is shared in the present study, as the distinction between proverbs made up of whole sentences and sentence fragments must be considered. Here the division will be made between *sentence proverbs* and *phrase proverbs*.²⁶ In order to determine which proverbs are to be included in which group, a look at any traditional grammar should suffice to clarify the difference. The choice of these particular terms to designate both realities responds to the necessity to use a terminology that can easily be transferred to different linguistic realities in an attempt towards simplification.

Grammatical units are made up of smaller constituents. R. Quirk et al. (1985, pp. 42-43) explain that sentences consist of one or more clauses, whereas clauses consist of one or more phrases. They (1985) define the simplest of the three units, *phrase* as follows:

the term PHRASE has traditionally been applied to a unit consisting of more than one word, and this has meant some inconsistency in the interpretation of grammatical constituency. Avoiding this inconsistency, many modern grammarians have used the term 'phrase' to refer to a constituent consisting either of one word or of more than one word, (p. 40)

In the term “constituency” (Quirk et al. 1985, p. 38-40) there are “immediate constituents” necessary for the formation of certain larger units. Thus, it is generally accepted that there needs to be a verb phrase for a unit to be considered as a clause. Then, one or various connected clauses make up a sentence. According to these concepts, the most suitable terms for the classification of proverbs are those of “sentence” and “phrase”, the latter considered in the more traditional sense of the two provided by Quirk et al. (1985, p. 40) in the above quotation, i.e. “a unit consisting of more than one word”. The reason for this is the nonexistence of one-word proverbs, at least in the English language, as explained in 8.2.2.

²⁶ For the percentages of *sentence* and *phrase* proverbs in the ODP see Figure 4 in Appendix D.

The choice of the classification of proverbs as sentences or phrases seems a pertinent one considering the way in which certain proverbs are structured and the amount of proverbs lacking all the immediate constituents necessary for a proverb to be considered a whole sentence. It must be noted that, even though this distinction is quite similar to the one established by Permyakov (1979), here the purpose is not to distinguish different types of PUs but to present different ways in which the same type of PU may manifest itself and classify the different possibilities accordingly.

8.4.1. Sentence proverbs

According to what has been explained here, for a proverb to be considered a *sentence proverb* it must include all the necessary constituents for it to be syntactically analysed as a sentence (which will vary depending on the type of sentence). Thus, for a proverb to make the cut in this classification, it will have to include a subject (except for imperative constructions), a predicator and the objects and complements required by its syntactical features and composition. Nevertheless, as shown in 8.1.6 and 8.3.3, ellipsis may be found.

This arrangement is made based solely on formal features and considering the grammar of the language. It aims at transcending syntactic and textual independence, which is a characteristic of both sentence proverbs and phrase proverbs as has already been explained. Yet, there is a clear difference between both groups. This difference has not passed unperceived and needs to be analysed and taken into account when attempting a thorough classification, which pays attention to all the details and aspects that can be found in such rich and varied phraseological units as proverbs. Examples of this are:

115. Actions speak louder than words (ODEP, p. 3; ODP, p. 2)

116. It takes all sorts to make a world (ODEP, p. 11; ODP, p. 4)

117. Beggars can't be choosers (ODEP, p. 42; ODP, p. 16)

118. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush (ODEP, p. 59; ODP, p. 26)

119. Children and fools tell the truth (ODEP, p. 119; ODP, p. 52)

Examples 115 through 119 are all grammatically correct sentences that include all the elements necessary to be considered so. Apart from the different syntactic structures present, these cases do not present any type of modification that needs special mention, such as ellipsis, hyperbaton, or the like.

8.4.2. Phrase proverbs

As seen in epigraph 8.3.3, there are proverbs, a minority of those analysed for the present study, that cannot be classified as whole sentences. Even though ellipsis accounts for the omission of elements in many proverbs, there are multiple others in which the amount of elements missing and their nature cannot be as easily deduced as in ellipsis. Whereas in ellipsis one or two elements are generally excluded from the statement, sentence fragment proverbs are made up of only one or two phrases, with an undetermined amount of otherwise necessary elements lacking for it to be considered a grammatically correct sentence. Thus, even though this fact might seem to endanger the syntactic and textual independence of these proverbs, it remains unaltered thanks to their fossilised character. The following are examples of such proverbs:

- 114. Any port in a storm (ODEP, p. 15; ODP, p. 6)
- 115. Cold hands, warm heart (ODEP, p. 132; ODP, p. 58)
- 116. Every man for himself (ODEP, p. 229; ODP, p. 98)
- 117. Killing no murder (ODEP, p. 423; ODP, p. 171)
- 118. Slow but sure (ODEP, p. 743; ODP, p. 290)

Contrary to the examples presented in epigraph 8.3.1, these five differ from ellipsis in that they do not omit elements to achieve coherence, to avoid redundancy or predictability, or for stylistic reasons. As opposed to ellipsis, in these cases, even though the message remains clear enough, it is harder to determine what the actual grammatically correct sentence would have been. It is possible that these, as well as other proverbs, were originally longer, grammatically acceptable sentences, that evolved overtime undergoing different clipping processes. Longer versions of some of these

proverbs can be found, like for instance “Every man for himself, and God for us all” (ODEP, p. 229) in example 116, which supports this thesis.

8.5. Conclusions

Given their different, and sometimes unique, natures, a classification of linguistic elements that intends to be valid for application in different languages is destined for hardship. Even though the rules and characteristics are often different from one language to another, there are aspects that can be brought to light in order to achieve the desired goal. In the present section, four aspects have been proposed for the classification of proverbs according to their morphology and syntax, taking into account that every language has its own idiosyncrasies at these two levels. In order to cope with this discouraging fact, a set of four elements has been presented to enable the application of this classification to proverbs in any language. Consequently, there should be no problem whatsoever to subject any proverb from any language to a classification that accounts for the kind of subject it presents; whether it can be clipped or not, and how; the presence or absence of any features that deviate from the linguistic norm; and, finally, its classification as a whole sentence or one or more connected phrases.

9. Pragmatic sphere

The classification of proverbs according to their pragmatic implications is of major importance and interest for this dissertation. In this chapter, the purpose with which different proverbs are used, as well as the manner in which they may be used, will be discussed. In the present section, some of the most relevant theories of the pragmatics of language will be succinctly introduced to explain some interesting contributions they may make to the study of proverbs. This does not intend to be an exhaustive work on the matter, and for this reason only a handful of theories that seem particularly suitable for their applicability to the analysis of the use of proverbs have been chosen. These theories are:

- Jakobson's functions of language.
- Searle and Austin's speech act theory.
- Grice's cooperative principle.
- Sperber and Wilson's concept of *relevance*.

Finally, the objective of this section will be to determine the different ways in which proverbs are generally used and the main purposes with which they may be used in communication.

9.1. Some theories on Pragmatics and their applicability to paremiology

9.1.1. Jakobson's *functions of language*

R. Jakobson (1960) introduced a set of six factors of communication (addresser, addressee, code, contact, message, and context), which determine the six functions of language (referential, expressive, conative, poetic, phatic, and metalingual.). This theory eventually became widely spread and accepted, which transcended the field of linguistics and even made its way into middle school classrooms. The use of proverbs can also be analysed from this point of view since, as

will be shown, proverbs focus on the different factors of communication proposed by Jakobson.

It is surprising to realise how infrequently the fact that the same proverb may be used with different intentions is addressed by paremiologists. This fact complicates their classification and proves to be a setback when attempting to come up with a suitable set of airtight categories into which proverbs can be classified. However, this is not new, and Jakobson (1960, p. 353) himself, when he came up with his own classification of the functions of language, already stated that “we could hardly find verbal messages that would fulfil only one function”, which of course can also be affirmed about proverbs.

Proverbs, just like any other statement, fulfil different functions. Whether they are employed as conversational icebreakers, to influence the hearer, or to comment on the weather, they are useful and complex communication tools. It can be observed how, depending on the predominant element of communication in the proverb, it may be used to carry out any of the functions proposed by Jakobson.

If a proverb refers to the *addresser*, or speaker, it “aims a direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he or she is speaking about” (Jakobson, 1960, p. 354). This would correspond to Jakobson's *expressive function*. When analysing proverbs from this point of view, it is rather common to find that some of them may be used by the speaker to express his or her opinion on a subject or their mood. Thus, one could employ one such proverb to refer to his or her own self. Examples of proverbs that might be used to perform Jakobson's *expressive function* are:

1. Do as I say, not as I do (ODEP, p. 191; ODP, p. 80)
2. Ask no questions and hear no lies (ODEP, p. 20; ODP, p. 10)
3. Fine words butter no parsnips (ODEP, p. 241; ODP, p. 114)
4. If you want a thing done well, do it yourself (ODEP, p. 865; ODP, p. 339)
5. The Devil can cite Scripture for his purpose (ODEP, p. 865) / The Devil can quote Scripture for his own ends (ODP, p. 73)

Example number 1 preaches about the lack of correspondence between what one says and what he or she is supposed to do. Number 2 frees the speaker from any responsibility when giving an untruthful response to a question. Number 3 talks about the inability of “fine words” to serve as comfort. Example number 4 justifies one’s taking the matter into his or her own hands. Finally, number 5 talks about how one may use seemingly inadequate message to his or her own benefit.

The *conative function* is performed when a proverb is directed at the receiver, or *addressee*. In these cases, apart from the vocative which is not very common, the most frequently used device is the imperative, as can be seen in some of the following examples:

6. Cut your coat according to your cloth (ODEP, p. 164; ODP, p. 68)
7. First catch your hare (ODEP, p. 262; ODP, p. 115)
8. Let sleeping dogs lie (ODEP, p. 456; ODP, p. 290)
9. Physician, heal thyself (ODEP, p. 622; ODP, p. 249)
10. Strike while the iron is hot (ODEP, p. 781; ODP, p. 305)

In these five examples, it can clearly be seen how the proverb is directed at the *addressee* by the use of the imperative. Moreover, example number 9 is a rather rare case of vocative, which is quite infrequent to find in the stock of English proverbs.

A proverb commenting on the *code* fulfils the *metalingual function*. Even though there is only one solidly documented proverb talking about proverbs in English, there are a fair number of proverbs talking about language in different ways:

11. Wise men make proverbs and fools repeat them (ODEP, p. 901)
12. If ifs and ands were pots and pans, there’d be no work for tinkers’ hands (ODEP, p. 396; ODP, p. 163)
13. A bad excuse is better than none (ODEP, p. 26; ODP, p. 11)
14. Children and fools tell the truth (ODEP, p. 119; ODP, p. 52)
15. He who excuses, accuses himself (ODEP, p. 234; ODP, p. 194)

Examples 11 through 15 may be employed as a response to what someone has said with different purposes. Similarly, this function may be carried out in a slightly artificial manner. As has already been mentioned, proverbs are frequently introduced by some formulae that generally comments on the proverb itself, such as: “as the proverb says”

or “as the true proverb goes...” This can be clearly seen in the following excerpt from

Don Quixote (Shelton, 1900, Vol. 2):

There is an old proverb in this our Spain, in mine own opinion very true (as ordinarily all proverbs are, being certain brief sentences collected out of long and discreet experiences), and it is this, 'The Church, the Sea, or the Court.' (p. 39) ¹

The *poetic function*, as understood by Jakobson (1960), manifests in proverbs inasmuch as they are a figurative use of language. This is an interpretation from a paremiological point of view of his definition of *poetic function*,

This function cannot be productively studied out of touch with the general problems of language, and, on the other hand, the scrutiny of language requires a thorough consideration of its poetic function. Any attempt to reduce the sphere of poetic function to poetry or to confine poetry to poetic function would be a delusive oversimplification. Poetic function is not the sole function of verbal art but only its dominant, determining function, whereas in all other verbal activities it acts as a subsidiary, accessory constituent. This function, by promoting the palpability or signs, deepens the fundamental dichotomy of signs and objects. Hence, when dealing with poetic function, linguistics cannot limit itself to the field of poetry. (p. 356)

According to this definition and its interpretation as related to proverbs, almost any proverb fulfils this function, and therefore, it does not seem necessary to present any particular examples.

Jakobson's (1960, p. 355) *phatic function* refers to the *contact*. That is, it is intended “to attract the attention of the interlocutor or to confirm his continued attention.” Even though there is a type of phraseological unit exclusively devoted to fulfil this, as Coulmas (1979, p. 240) explains, “RFs [=routine formulae] are expressions whose occurrence is closely bound to specific social situations and which are, on the basis of an evaluation of such situations, highly predictable in a communicative course of events.” Nevertheless, in spite of the existence of an exclusive type of UP that fulfils this purpose, there are proverbs that may also be used to achieve this. Some examples of such proverbs are:

16. The company makes the feast (ODEP, p. 138; ODP, p. 59)
17. He who excuses, accuses himself (ODEP, p. 234; ODP, p. 104)
18. Four eyes see more than two (ODP, p. 123)

¹ There are three ways: the Church, the sea, the Court (ODEP, p. 818).

19. Silence gives/means consent (ODEP, p. 733; ODP, p. 287)
20. Talk of the devil, and he is sure/bound to appear (ODEP, p. 804; ODP, p. 313)

These five examples can be employed to attract the receiver's attention and evaluate his or her demeanour in various ways. Therefore, they can be used to praise or criticise the receiver's contribution to a conversation (examples 16 and 18), to value their contribution to a certain activity (numbers 17 and 19), or to establish a pre-existing relation between the speaker and the hearer (example 20), among others.

Last, but not least, there is the *context*, which corresponds to Jakobson's *referential function*. Proverbs are all about context. Without it, they may be devoid of meaning and useless. The richness and convenience of proverbs come from their ability to adapt to different situations and still be able to achieve their purpose. One clear example of the importance that context has in the creation and use of proverbs is the vast amount of proverbs instructing about the weather in certain areas, as will be later explained. Examples of proverbs carrying out this function are:

21. After a storm comes a calm (ODEP, p. 6; ODP, p. 3)
22. April showers bring forth May flowers (ODEP, p. 17; ODP, p. 8)
23. Where bees are, there is honey (ODEP, p. 39; ODP, p. 16)
24. Rain before seven, fine before eleven (ODEP, p. 662; ODP, p. 264)
25. Straws show / tell which way the wind blows (ODEP, p. 779; ODP, p. 304)

All these examples, despite being able to fulfil other functions, may be used to comment on the context. Those commenting on the weather (numbers 21, 22, and 24) are easily identified as such. Yet, numbers 23 and 25 may generally be employed with the same intention.

Jakobson's theory is probably among the best-known, most generally-accepted theories in linguistics. Moreover, the relationship existing between the elements of communication and the function any given message may perform is of special interest for its application to a paremiological point of view. However, it is also necessary to take into consideration, as Jakobson pointed out, the fact that the same message may

fulfil different functions, which is also true of proverbs. Some examples that seemed suitable to illustrate Jakobson's six functions have been presented. This does not mean that the same proverbs may not be used in different situations to fulfil different functions. This fact should not be seen as a handicap, on the contrary, it is for that reason that proverbs are such intricate units that are so well-received among speakers and raise the interest of scholars from the most varied disciplines of study.

9.1.2. Searle's *speech act theory*

Another influential theory about the pragmatics of language is J. Searle's *Speech Act theory* (1969). As Escandell Vidal (1993, p. 74) puts it, according to Searle's theory, language communication follows a set of rules, just like any game, but it also requires certain behaviours on the part of the speaker. Given the figurative possibilities of proverbs, these aspects are of major importance as the rules and behaviours of the speakers are altered from those found in other types of speech act. This theory revolves around J. L. Austin's (1962) concept of *illocutionary act*. Searle (1969) affirms,

I think it is essential to any specimen of linguistic communication that it involve a linguistic act. It is not, as has generally been supposed, the symbol or word or sentence, or even the token of the symbol or word or sentence, which is the unit of linguistic communication, but rather it is the production of the token in the performance of the speech act that constitutes the basic unit of linguistic communication. To put this point more precisely, the production of the sentence token under certain conditions is the illocutionary act, and the illocutionary act is the minimal unit of linguistic communication. (p. 39)

In a speech act, a *locutionary act*, the performance of an utterance (in this case, the proverb), entails an *illocutionary act*, the assumption of the statement as valid, and sometimes a *perlocutionary act*, which is the effect intended on the receiver. This can easily be applied to proverbs taking into account that a proverb, i.e. the locutionary act, is generally taken as valid thanks to its dogmatic character, therefore the illocutionary act is granted. Finally, all proverbs are intended to produce a certain effect in the

receiver, which can be identified with the perlocutionary act. This schematisation can be applied to the following extract from the TV series *Modern Family*²:

JAY PRITCHETT These are good. What's in them?
LONGINES It's a margarita with a shot of absinthe.
PEPPER SALTZ Absinthe makes the heart grow fonder.
CRISPIN Ohh, are you making a bad pun or just lisping?

In this fragment from the series, Pepper manipulates the rather well-known proverb “Absence makes the heart grow fonder” (ODP, p. 1) (*locutionary act*). Then, not only is the truthfulness of the statement (*illocutionary act*) not questioned by any of the conversational counterparts, it is actually granted by the identification of the statement as a proverb. Finally, the *perlocutionary act*, i.e. the intention of the utterance, is to make a humorous remark, the success of which is indeed questioned by Crispin.

According to what has been shown, proverbs may be a good way to exemplify Searle’s Speech Act theory as their use generally requires the presence of the elements defined by Searle.

9.1.3. Grice’s *cooperative principle*

H. P. Grice “focuses on the study of the principles that regulate the interpretation of statements. His ideas constitute the starting point in the currently most widely-spread pragmatic conception” (Escandell Vidal, 1997, p 91, own translation).³

Grice’s *cooperative principle*⁴ relies on the fulfilment of *maxims* arranged in four categories, which are the following:

- QUANTITY:
1. Make your contribution as informative as is required.
 2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

² Wrubel, B. (Writer), & Spiller, M. (Director). (20 Apr. 2011). Someone to watch over Lilly (Television series episode). In J. Morton et al. (Producers), *Modern family*. New York: ABC.

³ The original reads thus:
[H.P. Grice] se centra precisamente en el estudio de los principios que regulan la interpretación de los enunciados. Sus ideas constituyen el punto de partida de la concepción de pragmática más extendida actualmente.

⁴ For further readings on this concept see: Grice (1968, 1969, 1975), Davies (2000), or Wharton (2002), among others.

QUALITY:

1. Do not say what you believe to be false.
2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

RELATION:

1. Be relevant.

MANNER:

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity).
4. Be orderly.

Any use of proverbs would fulfil most of Grice's *maxims* and the biggest conflict seems to appear in the maxims under the category of "MANNER". Proverbs may indeed be obscure to the receiver depending on their paremiological competence due to their character of figurative uses of language. This also makes them subject to ambiguity, as someone may misinterpret them. There is generally little argument about the brevity of proverbs, as it is, in fact, considered to be one of their defining features, despite the fact that there are some proverbs that are fairly lengthy (see 1.2). Lastly, as shown in epigraph 8.3, proverbs are not necessarily orderly. When one of these maxims is not met, one incurs "flouting", as Grice (1975, pp. 52-53) names it.

Conclusively, Grice (1975, pp. 56-57) remarks that, "[o]nce, these 'maxims' have been met in a speech act, there are two kinds of 'implicature': 'conversational' and 'conventional'". The former implies the deliberate 'flouting' of one of the maxims by the speaker, "which must be able to be worked out" (Grice, 1975, p. 50); the latter is when "the conventional meaning of the words used will determine what is implicated, besides helping to determine what is said" (Grice, 1975, p. 44). Regarding this last aspect, the concept of paremiological competence must be brought to mind once again, as proverb-use involves the *flouting* of some of Grice's maxims, and the ability of the receiver to work out this "flouting" might depend on his or her knowledge of proverbs. Additionally, the figurative use of proverbs may not allow for the conventional meaning

of proverbs to be grasped other than in situations in which proverbs may not be applied figuratively.

9.1.4. Sperber and Wilson's concept of *relevance*

D. Sperber and D. Wilson's (2004) theory of *relevance* proposes one of the most influential, yet most controversial, approaches of present-day pragmatics, as well as a criticism of Grice's theory. In the words of Sperber and Wilson (1996, p. 46), by *relevance* they mean the property "which makes information worth processing for a human being". It must be noted that context is a capital element both in determining the *relevance* of a statement, as well as in the use of proverbs. They also introduce the concept of *ostension*, the "behaviour which makes manifest an intention to make something manifest" (Sperber and Wilson, 1996, p. 49). The relationship between the former concept, *relevance*, and the latter one, *ostension*, is made explicit by them (1996) in their claim that,

Ostensive behaviour provides evidence of one's thoughts. It succeeds in doing so because it implies a guarantee of relevance. It implies such a guarantee because humans automatically turn their attention to what seems most relevant to them. The main thesis of this book is that an act of ostension carries a guarantee of relevance, and that this fact - which we will call the principle of relevance - makes manifest the intention behind the ostension. (p. 50)

This idea of *ostension* is completed by that of inference, which is the "same process, but seen from two different points of view: that of the communicator who is involved in *ostension* and that of the audience who is involved in inference" (Sperber and Wilson, 1996, p. 54). Furthermore, they (1996, p. 132) also establish a triple division of the levels of relevance, which includes "irrelevant", "weakly relevant", and "very relevant".

Finally, Sperber and Wilson (1996, pp. 132-137) pose the question of whether context is "given or chosen". First of all, it must be noted that their concept of context differs slightly from the Jakobsonian one⁵, as they (1996, p. 132) define it as "a subset

⁵ Jakobson (1960, p. 353) defines *context* as "referred to [...], seizable by the addressee, and either verbal or capable of being verbalized."

of the individual's old assumptions, with which the new assumptions combine to yield a variety of contextual effects.” This aspect is particularly relevant for the present analysis, due to the importance that context has in the employment of proverbs in communication. However, it must be noted that context is here understood as the circumstances surrounding an act of communication. Yet, Sperber and Wilson’s approach is also interesting inasmuch as the success of proverb exchange relies on the knowledge of proverbs possessed by the communication partners prior to that particular act of communication, as has been explained several times already.

It is rather hard to assess the importance or validity of the theory of relevance from a paremiological point of view, as the figurativeness of proverbs, or PUs in general for that matter, once again, may obscure the relevance of the utterance. Sperber and Wilson do indeed mention several times throughout their book that language can be used figuratively, proposing the examples of tropes and irony. The conclusion they (1986) draw is that

the propositional form of the utterance differs from that of the thought interpreted. In both cases [figurative and literal uses of language], the hearer can proceed on the assumption that these two propositional forms have some identifiable logical and contextual implications in common. In both cases, the same interpretive abilities and procedures are involved. (p. 235)

Thus, the success of the employment of proverbs in communication relies on the fact that they are indeed relevant to the situation to which they are applied, otherwise their use would defeat the whole purpose. Moreover, according to the aforementioned definition of relevance, proverbs are “worth processing” because they are a powerful communication tool that can convey an idea, or ideas, with a rather high level of language economy, and contrary to other utterances, they allow for recurrent use, which provides them with some added value. Finally, the concepts of *ostension* and *inference* may be applied to proverb exchange given that the speaker finds a particular proverb

suitable to express his or her thoughts and the receiver makes an inference, taking for granted that the proverb is a relevant message in the situation in which communication is taking place.

9.2. How proverbs are used

As has been hinted at before, proverbs can be used in several different ways, apart from their most frequently used wording. These different uses of proverbs are:

- Canonical use
- Clipping
- Manipulation
- Allusion
- Misuse

Next, all five possibilities will be detailed and illustrated with examples. Instead of providing proverbs taken from dictionaries and lacking in context, samples from popular TV series currently in broadcast will be presented. This is for two main reasons: first, an analysis based on realia will always have more credibility than one based on hypothetical examples. On the other hand, as was seen in Chapter 4.2, proverbs are commonly employed in television fictions, one of the most accessible and furthest-reaching vehicles for the transmission of proverbs in present-day society.

9.2.1. Canonical saying

Canonical saying is when a proverb is used in the full form of its most typical wording, the one that can be found in dictionaries and collections of proverbs. It must be pointed out, though, that the same proverb may be found with slight variations, which do not affect their meaning or the way in which they may be used. This is a common feature among elements of folklore, as A. Dundes (1999, p. 2) explains, “[b]ecause of the factors of multiple existence and variation, no two versions of an item

of folklore will be identical.” This characteristic can be noticed in some of the examples provided throughout this study. For instance, the ODEP and the ODP contain slightly different versions of the following proverbs:

26. The best is oftentimes the enemy of the good (ODEP, p. 48)
27. The best is the enemy of the good (ODP, p. 18)
28. When you can tread on nine daisies at once, spring has come (ODEP, p. 837)
29. It is not spring until you can plant your foot upon twelve daisies (ODP, p. 299)

As can be seen from examples 26 and 27 on the one hand, and 28 and 29 on the other, proverbs may manifest with slight variations. However, both the main participants of the proverbs (“the best” / “the enemy” / “the good”, in the first two; and “tread” or “plant your foot” and “daisies” / “spring” in the other two) and their inner meaning must remain unaltered for them to be considered alternatives to the canonical form of the same proverb, otherwise, it would be some kind of manipulation.

In the following extracts from two popular television series, canonical uses of proverbs can be found:

DAENERYS TARGARYEN And what about you? You know that I'm taking you to war.
You may go hungry. You may fall sick. You may be killed.
MISSANDEI *Valar morghulis.*
DAENERYS TARGARYEN Yes, all men must die. But we are not men.⁶

EARL HICKEY That's when I decided I might be able to kill two birds with one stone I could have Randy back and make sure I kissed a girl before he did.⁷

In the first one, Daenerys employs the proverb “All men must die” (ODEP, p. 10). In the second, Earl uses the well-known proverb “To kill two birds with one stone” (ODEP, p. 423). In both cases, the proverbs have been recited word for word as found in any authoritative compilation of proverbs.

⁶ Benioff, D., Weiss, D. B. (Writers), & Bewniff, D. (Director). (14 Apr. 2013). Walk of punishment (Television series episode). In M. Huffman et al. (Producers), *Game of thrones*. New York, NY: HBO.

⁷ Garcia, G. (Writer), & Garcia, G. (Director). (26 Mar. 2009). Pinky (Television series episode). In J. Lee et al. (Producers), *My name is Earl*. New York, NY: NBC.

9.2.2. Clipped proverbs

As explained in section 8.2, proverbs may frequently be reduced, the first half generally sufficing to convey the intended meaning and achieve the desired effect. This can be observed in the following examples of proverb use in TV series:

DOCTOR JOHN 'J.D.' DORIAN (*off*) They say ignorance is bliss. The problem is, it's only a matter of time before the smile gets wiped off your face.⁸

LISA SIMPSON (*To Homer.*) Did you get a good house sitter?

MOE SZYSLAK Moe Szyslak, house sitter extraordinaire. (*Audience boos.*) Sticks and stones may break my bones (*Audience starts throwing things at him.*) Ow! Hey, stop it! Ooh, cookies! Great at the chewing, not so hot at the swallowing.⁹

In the first sample, from the North American sitcom *Scrubs*, Dr. Dorian takes a part of the proverb “Where ignorance is bliss, ‘tis folly to be wise” (ODEP, p. 396; ODP, p. 163). It needs to be mentioned here, that even though the general procedure is to omit the second half of the proverb, in this case, both the beginning and the ending have been left out. This general practice is followed in the second extract, from *The Simpsons*, where Moe Szyslack uses the first half of the proverb “Stick and stones may break my bones but names / words will never hurt me” (ODEP, p. 773; ODP, p. 301).

9.2.3. Manipulated proverbs

Manipulation is an alteration consciously made by the speaker in order to fit his or her communication needs.¹⁰ W. Mieder and A. T. Litovkina (1999)¹¹ call manipulated proverbs “anti-proverbs” but this label will not be used here, as it does not seem suitable for classification purposes as it would create a further division. Thus, a

⁸ Goldman, N., Donovan, G. (Writers), & Braff, Z. (Director). (5 May 2009). My chief concern (Television series episode). In B. Lawrence et al. (Producers), *Scrubs*. New York, NY: NBC.

⁹ Lacusta, D., Castellaneta, D. (Writers), Anderson, B., & Schofield, M. (Directors). (5 Dec. 2010). The fight before Christmas (Television series episode). In A. Jean et al. (Producers), *The Simpsons*. Los Angeles, CA: Fox.

¹⁰ Cf. Norrick (1985, pp. 43-46), Corpas Pastor (2001a), Mieder (2004, pp. 7, 86),

¹¹ See also Mieder & Litovkina (2003), Litovkina (2015).

proverb may be manipulated in several different ways, which will be detailed later on in 9.4.1.

Manipulation is a rather common way of using proverbs, both in formal and not-so-formal environments. Even pop culture shows frequent examples of this, such as song titles, as for instance Live and Let Die by Guns'n'Roses,¹² an obvious modification of the proverb "Live and let live" (ODEP, p.473; ODP, p. 189). TV series also incorporate frequent instances of proverb manipulation, as can be seen in the following examples:

RAYMOND TUSK Can I ask why you do that?
FRANCIS UNDERWOOD Do what?
RAYMOND TUSK Tap your ring like that. I've seen you do it on TV. Two taps every time you get up from a table or leave a lectern.
FRANCIS UNDERWOOD Something my father taught me. It's meant to harden your knuckles so you don't break them if you get into a fight. It also has the added benefit of knocking on wood. My father believed that success is a mixture of preparation and luck. Tapping the table kills both birds with one stone.¹³

(*Woman on TV*) Remember the old saying, "where there's gun smoke, there's always a murder."¹⁴

In the first excerpt, from *House of Cards*, Francis Underwood slightly modifies the proverb "To kill two birds with one stone" (ODEP, p. 423) to establish a connection with the rest of his speech. In the second one, from the drama *Fargo*, the woman on TV manipulates the proverb "No smoke without a fire" (ODEP, p. 573; ODP, p. 291). Even though the manipulation differentiates from the proverb a great deal, she strengthens the connection by the inclusion of the introductory formula "remember the old saying". However, there is no such saying and what she is actually doing is modifying an existing one.

¹² McCartney, P., & McCartney, L. (1972) Live and let die. [Recorded by Guns'n'Roses]. On *Use your illusion I* [CD]. New York, NY: Geffen Records. (17th Sept. 1991).

¹³ Gionfriddo, G., Willimon, B. (Writers), & Coulter, A. (Director). (1 Feb. 2013). Chapter 12 (Television series episode). In D. Fincher et al. (Producers), *House of cards*. Los Gatos, CA: Netflix.

¹⁴ Hawley, N. (Writer), & Winant, S. (Director). (3 Jun. 2014). The heap (Television series episode). In K. Todd, C. Oakes, & M. Frislev (Producers), *Fargo*. Irving, TX: FX.

9.2.4. Allusion

Allusion has already been explained briefly in 8.2.1. Allusion can be found when some proverb or piece of proverbial wisdom is referred to in conversation, without reciting a significant part of the proverb. This may be confused with clipping; however, whereas not all proverbs can undergo a clipping process, there does not seem to be any impediment to making an allusion to any given proverb regardless of their length or structure. Examples of proverb allusion are:

MAURICE 'MAURY' LEVY And given my client's superlative record during his incarceration and given his notable role in identifying the source of the overdose deaths at this facility last year I respectfully ask that you honor our existing agreement and approve Mr. Barksdale's early release.

MARYLAND STATE TROOPER That's bullshit!

COUNSELOR Hold your comments, trooper.

MAURICE 'MAURY' LEVY We made a commitment, Counselor.

COUNSELOR And given what this institution was dealing with a year ago this is the lesser evil.¹⁵

MAJ. HOWARD 'BUNNY' COLVIN Keep an eye out for the predators. You got the dealers payin' 'em to do nothing now anyway? Kill two birds and all that.

SGT. ELLIS CARVER Right.¹⁶

An allusion to proverbs can be found in both of the previous excerpts from the North American police drama *The Wire*. In the first one, the proverb “Of two evils choose the least / less” (ODEP, p. 233; ODP, p. 102) is referred to, a seemingly appropriate choice given the circumstances of the conversation. In the second one, again, the proverb “Kill two birds with one stone” (ODEP, p. 423) is alluded to, which may be taken as a reduction of the proverb; however, the inclusion of the phrase “and all that” does not shorten the proverb but call for the receiver’s paremiological competence in order to complete the wording and meaning of the proverb.

¹⁵ Pelecanos, G. (Writer), Simon, D., & Pelecanos, G (Directors). (10 Oct. 2004). Hamsterdam (Television series episode). In K. L. Thorson et al. (Producers), *The wire*. New York, NY: HBO.

¹⁶ Price, R. (Writer), Simon, D., & Price, R. (Directors). (14 Nov. 2004). Moral midgetry (Television series episode). In K. L. Thorson et al. (Producers), *The wire*. New York, NY: HBO.

9.2.5. Proverb misuse.

A proverb can be misused in two different ways. The first of them is unconscious misuse. That is, someone may be wrongly manipulating a proverb without being aware of it. The second type of misuse takes place when a proverb is applied to a situation that has nothing to do with either the general meaning of the proverb or its most frequent use.

MAYOR LESLEY ADAMS There's an old saying, Gwen, take the log out of your own eye before you point out the speck in mine.¹⁷

DETECTIVE HOLLAND WAGENBACH There's an old saying, Nacio, if you never lie, you never have to remember anything.¹⁸

In the first example, Mayor Adams misuses the proverb “You can see a mote in another’s eye but cannot see a beam in your own” (ODEP, p. 545), which originates in the Bible (Matthew, 7:3). In the second one, Detective Wagenbach misuses the proverb “Liars have need of good memory” (ODEP, p. 457) / “A liar ought to have a good memory” (ODP, p. 183). In both cases, the proverbs undergo modifications to the elements that make them up, the overall purposes remaining unaltered. These should not count as manipulation because, on the one hand, manipulation should be conscious and on the other, the intentions of both proverbs remain the same.

9.3. The different purposes for the use of proverb

It is generally accepted that proverbs are employed to transmit some sort of teaching. Moreover, said pieces of information are taken as indisputable, which largely determines the use of proverbs in general, regardless of the purpose with which they are used. In this regard, some authors¹⁹ have commented on the fact that, if all proverbs are

¹⁷ Doner, J., Hugh, S. (Writers), & Gordon, K. (Director). (10 Nov. 2011). Beau Soleil (Television series episode). In A. Zelman, J. Doner, & K. Campo (Producers), *The killing*. New York, NY: AMC.

¹⁸ Lennon, G. (Writer), & Horder-Payton, G. (Director). (9 Sep. 2008). Snitch (Television series episode). In M. Chiklis (Producer), *The shield*. Irving, TX: FX.

¹⁹ See Yankah (1994), Mieder (2004a, p. 1; 2007a, p. 39; 2007b, p. 394), Dundes (2007c, p. 268), Norrick (2007c, p. 381).

general, definite truths, how is it possible that there are in fact proverbs that contradict each other? Some clear examples of this are:

30. “There is luck in leisure” (ODEP, p. 496; ODP, p. 197) and “idleness is the root of all evil” (ODEP, p. 396; ODP, p. 162).
31. “Every man is the architect of his own fortune” (ODEP, p. 230; ODP, p. 99) and “man proposes and God disposes” (ODEP, p. 506; ODP, p. 201).
32. “Fortune favours fools” (ODEP, p. 281; ODP, p. 123) and “fortune favours the brave” (ODEP, p. 282; ODP, p. 123).

In these three pairs of proverbs, it can be seen how there are contradicting pairs that may question their character as indisputable truths. The explanation for this is that there is an infinite amount of possible scenarios to which proverbs may be applied and, thus, the necessity for a vast variety of proverbs is more important than matters such as the truthfulness of said proverbs regardless of the situation to which they are being applied.

However, and in spite of the exhaustive analyses to which proverbs have been subjected, the fact that they may be employed with different intentions, other than teaching, is often overlooked. This should become quite clear after a close inspection of the use of proverbs in everyday conversation, the media, proverb compilations, and specialised literature on the matter. Thus, an analysis will be presented now, according to which, the major purposes with which proverbs may be used are:

- Teaching
- Assessing reality
- Moralising
- Commanding
- Self-assurance or self-justification
- Humorous use

Coincidentally, the proposed set is made up of six different purposes²⁰ that may be fulfilled through the use of proverbs, just like Jakobson’s six elements of

²⁰ For the percentages of proverbs in the ODP fulfilling each purpose see Figure 5 in Appendix D.

communication or six functions of language, although not biunivocally related to any of them. Additionally, it must be borne in mind that there is no direct relation between certain proverbs and the purpose they may be used to carry out, and that, generally, the same proverb may be used with different purposes in different situations.

9.3.1. Teaching

For a proverb to transmit any type of teaching, there is an essential premise that is not taken into account quite often: the assumption, on the speaker's side, of the lack of previous knowledge on the matter by the receiver. This condition is generally ignored and, simple as it may seem, it is necessary that the receiver does in fact not know the piece of information that is being transmitted by the proverb for a teaching process to take place, as *learning*, by definition, is the acquisition of new knowledge.

Although not all proverbs have didactical purposes, that is, undeniably, one of the most frequent uses of proverbs. Whether they contain some sort of recommendation about healthcare, marriage counselling, legal indictment, parenting, professional advice, or any other type of education, many proverbs may be used with the sole purpose of instructing someone. However, this tendency of proverbs towards the spread of knowledge is not coincidental. Proverbs are the ideal means for this purpose for several main reasons:

- Proverbs are short and memorable statements, and therefore, easy to transmit and retain in memory.
- Proverbs are frequently transmitted by the elders to the youth, thus acquiring that character of ancient piece of wisdom.
- The figurative side of proverbs allows them to be used in a multiplicity of situations maintaining their validity. Thus, proverbs are enriched by their use in different contexts.

- The ability to manipulate a proverb contributes to their further enrichment and possibility to apply to new situations.
- The dogmatism²¹ of proverbs justifies this and other uses.

The origins of the use of proverbs as a tool for indoctrination have been traced all the way back to the Sumerian civilisation or Hammurabi's Code.²² Later on in history, authors such as Cato or Erasmus, as explained in Chapter 2, have also taken advantage of the benefits of proverbs in the transmission of knowledge. Some proverbs that may be used with the intention of teaching are:

33. Believe not all that you see nor half what you hear (ODEP, p. 43) / Believe nothing of what you hear, and only half of what you see (ODP, p. 17)
34. He that is born to be hanged, shall never be drowned (ODEP, p. 75) / If you are born to be hanged then you'll never be drowned (ODP, p. 32)
35. Dear bought and far fetched are dainties for ladies (ODEP, p. 173) / Far-fetched and dear-bought is good for ladies (ODP, p. 110)
36. Keep a thing seven years and you'll always find a use for it (ODEP, p. 417; ODP, p. 170)
37. Use / Practice makes perfect (ODEP, p. 856; ODP, p. 255)

The examples shown seem suitable to fulfil this purpose, given the necessary premise mentioned above about the lack of knowledge that must be present in the receiver. Besides this, little can be said that has not already been mentioned by other scholars long ago about proverbs as a means for instruction, as this has traditionally been considered the defining object of proverbs. Nevertheless, a close look at a significant number of proverbs will show how this is not enough to explain what a proverb is, due to the fact that not all proverbs fit in this category.

9.3.2. Assessing reality

The second category that will be dealt with is that of proverbs that comment on some aspect of the context in which they take place. In order to make it clearer and to

²¹ See Chapter 1.2, Arnaud (1991, p. 22), Corpas Pastor (1996, p. 150).

²² The *Lex Talionis* is included here. See Mieder (2004, p. xii) and Piirainen (2012, p. 257).

establish a parallelism with Jakobson's functions, this would correspond to the referential function, as the proverb used with this purpose refers to the context.

The importance of the context in which communication takes place is such that it may completely determine said communication practice. Context is another element of communication, and when it comes to proverbs, its importance may actually be greater than that of other elements. This relevance must not be underestimated. Proverbs are all about context, and without context, a proverb is a meaningless, however witty or pleasant-sounding, arrangement of words making up a seemingly nonsensical message. Consequently, the significance of context in the production and use of proverbs is twofold. On the one hand, proverbs are valuable inasmuch as they are relevant to the situation to which they are being applied, otherwise, they would not fulfil their task. On the other hand, a vast number of proverbs are used to comment on any of the elements making up that context in which the proverb is being used. Fittingly, one of the categories that best represents context-focused proverbs is that of proverbs dealing with the weather.

The weather is a source of proverbs that has been studied and discussed in multiple publications by multiple scholars.²³ An interesting concept is the thesis supported by paremiological authorities such as Kuusi (1992), Dundes (1999, p. 111), Mieder (2004, p. 26), or Hill (2005b) that considers that some proverbs dealing with the weather are closely related to superstition. While it is true that some proverbs attribute some supernatural power or effect to certain meteorological phenomena, the conclusions reached and expressed in those proverbs are drawn after long and extensive

²³ See Bergen & Newell (1889), Harrington (1892), Brunt (1946), Clar (1957), Utley (1968), Dundes (1984), Taylor (1984), Arora (1991), Hill (2005b), or Inwards (2015).

observation of nature, and they may be employed to find an explanation to some particularly strange or uncommon phenomena.

Mieder (1996a, p. 63) gathers some examples of proverbs in different languages from an article by Kuusi (1957b), where the Finnish paremiologist analyses proverbs from different languages dealing with the infrequent meteorological phenomenon of rain and sunlight taking place at the same time.²⁴ Proverbs about this fairly rare fact and the supposedly mystical reasons behind it are present in English, Japanese, Hungarian, Polish, Finnish, Danish, Russian, German, Vietnamese, and Spanish, the last of which Kuusi and Mieder seem to forget about but which is found in T. Flonta's (2002) *God and the Devil: Proverbs in 9 European Languages* (Flonta, 2002), together with the French and Italian versions. Some of the different versions of these proverb in other languages are:

- French: *Quand la pluie tombe et que le soleil brille, on dit: C'est le diable quitta sa femme et qui marie sa fille.*
- Italian: *Quando è sole e piove, il diavolo mena moglie .*
- Spanish: *Cuando llueve y hace sol, riñe el diablo con su mujer.* (Flonta, 2002, p. 65)

Another example of a proverb that deals with meteorological phenomena, and which is described as a superstition, is “Red sky at night, shepherd’s delight; red sky in the morning, shepherds warning” (ODEP, p. 741; ODP, p. 265). In relation to the categorisation of weather expressions, F. L. Utley (1968, p. 12) states that a “belief or superstition, when couched in finer organisation of aesthetic structure, like ‘Red sky at night, Sailor’s delight,’ can thus find its place in the definition [of folklore].” Utley’s brief quotation is relevant for two reasons: first of all, he confirms, independently, the relationship between proverbs and superstition; secondly, “couched in finer organisation

²⁴ The English version of this proverb is “If it rains when the sun is shining, the devil is beating his wife.” (ODEP, p. 663)

of aesthetic structure” indirectly points towards one of the most important aspects of proverbs: their aesthetic inclination.

The frequency with which proverb and superstition may interweave, be confused, or overlap is not a coincidence, as both are different manifestations of folklore that in some cases are very close to each other. Furthermore, superstition may only be so from a certain point of view, as it may also be little less than proven fact to someone who strongly believes in it.

Some other examples of English superstitious weather proverbs, apart from those previously mentioned, are:

38. Marry in May, repent always (ODEP, p. 516) / Marry in May, rue for aye (ODP, p. 206)
39. If Saint Paul’s day be fair and clear, it will betide a happy year (ODEP, p. 695; ODP, p. 276)
40. Saint Swithun’s day, if thou be fair, for forty days it will remain; Saint Swithun’s day, if thou bring rain, for forty days it will remain (ODEP, p. 696; ODP, p. 277)

The superstitious character of these proverbs is obvious as there is no rational connection in the cause-effect relationship between the weather on a certain day, or month, and its alleged influence on people’s prospects, not to mention the fact that a particular Saint be celebrated on that day. Conversely, there are multiple proverbs that may indeed be helpful in order to evaluate certain climatological conditions. Examples of such proverbs are:

43. Barnaby bright, (Barnaby bright,) the longest day and the shortest night (ODEP, p. 31; ODP, p. 13)
44. Lightning never strikes the same place twice (ODP, p. 185).
45. February fill dyke, be it black or be it white (ODEP, p. 252; ODP, p. 111).
46. For in March, frost in May (ODEP, p. 511) / So many mists in March, so many frosts in May (ODP, p. 212).
47. A peck of March dust is worth a king’s ransom (ODEP, p. 511; ODP, p. 247).
48. September blow soft, till the fruit’s in the loft (ODEP, p. 714; ODP, p. 283).
49. A swarm (of bees) in May is worth a load of hay; a swarm in June is worth a silver spoon; but a swarm in July is not worth a fly (ODEP, p. 791; ODP, p. 309).

As anticipated, it can be seen how these proverbs may be used to transmit valuable information regarding the weather, which, presumably, must have been gathered under systematic observation of the cosmos, possibly for generations, and which eventually

fossilised into proverbs that transcended time. However, these proverbs may also be used with the sole purpose of commenting on the current weather. The distinction between the two possible applications of these proverbs depends on whether the receiver possesses the knowledge transmitted by the proverb beforehand or not.

The fact that some weather proverbs are labelled as superstitions cannot be taken as a generalisation, as it would lead to serious misconceptions and inaccuracies, given that proverbs referring to weather phenomena are the fruit of maybe hundreds of years of observation of the atmosphere in a particular area. Even if they prove to be wrong in certain circumstances, they are usually found to be useful, accurate, and relevant, hence their large amount, frequency of use, and high degree of knowledgeability among the speakers of a language, as well as the vast quantity of studies on the matter.

One reason that might explain the plentitude of weather proverbs is that the weather is everyone's favourite topic when having to make small talk. In such a case, both the referential and phatic functions, as devised by Jakobson, would be present. This proves Jakobson's claim (1960, p. 353), already quoted in 9.1.1, that it is common to find that the same utterance can perform different functions, just like the same proverb may be used with different purposes.

It must also be pointed out that the proverbs belonging in this category are not exclusively weather proverbs. Weather proverbs have been chosen as an exemplification for their complexity, popularity, and propitiousness for the task. However, there are proverbs dealing with other aspects of life that may also serve this purpose. The following list should suffice as an example:

50. The great fish eat up the small (ODEP, p. 333) / Big fish eat little fish (ODP, p. 25)
51. Everything has an end (ODEP, p. 231; ODP, p. 101)
52. Like breeds like (ODEP, p. 464; ODP, p. 185)
53. No smoke without a fire (ODEP, p. 573; ODP, p. 291)

54. Tastes differ (ODEP, p. 805; ODP, p. 313)

Even though, given the necessary conditions, these proverbs could also be employed with a different purpose, they might suitably be employed to depict everyday situations known to almost anyone. It would be quite hard to find someone ignorant or oblivious enough for whom these proverbs meant some sort of teaching as they all refer to well-known realities and aspects of life. Although it may be possible, it seems rather unlikely, as they are common sense. Then again, common sense is the least common of senses.

One final aspect worthy of note regarding these proverbs is the fact that a significant number of them employ a copular verb.²⁵ Thus, copular verbs, among other uses, are most frequently employed to identify, or characterise an entity, thus their propitiousness for this type of proverb, which becomes manifest in the large amount of proverbs that employ said copular verbs to assess some reality. Examples of this are the following:

55. All cats are grey in the dark (ODEP, p. 111; ODP, p. 48)
56. England is the paradise of women, the hell of horses, and the purgatory of servants (ODEP, p. 222; ODP, p. 95)
57. Good men are scarce (ODEP, p. 322; ODP, p. 138)
58. Half the truth is often a great / whole lie (ODEP, p. 344; ODP, p. 145)
59. Hunger is the best sauce (ODEP, p. 392; ODP, p. 160)
60. Love is blind (ODEP, p. 490; ODP, p. 196)
61. Revenge is sweet (ODEP, p. 673; ODP, p. 267)

These are also examples of proverbs that could hardly be used to transmit any piece of knowledge, as they are observations about different aspects of life, some of which are so common and widespread that it seems unlikely they would be unknown to anyone, even if the proverb were unknown to the receiver.

9.3.3. Moral

It needs to be mentioned that, although many of the proverbs included in this section may also contain some piece of teaching, it seems more sensible to analyse them

²⁵ As has been mentioned previously, this cannot be used as a generalisation for proverbs from other languages, as there are languages, Arabic for instance, that do not have such verbs. Nonetheless, it is true for English proverbs.

separately. This is due to the amount of proverbs presenting similar features, the fact that they are not pieces of knowledge of practical application, and their transcendental character. This distinction intends to achieve a more accurate understanding of proverbs and their uses. The fact that they are not of practical application, the character of such teachings, and the number of proverbs presenting similar elements is so numerous that it seems reasonable to deal with them separately.

The relationship between proverbs and the spiritual aspect of people's lives is quite close. One clear and simple example is the fact that the Bible is often quoted as the source for many of the best-known proverbs in anyone's repertoire, as has already been mentioned. This may be the result of repeating word-for-word statements taken from the Bible or through the allusion to renowned passages or sentences.²⁶ A fair assumption is that other sacred texts are sources of similar importance to the Bible regarding proverbs, although it would require additional research to demonstrate it. Yet, it is convenient to clarify something: not all proverbs originating in the Bible (or transmitted through it) are of moralising or transcendental character. Conversely, not all moral or religious proverbs²⁷ are found in the Bible or originated in it. Accordingly, even though different beliefs may have a stronger impact on the ability of proverbs to be understood by someone with a different background, there are certain moral universals that in some cases make up for this faith gap.

Generally speaking, proverbs may be included in this section because the necessary features manifest either formally or semantically. Hence, a proverb may include some element that directly addresses morality, religion, spirituality, or the like; conversely, this purpose may be achieved through the meaning of the proverb, without

²⁶ These phrasemes may not generally be taken as quotes as it is impossible to determine who the original utterer was.

²⁷ For moral or religious proverbs from other origins see Blanco García (1993) and Mieder (2004b, 2005a).

any direct references to morality. Although two things of completely different natures are being dealt with at the same time here, both fulfil the same purpose, and thus, they can be seen as different means of achieving a common goal, and it is precisely that which is being analysed at this stage.

As has already been mentioned several times, from the point of view of Western civilisation, one of the most important works according to its contribution to the paremiological heritage is the Bible. However, in the present-day world, religious boundaries are more blurred than ever, and a religious map of the world would not correspond to a political map, as it used to. Not only have new technologies contributed to the globalisation of culture, people today have a broader knowledge and perspective of religions and beliefs that are not their own. Nowadays, in any major city, it is common to find well-established communities of the most varied religions. This is not the same everywhere, but, to a certain extent, there is more variety in today's society in general than some decades ago. Even the fact that present-day Western society is probably more secular, agnostic, or atheist than ever before should not be seen as a hindrance, as it provides another approach to the use of set phrases dealing with religious topics.

Related to this last observation, it must be pointed out that an individual's spiritual view does not necessarily interfere with his or her usage of these proverbs, or any other types of phraseologisms for that matter, of this transcendental character. Expressions such as "thank God," "Jesus," "Man proposes, God disposes," or many others are frequently used, and deeply rooted in most people's phraseological minimum. Nevertheless, even though expressions like these do not depend on people's religiousness to be employed in communication, it is true that they might avoid stating something they see as false or inaccurate. Therefore, some expressions may simply be

what the situation requires, or they may be a more convenient way of getting one's message across due to, among others, reasons of economy.

Even if the Bible is generally accepted as one of the most important sources of proverbs, it is not the only one that contributes to the creation and spread of proverbs of a moral character. Human beings have always had the need to explore their spirituality, find answers to transcendental questions, and figure out a code of conduct that enables them to live in society. And proverbs are an utterly useful tool to carry out all those tasks. Examples of moral proverbs that do not originate in the Bible are:

62. Civility costs nothing (ODEP, p. 125; ODP, p. 54)
63. Every dog is allowed his first / one bite (ODEP, p. 195; ODP, p. 82)
64. A fault confessed is half redressed (ODEP, p. 248; ODP, p. 110)
65. Honesty is the best policy (ODEP, p. 380; ODP, p. 156)
66. Virtue is its own reward (ODEP, p. 861; ODP, p. 337)

In the last few examples it can be seen how there are proverbs that deal with ethical or moral issues without the need to make any direct reference to God, the Devil, or any religious precepts. As explained above, religion has a big influence on many aspects of society, and of course, on language and communication. For this reason, it is understandable that the origin of many PUs can be found in religious belief or religious texts. However, as shall be explained in 9.4.2, this has a shortcoming, which is that direct addresses to particular religious beliefs may hinder the ability of the proverb to acquire a certain degree of diffusion.

9.3.4. Commanding

The fourth major purpose with which proverbs are used, according to the analysis proposed here, is that of ordering someone to do or not do something. The reason why proverbs are useful to achieve the difficult task of convincing someone to do something that seems necessary, convenient or advisable, is that they endow the speaker with the authority to do so thanks, once again, to their dogmatic character,

which usually leaves the receiver unable to reject or challenge the mandate, save maybe with another proverb with a meaning that challenges the first one. A clear example of this is the fuse of proverbs by politicians, as analysed by W. Mieder and G. B Bryan (1995, 1997), W. Mieder (2005c, 2009,), or S. Elspaß (2007). This category is also susceptible to being frequently mistaken as teaching proverbs.

This use of proverbs relates to Jakobson's *conative function* and it manifests through the use of the infinitive and, to a much lesser degree, vocatives. The amount of commanding proverbs is quite significant and constitutes well over 10% of the proverbs analysed for this study. For this reason, they should be analysed independently from other items that show definitively different formal features and purposes. Also, the commanding use of proverbs relates to Searle's (1969) concept of *perlocutionary act*, by which a locutionary act intends to cause a certain effect on the receiver, which is also noted by Honeck (1997, p. 18).

Some examples of well-known proverbs that would fit in this category are:

67. If the cap fits, wear it (ODEP, p. 101; ODP, p. 43)
68. Divide and rule (ODEP, p. 190; ODP, p. 79)
69. Do as you would be done by (ODEP, p. 191; ODP, p. 80)
70. Make hay while the sun shines (ODEP, p. 501; ODP, p. 199)
71. When in Rome, do as the Romans do (ODEP, p. 683; ODP, p. 271)

In these examples, different devices complement the use of the imperative in order to persuade the listener to do something. For instance, in example 67, the imperative sentence is introduced by a conditional, which sets up the course of action. Example 68 is made up of two coordinated imperatives with an intention similar to the previous example. Numbers 69 and 70 reverse the order of the elements, the conditions following the causes. Lastly, number 71 is similar to the previous ones inasmuch as there is a precondition introducing the infinitive that is related to the situation in which the hearer is to follow the orders given by the speaker. Additionally, example 9, "Physician, heal

thymself” (ODEP, p. 622; ODP, p. 249), mentioned earlier in this chapter, is a rather infrequent example of the use of the vocative in a proverb, which may be employed in a rather ironic way, not to address an actual doctor. Through the observation of these, as well as similar, proverbs, one may realise how useful proverbs are when attempting to induce someone to do something thanks to the validation they grant.

9.3.5. Self-assurance or self-justification

Sometimes the choice of a proverb as a communication device relies on the fact that the speaker finds the necessity to justify his or her actions or intentions. Yet again, the explanation and justification for this use of proverbs can be found in the dogmatism of proverbs. Since proverbs are taken as indisputable truths, they become the perfect device when in need of approval from someone else. An example of this use can be seen in the following excerpt from *Vikings*, a historical television series currently in broadcast:

RAGNAR LOTHBROK Thorvard, I hope you bring better news than the last.
THORVARD My lord, after you left, the Saxons treacherously attacked King Horik's camp at Wessex. There was a terrible slaughter. A great many warriors perished. The king and his son only just escaped with their lives.
RAGNAR LOTHBROK What about Athelstan? What happened to Athelstan?
THORVARD My lord, I don't know of whom you speak.
RAGNAR LOTHBROK Why has it taken so long for me to hear this news?
THORVARD My lord, bad news travels a great deal slower than good news.²⁸

In this fragment, Thorvard misuses (see 9.2.5) the proverb “Bad news travels fast” (ODP, p. 11) to justify his incompetence. Again though, this use of proverbs could be questioned by proverbs that contradict or reverse the idea expressed in the first.

Other examples of proverbs that might be employed to fulfil this purpose are:

72. The end justifies the means (ODEP, p. 220; ODP, p. 94)
73. To err is human (to forgive divine) (ODEP, p. 225; ODP, p. 97)
74. What the eye sees not, the heart rues not (ODEP, p. 225) / What the eye doesn't see, the heart doesn't grieve over (ODP, p. 105)
75. Finding's keeping (ODEP, p. 257; ODP, p. 114)
76. A stitch in time saves nine (ODEP, p. 775; ODP, p. 302)

²⁸ Hirst, M. (Writer), & Woolnough, J. (Director). (27 Mar. 2014). Answers in blood (Television series episode). In S. Wakefield, & K. Thomson (Producers), *Vikings*. Toronto: History.

It does not seem necessary to go into minute detail commenting on each proverb individually, save for one detail they all have in common. Close inspection of the examples provided, as well as of others that might be found, proves that most proverbs that might be used with the purpose of justification of one's actions present negative connotations. This is obviously due to the fact that it is morally questionable actions that need to be justified, as no one should question righteous deeds. Additionally, as it could not be otherwise, proverbs may be found which condemn making decisions of dubious morality, such as "Two blacks don't make a white" (ODEP, p. 849; ODP, p. 331) or the very similar one, "Two wrongs don't make a right" (ODEP, p. 853; ODP, p. 333).

9.3.6. Humorous purpose

Even though this may be a secondary use of proverbs that requires quite specific circumstances to take place, proverbs may also be used to produce some comic effect. Accordingly, some proverbs may prove especially useful in cases in which one needs to find some comic relief, an ice-breaker, or wants to mock or ridicule someone else. Many proverbs, if not all, may be susceptible to being used in such a way due, mostly, to their ingenuity.

One rather frequent way in which a proverb may be used with comic purposes is when said proverb is used ironically in order to contradict what it says, or replying to a proverb with a contradicting one, given the fact that among the stock of proverbs, there are opposing items, like the ones mentioned several times throughout the present study.²⁹

Contrary to other aspects of proverbs, it seems like this humorous use may be less frequent in everyday conversation between individuals than in literature, cinema, or television fictions, the latter recently explored by L. J. Tosina Fernández (forthcoming).

²⁹ e.g. "He who hesitates is lost" (ODP, p. 153) and "Look before you leap" (ODEP, p. 482; ODP, p. 193).

An illustrative example of this use of proverbs can be seen in the following extract from a very popular cartoon:

[Squidward is sleeping until SpongeBob knocks on the door causing him to wake up]
SPONGEBOB Oh, Squidward!
SQUIDWARD *[opens his window]* What do you want, SpongeBob?
SPONGEBOB Time for work, Squidward. Another day, another dollar. [laughs]
SQUIDWARD More like another nickel.
SPONGEBOB *[laughs]* Good one, Squidward! *[scene cuts to Squidward and SpongeBob walking down the street and SpongeBob is laughing]* Another day, another nickel. *[laughs]*
SQUIDWARD It's not that funny.
SPONGEBOB It's funny, because it's true! *[laughs. SpongeBob clings on to Squidward's legs as they walk into the Krusty Krab]*³⁰

In the piece of dialogue extracted from *Spongebob Squarepants*, Spongebob uses the proverb “Another day, another dollar” (ODP, p. 6), which is replied to by Squidward with a manipulation of said proverb, causing Spongebob to laugh hysterically and repeat it over and over again, which demonstrates that the intended purpose has been achieved.

Some examples of proverbs that may be used with this purpose are:

77. An ape’s an ape, a varlet’s a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet (ODEP, p. 16; ODP, p. 7)
78. Children and fools tell the truth (ODEP, p. 119; ODP, p. 52)
79. Choose neither a woman nor linen by candle-light (ODEP, p. 122; ODP, p. 53)
80. Where ignorance is bliss, ‘tis folly to be wise (ODEP, p. 396; ODP, p. 163)
81. What can you expect from a hog / pig but a grunt? (ODEP, p. 234; ODP, p. 104)

Proverb number 77 is generally used in a similar manner to “The cowl does not make the monk” (ODEP, p. 152; ODP, p. 64) but the fact that this proverb includes the idea of the “monkey” makes it especially suitable to be employed with the intention of mocking someone. Number 78, which may be found with “drunks” instead of “fools”, can also be used in the same way, due to, in part, the inclusion of either “fools” or “drunks”, which offer multiple possibilities when attempting to tease or ridicule someone. 79 can be used, especially when referring to a woman, to make fun of her mien and, therefore, criticise the man who finds her attractive. 80 is an ironic statement in which wisdom is underestimated in favour of ignorance, which seems more helpful in providing

³⁰ McCulloch, K., Springer, A., Waller, V. (Writers), & Yasumi, T. (Director). (30 Sep. 2005). Funny pants (Television series episode). In S. Hillenburg, & P. Tibbitt (Producers), *SpongeBob SquarePants*. New York, NY: Nickelodeon.

happiness. Finally, number 81 seems to be aimed at comparing someone with a pig, an animal that is generally perceived as dirty and rude, which makes it particularly disposed to be used scornfully in analogies to refer to humans.³¹

9.4. Other factors

Apart from the different intentions with which proverbs may be used, there are some additional aspects that, even if unsuitable for classification purposes, determine the successfulness of paremiological use. These factors are valuable to achieve a more complete perception of what proverbs are, how they behave, and how they can be used. These features are the distinctions between manipulable and non-manipulable proverbs and between universal and geographically-restricted proverbs.

9.4.1. Types of proverb manipulation

There is a characteristic of proverbs, as well as of other types of phraseological units,³² that has a special influence on their analysis from a pragmatic point of view: their manipulability. This feature enables some proverbs to be used in new situations, thus expanding their range of applicability.

As happens with other characteristics that have already been dealt with, manipulability is frequently used to define what a proverb is, or to distinguish them from other types of phraseological units. However, there are proverbs that cannot be manipulated and proverbs that, if manipulated, risk not being perceived as such given their shortness or the impossibility to do without any of their elements.

³¹ For an account of the different symbolic qualities attributed to different animals in different European cultures see Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005a).

³² For different approaches to the manipulation of phraseology see Bauman & Sherzer (1975), Zuluaga Ospina (1980), Corpas Pastor (2001a), Oncins Martínez (2005, 2012), Norrick (2007), Sánchez García (2008), Cristea (2009), Rodríguez Martín (2011).

It is true that proverbs are frequently manipulated with different purposes, which depend on their motivations.³³ Sometimes they are changed to be adapted to different situations from what they were originally intended for. Similarly, they may be manipulated with humorous or other intentions. It is from this last practice that another type of PU, the *wellerism*, is born. Also, it is a rather common practice to merge two proverbs, which usually have nothing to do with each other, in order to produce the same effect.³⁴

Before explaining the different types of manipulation, there is a point that needs mentioning: deixis.³⁵ There are multiple proverbs that will quite frequently show some deviation from the canonical wording found in reference books such as dictionaries of proverbs so as to adapt it to the elements taking part in that particular act of communication. However, at least in the proverbial stock of English, this practice is frequently avoided by the employment of impersonal constructions, as seen in 8.1.6.1. Nevertheless, there are indeed proverbs that quite often require the modification of some of their elements to adapt them to the context in which it is being used. Here are some examples of the use of rather frequent proverbs that do require deictic manipulation:

JOFFREY LANNISTER What was your duty to this traitor as you saw it?
MARGAERY TYRRELL The duty of any wife to any husband-- to provide him with children.
JOFFREY LANNISTER You failed to do this. Why?
MARGAERY TYRRELL I... I would not speak ill of the dead, Your Grace.³⁶

³³ To Corpas Pastor and Mena Martínez (2003, p. 184), *motivations* are the purposes sought by the speaker. Piirainen employs the term differently (2012, pp. 48-50). To her, *motivation* is “The relationship between the two conceptual levels, between the mental image evoked by the lexical structure and the figurative meaning, becomes comprehensible to them” (2012, p. 48).

³⁴ Cf. Mieder & Litovkina (1999; 2003), Brunvand (2004).

³⁵ In grammar and linguistics, the use of words relating to the person, time and place of utterance. For example, personal pronouns (I/ you, it/them), demonstrative adjectives and adverbs (this, that, here, there, now, then) (adjectival form: 'deictic'). (Cuddon, 1999, p. 215)

³⁶ Taylor, V. (Writer), & Minahan, D. (Director). (7 Apr. 2013). Dark wings, dark woods (Television series episode). In M. Huffman et al. (Producers), *Game of thrones*. New York, NY: HBO.

RAGNAR LOTHBROK What has the boy told you? What did you tell her, boy?
LAGERTHA It doesn't matter what Bjorn says. What do you say?
RAGNAR LOTHBROK I say we should not wash our dirty clothes in front of others.³⁷

The first excerpt, from the fantasy series *Game of Thrones*, references a proverb that, despite being traced to the same source,³⁸ is presented in two slightly different wordings in the two dictionaries used as reference works for this study. Thus, one can find both “Speak well of the dead” (ODEP, p. 761) and “Never speak ill of the dead” (ODP, p. 296), the latter being closer to the original phrase. Here, Margaery Tyrell employs the second version with a minor adaptation, which cannot really be taken as a manipulation because it does not change the general meaning or purpose of the proverb. Similarly, in the second extract, from *Vikings*, Ragnar Lothbrok uses another well-known proverb found with slight variations, “To wash dirty linen in public” (ODEP, p. 868) and “One does not wash one’s dirty clothes in public” (ODP, p. 340). Yet, he further modifies it to take advantage of the saying. Thus, even though two examples may not be sufficient to draw conclusions, there are proverbs that rely on deixis rather frequently for their use in conversation.

Apart from those cases in which deixis is necessary, the main ways in which proverbs may be manipulated are:

- Addition
- Substitution
- Clipping (see 9.2.2)
- Rearrangement of elements
- Merging of proverbs

³⁷ Hirst, M. (Writer), & Donnelly, C. (Director). (27 Feb. 2014). Brother’s War (Television series episode). In S. Wakefield, & K. Thomson (Producers), *Vikings*. Toronto: History.

³⁸ τὸν τεθνηκότα μὴ κακολογεῖν, attributed to Chilon of Sparta (ODEP, p. 761; ODP, p. 296).

Yet, it must be borne in mind that when a proverb undergoes a process of manipulation, depending on how profound said manipulation is, the proverb may or may not be understood or even acknowledged as such by the receiver. As mentioned before, this depends on the concepts of *paremiological minimum*³⁹ or *paremiological competence*.⁴⁰

Addition happens when some extra element is attached to the proverb. As W. Mieder (2004, p. 15) states, “proverbs often are quoted with such introductory formulas as ‘my grandfather used to say,’ ‘it is true that,’ ‘everybody knows that,’ and even more directly ‘the proverb says.’” Although this is technically a kind of manipulation, any proverb could experience this, which would make it a pointless criterion for classification, as something that is present in all the different manifestations of a phenomenon would rather be a defining characteristic, and in this study, this aspect is seen from a different point of view.

A particular type of addition gives place to the creation of *wellerisms*. Again, in the words of Mieder (2004),

Wellerisms consist of a triadic structure: (1) a statement (often a proverb), (2) an identification of a speaker (a person or animal), and (3) a phrase that places the statement into an unexpected situation. In the case where proverbs make up the first part, their claim to truth or wisdom is questioned by the resulting pun. (p. 15)

Once again, this is not a suitable feature for the present analysis due to the fact that *wellerisms* are considered a different type of phraseological unit and should be analysed independently. However, although they may originate from an already existing proverb, this is not a *sine qua non*, as they may be inventions of the speakers. Regardless of how they develop, they are considered a different category within phraseology, having given place to exclusive dictionaries (i.e. Mieder & Kingbury, 1997) and numerous studies.⁴¹

³⁹ See Permyakov (1971), Mieder (1994b, p. 297), Tarnovska (2005), Penadés Martínez (2006).

⁴⁰ See Sevilla Muñoz & Díaz (1997), Sevilla Muñoz (2010).

⁴¹ In this regard, see Whiting (1945), Jones (1945), Taylor (1952; 1959), Loomis (1949; 1957), Hines (1963), Duniway (1972), Baer (1983).

Some examples of wellerisms taken from Dickens' (1972, pp. 292, 491, & 768) *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* are:

- There's nothin' so refreshin' as sleep, sir, as the servant-girl said afore she drank the egg-cupful o' laudanum.
- Fine time for them as is well wropped up, as the Polar Bear said to himself, ven he was practising his skating,
- Sorry to do anythin' as may cause an interruption to such wery pleasant proceedin's, as the king said ven he dissolved the parliament,"

These three examples, taken from the literary work that gave name to this particular type of phraseological unit, the adequacy of which is questioned by Loomis (1949), show rather clearly the "triadic structure" noted by Mieder. In them, the statement, the identification of the speaker, and the humorous remark can be easily identified. Nevertheless, it must also be noted that none of the three examples provided include a proverb, which reinforces the idea that they must be dealt with as independent PUs.

Leaving *wellerisms* aside, examples of the manipulation of proverbs through the addition of elements can be seen in the following quotes:

MIKE ROSTENKOWSKI What's wrong with your mom?
HOWARD WOLOWITZ Oh, her gout's flaring up. Turns out an apple pie a day does not keep the doctor away.⁴²

JOKER Who says crime doesn't pay? Now, this is what I call a sidewalk sale.⁴³

In the first example, Howard includes the noun "pie" to the rather frequent proverb "An apple a day keeps the doctor away" (ODP, p. 8) and questions its validity including a negative auxiliary. In the second one, the Joker turns the proverb "Crime doesn't pay" (ODP, p. 65) into a rhetorical question to challenge its truthfulness.

Substitution appears when one of the elements that make up the canonical form of the proverb is replaced with a different element. This can be done to apply a

⁴² Lorre, C., Molaro, S., Hernandez, T. (Writers), & Cendrowski, M. (Director). (21 Nov. 2013). The Thanksgiving decoupling (Television series episode). In F. Oshima Belyeu (Producer), *The Big Bang Theory*. New York, NY: CBS.

⁴³ Dini, P., Reaves, M. (Writers), & Kirkland, B. (Director). (22 Sep. 1992). The last laugh (Television series episode). In A. Burnett et al. (Producers), *Batman: the animated series*. Los Angeles, CA: 20th Century Fox.

statement of a more general idea to a more concrete situation. Another reason why it may be done is to cause some humorous effect, to criticise, or to contradict another person's deeds or words, among others. Examples of this type of manipulation are:

JOKER [*From inside the barge.*] A-ha! Mmmmmm-hmmmm. He-he!
Perfect. Now, everybody, remember where we parked. When the going gets tough,
the tough go shopping.⁴⁴

JAY PRITCHETT These are good. What's in them?
LONGINES It's a margarita with a shot of absinthe.
PEPPER SALTZ Absinthe makes the heart grow fonder.
CRISPIN Ohh, are you making a bad pun or just lisping?⁴⁵

In the sample from *Batman*, the Joker manipulates the proverb “When the going gets tough, the tough get going” (ODP, p. 135) to, veiledly, explain his evil designs. In the second one, from *Modern Family*, Pepper Saltz manipulates a proverb that is actually found in two different wordings: “Absence sharpens love, presence strengthens it” (ODEP, p. 1) and “Absence makes the heart grow fonder” (ODP, p. 1), the latter of which is manipulated in the fragment shown. Here, Pepper substitutes the original “absence” for “absinthe”, the change of which is propitiated by the phonological similarities between both nouns, the humorous effect of which is then questioned by Crispin.

It is a widely-accepted fact (Mieder 2004, 2010b; Honeck 1997) that sometimes the statement making up a proverb is *clipped*, it being so easily recognisable that only reproducing its first part suffices. In this case of manipulation, no element is changed or modified, however, it is not used in its most typical and easily recognisable wording. Even if it is the most simplistic type of proverb manipulation, it may also be one of the most frequent.

⁴⁴ Dini, P., Reaves, M. (Writers), & Kirkland, B. (Director). (22 Sep. 1992). The last laugh (Television series episode). In A. Burnett et al. (Producers), *Batman: the animated series*. Los Angeles, CA: 20th Century Fox.

⁴⁵ Levitan, S., Richman, J. (Writers), & Koch, C. (Director). (23 Mar. 2011). Boys' night (Television series episode). In J. Morton et al. (Producers), *Modern family*. New York, NY: ABC.

HOLMES Grey fondant, when properly shaped, is almost identical to several forms of plastique. Hmm? You woke up in a madman's lair with the guts of an alarm clock wired to that, you'd deliver any message he told you to. (*Someone knocks on the door.*)
WATSON You expecting anyone?
HOLMES No.
WATSON Sherlock!
LUCAS DIXON Hi. Lucas. I didn't catch your name earlier.
HOLMES Speak of the devil⁴⁶.

WALTER WHITE My guys are keeping their mouths shut. We make 'em whole. One hand washes the other. It's as simple as that.⁴⁷

In the piece from *Elementary*, a present-day Sherlock Holmes abbreviates the proverb “Talk / Speak of the devil and he is bound / sure to appear” (ODEP, p. 804; ODP, p. 313), a use of the proverb which is rather common, as explained in the entry in the ODP. In the second example, Walter White, utters the first half of the proverb “One hand washes the other and both the face” (ODEP, p. 347). It must be noted, though, that that is how the proverb is included in the ODP (p. 146) and, therefore, it may not be taken as a reduction. However, it is a rather well-known fact that the proverb is found in a longer form and frequently used as such, as in the following example from the North American drama *Boardwalk Empire*:

ELI THOMPSON He drives a Packard, Nucky, because of you. He lives in a house bigger than the Mayor. You seriously think he'd ever risk all that, let his people vote democrat?
NUCKY THOMPSON At this point, no. But there are limits to what he can sell those people, and a lynching's not one of them. If word got out...
ELI THOMPSON He needs you, Nuck. No one's ever gonna know.
NUCKY THOMPSON And we need him. One hand washes the other and both hands wash the face.
DEPUTY HALLORAN Take a lot of suds to wash Chalky's face.
NUCKY THOMPSON You can wait in the hall.⁴⁸

In some cases, the elements making up a proverb may be arranged in a way that is different from their most typical or canonical saying, generally to imply a

⁴⁶ Tracey, J. (Writer), & Ferland, G. (Director). (21 Mar. 2013). On the line (Television series episode). In A. Beahler, & G. Hemwall (Producers), *Elementary*. New York, NY: CBS.

⁴⁷ Gould, P. (Writer), & Bernstein, A. (Director). (29 Jul. 2012). Hazard pay (Television series episode). In S. A. Lyons et al. (Producers), *Breaking bad*. New York, NY: AMC.

⁴⁸ Konner, L., Nagle, M. (Writers), & Podeswa, J. (Director). (10 Oct. 2010). Anastasia (Television series episode). In T. Winter et al. (Producers), *Boardwalk empire*. New York, NY: HBO.

meaning that opposes the generally accepted one. This can be seen in the following two instances:

LEO ORISA I always believe in pleasure before business. But, that being said...⁴⁹

DICK GRAYSON Will Robin just stand by?

ALFRED PENNYWORTH If Muhammad won't come to the mountain, Master Dick, the mountain must come to Muhammad.⁵⁰

In the first sample, Leo Orisa, a mobster, inverts the usual order of the proverb “Business before pleasure” (ODEP, p. 93; ODP, p. 39), which makes his priorities clear. In the second one, Alfred reverses the order of the proverb “If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain” (ODEP, p. 547; ODP, p. 217) to motivate Dick Grayson, also known as Robin.

Finally, the last way in which proverbs may be manipulated is by merging elements, generally whole sections, from different proverbs. This is a rather common practice,⁵¹ generally done with humorous intention, although it may also be done by mistake, due to ignorance of the actual proverb or proverbs merged. This practice can be observed in the following excerpt from the TV fiction *Gotham*:

SAL MARONI You know, this creates some intriguing opportunities. Falcone will struggle to hold on to her territories. If we move quickly...

OSWALD COBBLEPOT: My thinking exactly. In fact, I took the liberty of claiming her nightclub.

SAL MARONI You, did, huh?—Good thinking. (*Chuckles*) A bird in the hand is nine-tenths of the law, right? (*Laughs*)⁵²

In the fragment presented, Sal Maroni, a mob leader, merges the proverbs “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush” (ODEP, p. 59; ODP, p. 26) and “Possession is nine-tenths/points of the law” (ODEP, p. 640; ODP, p. 253). Whether Maroni’s mistake is due

⁴⁹ Breen, M., Schapker, A. (Writers), & Zisk, C. (Director). (16 Feb. 2005). *Détente* (Television series episode). In J. J. Abrams et al. (Producers), *Alias*. New York, NY: ABC.

⁵⁰ Butler, R. (Writer), & Hodge, M. (Director). (3 Feb. 1966). *Rats like cheese* (Television series episode). In H. Horwitz (Producer), *Batman*. New York, NY: ABC.

⁵¹ Brunvand (2004) calls them “fractured proverbs”.

⁵² Stephens, J. (Writer), & Behring, J. (Director). (2 Feb. 2015). *The fearsome Dr. Crane* (Television series episode). In S. White (Producer), *Gotham*. Los Angeles, CA: Fox.

to his ignorance of the proverbs in question or whether he does so purposefully remains unclear, although Cobblepot's frowning reaction leads one to consider the former as the more likely alternative. Be that as it may, it is quite clear that the merging of both proverbs is motivated by the semantic connection between both of them, which has the ideas of having something at hand and possession at the core of the mix-up.

9.4.2. Local vs. universal

Another aspect that needs to be brought forward in the pragmatic classification of proverbs is the distinction between geographically restricted and universally applicable proverbs. The fact that there are proverbs which transcend geographical and linguistic boundaries is broadly acknowledged among paremiologists.⁵³ As explained in Chapter 2, the most frequently employed terms to refer to these proverbs are *europeisms* or *European proverbs* due to the languages in which they originated and the academic environment in which they are studied. However, a different label has been proposed here in order to avoid the inaccuracies that the generally used ones cause, this label being *occidentalisms* (see 2.2). Nevertheless, proverbs may transcend geographical or cultural limits and may be effectively used in remote places. Thus, one could talk about proverbs of universal application, although not all proverbs are susceptible to this.

The proverbs belonging to the category of *europeisms* or *occidentalisms* present some paremiological universals, pieces of knowledge that could be understood, accepted and applied by people sharing completely different upbringings and cultural backgrounds. The easiest explanation for this is the existence of a set of moral and behavioural rules, as well as pieces of practical knowledge that are of general

⁵³ See, among others, Morvay (1996), Corpas Pastor (2001), Corpas Pastor & Mena Martínez (2003, 2004), Piirainen (2005), Mieder (2010a), etc.

acceptance and may be seen as valid and useful, regardless of who says them and where. Examples of proverbs that might be universally valid are:

82. After a storm comes a calm (ODEP, p. 6; ODP, p. 3)
83. Cheats never prosper (ODP, p. 51)
84. Every cloud has its silver lining (ODEP, p. 128; ODP, p. 56)
85. Haste makes waste (ODEP, p. 356; ODP, p. 150)
86. (In) Union is strength (ODEP, p. 854; ODP, p. 334)
87. Young men may die, but old men must die (ODEP, p. 927; ODP, p. 355)

As can be seen, none of the examples presented include any element that may be culturally-bound so as to prevent its being grasped by people who may not be familiar with them due to linguistic, social, or other reasons.

On the other hand, some proverbs contain among their components words, such as toponyms (Corpas Pastor 1996, p. 168), which restrict their use to a certain local reality. The same may happen with the use of common symbols in different societies,⁵⁴ which have a large idiomatic charge that may determine the ability of a proverb to successfully cross linguistic borders. It may happen, however, that a proverb including some highly symbolic meaning becomes known in a different language, hence influencing the connotational charge that an element may carry in that language. Likewise, there are proverbs that include some element belonging to the fauna or flora of a specific area, which may not be known elsewhere, thus limiting their applicability and spreading. Similarly, proverbs dealing with weather phenomena may require specific conditions only found in an area in particular and, therefore, may not be useful in a different setting. Finally, there are proverbs that refer to some social establishment (political, religious, or otherwise) or form of government, which may not be known in other parts of the world. Some examples of geographically-limited proverbs are:

88. April showers bring forth May flowers (ODEP, p. 17; ODP, p. 8)
89. Crosses are ladders that lead to heaven (ODEP, p. 156; ODP, p. 66)
90. England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity (ODEP, p. 223; ODP, p. 95)
91. Kings have long arms (ODEP, p. 428; ODP, p. 172)
92. One swallow does not make a summer (ODEP, 791; ODP, 309)

⁵⁴ See Dobrovolskij & Piirainen (2005).

In example number 88, the reference to April and May as spring months might simply not be understood in the southern hemisphere, where the seasons are inverted. Number 89 makes a reference to the cross in which Jesus Christ was crucified, a well-known symbol for Christianity that may not be so in certain societies. Number 90 refers to the old rivalry between England and Ireland, another historical fact that may not be known to certain people in remote places of the world. Number 91 has “kings” as the protagonists, a political system that is not universal and, thus, may lack meaning to some people. Lastly, number 92 includes the word “swallow”, a species of bird that may not necessarily be found all around the world.

Finally, there is a marginal amount of proverbs that include some proper noun, as for instance “Robin Hood could brave all weathers but a thaw wind” (ODEP, p. 681; ODP, p. 270), which are also easily ungraspable to people even within a similar social context. Conclusively, there are proverbs that contain some general ideas that may be common to peoples from different context in the world, whereas there are some that make explicit references to cultural or natural elements that are limited to a certain geographical or social context.

9.5. Conclusions

Bearing some of the most widely accepted linguistic theories in mind when attempting a study of certain aspects of proverbs proves that some of those concepts can be applied to the study of proverbs with quite revealing results. Whereas some other phraseological units show a plainer character and remain inaccessible from certain scopes, proverbs show a richness of nuances that makes them one of the most rewarding units for a scholar to deal with.

In the present section an attempt has been made to present a list of five different ways in which proverbs may be used and six different purposes that they may fulfil. Apart from this, other revealing aspects for the use of proverbs have been presented and commented on. Finally, it should always be taken into account that there is one feature of proverbs that is of major importance from the point of view of pragmatics and which, in most cases justifies their use: their dogmatism.

10. Rhetoric sphere

The fact that at least some proverbs exploit the creative side of language is generally accepted as something distinctive. Moreover, the devices employed to embellish a proverb may determine their use. Some scholars¹ have found a relationship between certain figures of speech and their implications in cognitive processes. Even though this is an issue of major interest and one that comes up frequently when analysing proverbs, the purpose here is not to analyse such processes but to propose a formal dissection of what a proverb is for it to be better understood and distinguished from other types of phraseological units.

In the present section, an examination of proverbs focusing on the elements and strategies they employ to acquire the character of *rhetorical* will be carried out. As M. J. Barsanti Vigo (2006) points out in her analysis of some of the proverbs in L. Tieck's *Don Quixote*,

When proverbs [which are inserted in a literary work] are studied from a typological point of view based in an intrinsic analysis of them, we can establish the differences between non-rhetorical, or lacking rhetorical devices, and rhetorical proverbs, which contain a trope, understood in the classical sense of the term as a figure in the sphere of lexemes. The use of the latter must be considered as a literary device employed by the writer, who inserts a certain proverb in his work in a certain context.² (p. 179, own translation)

Deliberately or accidentally, Barsanti Vigo hits the bull's-eye with the simple distinction she makes: there are *rhetorical* and *non-rhetorical* proverbs,³ which is a perfect differentiation for classification purposes. Accordingly, even though the elements employed in proverbs, or by proverbs, to achieve this rhetorical character are multiple

¹ See Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Mac Cormac (1986), Gibbs, Colston, & Johnson (1996), Honeck (1997), Coulson (2008), among many others.

² The original reads thus:

Cuando se estudian los refranes [que aparecen insertados dentro de una obra literaria,] desde un punto de vista tipológico y basándonos en una análisis intrínseco de los mismos, podemos establecer la diferencia entre refranes no retóricos o carentes de figuras retóricas y los retóricos, los que contienen un tropo, entendido en el sentido clásico del término como una figura en el ámbito de los lexemas. El uso de estos últimos debe ser considerado como un recurso literario utilizado por el escritor que inserta en su obra un determinado refrán en un contexto particular.

³ For the percentages of *rhetorical* and *non-rhetorical* proverbs in the ODP see Figure 6 in Appendix D.

and of diverse natures, the only distinction that needs to be made is precisely that of *rhetorical* or *non-rhetorical*, as further classification according to the different devices employed may complicate and encumber said classification. Nevertheless, the employed mechanisms most frequently found in proverbs to achieve the status of *rhetorical* will be explained and illustrated by proverbs in which they manifest.

In order to determine whether a proverb is rhetorical or non-rhetorical one must be familiar with what have come to be generally known as figures of speech. First of all, what is rhetoric? Aristotle (2010), the coiner of, possibly, the most famous definition, explains that

Rhetoric may be defined as the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion. This is not a function of any other art. Every other art can instruct or persuade about its own particular subject-matter; for instance, medicine about what is healthy and unhealthy, geometry, about the properties of magnitudes, arithmetic about numbers, and the same is true of the other arts and sciences. But rhetoric we look upon as the power of observing the means of persuasion on almost any subject presented to us, and that is why we say that, in its technical character, it is not concerned with any special or definite class of subject. (pp. 6-7)

Aristotle distinguished five canons of rhetoric: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria* and *pronuntiatio*. According to this division, rhetorical devices are generally included under the third canon: *elocutio*⁴ as G. O. Burton (2001, online resource) points out,

As rich and interesting as the figures are, they do not constitute the whole of rhetoric, as some have mistakenly surmised. Such a view is a vast reduction of the discipline of rhetoric, which has just as much to do with the discovery of things to say (Invention), their arrangement (Arrangement), committal to memory (Memory), and presentation (Delivery) as it has to do with the figures of speech, which are typically categorized under the third of these canons of rhetoric, Style. (n.p.)

Thus, the identification of rhetoric with figures of speech is a rather simplistic attempt at defining the discipline, as rhetoric is a much more complex field. Additionally, B. Mortara Garavelli (1991), in her present-day definition of rhetoric defends that

When someone says “rhetoric”, he or she is talking about two mutually dependent but quite different things. One is communicative practice and technique, and also the mode in which we express ourselves (persuasive, appropriate, elegant, adorned...; and, the degenerate, false, redundant, empty, pompous etc.): (...) Another thing that is given the name of rhetoric is a discipline, and, therefore, an articulated combination of doctrines: it is the

⁴ Although they have a direct impact on the *dispositio* and *memoria* canons.

science of discourse (a place for philosophical theories), the set of rules that describes its (good) functioning.⁵ (p. 9, own translation)

Even though Aristotle remarks that rhetoric “is not concerned with any special or definite class of subject,” its connection to proverbs is a fairly close one, as shall be detailed. On the one hand, the persuasiveness of proverbs has been commented on multiple times throughout the present study and has its foundations in their dogmatic character. Similarly, proverbs rely on a number of strategies to reinforce this character, which shall be detailed shortly. On the other hand, Mortara Garavelli, in the quotation above, denotes the character of rhetoric as a “set of rules.” These rules or elements employed to achieve persuasion are the subject of the present chapter, and more concretely, how they become patent in proverbs.

It is generally accepted that there are a series of devices that are commonly used in rhetoric in order to adorn one’s speech. In this study, following G. O. Burton’s indications (2001), these rhetoric devices or figures of speech will be classified in three different groups according to their features and the effect with which they are intended: tropes, figures of repetition, and schemes. Even though this triple distinction may pose some questions, it is aimed at achieving simplicity and has been proposed from the scope of paremiology, taking into account their relationship to proverbs and how they manifest in phrasemes. Nevertheless, the conflict when attempting to classify these elements seems to be a recurrent one, as detected in consulting J. A. Cuddon’s (1999, p. 748) *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Criticism* for the definition of *rhetorical device*, where it is defined as “[a]n artful arrangement of words to achieve a particular emphasis and effect, as in apostrophe, chiasmus and zeugma [...]. A rhetorical figure

⁵ The original reads thus:

Quando se dice «retórica», se habla de dos cosas mutuamente dependientes pero muy distintas. La una es la práctica y la técnica comunicativa, y también el modo en que nos expresamos (persuasivo, apropiado, elegante, adornado...; y, al degenerar, falso, redundante, huero, pomposo etc.): (...) A otra cosa que recibe el nombre de retórica es una disciplina, y, por tanto, un conjunto articulado de doctrinas: es la ciencia del discurso (lugar de teorías filosóficas), el conjunto de reglas que describen su (buen) funcionamiento.

does not alter the meanings of words, as a metaphor [...] may do.” However, in the definition of trope, the DLTLC (1999, p. 948) states that, “In general it still denotes any rhetorical or figurative device, but a special development in its use occurred during the Middle Ages when it came to be applied to a verbal amplification of the liturgical text.”

Although Barsanti Vigo does not distinguish between tropes and other types of artifices employed in proverbs, she illustrates her classification with five rhetorical proverbs that contain some type of trope (metaphors and personifications in this case). Nevertheless, in the present classification, all proverbs presenting some type of figure of speech, regardless of their nature, will be considered rhetorical. Yet, it is necessary and advisable to comment on the three types of devices considered in the present analysis and some of the most frequently employed techniques in order to determine which proverbs may be considered rhetorical and which may not. Even though there does not seem to be general agreement on the different devices considered to be rhetorical, the distinction made here between tropes, figures of repetition, and schemes follows that made by G. O. Burton’s *Silva Rhetoricae* (2001) because it seems to best fit the purpose of this analysis.

10.1. Non-rhetorical proverbs

In the following sections, different types of rhetorical devices and the ways in which they manifest in proverbs will be analysed. However, the fact that there are proverbs that do not present any kind of rhetoric element in their composition must be considered. Proverbs being often taken as a figurative use of language may encourage the widespread misconception that all proverbs are indeed used figuratively. Although the figurativeness of proverbs is one of the defining features included in 1.2, it was also clarified that they may also be used literally. Such cases in which proverbs seem to have a tendency towards literal use makes it unnecessary for excessive adornment and

circumlocutory wording to be included in their composition. Thus, a substantial amount of proverbs avoid any obscurity in the transmission of a message, representing faithfully the reality they are being applied to. The apparent relationship between the literal use of proverbs and the lack of stylistic modifications present in them can be used to establish a connection between figurativeness and the rhetoric character of proverbs. Even if the relationship is not always clear, there seems to be a connection between the artifices employed in the formulation of proverbs and the way in which they are used (figuratively or literally). The following are examples of proverbs that may be frequently used in a literal manner, as they do not show any trace of rhetorical adornment and seem to be propitious to assess the reality (see 9.3.2) in which the communication exchange takes place among speakers:

1. Accidents will happen (in the best-regulated families) (ODEP, p. 2; ODP, p. 1)
2. Children and fools tell the truth (ODEP, p. 119; ODP, p. 52)
3. They that dance must pay the fiddler (ODP, p. 69)
4. Lend your money and lose your friend (ODEP, p. 455; ODP, p. 181)
5. Tastes differ (ODEP, p. 805; ODP, p. 313)

As can be observed from these examples, there are certainly proverbs that do not employ any artfulness and which may, more frequently than not, be used to accurately represent the reality they are being applied to. It is for this reason that the distinction between rhetorical and non-rhetorical proverbs seems a suitable and necessary one in the pursuit of an all-inclusive analysis and classification of proverbs.

10.2. Rhetorical proverbs

If a proverb does present some sort of rhetorical device, it will need to be identified and confirmed. As has already been mentioned, for a proverb to be considered rhetorical, it has to include at least one of the different types of devices that allow for such rhetorical character to be patent: tropes, figures of repetition, or schemes.

Next, the three different types of devices most frequently employed in the embellishment of proverbs will be detailed and illustrated with examples. These devices are generally referred to as *rhetorical devices*, *poetic devices*, or *figures of speech*, terms that accommodate a wide range of elements of different natures. Even though the triple distinction here proposed may seem awkward to some, it must be borne in mind that the object of this study is proverbs, and, thus, this distinction has been made taking that into account, as suits the classification purposes of the present study. In this regard, it must be mentioned that, generally, figures of repetition are considered a subdivision within *figures of thought* (Mortara Garavelli, 1991, pp. 268-309), although they will be dealt with separately here. The reasons for this are twofold: on the one hand, figures of repetition are quite numerous and diverse; on the other, their frequency of appearance in the proverbial lore, at least in the English language, is such that it seems sensible to give them special treatment as a distinct category, due to their complexity and abundance. Even so, it must be kept in mind that the triple distinction within the classification of rhetorical devices is made at this stage for explanatory purposes, as when attempting the classification of proverbs regarding the presence or absence of such devices in them, the only distinction that needs to be made, following the nomenclature proposed by Barsanti Vigo (2006, p. 179), is that of *rhetorical* and *non-rhetorical* proverbs, regardless of the nature of the mechanisms employed to reach said status.

10.2.1. Tropes

Tropes are one of the elements that has received possibly the most attention from paremiology and phraseology,⁶ and within tropes, metaphor is probably the chief device employed when attempting to define what a proverb is. Nevertheless, metaphors

⁶ See Gibbs, Colston, & Johnson (1996), Honeck (1980, 1997), Pérez Bernal (2004), Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2005b), Coulson (2008) for a quick overview.

are by no means the only noteworthy rhetorical device employed in the production of proverbs. From Mortara Garavelli's (1991) definition of trope, one learns that

The Greek term, *trópos*, from which the Latin *tropus* comes, means "direction", therefore, it alludes to the change in the direction of an expression that 'deviates' from its original content to hold another content.

The traditional definition of **trope** reproduces Quintilian's: substitution (*mutatio* or *immutatio*) of the proper expressions by others with a figurative sense (not straight). (...) According to the classical distinction, already mentioned, trope represents, regarding the term itself, a license; the mistake is the unjustified inappropriateness.⁷ (p. 163, own translation)

Thus, trope is an umbrella term under which different, although similar, elements are taken into consideration. In the next few pages, a brief account of some of the tropes most frequently found in proverbs. In order to prove their importance and show their degree of integration in proverbial lore, a brief explanation of their nature and some examples of proverbs containing them will be given.

Ideas and values are frequently anthropomorphised, giving place to *allegories*,⁸ as seen in the following examples:

6. Fortune favours the brave (ODEP, p. 282; ODP, p. 123)
7. Providence is always on the side of the strongest / big battalions (ODEP, p. 652; ODP, p. 258)

Words are often repeated in proverbs, sometimes with different meanings, a device known as *antanaclasis*:

8. The best of men are but men at best (ODEP, p. 48; ODP, p. 18)
9. A great book is a great evil (ODEP, p. 333; ODP, p. 140)

English allows for the use of words as different grammatical categories. When, for instance, a noun is used in the place of a verb, or vice versa, this phenomenon is known in rhetoric as *anthymeria*, as in:

⁷ The original reads thus:

El término griego *trópos*, del que proviene el latín *tropus*, significa «dirección», alude por ello al cambio de dirección de una expresión que 'se desvía' de su contenido original para albergar otro contenido. La definición tradicional de **tropeo** reproduce la de Quintiliano: sustitución (*mutatio* o *immutatio*) de las expresiones propias por otras de sentido figurado (no recto). (...) Según una distinción clásica ya mencionada, el tropo representa, respecto del término propio, una licencia; el error es la impropiedad injustificada.

⁸ According to Cuddon's DLTLT (p. 20) *allegory* may also be "a story in verse or prose with a double meaning."

10. Fine words butter no parsnips (ODEP, p. 241; ODP, p. 114)
11. Don't halloo till you are out of the wood (ODEP, p. 345; ODP, p. 145)

Even though proverbs are frozen units, they may show some doubt or hesitation by the speaker, also known as *aporia*. In the following examples, this is achieved through the use of a modal verb:

12. He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day (ODEP, p. 256; ODP, p. 113)
13. Young men may die, but old men must die (ODEP, p. 927; ODP, p. 355)

As explained in 9.2.2, proverbs are frequently left unfinished, creating a case of *aposiopesis*. Examples of proverbs that may frequently be left unfinished are:

14. A bird in the hand...[is worth two in the bush] (ODEP, p. 59; ODP, p. 26)
15. The mills of God grind slowly...[but sure / yet they grind exceedingly small] (ODEP, p. 314; ODP, p. 211)

Proverbs may be used to address the hearer directly, an act known as *apostrophe*. This can be seen in the following examples:

16. Physician, heal thyself (ODEP, p. 622; ODP, p. 249)
17. Saint Swithun's day, if thou be fair, for forty days it will remain; Saint Swithun's day, if thou bring rain, for forty days it will remain (ODEP, p. 696; ODP, p. 277)

As commented in 8.3, it is generally acceptable that proverbs deviate from what is considered to be the norm or the generally accepted use of language. In rhetoric this is called *catachresis*. Some examples of this are:

18. A blind man's wife needs no paint (ODEP, p. 68; ODP, p. 30)
19. Many a little makes a mickle (ODEP, p. 598; ODP, p. 203)

What is generally referred to as a *rhetorical question* or erotema, that is, a question not eliciting an answer but actually affirming that which it asks about, also takes place in proverbs such as:

20. When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman? (ODEP, p. 3; ODP, p. 2)
21. What can you expect from a hog / pig but a grunt? (ODEP, p. 234; ODP, p. 104)

Exaggeration is another common device employed in proverbs, possibly to reinforce the conveyed meaning. This *hyperbole* can be found in proverbs such as:

22. There is a remedy for everything but / except death (ODEP, p. 670; ODP, p. 266)

23. All roads lead to Rome (ODEP, p. 679; ODP, p. 269)

Irony is a statement meaning the opposite of what it says. Proverbs may frequently be used like this, especially when making a humorous remark. Proverbs that seem suitable for their use with irony are the following:

24. Ask no questions and hear no lies (ODEP, p. 20; ODP, p. 10)
25. Idle people have the least leisure (ODEP, p. 395; ODP, p. 162)

Some proverbs express an understatement. This is especially frequent in cases when something is affirmed through the negation of the opposite idea, which is known as *litotes*, examples of which are the following:

26. There's none so blind as those who will not see (ODEP, p. 67; ODP, p. 29)
27. The devil is not so black as he is painted (ODEP, p. 182; ODP, p. 75)

If an understatement deals with controversial or sensitive topics, acquiring a euphemistic character, it gives place to the device known as *meiosis*:

28. Hunger is the best sauce (ODEP, p. 392; ODP, p. 160)
29. Poverty is no disgrace, but it is a great inconvenience (ODEP, p. 642; ODP, p. 255)

*Metaphor*⁹ is one of the figures of speech most frequently employed in daily communication. This has been referred to in several occasions throughout the present study. Yet, examples of proverbs that explicitly show a metaphor, cognitive approaches aside, are:

30. The eyes are the windows of the soul (ODEP, p. 235; ODP, p. 106)
31. Knowledge is power (ODEP, p. 436; ODP, p. 174)

Another trope quite commonly found in proverbs is *metonymy*, where something is referred to by alluding to something else to which it is connected, as in the following instances:

32. Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names / words will never hurt me (ODEP, p. 773; ODP, p. 301)
33. Spare the rod and spoil the child (ODEP, p. 759; ODP, p. 296)

⁹ It must be noted that metaphor is used in this study in its traditional sense, that which can be found in Aristotle's works and still present in such an authoritative and recent work as I. A. Richard's (1965). In other words, the more recent account of metaphor stemming from G. Lakoff and M. Turner's (1980) seminal work and its relevance in meaning-generation will not be used here.

In the vocabulary of the English language, many words can be found that represent certain sounds quite closely.¹⁰ These may certainly be found in some proverbs giving place to *onomatopoeias*, as in;

34. A creaking door hangs long on its hinges / longest (ODEP, p. 154; ODP, p. 64)
35. When the oak is before the ash, then you will only get a splash; when the ash is before the oak, then you may expect a soak (ODEP, p. 584; ODP, p. 234)

There are proverbs in which contradictory concepts, seemingly unrelated, are juxtaposed, commonly known as an *oxymoron* and can be observed in the following examples:

36. The child is the father of the man (ODEP, p. 119; ODP, p. 52)
37. Young saint, old evil (ODEP, p. 928; ODP, p. 356)

Similarly, contradictory ideas may be associated, creating a *paradox*, as seen in the following two proverbs:

38. Appetite comes with eating (ODEP, p. 16; ODP, p. 7)
39. The busiest men have the most leisure (ODEP, p. 93; ODP, p. 39)

Proverbs are often used to say something indirectly and avoid straightforwardness, using *periphrasis*, as in:

41. A bad workman quarrels with / blames his tools (ODEP, p. 26; ODP, p. 12)
42. A guilty conscience needs no accuser. (ODEP, p. 340; ODP, p. 143)

Another well-known device quite frequently used, both in everyday speech and proverbs, is the attribution of human abilities to non-human beings or ideas, known as *personification* or *prosopopoeia*, and is exemplified by the following:

43. Actions speak louder than words (ODEP, p. 3; ODP p. 2)
44. Fields have eyes, and woods have ears (ODEP, p. 255; ODP, p. 113)

The humorous use of proverbs has already been detailed in 9.3.6. This is particularly noticeable in proverbs that include a *pun*, a play on words with a twofold meaning, as in the following proverbs:

45. Every bullet has its billet (ODEP, p. 90; ODP, p. 38)

¹⁰ As is well known, these words prove that F. de Saussure's (1959, p. 69) traditional distinction between *signifier* and *signified* are "not always arbitrary."

46. Kings have long arms (ODEP, p. 428; ODP, p. 172)

One of the patterns most frequently found in proverbs is that of proverbs that present some kind of explicit comparison. From the point of view of rhetoric, this is called a *simile*, as in:

47. March comes in like a lion, and goes out like a lamb (ODEP, p. 511; ODP, p. 204)

48. Like father, like son (ODEP, p. 248; ODP, p. 110)

Similar to metonymy, mentioned above, is the particular case in which the part is called for the whole or vice versa. The rhetoric term for this is *synecdoche* and is quite frequently used in different areas of daily communication. Examples of proverbs that present a synecdoche are:

49. Many hands make light work (ODEP, p. 509; ODP, p. 204)

50. The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world (ODEP, p. 347; ODP, p. 146)

Language allows for the establishment of relationships among elements from different realms of perception, or in other words *synaesthesia*:

51. An ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept (ODEP, p. 601; ODP p. 242)

52. Revenge is sweet (ODEP, p. 673; ODP, p. 267)

When a part of speech refers to several others, it receives the name of *zeugma* in rhetoric, as in the following examples:

53. Believe nothing of what you hear, and only half of what you see (ODEP, p. 43; ODP, p. 17)

54. England is the paradise of women, the hell of horses, and the purgatory of servants (ODEP, p. 222; ODP, p. 95)

As can be gathered from the examples provided, there are many different types of tropes, most of which, if not all, are represented in proverbs, regardless of their rarity or infrequency in everyday speech.

10.2.2. Figures of repetition

Figures of repetition are those that exploit the reiteration of one of the elements making up a sentence. Figures of repetition are multiple and varied, depending on the element that is repeated, the position it occupies in the syntactic unit or units making up

a sentence, the intention with which it is repeated, or the effect that is produced. As the amount of figures in existence is quite vast and there seems to be a lack of agreement about some of the names given to certain figures, the most commonly found ones will be presented here. Although there may be some not included, figures of repetition may be more easily recognised than other devices, as the reiteration of any of the elements in the proverb is explicit and noticeable, regardless of its purpose or the name that it is given. According to this, in the next few pages, some of the most frequently found figures of repetitions in the stock of English proverbs analysed for this study will be presented.

There is a rather large amount of proverbs that base their rhythmical pattern in the repetition of sounds at the beginning of successive words. This is a commonly employed device in the tradition of English poetry and is known as *alliteration*.

Examples of alliterative proverbs are:

- 55. Care killed the cat (ODEP, p. 103; ODP, p. 44)
- 56. Fortune favours fools (ODEP, p. 281; ODP, p. 123)

When the repeated words are at the end of one sentence and the beginning of the next, it is referred to as *anadiplosis*, as in:

- 57. He that follows freits, freits will follow him (ODEP, p. 273; ODP, p. 119)
- 58. If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain (ODEP, p. 547; ODP, p. 217)

Sometimes a word or phrase is repeated at the beginning of consecutive phrases or clauses. This particular case of repetition is called *anaphora* and is exemplified by the following proverbs:

- 59. First come, first served (ODEP, p. 262; ODP, p. 116)
- 60. The greater the truth, the greater the libel (ODEP, p. 336; ODP, p. 141)

In the previous section dealing with tropes, *antanaclasis* was mentioned. However, it must be remarked that this device is, according to some rhetoricians, halfway between a trope and a figure of repetition, as the meaning may be manipulated

as in tropes, but the manipulation is reached through repetition. No new examples will be provided, as those shown in the preceding section (examples 8 and 9 in this chapter) should suffice.

There are proverbs in which some elements are repeated in reverse order. The name that this type of repetition receives in rhetoric is *chiasmus* and can be seen in the following examples:

61. Eat to live, not live to eat (ODEP, p. 215; ODP, p. 92)
62. When the oak is before the ash, then you will only get a splash; when the ash is before the oak, then you may expect a soak (ODEP, p. 584; ODP, p. 235)

Sometimes, the same word is repeated in different places in a sentence or paragraph, which is known as *conduplicatio*:

63. He who wills the ends, wills the means (ODEP, p. 891; ODP, p. 346)
64. Young men think old men fools. and old men know young men to be so (ODEP, p. 921) / Young folks think old folks to be fools, and old folks know young folks to be fools (ODP, p. 355)

When two words intervene in the repetition, it is called *diacope* and it is exemplified by the following proverbs:

65. An ape's an ape, a varlet's a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet (ODEP, p. 16; ODP, p. 7)
66. If Candlemas day be sunny and bright, winter will have another flight; if Candlemas day be cloudy with rain, winter is gone and won't come again (ODEP, p. 100; ODP, p. 43)

If the repetition involves a name, then it is a *diaphora*, as in:

67. More people know Tom Fool than Tom Fool knows (ODEP, p. 543; ODP, p. 216)
68. If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain (ODEP, p. 547; ODP, p. 217)

The repetition of the first word of a clause at the end of it receives the names of *epanadiplosis* or *epanalepsis*, as found in:

69. Be what you would seem to be (ODEP, p. 33; ODP, p. 14)
70. Live and let live (ODEP, p. 473; ODP, p. 189)

A common way of achieving rhyme is to repeat the same word at the end of consecutive clauses. This technique, known in rhetoric as *epiphora* or *epistrophe*, is employed in the following instances:

71. Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know (ODEP, p. 55; ODP, p. 22)
72. Better to wear out than to rust out (ODEP, p. 56; ODP, p. 24)

If the words repeated do not have any other words in between, then it is called *epizeuxis*, as in:

73. What must be, must be (ODEP, p. 552; ODP, p. 220)
74. Needles and pins, needles and pins, when a man marries, his trouble begins (ODEP, p. 559; ODP, p. 223)

Finally, the repetition of a word in the middle of consecutive sentences is referred to as *mesodiplosis*:

75. He laughs best who laughs last (ODEP, p. 445; ODP, p. 178)
76. One year's seeding makes seven years' weeding (ODEP, p. 598; ODP, p. 240)

As can be seen from all the examples provided, in spite of the variety of different means of repetition that might be found in the composition of a proverb or any other statement, this type of device is reasonably easy to ascertain, even though the differences between all the types presented may be rather slight. Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that there may be no need to determine the exact type of figure employed, as pointing out that one proverb does indeed present some figure of repetition suffices to classify said proverb as rhetorical with no need to go into further detail.

10.2.2.1. Rhyme

In spite of not being considered a proper figure of repetition, rhyme consists of the repetition of the sounds at the end of consecutive phrases, clauses, sentences, or lines. Rhyme is often, however mistakenly, listed as one of the most common features in proverbs. This feature may play a more important role in the paremiological system of other languages than it does in the paremiological stock of the English language, according to the number of proverbs analysed for the composition of this study. A thorough analysis of English proverbs will result in the realisation that rhyme is not nearly as frequently found as other devices. The frequency with which rhyme appears in

proverbs is often overestimated, as the actual amount of rhyming proverbs, at least in English, is rather scarce: not even two out of every ten proverbs analysed present any kind of rhyme. However, when rhyme is present in proverbs, it can be identified as internal rhyme¹¹, the type of rhyme that can generally be found in proverbs due to their sentence-like structure.

Rhyme plays various roles in a proverb: on the one hand, apart from rhythmical contribution to the proverb's sound, it may work as a mnemonic device that helps the individuals involved in a communication exchange remember how the proverb ends, and thus, contributes to the proverb's memorability.¹²

Conversely, there is one similar phenomenon that does indeed seem to have a large impact on the creation and use of proverbs in English: alliteration. Alliteration and rhyme are similar and inverse, as both imply the repetition of sounds, however the former is the repetition at the beginning of words, whereas the latter is the repetition of sounds at the end of words. Nonetheless, as already mentioned, the frequency with which alliterative proverbs may be found in English is quite significant, possibly due to the ancient tradition of alliteration in English poetry.

Examples of proverbs showing different types of rhyme are:

77. Birds of a feather flock together (ODEP, p. 60; ODP, p. 28)
78. Ne'er cast a clout till may be out (ODEP, p. 106; ODP, p. 46)
79. There's many a slip between cup and lip (ODEP, p. 160; ODP, p. 203)
80. When in doubt, do nowt (ODEP, p. 200; ODP, p. 85)
81. A friend in need is a friend indeed (ODEP, p. 289; ODP, p. 124)
82. Long foretold, long last; short notice, soon past (ODEP, p. 479; ODP, p. 192)

¹¹ [Internal rhyme] occurs when two or more words rhyme within a single line of verse as in W. S. Gilbert's libretto for *Patience*:

Then a sentimental passion of a vegetable fashion
must excite your languid spleen,
An attachment à la Plato, for a bashful young potato,
or a not too French French bean!
Though the Philistine may jostle, you will rank as an
apostle in the high aesthetic band,
If you walk down Piccadilly with a poppy or a lily in
your medieval hand (Cuddon, 1999, pp. 423-424).

¹² ¹² See Norrick (1985, p. 47; 2015, p. 13), Corpas Pastor (1996, pp. 23-24), Mieder (1997, p. 412), Lauhakangas (2015, p. 49) among others.

It must be noted that, in spite of the usefulness of rhyme in the memorisation or remembrance of a proverb, it seems that the poetic or mnemonic necessities of proverbs are covered by other figures of repetition, the appearance of which (generally speaking, without going into detail of which particular device is most frequently used) seems to be more frequent than any other rhetorical device. Also, it cannot be obviated that for a proverb to present rhyme, it must fulfil certain structural requirements. That is, it must present an easily identifiable bimembral structure.

10.2.3. Schemes

As mentioned before, *schemes* are frequently included under *figures of thought*.¹³ In this regard, G. O. Burton (2001, n.p.) explains that a *scheme* is “[a]n artful deviation from the ordinary arrangement of words”, which differentiates from a *trope* in that the latter is “[a]n artful deviation from the ordinary or principal signification of a word” (Burton, 2001, n.p.). Therefore, a *trope* implies a modification on the semantic level of the statement, whereas a *scheme* does not. Technically, *figures of repetition* belong in this category. However, as has already been pointed out, their frequency and variety are such that it seemed more sensible to deal with them separately.

Burton (2001, n.p.) distinguishes the following types of scheme, from which figures of repetition are excluded:

- Structures of balance (parallelism, antithesis, climax)
- Changes in word order (hyperbaton, parenthesis, apposition)
- Omission (ellipsis, asyndeton, brachilogia, and polysyndeton)

¹³ Cf. Mortara Garavelli (1991, pp. 268-309).

Within the structures of balance, *parallelism* is the arrangement of two sentences or sentences similar enough as to establish a pattern. Regarding proverbs, this can be observed in:

- 84. In for a penny, in for a pound (ODEP, p. 402; ODP, p. 165)
- 85. As they sow let them reap (ODEP, p. 757) / As you sow so you reap (ODP, p. 295)

If the relationship established includes opposing ideas or concepts, it is referred to as *antithesis*. It is a rather common device not only in poetry or proverbs, but also in everyday speech. Although it may not be as elaborate as some others, it has a powerful effect. Examples of this are:

- 86. God has his church where the devil will have his chapel (ODEP, p. 309) / Where God builds a church, the Devil will build a chapel (ODP, p. 131)
- 87. One man's loss is another man's gain (ODEP, p. 486; ODP, p. 194)

If the elements of an enumeration or succession are arranged in order of increasing importance, the pattern employed is called a *climax*. This can be seen in the following examples:

- 88. Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise (ODEP, p. 211; ODP, p. 89)
- 89. England is the paradise of women, the hell of horses, and the purgatory of servants (ODEP, p. 222; ODP, p. 95)

Regarding the changes in word order, the alteration of the usual order of the elements in a sentence, *hyperbaton*¹⁴ in rhetoric terms, may take place due to several reasons. One of which is the modification of the structure in order to achieve rhyme or some other rhythmical pattern. Another reason is that some of the elements in the sentence may be fronted in order to give them a special focus or highlight their importance. Samples of hyperbaton are:

- 90. Happy is the bride that the sun shines on (ODEP, p. 85; ODP, p. 37)
- 91. A word to the wise is enough (ODEP, p. 914; ODP, p. 352)

¹⁴ Burton distinguishes between anastrophe and hyperbaton, the former being a "more specific instance of hyperbaton" (Burton, 2001, n.p.). However, here both will be considered under the term *hyperbaton*, both for simplicity's sake and due to it being the presumably best-known of the two labels.

The addition of a verbal element interrupting the syntactical arrangement of the sentence is commonly referred to as *parenthesis*. However, it is not easily found as such in proverbs. Even so, parenthesis can be achieved artificially when the introductory formulae mentioned several times throughout the present study (see 9.4.1)¹⁵ are inserted in the middle of the proverb, as can be seen in the following examples:

JOSEPH MOLESLEY I am a beggar and so, as the proverb tells us, I cannot be a chooser.¹⁶

for truly the she-dogs, as the proverb says, are as good as their she-mistresses, and the horses and asses have a way of marching along with all the rights and dignities of freemen.¹⁷

The interruption of the statement to insert an explanation in the middle is called *apposition*, as in:

- 92. Curses, like chickens, come home to roast (ODEP, p. 162; ODP, p. 67)
- 93. Promises, like pie-crusts, are made to be broken (ODEP, p. 649; ODP, p. 257)

Finally, regarding the omission of elements, *ellipsis* has already been explained in 8.3.1 from a syntactic point of view. On the other hand, the omission of conjunctions in between clauses, usually to achieve the desired rhythm and known as *asyndeton*, can be seen in the following examples:

- 94. An ape's an ape, a varlet's a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet (ODEP, p. 16; ODP, p. 7)
- 95. The buyer needs a hundred eyes, the seller but one (ODEP, p. 96; ODP, p. 40)

Conversely to asyndeton, if the omission of conjunctions takes place in between words, then it is called *brachylogia*, as in:

- 96. I today, you tomorrow (ODEP, p. 395) Today you, tomorrow me (ODP, p. 323)
- 97. One for sorrow, two for mirth; three for a wedding, four for a birth (ODEP, p. 596; ODP, p. 239)

Finally, the excessive use of conjunction, regardless of the elements joined, is called *polysyndeton*, as observed in:

¹⁵ See 9.4.1.

¹⁶ Fellowes, J. (Writer), & Bolts, B. (Director). (6 Oct. 2013). Episode three (Television series episode). In L. Trubridge, & N. Marchant (Producers), *Downton Abbey*. London: ITV.

¹⁷ Plato (2012, p. 312).

99. Change the name and not the letter, change the worse and not the better (ODEP, p. 50)
100. Long and lazy, little and loud; fat and fulsome, pretty and proud (ODEP, p. 478; ODP, p. 192)

As has been shown, the structure of proverbs may be manipulated in different ways in order to achieve different purposes and produce different effects without affecting the meaning of the proverb.

10.3. Rhetorical proverbs: a conscious or unconscious occurrence?

Apart from proverbs that are clearly *rhetorical* or *non-rhetorical*, there are proverbs that may be mistakenly taken as one or the other. There are cases in which there seems to be a natural way of saying something that may coincide with a rhetorical figure, therefore, the intention in the employment of certain strategies remains questionable. Examples of these dubiously rhetorical proverbs are:

101. Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know (ODEP, p. 55; ODP, p. 22)
102. Eat to live, not live to eat (ODEP, p. 215; ODP, p. 92)
103. A friend in need is a friend indeed (ODEP, p. 289; ODP, p. 124)
104. The pen is mightier than the sword (ODEP, p. 618; ODP, p. 247)
105. Revenge is sweet (ODEP, p. 673; ODP, p. 267)

Even though it is impossible to determine what might have passed through the mind of an individual when uttering a statement that would eventually achieve a relevant degree of diffusion and recognition among a community of speakers so as to become a proverb, the possibility of the creation of accidentally rhetorical proverbs must be taken into consideration.

The proposed examples, as well as many others that could be found in any glossary of proverbs, are unquestionably rhetorical, as close inspection will reveal that all of them include some of the figures detailed above. However, the question here is not so much whether they are rhetorical, which has already been acknowledged, but the origin of said rhetorical character. It has been proved (by cognitive linguistics, for instance) that language can be schematised in our mind following different patterns and structures. These patterns and structures do not only help people codify and transmit a

message, they add complexity, profoundness, and embellishment to the message we are attempting to transmit, in this case, proverbs. This process is involuntary, and the fact that such linguistic manifestations become memorable is reason enough to consider them as something that cannot pass unnoticed.

The question of whether whoever first used example number 103 was aware of the fact that he or she was articulating his or her message as an *anaphora* cannot be answered. Regardless of what the answer would be, though, it cannot be assumed that every rhetorical proverb exists as a result of careful planning on the part of the speaker. Similarly, the rhyme found in the proverb (“in need” / “indeed”) may be casual due to the fact that that particular wording might be the natural way of saying something, rather than the speaker’s craftiness. This is reinforced by the fact that everyone finds him or herself every now and then uttering a message that happens to rhyme in an unprepared way.

Similarly, example 101, a case of *mesodiplosis*, represents the comparison of two opposing things, “the devil you know” and “the devil you don’t know”, a comparison which is rather hard to establish and avoid repetition. Example 102, a chiasmus, may have been articulated as such only because it felt like the natural way of criticising gluttony. Number 104 is a case of *metonymy*, which might be overlooked given that both items mentioned, “pen” and “sword”, are also symbols of wisdom and physical power, respectively, which may justify the choice of words. Finally, number 105, can be interpreted as an instance of *synaesthesia*, a figure by which different sensorial perceptions are brought together; thus, the adjective “sweet”, which refers to a taste, is employed to describe the rewarding feeling of obtaining one’s retaliation, which cannot actually be perceived through said sense.

The question of whether or not language use that somehow deviates from people's usual everyday speech is intentional or the fruit of coincidence will probably remain unanswered. However, a serious scholarly study of proverbs, or any other item for that matter, must not leave room for dubiousness or take chance or coincidence as a valid explanation for a phenomenon. Chance may indeed be behind some rhetorical use in proverbs, but the fact that it is rhetorical is more remarkable and capital to this analysis than the motivation behind it.

As has been explained in previous chapters, most proverbs, despite their anonymity, originated in the speech, or the writing, of individuals. Therefore, the question of whether a particularly artistic use of language was purposeful or the result of a linguistic accident is not quite as important as the fact that a proverb includes certain stylistic features that allow for its classification and distinction from other units that do or do not present similar characteristics.

10.4. Conclusions

Rhetorical devices are everywhere: in people's daily speech, in advertisements, in the press, in literature and, of course, in proverbs. They are so commonly found that not only do they help individuals communicate in a more effective and elegant way, but some scholars also support the thesis that people's minds use similar devices to organise and codify the reality around us.

Proverbs are a particularly interesting manifestation of rhetoric, not only for the vast amount of devices used, but also for their variety. This is a characteristic that must be considered in a thorough analysis of proverbs because of its frequency of appearance. This feature is, in fact, so important for the classification of proverbs that it is one of the few aspects that allow for a binary classification, enabling the distinction between *rhetorical* and *non-rhetorical* proverbs.

Although accuracy, thoroughness, and minuteness are always a must in any scholarly research, going into too much detail regarding this aspect may hinder the purpose and the efficiency of the presented classification. It is for this reason that the dual distinction between *rhetorical* and *non-rhetorical* proverbs has been found to be more advisable than further subdivisions due to the complexity, multiplicity, and heterogeneousness of the different rhetorical devices present in proverbs, indicating the individual ones used in particular proverbs would result in a tedious and complicated task.

In spite of advising against such an exhaustive subdivision of *rhetorical* proverbs, an overview of the different rhetorical devices has been included in this epigraph in order to show how numerous and varied these devices are in a paremiological analysis and to provide an idea of what must be considered when trying to determine whether a proverb must be included in the category of *rhetorical* or *non-rhetorical* proverbs.

11. Classification of proverbs according to the relationships among their elements

Proverbs, despite being one of the most diverse types of linguistic manifestations, present a series of recurrent patterns determined by the relationships between the elements making them up.¹ In relation to this, there are some authors that have established a series of frequent structures found in the stock of English proverbs.

W. Mieder (2004a), explains that

Some of the more common patterns, and by no means only in the English language, are “Better X than Y,” “Like X, like Y,” “No X without Y,” “One X doesn’t make a Y,” “If X, then Y,” calling to mind such well-known proverbs as “Better *poor* with honor than rich with shame,” “Like *father*, like son,” “No *work*, no pay,” “One *robin* doesn’t make a spring,” and “If at first you don’t *succeed*, then try, try again.” (pp. 6-7)

While there are indeed numerous proverbs presenting the structures listed by Mieder, as he points out, they may only be found in the English language, as some of them are determined by the grammatical structures of English, such as impersonal comparatives, conditionals, etc. As has been mentioned multiple times, the present study is aimed at achieving global applicability and establishing such grammatically determined patterns defeats said purpose. N. R. Norrick (1985), on a similar note, defends that ²

The frequency of a relatively small number of proverb formulas (and other predominantly proverbial structures) in English speaks in favour of such a p-grammar. Within the F-Corpus only two proverbial formulas appear besides the already discussed *like X like Y*, but they account for four total items each in the F-Corpus. The first of them takes the basic form *the X-er the Y-er*. The four items adhering to it are: *The fairer the hostess, the fouler the reckoning; The fairer the paper, the fouler the blot; The farther in, the deeper; The farther the sight, the nearer the rain.* (p. 93)

Norrick, disagrees, however, about the frequency of appearance of these formulae, which, according to him, might not be as common as generally believed. It is for this

¹ For the distribution of the proverbs in the ODP according to this criterion see Figure 7 in Appendix D.

² Norrick (1985: 92-93) calls for the composition of a “*proverbial grammar*” that would include “not only formulas proper but also recurrent archaic and lectal constructions” found in proverbs. Additionally, Norrick (1985: 84) uses what he calls the “F-Corpus”, “the first 200 items, including 141 proverbs under the letter F in the ODEP”, to illustrate his classification.

reason that the reappearance of certain patterns in the proverbial lore of the English language, at least from the most generalised point of view, is rather anecdotal and does not suffice to establish any classification criteria in the proposed terms. Nevertheless, the existence of these patterns is a proven fact and they play an important role in the use of proverbs, as Flavell and Flavell (1993, p. 87) affirm, “[a] feature of proverbs is that many of them exhibit characteristic forms or fit into set patterns. This partly explains why we so readily interpret them as proverbs.”

In spite of the fact that they are indeed useful for achieving different purposes, some of the aforementioned structures are heavily marked by the precepts of English grammar. For this reason, they may not be relevant to the analysis of proverbs from languages other than English and, therefore, would not be suitable for the composition of a universal system for the classification and definition of proverbs, preventing paremiology from achieving the cross-linguistic scope it should have in order to become a more homogenised and ecumenical discipline of study in which the proverbs of different languages can be analysed in equal conditions. Bearing this in mind, and after careful observation of several hundred proverbs, the following patterns, of presumably universal application, have been observed repeatedly:

- Cause—effect (or effect—cause)³
- Condition—result (or result—condition)
- Contrast (elements from different origins are brought together in order to highlight an aspect of one of them)
- Succession (one element follows another)
- Other grammatically determined patterns (language dependant)

³ Cf. Permyakov (1979).

These structures depend, ultimately, on the elements making up the proverb and the way in which they interrelate. Accordingly, it is usually necessary for a proverb to include more than one concept or mental image forming in the minds of the speakers.

In this regard, D. Dobrovolskij and E. Piirainen (2005a) provide an explanation of how proverbs are *motivated*, distinguishing between *motivated* and *unmotivated* phraseological units. Although they employ these terms in the analysis of idioms, it seems suitable for the analysis of proverbs as well. According to them (2005a),

the literal sense is often mentally present for speakers, even if they use an idiom only in its figurative meaning. Hence, the relevant mental image (we call it *image component*) of a motivated idiom must be regarded as part of its content plane in a broad sense. In certain cases, some relevant traces of the mental image that are fixed in the lexical structure of an idiom must be regarded as part of its actual meaning. (p. 80)

Thus, the ability of UF's to be used not figuratively, which is generally assumed to be their main use, but literally may rely on the closeness between their motivation and their actual, literal meaning. Even if some idioms are prone to being used literally, proverbs seem to be much more so given the different purposes with which they can be used (see 9.3), among which, the assessment of the reality around the speakers seems particularly suitable for this denotative use. To sum up, as Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005a, p. 14) put it, "figurative units possess a second conceptual level at which they are associated with the sense denoted by their literal form". Therefore, as stated by them, the concept of "motivation" as applied to phraseological units in general, or proverbs in particular, is the verbalisation of a mental image that can be applied to a reality that may or may not have anything to do with the actions expressed in the PU or proverb. This also links to the concept of idiomatic nature, also discussed elsewhere in this analysis.

In this regard, an attempt was made at classifying proverbs according to the amount of images they project in people's minds, which would be of great usefulness

for classification purposes. However, this yielded inconclusive results as different people perceive proverbs differently and there is no consistency among the amount of images generated in the minds of individuals when interpreting the same proverb.⁴

11.1. Cause—effect proverbs

This may be foreseeable as one of the most basic, most common structures with which a proverb can be constructed. As the name indicates, proverbs falling into this category must present a factor that produces an outcome, logical or illogical. This relationship between elements is the *sine qua non* for obtaining the desired product. Some examples of English proverbs arranged following this pattern are:

1. Appetite comes with eating (ODEP, p. 16; ODP, p. 7)
2. Hasty climbers have sudden falls (ODEP, p. 357; ODP, p. 55)
3. As you make your bed, so you must lie upon it (ODEP, p. 502; ODP, p. 200)
4. Man proposes, God disposes (ODEP, p. 506; ODP, p. 201)
5. The more you stir it, the worse it stinks (ODEP, p. 775; ODP, p. 302)

From the observation of these examples, several results can be gathered. On the one hand, not only is this pattern found rather frequently but also, it is common to find the structure inverted, the effect introducing the cause instead of the more chronologically logical *cause—effect* disposition. An example of this is the first example shown: “Appetite comes with eating”, which paradoxically as it may seem, explains how the more one person might eat, the hungrier he or she would become. Here, “eating” is the cause that generates the “appetite”, instead of preventing it.

The *cause—effect* outline becomes evident in example number 2: the hurriedness with which one may do something may cause him or her to fail, as every little thing requires time and carefulness to be successfully attained, which is quite effectively illustrated with the example of the climbers. Similarly to number 2, proverb 3 explains that one is responsible for the outcome of his or her actions, which may be

⁴ This point was confirmed by E. Piirainen in personal communication (15 Jun. 2015).

the fruit of sloppiness and through the employment of the bed example explains that, again, one is accountable for the expected or unexpected development of affairs, depending on how meticulous he or she was in the planning.

Additionally, the relationship between the elements making up a proverb thus structured is so close that a mere juxtaposition suffices in order to articulate this relationship; thus, example 4 is made up of two coordinated sentences, which may be found joined by the coordinating conjunction “and” or by a comma, which does not really make a difference save for the fact that the use of the coordinating “and” may help establish more precisely the order in which events take place. In both cases, however, the overall meaning of the proverb and the connection between both its parts remains clear.

Finally, proverb number 5 uses rather scatological imagery to make an individual directly responsible for the outcome of certain actions. Thus, certain bad features may be in the nature of certain objects, it is then people’s responsibility to try to minimise the results of possibly harmful actions, instead of increasing them.

It must be noted, though, that there are proverbs that present a structure that would allow them to be included in this category, as well as in any of the following two that will be explained in the present section: proverbs articulated as conditional sentences. As its very name suggests, at least some conditionals are formulated following the structure explained here of a cause producing an effect, or the one explained next, that of *condition—result*. However, both schemes can be achieved without resorting to fixed grammatical structures, as has been proved by the examples provided, and as shall be demonstrated by the examples in the following sections. For this reason, conditional sentences have also been included, regardless of their type, in the last epigraph of the present section, under the label *grammatically-determined*

structures. The explanation for this, as has already been mentioned several times, is the cross-linguistic scope of this analysis, which, although relying on English for exemplification's sake, intends to be useful for the analysis and classification of proverbs from different languages and, thus, it cannot be assumed that conditional sentences follow the same pattern in different languages.⁵

11.2. Condition—result proverbs

This category and the previous one are quite similar. So similar, in fact, that it may prove rather confusing attempting to ascertain whether a proverb belongs in one or the other. However, they are not exactly the same and the differences existing between them seem so substantial at certain levels that it seems sensible to deal with them as two independent categories, rather than amalgamating the two into one single category that would defeat the purpose of carrying out a thorough, comprehensive, analysis of proverbs.

If the previous category dealt with a reality that, willingly or unwillingly, or consciously or unconsciously, would have an outcome, in the current category, elements that are a prerequisite for something else to take place will be dealt with. The differences are subtle, but examples will prove a most efficient tool in aiding the understanding of the differences:

6. The devil's children have the devil's luck (ODEP, p. 184; ODP, p. 75)
7. Fine feathers make fine birds (ODEP, p. 258; ODP, p. 114)
8. A good horse cannot be of a bad colour (ODEP, p. 320; ODP, p. 137)
9. Liars have need of good memories (ODEP, p. 457) / A liar ought to have a good memory (ODP, p. 183)
10. All's well that ends well (ODEP, p. 879; ODP, p. 344)

In proverb number 6, the condition lies in the fact that the children mentioned are “the devil's”, which grants them “the devil's luck”. In number 7, the condition is the “fine feathers”, which results in “fine birds”. Number 8 seems to be a reversible proverb, as

⁵ They do exist in numerous languages, though, English, Spanish, German, and French among them.

the condition may be the “goodness of the horse” that results in the impossibility that it be “of a bad colour”, or the other way round, the negation of a cause that results in having “a good horse”. In number 9, the condition to be “a liar” is to have “a good memory”. Finally, proverb number 10 explains that the condition for something to be well is to “end well”, belittling the importance of a good start.

As with the previous category, there is a pre-existing grammatical structure that seems quite suitable for the arrangement of proverbs following this disposition, i.e. conditional sentences. However, the fact that such structures may be different from one language to the next makes it unsuitable as a criterion for the classification of proverbs from different languages and, therefore, will be analysed in an independent epigraph dealing with such structures. Again, it must be pointed out that the elements of the proverbs included in this category may exchange positions, the *result* preceding the *condition*, as seen in proverb number 9, “Liars have need of good memories”. Nevertheless, the ease with which the elements present in proverbs of this nature can exchange positions seems to be less than that of proverbs in the previous category, as this exchange might hinder the understanding of the proverb and the purpose with which it has been used.

11.3. Contrasting Proverbs

Sometimes proverbs introduce elements of different or opposing nature in order to advise about the convenience of one or the inopportuneness of the other. These proverbs may sometimes be identified with some of those categorised as antithetical, paradoxical, or oxymoronic in the rhetorical and stylistic subsection of the present study.

Scholars usually highlight the formal beauty that proverbs seek. This is achieved by the employment of different means and devices, such as figures of speech,

a rather significant amount of which has been detailed in Chapter 10. It is inevitable, though, that these artifices have an effect on the form, the meaning, and the way in which proverbs may be used.

It is sensible to believe that, despite their multifaceted character and heterogeneousness, proverbs show some level of consistency in their characteristics and nature. Thus, it must be considered reasonable to believe that some devices are often used to achieve a certain goal or produce a definite effect. This should not be seen as a limitation, but, on the contrary, as a sign that the careful observation and analyses that led to the present study are coming together and that elements from different spheres consistently support each other in search of a common goal. Therefore, in order to sum this point up, it makes sense to believe that some proverbs share common features, which contribute to supporting the thesis that there is a possible universal classification for proverbs in which all of them can be included. These features, despite belonging to different spheres of this analysis, employ different means to achieve a common goal. At the same time, it only contributes to rounding out the present classification, as they have proven to be consistent. Examples that may be useful in differentiating the elements belonging to this group from others are the following:

11. Art is long and life is short (ODEP, p. 19; ODP, p. 9)
12. Cold hands, warm heart (ODEP, p. 132; ODP, p. 58)
13. In for a penny, in for a pound (ODEP, p. 402; ODP, p. 165)
14. Lucky at cards, unlucky in love (ODEP, p. 496; ODP, p. 198)
15. Wanton kittens make sober cats (ODEP, p. 866; ODP, p. 340)

The contrast established in number 11 is quite apparent: on the one hand, two antonymous adjectives, “long” and “short”, are employed to qualify two nouns that are also quite antipodal: “art” and “life”. Similarly, proverb number 12 opposes two pairs of terms, “cold” versus “warm”, and “hands” against “heart”. Example 13 establishes a contrast, through parallelism this time, which is reinforced by the repetition of the

preposition “in” and the opposition established between “penny” and “pound”. Number 14 comments on the evident disparity between good and bad fortune regarding chance games or romantic relationships, usually used to show preference for the latter. Finally, number 15 uses the contrast between “wanton” and “sober” to refer to the logical evolution that certain character traits undergo with the passing of time.

It is not surprising that adjectives abound in proverbs of this type. The reason for this may be that their descriptive nature comes in quite handy when one needs to establish such contrast. This may also contribute to these proverbs crossing linguistic boundaries and becoming known in foreign languages, as they do not rely on their idiomatic character or connotation to convey the intended meaning. This can be supported by four out of the five proverbs brought forward to illustrate what may be considered to be *contrasting* proverbs (examples 11, 12, 14, and 15). Nevertheless, this is not the only way of achieving such contrast, as converse nouns may also be brought together in order to establish said contrast, as happens in example 13. The idea of contrast is found in a rather large number of proverbs due to the powerful effect it has on conversation, as the identification of opposing ideas will unquestionably instigate a puzzling effect on the hearer, mostly if he or she does not possess any previous knowledge of the proverb in question.

As has just been mentioned, the use of adjectives is so frequent in proverbs that are subject to being included in this category that proverbs articulated in the form of a comparison seem perfectly suitable for this purpose. However, comparisons follow strict grammatical rules, at least in languages such as English, and for this reason they have been marked as belonging in a different category, that of grammatically-marked structures. The shortcomings of this decision are obvious, first and foremost being the differentiation of proverbs that use different strategies to achieve similar purposes. Yet,

as has been mentioned multiple times, the scope of this analysis is to achieve universal applicability, and for that purpose, the present distinction seems more sensible, however controversial or contradictory it may be. Accordingly, examples such as

16. Actions speak louder than words (ODEP, p. 3; ODP, p. 2)
17. Truth / Fact is stranger than fiction (ODEP, p. 844; ODP, p. 107)

will be marked as belonging in two different groups, just like conditional sentences as explained above. The reason for this is that comparisons, as well as other structures, are regulated by the grammar of a language and the rules that govern their use may differ across languages, thus complicating the analysis of seemingly similar or equivalent proverbs in cross-linguistic analyses. Language is a complex entity with multiple sides that complement each other and which may be mutually dependent, as seen in previous examples. However there are some conflicting aspects that prove challenging to arrange in order to achieve the perfect system. This can be shown by the fact that analogies can be established that do not follow the generally used, grammatically correct “A is more X than B” or “A is X-er than B”. Proverbs such as

18. Like father, like son (ODEP, p. 248; ODP, p. 110)
19. As you sow, so you reap (ODEP, p. 757; ODP, p. 295)

do not follow the grammatical precepts for comparisons but may be included in the present group as the contrast they establish is quite obvious. Furthermore, these proverbs, as well as many similar others, may be taken as similes from the scope of rhetoric (see 10.2.1).

Additionally, there is a pretty common practice of achieving the desired contrast through the use of a negating prefix on a word that has already been said, which would cause the contrast to be inevitably established and perceived by the hearer. This can be observed in the example “Lucky at cards, unlucky in love” (ODEP, p. 496; ODP, p. 198). It might be argued, though, that this proverb might as well be considered as

belonging in one of the previous categories. However, to be considered as such, there would need to be an explicit link between both elements that determines which causes or results in what. Consequently, it cannot be inferred from the proverb that the reason why someone has an unsatisfactory romantic life lies in the fact that he or she is good at games of chance. On the contrary, this proverb may frequently be used to discourage someone who is in fact fortunate at such games, giving more importance to amorousness, as previously stated, which is used as compensation, therefore its condition of contrasting proverb.

11.4. Qualifying proverbs

A rather significant number of proverbs are used to characterise people, animals, ideas, etc. In English, most of these proverbs can be identified by the employment of the verb *to be* or any other copulas or pseudo-copulas, although, as has already explained, this cannot be extended to other languages, as they may not include such verbs in their grammars. Nevertheless, the idea of qualification, or the attribution of qualities to entities, is universal, regardless of the procedure by which it is achieved in each particular language. Some of the proverbs belonging to the stock of English included in this category are the following:

20. An ape's an ape, a varlet's a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet (ODEP, p. 16; ODP, p. 7)
21. Art is long and life is short (ODEP, p. 19; ODP, p. 9)
22. Comparisons are odious (ODEP, p. 138; ODP, p. 59)
23. Corporations have neither bodies to be punished nor souls to be damned (ODEP, p. 145; ODP, p. 61)
24. No man can serve two masters (ODEP, p. 569; ODP, p. 229)

As can be seen from the analysis of the previous examples, things, ideas, people, or animals can be qualified using other means than copulas, as in examples 23 and 24. In number 23 the verb “to have” is used to describe an entity, “corporations”. In number, 24 the use of the modal verb “can” indicates the ability, or lack thereof, of an individual to do something. In the first three examples, different elements are described and given

certain qualities or attributes with the use of the copula. As has already been explained, this cannot be taken as a universal rule, as there are languages that do not have copulas and carry out the same process through other means. The attribution of qualities to people, etc. can only be taken as a universal, and thus, proverbs from any language should find shelter in this category regardless of the means used.

The amount of this kind of proverb is rather vast and part of the reason for this might be the fact that they are usually short, assertive proverbs, highly appreciated qualities in proverb use as has already been seen.

11.5. Succession proverbs

Another pattern that has repeatedly been noted is that shown by proverbs that indicate the order in which things are to be done, or the order in which events will take place. This group is harder to confuse with the previous three due to a capital difference: whereas the connection between the elements in previous divisions has been a rather close one, one determining the other, in this set there is no such connection. Another characteristic that stands out when compared with the other group is that this one is significantly less numerous than the others. In addition to this, the proverbs in this group deal with the most varied topics, as opposed to other categories in other classifications.

In order to explain this, the following examples will be presented as an illustration:

25. After a storm comes a calm (ODEP, p. 6; ODP, p. 3)
26. After dinner rest a while, after supper walk a mile (ODEP, p. 6; ODP, p. 3)
27. Business before pleasure (ODEP, 93; ODP, 39)
28. Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest (ODEP, p. 95; ODP, p. 40)
29. First come, first served (ODEP, p. 262; ODP, p. 116)

The order established in number 25 is actually reversible, as a storm may naturally follow calm weather and vice versa. Example number 26 gives some piece of advice

regarding health care and, more concretely, explains how to avoid digestion issues. Proverb 27 establishes the order in which priorities must be undertaken. If number 26 transmitted some health advice, number 28 does the same but regarding professional and business matters. Finally, proverb 29 offers a justification for the order in which customers may be attended to in a business.⁶

The most noticeable way in which these proverbs are arranged in order to clarify such careful disposition and determine the order in which different tasks must be accomplished is through the use of adverbials, as can be observed in the examples provided. Regarding this, some of the most abundant ones are *before* and *after*. Sometimes, however, it may happen that this order of events is not made explicit in the wording of the statement and it is the order of the elements in the sentence that determine how things must be done. An example of this is the proverb “Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest” (ODEP, p. 95; ODP, p. 40).

As has been pointed out, the proverbs in this group may deal with the most varied topics and a quick look at the handful of examples provided will suffice to confirm that. However, after close observation, proverbs of moral character following this disposition do not seem to abound in the English language. This does not mean that they do not exist, either in English or in any other language, but none has been retrieved. Furthermore, there does not seem to be any condition that prevents this structure from being applied to proverbs dealing with moral or transcendental subjects and the explanation for this lack must be looked for elsewhere.

11.5. Grammatically-determined patterns

There are proverbs that are arranged following some grammatical patterns. The

⁶ W. Mieder (2004a, pp. 43-52) traces the origin of the proverb all the way back to the Middle Ages, when people had to go to the mill themselves to have the grain ground. This proverb, according to Mieder, was used as a legal precept to avoid conflict.

meaning of these proverbs, their purpose, or the way in which they are used may be determined by said grammatical patterns. Whereas there are multiple proverbs that convey the intended meaning and fulfil the intended purpose through the employment of different strategies, others rely on the grammar of a language to achieve the desired goals.

It must be mentioned that an exhaustive list of the different grammatical structures may not be applicable across different languages, as there may be notable differences from one language to the next. For this reason, some of the most recurrent grammatical structures of English present in the stock of English proverbs will be presented in order to illustrate this subdivision. However, it must be accepted that there may be other such structures in English that may be included under this category, and, conversely, that these or other grammatical structures may not be applied to the classification of proverbs in other languages. Some of these structures are:

- Conditionals
- Comparatives
- Passive voice
- Questions
- Exclamations
- Imperatives

A structure that seems to be quite useful for the creation of proverbs, as anticipated, is conditional sentences. There seems to be a rather significant amount of proverbs presenting different variations of this pattern for a single grammatical structure, around 50 out of the 1,164 used as samples for the composition of this study. Some examples of proverbs structured as a conditional sentence are the following:

30. If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain (ODEP, p. 547; ODP, p. 217)
31. If you run after two hares you will catch neither (ODEP, p. 638; ODP, p. 274)
32. If you would be well served, serve yourself (ODEP, p. 715; ODP, p. 283)
33. If the sky falls, we shall catch larks (ODEP, p. 740; ODP, p. 289)
34. If wishes were horses, beggars would ride (ODEP, p. 903; ODP, p. 349)

A reason why conditional proverbs may be so common is that they allow for easy manipulation, and the different conditional structures allow for the expression of different ideas, which is part of the reason why they are so useful. This variety can be observed in the examples shown above.

Comparatives are another recurrent syntactic structure used in proverbs. The amount of proverbs articulated as a comparison is vast; even more so if those in which the comparison is established from a semantic point of view, as in similes, not through the syntactic one, are tallied up. Comparatives seem to be a useful structure for proverbs, totalling over 140 items analysed for the composition of this study. Moreover, proverbs that follow the pattern “better X than Y”, as mentioned by Mieder in the first quote in this chapter, cover over 8 pages in the ODEP, for a total of 94 proverbs, which is far from demonstrating the proverbial idea that comparisons are odious. Examples of comparative proverbs are:

35. Better are small fish than an empty dish (ODEP, p. 51; ODP, p. 20)
36. Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know (ODEP, p. 55; ODP, p. 22)
37. Blood is thicker than water (ODEP, p. 69; ODP, p. 31)
38. Enough is as good as a feast (ODEP, p. 224; ODP, p. 96)
39. Hunger is the best sauce (ODEP, p. 392; ODP, p. 160)

Examples 35 and 36 represent the aforementioned structure of “better X than Y”. Number 37 is a well-known proverb articulated as a comparison of superiority; number 38 establishes the equality between two concepts; finally, number 39 is a superlative. Unexpectedly, no comparatives of inferiority have been found, which leads one to think that proverbs may have a tendency towards overstatement, rather than to understatement, and that this type of comparative is more effective at achieving the desired objectives in the creation of proverbs.

The third type of structure that noticeably determines the way in which a proverb is arranged is the passive voice. Even though this seems to be a rather frequent structure used in everyday conversation, the frequency with which it manifests in proverbs is by no means excessive.

The passive voice may be more frequently used in English than in other languages for several reasons, among which the necessity for a subject established by the grammar of the English language is, unquestionably, one of the major ones. Another reason why it may be employed is to draw the attention of the hearer to a particular piece of information included in the message by altering the order of the elements in the active sentences and having the *agent* and the *affected* swap positions in the sentence⁷, the agent of the active sentence giving up its position of syntactic privilege in favour of the affected. The following proverbs are examples of proverbs in the passive voice:

40. Children should be seen and not heard (ODEP, p. 120; ODP, p. 53)
41. Every dog is allowed one bite (ODEP, p. 195; ODP, p. 82)
42. What's done cannot be undone (ODEP, p. 199; ODP, p. 84)
43. (The road to) Hell is paved with good intentions (ODEP, p. 367; ODP, p. 269)
44. Little birds that can sing and won't sing must be made to sing (ODEP, p. 469; ODP, p. 28)
45. Rome was not built in a day (ODEP, p. 683; ODP, p. 271)

In these proverbs, as usually happens in constructions of this kind, the constituent that actually carries out the action, the agent in the active sentence, is omitted because it is unknown, unnecessary or can be deduced from the rest of the message and it is preferable to bring the attention to the *affected*.

One final pattern that will be mentioned as an example of syntactical structures is that of proverbs arranged as a question. As mentioned in 10.2.1, these questions can be identified with the rhetoric device called *erotema* and most frequently referred to as *rhetorical questions*, which are not expected to be answered. Despite the scarcity of these proverbs, a handful of them have been found:

⁷ See Downing and Locke (2005, pp. 252-55).

46. When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman? (ODEP, p. 3; ODP, p. 2)
47. Who would keep a cow of his own when he may have a quart of milk for a penny? (ODEP, p. 151) / Why buy a cow when milk is so cheap? (ODP, p. 63)
48. Why should the devil have all the best tunes? (ODP, p. 74)
49. Why keep a dog and bark yourself? (ODP, p. 170)
50. What can you expect from a hog / pig but a grunt? (ODEP, p. 234; ODP, p. 104)

There does not seem to be anything particularly remarkable about these proverbs, besides the fact that they are formulated as questions that are not expected to be answered, as has already been mentioned. The most likely purpose for the choice of similar proverbs is the powerful rhetorical effect that it has and which is aimed at leaving the hearer wondering.

Conversely, there are other types of sentence, such as exclamations, that seem to have little impact, if any, on paremiological practices according to the data gathered after careful analysis of hundreds of proverbs. On the one hand, an exclamation does not imply any syntactical deviation from a normal declarative sentence; on the other, many proverbs might be used this way given the necessary conditions. Therefore, one needs to be cautious when determining whether a proverb is in fact an exclamation or whether it may only occasionally be used as such. In order to determine what is indeed an exclamation, A. Downing and P. Locke (2006) clarify that

The exclamative Sentence type starts with a *wh-* word, either the determinative *what*, followed by a nominal Phrase or the degree adverb *how*, and an adjective, adverb or statement: (...)

Exclamatives have the Subject-Finite ordering that is characteristic of the declarative, and the element following the *wh-* word is a Sentence constituent which has been brought to the front of the Sentence. For these reasons exclamative Sentences are sometimes considered as an emotive element superimposed on the declarative rather than as a distinct mood. (p. 191)

Despite the usefulness of this explanation in determining which proverbs can be analysed as proper exclamations, the tendency of at least some proverbs towards a deviation from what is considered conventional grammatical correctness, as mentioned in 8.3, does not contribute to making the classificatory task any easier. Furthermore, there seems to be a lack of uniformity of criteria across some of the most accessible

reference works, which also complicates the task of determining whether a proverb is in fact an exclamation. For instance, the only proverb that the ODP (p. 76) includes specifically as an exclamation, “The Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be; the Devil was well, the devil a saint was he!” is included in the ODEP (p. 184) as a plain declarative sentence. Conversely, the ODEP, in its 930 pages filled with thousands of proverbs, there are a meagre eighteen that are formulated as exclamations.⁸ Moreover, the lack of agreement becomes even more patent when one finds out that there are two entries for the proverb “St. John to borrow!” (ODEP, p. 694), one with an exclamation mark, the other without. Nevertheless, there are proverbs that can certainly be considered as exclamations, if only due to the “superimposed emotive element” referred to by Downing and Locke in the previous quote. Some of these proverbs are:

51. Farewell, fieldfare! (ODEP, p. 245)
52. Farewell, forty pence! Jack Noble is dead (ODEP, p. 245)
53. Farewell, gentle Geoffrey! (ODEP, p. 245)
54. Fire away, Flanagan! (ODEP, p. 259)
55. Hop whore! Pipe thief! Hangman lead the dance (ODEP, p. 384)

This formulation seems to be particularly used for the addressing of people or for the giving of orders. Particularly remarkable is the repetition of the farewell formula in examples 51, 52, and 53. It must be noted, though, that all these examples come from only one reference work, which at the same time refers to Tilley’s *Dictionary* (1950) and others.

Regardless of their frequency of use in everyday speech, or the intention with which exclamations are used, exclamation proves a controversial criterion for the classification of proverbs, as determining whether a proverb is always used as an

⁸ See how we apples swim! quoth the horse turd (p. 17); That bangs Banagher! (p. 29); Bows and bills! (p. 79); The Christians to the lions! (p. 123); Farewell, fieldfare! (p. 245); Farewell, forty pence! Jack Noble is dead (p. 245); Farewell, gentle Geoffrey! (p. 245); Fire away, Flanagan! (p. 259); The frying-pan said to the kettle, ‘Avaunt, black brows! (p. 293); God bless the Duke of Argyle! (p. 309); Hop whore! Pipe thief! Hangman lead the dance (p. 384); The King is dead. Long live the King! (p. 426); Your money or your life! (p. 540); Saffron Walden, God help me! (p. 691); St. John to borrow! (p. 694); St. Thomas gray! St. Thomas gray! the longest night and the shortest day (p. 696); Tell that to the marines! (p. 807); Walk, knave, walk! (p. 864).

exclamation may prove almost impossible, because none of those presented are structured following the requisites established by Downing and Locke (2006). For this reason, and in order to avoid a fair deal of trouble, only proverbs that can clearly be taken as such, as those shown above, will be considered exclamations.

As already mentioned, there are more grammatical or syntactical structures that can be included in this epigraph. Some of them, which are presumably found in other languages, at least European ones, have been presented in order to illustrate this possibility for the classification. Nevertheless, the grammar and syntax of different languages may be significantly different and, as already mentioned, it is quite hard to find a set of universals.

11.7. Unclassified proverbs

There are some cases, albeit fewer, in which a proverb may not fall under any of the proposed categories. These proverbs do not show enough cohesion with each other so as to create any further subdivisions. It may happen that further future research will hopefully bring new categories to light, but the proposed classification seems to cover the vast majority of the proverbs catalogued and analysed for the present study, with the group of *unclassified* ones being a marginal quantity of the total amount.

The relationships observed among the elements making up a proverb can be ascertained from a semantic or syntactic point of view. However, there are numerous proverbs that cannot be included in any general category. Moreover, apart from the usual difficulties of a study that has proverbs as a subject of analysis, the intention of setting some theoretical framework that can be applied to any language in the world makes it even harder. In the present analysis, English has been used as a model in order to devise some patterns that appear with a rather high frequency and which can be employed for the classification of proverbs. Yet, not all the proverbs in the English

language could be included in the proposed subcategories, nor could said subcategories be used to classify proverbs from different languages.

Some of the proverbs marked as *unclassified* in the proposed classification are the following:

56. Accidents will happen (in the best-regulated families) (ODEP, p. 2; ODP, p. 1)
57. There is no accounting for tastes (ODEP, p. 2; ODP, p. 2)
58. Civility costs nothing (ODEP, p. 125; ODP, 54)
59. The end justifies the means (ODEP, p. 220; ODP, p. 94)
60. Familiarity breeds contempt (ODEP, p. 243; ODP, p. 109)
61. Length begets loathing (ODEP, p. 456; ODP, p. 182)
62. Man is the measure of all things (ODEP, p. 505; ODP, p. 201)

As can be observed in these examples, none of these proverbs follow any of the patterns proposed here or the much more specific and language-determined ones proposed by the authors mentioned in the introduction to the present chapter. Thus, it must be accepted that this aspect of the present analysis is open-ended and does not intend to present all the different structures possible in proverbs, as the options are countless, mostly if the universal scope of this analysis is taken into account.

11.8. Conclusions

It might be argued that one of the main setbacks of paremiology is the fact that many studies are carried out biased by a single language. Fewer works offer a multilingual analysis of proverbs and even though this dissertation does not do so either, it is carried out trying to avoid an excessive language bias. As mentioned before, other authors have found recurrent patterns in the stock of English proverbs. However, the applicability of these patterns to the analysis of proverbs in other languages proves awkward. In order to avoid this awkwardness, a set of more general and ample categories has been proposed to allow for the classification of proverbs according to a feature that should not go unnoticed: the fact that there are proverbs structured following similar arrangements and sharing certain characteristics.

Chapter 12

Analysis of individual proverbs according to the proposed criteria

In the present section a handful of proverbs will be subjected to an analysis based on the criteria proposed. Nevertheless, all the proverbs commented next, as well as the other 1,140 in the ODP, are dissected in Table 3¹ according to said criteria. In the first section of this chapter, nine proverbs that have been proven to be of high currency in present-day journals by J. K. Lau (1996) will be dissected; whereas in the second section, a total of fifteen proverbs have been chosen to show some features considered to be rather representative of proverbs and which are not included in any of the previous nine examples presented. This is intended to demonstrate the validity of the criteria proposed to analyse various kinds of proverbs.

12.1. J. K. Lau's "top ten"²

In the present section, the classification proposed in the previous chapter will be applied to nine examples of proverbs.³ The justification for this choice of nine proverbs can be found in K. J. Lau's (1996) research that establishes the list of the ten proverbs most frequently used in newspapers. Lau's inquiries should suffice to demonstrate the unbiased and neutral character of the present analysis. Lau employed the tools of corpus linguistics to compose a list of the 188 most frequently cited proverbs in Anglo-American proverb dictionaries and checked them against a database of journalistic texts both from the United States and overseas, which yield as a result the

¹ See Appendix A.

² Lau's list of ten proverbs is here referred to as the "top 10" following Mieder's (2004a, p. 131) example.

³ The list presented by K. J. Lau (1996) is made up of ten, one of which, "forgive and forget" is not included in the ODP, the work that has been employed as a model for the composition of the proposed classification. However, said proverb is indeed to be found in the ODEP (281).

following top ten proverbs together with the amount of appearances found by her on the LEXIS/NEXIS database:

1. Enough is enough. (15,808)
2. Time will tell. (14,226)
3. First come, first served. (13,050)
4. Forgive and forget. (5,097)
5. Time is money. (3,770)
6. History repeats itself. (3,713)
7. Time flies. (3,673)
8. Better late than never. (3,493)
9. Out of sight, out of mind. (2,902)
10. Boys will be boys. (2,103)

Regardless of the total number of coincidences found by Lau, some of the proverbs most frequently found in journalistic texts written in English might be surprising to some. The reason why these have been chosen to illustrate the validity of the proposed classification lies in the fact that it would be rather easy to choose a random number of proverbs and use them as an example, without explaining why that decision has been made. At the same time, it would also be easy to manipulate the list of chosen proverbs so as to reinforce the validity of said classification. However, in an attempt to remain as objective and unadulterated as possible, Lau's "top 10" have been taken up given that, for the proposed classification to work, it must be applicable to any proverb. For this reason, it seems more reasonable to present a handful of well-known proverbs that have been empirically proven to be so, as Lau accomplished through her research, rather than some others that may be less well-known.

12.1.1. Enough is enough

The first proverb in Lau's "top ten" is "Enough is enough" (ODEP, p. 224; ODP, p. 97), which provided 15,808 entries in the digital database consulted by Lau. When running this proverb through the four-level sieve as the proposed classification is structured, one reaches the following conclusions:

- Within the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, the subject of the proverb is the indefinite

pronoun “enough”, which has been included in the group of *abstract nouns*, in an attempt to keep the amount of labels as limited as possible, given that nouns and pronouns fulfil the same purposes in the sentence. Regarding the ability to clip the proverb, given its reduced dimensions and the nature of the elements making it up, this proverb does not seem to be able to undergo a *clipping* process, which would endanger its perception as such by the receivers; additionally, this proverb does not present any remarkable features from the point of view of its *morpho-syntactic* organisation, and regarding the type of syntactic unit it presents, it must be pointed out that it is a *sentence*, rather than one or various phrases.

- Regarding the *pragmatic* sphere, it seems that this proverb is most suitable for teaching, assessing reality, to justify oneself, and as a humorous device, without having any element in its composition that reduces its applicability to a certain context.

- As for the *rhetoric* sphere, it can be assessed that this is a rhetorical proverb whose rhetorical character lies in the presence of two devices; on the one hand, there is an *epanalepsis*, i.e. the repetition of a word at the beginning and the end of a clause, which gives place to a *tautology*, i.e. an unnecessary repetition that deems a statement redundant.

- Finally, in the classification of proverbs according to the *relationships existing among the elements* present in said proverbs, it must be remarked that this proverb is structured as the qualification of an idea, which is carried out through the previously mentioned repetition of the word “enough”, giving place to the aforementioned *tautology*.

12.1.2. Time will tell

The second proverb in Lau's list, according to the amount of hits found in the LEXIS/NEXIS database is "Time will tell" (ODP, p. 322). After subjecting this proverb to the proposed classification, one reaches the following conclusions:

- Regarding the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, it can be observed how the subject of the proverb is an *abstract noun*; regarding its ability to be clipped, again, it seems like this proverb is not suitable for such a process, mostly due to its shortness; this proverb does not present any grammatical anomalies or features that are worth mentioning; finally, regarding the syntactic unit it is made up of, it can be said that it is a *sentence*.
- In the *pragmatic* sphere, it can be observed how this proverb is most suitable for the transmission of teachings, the assessment of reality, self-justification, and, possibly, producing humorous effect. There does not seem to be any local restriction for the understanding of this proverb by different societies or cultures, even though the perception of time has been proved to differ among different cultures.⁴
- About the *rhetoric* sphere, it can be said that this proverb is in fact rhetorical as it includes a *personification*, as the verb "to tell", meaning to communicate, particularly, through speech, is an ability that the noun "time", as an abstract noun, lacks.
- Finally, in the classification according to the *relationship existing among the elements* making up the proverb, this one has been marked as *unclassified* as it belongs to the group of proverbs that do not seem to present a marked structure or features that allow for their inclusion in any of the recurrent patterns.

⁴ One of the most widely spread theories regarding this matter is the controversial *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* (see Sapir, 1927, 1931; Carroll, 1950; Whorf, 1950), which, despite being dated and hardly defensible anymore poses some interesting questions related to this issue. For a study on the allusion to time in proverbs see Martínez Kleiser (1945).

12.1.3. First come, first served

This proverb, which, as Mieder (2004a, p. 43-52) points out, has its origin in the medieval custom of taking one's grain to the mill to have it ground, establishes the order in which people must be attended, easily avoiding many possible disputes.

- The *morpho-syntactic* features of this proverb are different from the two cases already explained; on the one hand, there is no subject, as the proverb includes two non-finite verb forms. Additionally, this verb can indeed be clipped, the first half of it probably sufficing to get one's message across. Besides the fact that the proverb is structured around two non-finite forms, there do not seem to be any other grammatical peculiarities. Finally, the lack of a conjugated verb means this proverb is included in the category of *phrase* proverbs.
- Considering the *pragmatic* features of the proverb, it can be said that, similarly to the previously shown examples, it may be used to fulfil the general four common purposes of proverbs: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and, given the right context, humorous use. Again, there do not seem to be any elements that limit the use of this proverb in certain contexts.
- This proverb has been marked as *rhetorical* due to the repetition of the adverbial "first" at the beginning of the two groups present; a figure of repetition known as *anaphora*.
- Finally, the analysis of the *structure* of the proverb and the way in which the elements making it up interrelate, it has been marked as a *cause—effect* proverb, the cause being "coming first", which has the effect of being "first served."

12.1.4. Time is money

The proverb "Time is money" (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 321) is, rather unsurprisingly, one of the best-known proverbs in current use, possibly due to the

present-day lifestyle, in which people have to devote most of their time to working in order to earn the money they need to afford the essentials. Subjecting this proverb to the four spheres of the classification yields the following results:

- In the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, the results are similar to the previously analysed proverbs; that is, there is an *abstract subject*, the shortness of the proverb does not favour it being clipped, there are no grammatical peculiarities, and the proverb is a *sentence*.
- In the *pragmatic* sphere, this proverb also seems suitable to fulfil the most commonly sought purposes: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous effect. Nevertheless, the use of this proverb might be limited to certain contexts in which time and money are known concepts because, aside from the different ways in which time might be conceptualised, not all human groups conceptualise it in the same way.
- Within the *rhetorical* sphere, this proverb is articulated as, possibly, one of the best-known, most widely used rhetorical devices: a *metaphor*. This is done by the identification of two elements from different realms: on the one hand, time is an abstract concept, which is identified, on the other, with money, a concrete noun and a symbol of material possessions.
- Regarding the last sphere, this proverb has been marked as a *qualifying* proverb, as it identifies one concept, “time”, in this case with another one, rather than complementing it with adjectives, which may be the most typical way of complementing ideas or concepts.

12.1.5. History repeats itself

This proverb (ODEP, p. 374; ODP, p. 154) is another inarguably well-known proverb, not only in the United States of America, as Lau has proven, but in many other

western countries as well. Again, as shall be seen, it does not present any radically different features from those present in the other proverbs analysed.

- From the *morpho-syntactic* point of view, it can be said that it is a proverb with an abstract subject, *unclippable*, without any grammatical peculiarities, and structured as a *sentence*.
- From the *pragmatic* sphere, like the proverbs already discussed, it may also be used to teach, to evaluate the context, to justify oneself, or to produce some comic effect. Comparably to other proverbs, this one does not include any elements that discourage its use in different contexts and with different peoples so it can be assumed that it is of universal applicability.
- Contrary to the previously shown examples, however, from the *rhetorical* scope, this proverb does not present any features that deem it rhetorical, as no devices can be observed that make it so. Therefore, this proverb has been marked as *non-rhetorical*.
- Finally, within the domain of *patterns*, surprisingly enough, it has also been marked as *unclassified*, the reason this is remarkable is because such proverbs account for a tenth of the total proverbs analysed for the composition of this classification, although there are already two of the ten most-frequently used proverbs by Lau that show this feature.

12.1.6. Time flies

Another proverb dealing with time, which, as suggested earlier, seems to be one of the major preoccupations of present-day western society, at least in the United States of America, where Lau's list was composed. Again, there do not seem to be any outstanding features of this proverb, with the most remarkable characteristic being its shortness, as it is made up of only two words, the shortest possible combination for a

proverb in English, as R. Honeck (1997, p. 23) claims. Thus, the dissection of this proverb according to the proposed four categories remains as follows:

- Regarding the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, it can be seen that, identically to the other proverbs shown dealing with time, the subject is an *abstract noun*; as already mentioned, the shortness of this proverb does not allow for its *clipping*; there are no grammatical anomalies observed; and, in spite of its shortness, it can be classified as a *sentence* made up of a noun and an intransitive verb.
- As for the *pragmatic* side of this proverb, it fulfils the usual four intentions mentioned several times already, without the presence of any element that limits its use to any particular local context.
- *Rhetorically*, it has been marked as a *rhetorical* proverb due to the fact that an abstract noun, “time”, has been given animal abilities, “flying”, giving place to a *zoomorphism*.
- In the last sphere that deals with *recurrent patterns* and the way in which the elements relate to each other in the proverb, this particular case has been marked as a *qualifying* proverb, as the noun “time” is attributed the ability to fly.

12.1.7. Better late than never

The eighth most frequent proverb as determined by Lau,⁵ “Better late than never” (ODEP, p. 54; ODP, p. 21) is another unquestionably well-known proverb, and one which presents several differences with respect to the other ones already analysed.

- From the *morpho-syntactic* point of view, there is *no grammatical subject*; its recognisability in English, as well as other European languages, is such that it allows for its *clipping*, the first half of it sufficing to recognise the speaker’s intention; in this proverb, one of the most frequently found grammatical anomalies can be seen, as

⁵ “Forgive and forget”, in the fourth place, has been skipped for not being included in the ODP.

the subject and the verb that would be necessary to articulate the proverb as an impersonal construction, i.e. *it is*, have been left out, thus causing ellipsis; the last peculiarity of this proverb, *ellipsis*, inevitably makes it fall in the category of phrase proverbs.

- This proverb does not present any remarkable features from the *pragmatic* point of view, as it may most frequently be used with any of the four general uses of proverbs: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous. Also, it may not be considered as a *localism* as none of its elements seem to be culturally-restricted.

- From the point of view of *rhetoric*, this proverb has been marked as *non-rhetorical*, even if it may arguably be considered as presenting a *tautology*, i.e. an obvious, irrefutable assessment.

- Regarding *the way in which the elements of the proverb interrelate*, there is an obvious contrast established between the concepts of “late” and “never”, the fact that this contrast is made through a comparison makes it considered as *grammatically-determined*. The fact that comparisons require a specific grammatical structure justifies its inclusion in said category. Additionally, it must be mentioned that this pattern is one of the many listed by W. Mieder (2004a, pp. 6-7) and N. R. Norrick(1985, p. 93) as the most recurrent patterns in the stock of English proverbs.

12.1.8. Out of sight, out of mind

Yet, another commonly used proverb (ODEP, p. 602; ODP, p. 243), which is no surprise given that, after all, the ten most frequently repeated proverbs in journalistic texts are being dealt with, which automatically discards the possibility of running into any relatively obscure ones. It is interesting to mention, however, that there is a proverb that contradicts this one, and which may have a similar level of diffusion, even if less appropriate for journalistic texts: “Absence makes the heart grow fonder” (ODP, p. 1).

- From the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, and similarly to other already analysed proverbs, this one does not include a subject among its elements; regarding its *clippability*, there do not seem to be any aspects that would make this difficult or cause it to be avoided and, therefore, uttering “out of sight...” should suffice for the proverb to be understood by a conversational counterpart, mostly when dealing with one of the most frequently repeated proverbs, as shown by Lau’s enquiries; finally, the lack of a verb makes this proverb fall under the category of *phrase* proverbs, rather than that of sentence proverbs.
- There are no surprises regarding its *pragmatic* analysis, as it may fulfil the most frequently found uses of proverbs: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous effect. Moreover, it may not be considered as a *localism* according to the elements that make it up.
- From the *rhetorical* sphere, there is an obvious repetition of words at the beginning of both parts of the proverb, i.e. “out of”. This repetition at the beginning is known as *anaphora*.
- As for the *relationships amongst the elements* of the proverb, it has been included under the *cause—effect* category, the absence of someone causing that person to eventually fall into oblivion.

12.1.9. Boys will be boys.

The last proverb in Lau’s list, “Boys will be boys” (ODEP, p. 79; ODP, p. 34) is yet another rather widespread one. Even though it does not present any outstanding features, it shows some remarkable ones, mostly when compared to some of those previously seen.

- *Morpho-syntactically*, it presents a personal subject, which, surprisingly enough, differs from the other nine in Lau’s research. Regarding its ability to undergo a

clipping process, it does not seem suitable for the purpose, as omitting any of its elements would endanger the proverb of coming across as such. Additionally, there are no noticeable grammatical irregularities and this proverb should be classified as a *sentence*, as it is made up of a subject, a verb, and its complement.

- From the *pragmatic* point of view, this proverb follows suit with most of the examples already analysed, with its most likely uses being the four mentioned several times throughout the present stage: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous effect. Additionally, nothing seems to prevent its use in different contexts.

- Regarding its *rhetorical* side, there is an obvious repetition of the noun “boys”, which, due to its position at the beginning and the end of the clause, is called an *epanalepsis*. Moreover, this repetition makes the whole statement an archetypal *tautology*.

- As for the way in which the proverb is structured and *the relationship existing between its two main elements*, which happen to be the same, this proverb is included in the *qualifying* category.

12.2. Analysis of other examples

Despite the unquestionable usefulness of K. J. Lau’s 9 proverbs to illustrate how the proposed classification must be interpreted, it seems insufficient to grasp an accurate idea of what a proverb is and how complex and varied they are. A reason for this is that there are three of them that are formulated around the idea of time, i.e. “Time will tell”, “Time is money”, and “Time flies”. Furthermore, there are two more that also related to the idea of time or timeliness in some way, even though the word time is not made explicit in the wording of the proverb, those two are “First come, first served” and “Better late than never”. Additionally, the proverb “History repeats itself” may also be understood as having to do with the idea of time.

The subjacent idea in a proverb does not necessarily determine its form, its stylistic features, or the way in which its elements are arranged, although it may indeed determine the purpose with which said proverb is used. Looking through the preceding subsection of the present chapter, one will undoubtedly realise that there is little variety within the list proposed by Lau and endorsed by W. Mieder. For this reason, a number of proverbs, some of which may be better-known than others to the general public, will be presented in order to bring the focus to certain features of proverbs that appear with a rather high frequency and which failed to be brought forward in any of the proverbs commented on hitherto. The following examples have been selected following no other criterion than their propitiousness for the illustration of several aspects of the classification of proverbs that are not included in any of the ones already commented, regardless of their frequency of use, level of diffusion, or any other criteria that might have been followed for the selection of proverbs if the purpose were different. Even though the proverbs have basically been chosen at random, most, if not all of them, should be sufficiently well-known to anyone with a fairly ample knowledge of proverbs and an average *paremiological minimum*. Thus, the proverbs chosen to illustrate some features habitually found in them are the following:

11. After dinner rest a while, after supper walk a mile (ODEP, p. 6; ODP, p. 3)
12. Always a bridesmaid, never a bride (ODP, p. 37)
13. If the cap fits, wear it (ODEP, p. 101; ODP, p. 43)
14. A clean conscience is a good pillow (ODP, p. 60)
15. It is no use crying over spilt milk (ODEP, p. 159; ODP, p. 66)
16. What can't be cured must be endured (ODEP, p. 161; ODP, p. 67)
17. Give a dog a bad name and hang him (ODEP, p. 302; ODP, p. 81)
18. One Englishman can beat three Frenchmen (ODEP, p. 223; ODP, p. 96)
19. Fools and bairns should never see half-done work (ODEP, p. 277; ODP, p. 121)
20. Homer sometimes nods (ODEP, p. 379; ODP, p. 156)
21. So many mists in March, so many frosts in May (ODP, p. 212)
22. There's nowt so queer as folk (ODP, p. 234)
23. He that cannot pay, let him pray (ODEP, p. 614; ODP, p. 245)
24. Tell the truth and shame the Devil (ODEP, p. 807; ODP, p. 314)
25. Truth will out (ODEP, p. 845; ODP, p. 329), possibly one of the simplest types of proverbs

Contrary to the previous section, in which the proverbs were arranged

according to their frequency of appearance in the LEXIS/NEXIS database, the fifteen proverbs that will be detailed next have been sorted alphabetically, according to how they are found both in the ODEP and the ODP, which may cause some awkwardness when comparing two of them that are not in succession. However, as this has been the method employed throughout the whole of the present dissertation, and in order to maintain its consistency, it will continue to be done in this manner.

12.2.1. After dinner rest a while, after supper walk a mile

The first proverb that is considered worthy of note in the present subsection is the rather well-known proverb advising how to avoid digestive issues: “After dinner rest a while, after supper walk a mile” (ODEP, p. 6; ODP, p. 3). As shall be seen, this simple proverb presents some features that reinforce its interest for the present stage of the analysis of the proposed classification of proverbs. Thus, when analysing each of the four spheres, one finds out the following characteristics:

- *Morpho-syntactically*, this is another one of those proverbs which does not have a subject, in this case due to the fact that it is an imperative; at the same time, there seems to be no objection to *clipping*. In this case, any of the two halves of the proverb allow for their use individually. Thus, one could say, “after dinner rest a while” or “after supper walk a mile” indiscriminately, depending on the situation, without risking the proverb’s misperception by the conversational counterpart. Finally, there are no grammatical anomalies and the proverb qualifies as a *sentence*, as it is made up of two juxtaposed clauses.
- From the sphere of *pragmatics*, this proverb stands out because not only does it fulfil the general four purposes already mentioned, i.e. teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous, its nature also allows it to be used to command someone to do something. Also, nothing indicates that its use might be reduced to a

certain social or geographical context.

- Regarding *rhetoric*, this proverb includes two elements that are easily perceived and which contribute to its inclusion in the group of *rhetorical proverbs*: on the one hand, the repetition of “after” at the beginning of both clauses, causing an *anaphora*, and the *rhyme* of “while” and “mile” on the other.
- According to the way in which *the elements in the proverb interrelate*, this proverb has been included in the, possibly, least numerous group: that of proverbs that indicate a *succession* of events. Additionally, it may also be considered a *contrasting* proverb given that it opposes two different, although related, actions, eating supper and dinner, and how they must be followed up. Finally, it is also included in the group of *grammatically-determined* structures as it is articulated as two juxtaposed imperatives.

Even though there may not seem to be any remarkable features about this proverb at first sight, it has been chosen to illustrate the fact that there may be different patterns present in the same proverb, three in this case, although it is not the norm. Therefore, the major complexity of this proverb is the different structures that intermingle or the complex way in which the elements interrelate within the proverb.

12.2.2. Always a bridesmaid, never a bride

The second proverb that will be analysed in this section, “Always a bridesmaid, never a bride” (ODP, p. 37), has been chosen for its particularities at the *morpho-syntactic* level. Thus, it can be observed that

- Within the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, there is neither a subject nor a verb, which causes it to be considered as two *phrases* and not a *sentence*. Regarding the possibility of finding or using it as a *clipped* proverb, there does not seem to be anything that advises against it. But where this proverb seems to be

particularly interesting is in its use of frequency adverbials, which is analysed as a grammatical feature. Thus, the two most commonly used frequency adverbials in the stock of English proverbs, are brought together within the same proverb, i.e. *always* and *never*.

- From the point of view of *pragmatics*, there are no remarkable features, the proverb being most fittingly used with the major four objectives: teaching, assessing reality, seeking justification or humorous effect. This proverb might be catalogued as a *localism* given that it makes an explicit allusion to two roles played in the Christian marriage rite and which may not be found in other religions or celebrations.
- This proverb is considered a rhetorical proverb due to the *antithesis* between *never* and *always* on the one hand and “bride” and “bridesmaid” on the other.
- Finally, regarding any *patterns* that may be observed, it can be said that this proverb follows the rather common *cause—effect* model, the first half of the proverb being the cause for the effect in the second. Additionally, it can be observed that there is a contrast established between “bride” and “bridesmaid”.

Frequency adverbs are quite commonly found in the lore of English proverbs. Moreover, as mentioned in 8.3.2, in spite of their high degree of occurrence, they are almost exclusively limited to the two at both extremes of the frequency scale: *always* and *never*. The reason for this is that the use of these emphatic adverbials contributes to the assertiveness of proverbs and which makes them such a powerful and efficient communication tool.

12.2.3. If the cap fits, wear it

The proverb “If the cap fits, wear it” (ODEP, p. 101; ODP, p. 43) has been chosen for its analysis for its arrangement in a *conditional sentence*, which is another

quite common structure found among English proverbs. There is a considerable amount of proverbs following this grammatical structure and the reason why this has been chosen to represent such a numerous class of proverbs is that it mixes two grammatical structures.

- From the *morpho-syntactical* sphere, the subject in the first clause is a *concrete noun*, whereas the second one lacks a subject; it seems to be a perfectly *clippable* proverb, mostly taking into account that there is a logical outcome to the proverb, which can be easily ascertained from the introductory clause; there are no other grammatical features worthy of mention, and, as has been said, it is included under the category of *sentence* proverbs.

- From the perspective of *pragmatics*, the most remarkable feature of this proverb is that it adds to the general four uses the possibility of employing it to command someone to do something, which is obviously granted by the inclusion of an imperative in the second half. It must be noted that even if that second part were omitted, the proverb might still be used with that purpose, in spite of the ellipsis of the imperative. This is motivated by the paremiological competence of the speaker and the receiver. Additionally, nothing seems to advise in favour of its being labelled a *localism* and, therefore, its use does not seem to be limited to a certain context.

- Regarding the *rhetorical* side of this proverb, there are no devices that allow for its inclusion in the group of *rhetorical* proverbs, therefore it is considered a *non-rhetorical* one.

- As for the *relationships between the elements of the proverb*, as has already been said, it has been marked as *grammatically-determined* for its structure as a conditional sentence and the use of the imperative. Additionally, it is included in the *condition—result* group given that there is a necessary prerequisite, i.e. that the cap

actually fits, that allows for the desired result, i.e. that someone wears it.

As mentioned in the introduction to the analysis of this proverb, it has been chosen for its structure as a conditional sentence and for its modification from the most frequently used conditionals including an imperative, which also enables it to be used with other purposes, namely, *commanding*. The amount of conditional proverbs is rather vast and there are many others that might shed light on the analysis of proverbs in general. The reason this one has been chosen is that it includes a variance from the most commonly found conditional structures.

12.2.4. A clean conscience is a good pillow

The next proverb chosen to exemplify some of the multiple features present in proverbs and which would be left out if only considering K. J. Lau's list, or any other list resulting from different research for that matter, is "A clean conscience is a good pillow" (ODP, p. 60). Although not radically different from any of the examples already analysed, it does include some interesting features worth mentioning.

- Regarding its *morpho-syntactic* side, the subject is an *abstract noun*. Additionally, its ability to be clipped seems questionable given that, the elision of the second half might rather frequently prevent its coming across as a proverb, as "clean conscience" is a rather frequent collocation that might not necessarily bring the rest of the proverb to the mind of the person to whom the proverb is being said and for this reason it has been marked as *indivisible*. Finally, this proverb does not present any grammatical aspects that need clarification and the fact that it presents a verb makes it a *sentence* and, therefore, has been identified as such.
- From the sphere of *pragmatics*, in addition to the four general uses of proverbs so frequently mentioned already, the meaning of this proverb enables it to be used with a moralising purpose, a use for proverbs that is not as generally found as the most

common four due to the fact that there needs to be an element related to morals, religion, or the like. Also, there are no elements that limit the use of this proverb to a certain social context and, therefore, it has not been marked as a *localism*.

- *Rhetorically* speaking, it is quite easy to identify this proverb as a *rhetorical* one thanks to the identification of an abstract idea, “conscience”, with a concrete object, “pillow”, giving place to one of the most frequently employed rhetorical devices, not only in phraseology and paremiology, but in everyday speech as well (see 10.2.1): *metaphor*.

- Finally, the analysis of *how the elements of the proverb are disposed* and how they have to do with each other tags it as a *qualifying* proverb, as the proverb is after all a *metaphor*, which is the identification of two ideas from different spheres, as already explained.

The reason why this proverb has been chosen for inclusion in this section is its possibility to be used with a moralising intention, something that needs a particular element that allows for it. Generally, as detailed in 9.3.3, most moralising proverbs make a direct reference to God, the Devil, or the like. However, there are other proverbs that may not include such elements but are still considered moralising, like this one.

12.2.5. It is no use crying over spilt milk

This rather well-known proverb (ODEP, p. 159; ODP, p. 66) has been chosen for analysis for two main reasons: on the one hand, its level of diffusion is quite high, which facilitates its illustrative role; and, on the other hand, it is articulated using another structure fairly frequently found in proverbs.

- Regarding its *morpho-syntactical* side, it is an impersonal construction with a *dummy-it* subject. This impersonal construction complicates the possibility of it being clipped, given that, most likely, its recognisability as a proverb does indeed lie in its

last words as “it is no use crying” might hardly be recognised as a proverb. Also, this proverb may be considered a *sentence*.

- From the perspective of Pragmatics, this proverb seems most suitable to be used for the general purposes: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous intention. However, this may be a case of a proverb that may only be understood within a certain social or cultural context, given that it cannot be stated whether humans everywhere have the custom of drinking milk (from cows or any other animal) throughout their entire life, which, in the context of Western civilisation is a common practice that justifies the choice of milk for its inclusion in the proverb and explains the value it may be given, which may cause someone to cry for having spilled it, therefore, this proverb may be classified as a *localism*.

- Within the sphere of *rhetoric*, this particular proverb has been marked as *non-rhetorical* due to the lack of any devices that would allow for its labelling within the opposite category.

- Finally, observing *the way in which the proverb is articulated* causes it to be included under the category of *cause—effect* proverbs, more concretely, *effect—cause* in this case. Thus, the cause would be the milk spillage, which would induce someone’s crying over his or her loss. Additionally, the fact that this proverb is an impersonal construction causes it to be marked *grammatically-determined* as well.

Verbal inflection in English, or, more precisely, the lack of it does not generally allow for subject *ellipsis*, save for very specific cases. For this reason, there are a series of proverbs that need to resort to a construction introduced by empty, *dummy subjects*, as is the case of the proverb under analysis. The amount of such proverbs is so large that it is necessary to devote some lines to their consideration.

12.2.6. What can't be cured must be endured

The election of this proverb (ODEP, p. 161; ODP, p. 67) as representative of some of the most commonly found features of proverbs, at least in the English language, lies mostly at the grammatical level, given that there are several such elements that seem worthy of analysis.

- From the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, it is another impersonal construction, like the preceding one; this one, however, seems suitable for the omission of the second half, which is reinforced by the rhyme, a device that helps anticipate the ending in case of doubt; additionally, *modality* is present in the proverb by the employment of two modal verbs, *can't* and *must*, which, in this case, would be considered *deontic modality* (see 8.3.3); finally, the elements included in this proverb, particularly, the modals already analysed, allow for it to be tagged as a *sentence*.
- Within the sphere of *pragmatics*, this proverb seems to be most fittingly used to fulfil the general four uses: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous role. Furthermore, there are no elements that disallow for its employment in certain contexts or social groups and, therefore, it might be used universally.
- Regarding its *rhetorical* features, there is an easily noticeable rhyme, one of the most commonly found devices and one which allows for its labelling as a *rhetorical* proverb.
- Finally, concerning the relationships among the elements making up the proverb, there is a perceivable *condition—result* pattern, the condition being that something cannot be cured, which causes the subject to have to weather it. Additionally, it is clearly a *grammatically-determined* proverb due to its character of impersonal construction and its arrangement as a passive voice sentence, another rather frequent structure found among English proverbs, also determined in many cases by the

impossibility of omitting a subject.

Whereas other proverbs have been analysed in detail due to features belonging to different spheres of the present classification, this one is most remarkable from the point of view of its grammatical features, thanks to the inclusion of modal verbs and its character of impersonal, passive voice sentences.

12.2.7. Give a dog a bad name and hang him

The proverb currently under scrutiny, “Give a dog a bad name and hang him” (ODEP, p. 302; ODP, p. 81) has been chosen for inclusion in the present section as a sample of the proposed classification mostly due to the peculiarities it presents at the level of pragmatics. As shall be seen there are no other remarkable features at any of the other three levels included in the proposal for a classification of proverbs.

- When analysing this particular proverb from the perspective of the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, and taking into account the parameters suggested, one finds that, at first sight, the proverb, or more precisely, both the clauses making up the proverb, lack a subject, as there are two coordinated imperatives. This coordination and the parallel structure, nevertheless, allows for it to be rather easily *clipped*. Finally, there are no grammatical elements worth mentioning and, as already anticipated, this proverb can be labelled as a *sentence*.

- As mentioned in the introductory paragraph to this section, it is within the sphere of *pragmatics* that this proverb becomes interesting when analysed with the proposed taxonomy in mind. The reason why this proverb is remarkable from this perspective is that it may be used with any of the six purposes listed, the general four being applicable to all proverbs, but in this case being complemented by the other two: moralising and commanding. The latter one becomes clear after realising that the proverb is articulated as two coordinated imperatives, the grammatical mood

employed to give orders. Finally, the moralising use this proverb may be subjected to comes from the fact that the proverb indirectly reprobates the fact that, sometimes, one may be too quick in his or her judgement, without allowing the one affected the possibility to defend his or her honour. Finally, the fact that the proverb has the dog as the main known participant may determine its applicability outside a certain context given that, on the one hand, the connotations attributed to animals differ from one society to another⁶ and, on the other hand, in spite of its unquestionable presence in most social groups and its having been nicknamed as “man’s best friend,” the existence and universal acquaintance with dogs in every single human group or society cannot be determined as that would be a task for zoologists or biologists.

- Regarding the *rhetorical* side of the proverb, there are no such devices so as to consider it a *rhetorical* proverb and, therefore, it has been marked as *non-rhetorical*.
- Finally, when considering the *way in which the proverb is arranged* and the relationships existing among the elements making it up, it can be observed that this proverb can be associated with two different such patterns. First of all, the proverb can be seen as belonging to the *cause—effect* pattern, giving someone a bad reputation, sufficing to avoid his or her possibility of being judged fairly. Besides, the fact that the proverb includes not one, but two imperatives, justifies its labelling as a *grammatically-determined* proverb.

As has been explained, the richness of this proverb lies in its ability to be employed with all the different possible uses ascertained for proverbs. Additionally, when analysing proverbs like this one, one finds the difficulty of determining how restricted the use of this proverb may or may not be, as determining the dissemination of different breeds of dogs across all human societies escapes the expertise of the

⁶ See Dobrovol’skij & Piirainen (2005a).

average paremiologist and, furthermore, is not the purpose of this section. Accordingly, and for the sake of practicality, until proven wrong, this and similar proverbs will be considered localisms, a fact that is reinforced by the different figurative charges given to different animals that do exist in different cultures, or are at least known to such cultures.⁷

12.2.8. One Englishman can beat three Frenchmen

Similar to what was mentioned about the previously analysed proverb, the current one, “One Englishman can beat three Frenchmen” (ODEP, p. 223; ODP, p. 96) has also been chosen for its inclusion in this section due to the peculiarities observed from the perspective of the *pragmatic* sphere.

- Within the sphere of *morpho-syntax*, it is rather obvious that the subject of the proverb is a *personal* one. Additionally, the proverb does not seem to allow for its *clipping*, not only because it may not be perceived as a proverb, but because it might be mistaken for a different one, as there are several proverbs that have “an Englishman” as their subject. The proverb is undoubtedly a whole *sentence*, which is also reinforced by the inclusion of a modal verb that introduces the physical preponderance of Englishmen over their neighbours on the other side of the channel.
- *Pragmatically* speaking, there are no remarkable features regarding the purposes that the use of this proverb may fulfil, with the usual four (teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous intention) being the seemingly proper uses. However, there is a determining factor within this sphere and that is its character as a *locally-restricted* proverb. This is due to the fact that, similarly to what was mentioned earlier about different animal species, it cannot be guaranteed that both the English and the French are universally known peoples, as they may have remained

⁷ See Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2005a).

obscure to certain remote societies, in spite of their position as two of the most influential countries in the Western world. Furthermore, even if all the elements making up the proverb are recognisable to the French themselves, it seems like this proverb would hardly be used by a Frenchman, save, maybe, for self-justification. Yet, the existence of similar proverbs, although with different protagonists, seems a more than likely possibility, given the frequent rivalries between neighbouring countries, mostly those with such troubled relationships throughout history.

- With respect to the *rhetorical* sphere, this proverb has been marked as *rhetorical* given that an exaggeration or *hyperbole* can be appreciated. Even if there are Englishmen whose physical strength would allow them to take out three Frenchmen, it only seems reasonable that the average person, regardless of his or her nationality, would be defeated by any threesome.

- As for *the way in which the elements of the proverb interrelate*, it can be said that there seems to be a *condition—result* pattern, the nationalities of the people involved in the brawl determining who comes out as the victor. In addition, this proverb can be seen as a *qualifying* proverb, as it does indeed explain some qualities about different groups of people, even if in a subtle, circumlocutory way.

There are multiple proverbs that include elements that cannot be taken for granted as being universally known, in spite of their apparent obviousness and familiarity to an individual in a certain social context. The best examples are the flora and fauna of a region, which are often defining geographical features. However, the same can be said for countries and nationalities, which may remain completely unknown to certain remote societies. Furthermore, the fact that this proverb makes a clear distinction between two groups of people, presenting one of them as superior to the other, makes it clear that there are contexts and people that would not allow for the

use of said proverb.

12.2.9. Fools and bairns should never see half-done work

This proverb, “Fools and bairns should never see half-done work” (ODEP, p. 277; ODP, p. 121) may not seem to present any particular features worth discussing in further detail. However, if a closer look is taken, some peculiarities will soon arise. Thus, the most interesting aspects of this proverb may be found at the *morpho-syntactic* level.

- Regarding this first sphere, it can be observed that the subject is a *multiple personal subject*, which seems to be easily recognisable and identifiable as belonging to the proverb, and seemingly allows for its clipping. The proverb is classified as a sentence given that it includes all the elements necessary for such qualification. Finally, regarding the grammatical accessory elements, both modality and frequency are to be found, as shown by the words *should* and *never*, elements that proverbs employ rather frequently due to their propitiousness for achieving the purpose that the proverb has.
- From the sphere of *pragmatics*, this proverb may be used with the usual four purposes: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous finality. Yet, there does not seem to be any element that disallows for the effective use of the proverb in different socio-cultural contexts and, thus, it seems prone to be used universally.
- A look at this proverb from the scope of *rhetoric* will show that there are no such elements as to consider it a *rhetorical* proverb, therefore, it has been marked as *non-rhetorical*.
- As for the *relationships existing among the elements that make up the proverb*, it can be said that this proverb may most appropriately be considered a

condition—result proverb; thus, the condition is that it is not convenient that someone being considered a “fool” or a child see work that has not been completed.

It has already been stated that the reason behind the choice of this proverb lies in some of its features within the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, more precisely, the presence of a modal verb and a frequency adverb together in the same proverb. The character of recurrent elements in the composition of proverbs, both modal verbs and frequency adverbials, has already been mentioned, the reason for their recurrence being that they are invaluable tools to reinforce the dogmatism of proverbs, an aspect that greatly determines the way in which proverbs are used.

12.2.10. Homer sometimes nods

Similarly to the previous example, the proverb “Homer sometimes nods” (ODEP, p. 379; ODP, p. 156) also includes something that may be quite easily overlooked, particularly by those unfamiliar with the idiosyncrasies of proverbs, and more precisely, English proverbs.

- At the first level, that dealing with the *morphology* and the *syntax* of the proverb, it must be said that its subject is a personal one. The proverb is unsuited for *clipping* mostly due to its shortness. A particularly interesting grammatical feature about this proverb, which will be commented on below, is the inclusion of the frequency adverbial *sometimes*. Lastly, the elements present in the proverb allow for its consideration as a whole *sentence*.
- About the *pragmatics* side of the proverb, it seems like it may efficiently be used to fulfil any of the general four uses of proverbs. Additionally, the fact that the proverb names Homer, the great Greek poet, may not allow for its extended use outside certain cultural boundaries. It seems hard to believe that anyone in the

Western world would not know Homer. However, it cannot be taken for granted either; furthermore, it seems perfectly inevitable that people outside a certain cultural context may not have ever heard of him and for this reason the proverb has been marked as a *localism*.

- Regarding the *aesthetic* side of this proverb, there are no features that qualify it as a *rhetorical proverb*, and therefore, it has been labelled as *non-rhetorical*.
- The analysis of the pattern this proverb follows determines that it does not follow any of the proposed ones and, thus, has been included in the group of *unclassified* proverbs.

The importance of the assertiveness and the dogmatic character of proverbs have been highlighted multiple times throughout the present analysis. These aspects are most influential on the way in which proverbs are used and the effect that they have on the receivers. In this regard, two of the most frequently employed devices as found in the stock of English proverbs to achieve this character of irrefutability are modal verbs and frequency adverbs. Regarding the latter, as mentioned in the proverb analysed under epigraph 12.1.1, it is the adverbials found at both extremes of the frequency scale that are, by far, the most commonly used. For this reason, it is particularly interesting that in the present example, the adverbial *sometimes* has been included, as the amount of proverbs including a frequency adverb other than always or never is quite small.

12.2.11. So many mists in March, so many frosts in May

A rather common source for proverbs is the weather, as detailed in 9.3.2, an example of which can be observed in “So many mists in March, so many frosts in May” (ODP, p. 212). Yet, despite the inspiration that weather phenomena has on the creation of proverbs and their usefulness for generations and generations of people that relied on the knowledge transmitted by such proverbs to save their crops and anticipate what the

weather would be like, these proverbs present a major setback: their applicability may be excessively limited to a certain geographical context that provides the conditions necessary for the information included in that proverb to take place.

- *Morpho-syntactically*, this proverb does not have a subject or a verb, which means it must be considered as a *phrase* proverb, rather than a sentence. Nevertheless, this does not affect the ability of the proverb to undergo a *clipping* process. Finally, there are no other grammatical elements included worth mentioning.

- *Pragmatically*, this proverb can be used to achieve any of the functions that all proverbs may fulfil: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous effect; however, due to its nature, it may most aptly be used to fulfil the second function: assessing reality. But the reason this proverb is being discussed in depth was anticipated in the introduction to this subsection. Weather is a changeable phenomenon and accurate as some weather proverbs may be, they refer to quite specific phenomena in concrete locations, which limits the applicability of such proverbs a great deal.

- Regarding the *rhetorical* side, there are several devices found in this proverb that make it qualify as a *rhetorical proverb*. First of all, there is noticeable *alliteration*, i.e. repetition of the same sound at the beginning of consecutive words, in “many mists” and “March”. Then, there is also an *anaphora*, a repetition of a word or words at the beginning of consecutive lines, clauses, etc., as both of the syntactical groups making up the proverb begin with “so many”. Lastly, there is an *antithesis* in the contrast established between the months of “March” and “May” and the meteorological phenomena of “mists” and “frosts”.

- An analysis of the *structure of the proverb* and the way in which its elements relate to each other shows that there is an evident *contrast* between two months of the

year and their meteorology. Furthermore, it may be interpreted that the “mists in March” provoke the “frosts in May”, which allows for the inclusion of this proverb in the category of *cause—effect* proverbs.

As already stated, weather proverbs are so frequent that they have motivated monographs on the matter (see 9.3.2). However, there is a simple reason why they must be dealt with cautiously, mostly when undertaking research that intends to be of universal applicability, said reason being that weather proverbs may hardly be universal. Weather, fauna, and flora are defining features of different geographical areas and, thus, will most likely cause proverbs dealing with them to be marked as localisms.

12.2.12. There’s nowt so queer as folk

One of the simplest ways to classify proverbs is according to their subjects. This is particularly useful for the stock of English proverbs, given the already mentioned necessity for a subject in most structures considered to be grammatically correct in the English language. However, there are a handful of exceptions to this rule, which have no trouble finding their way into the proverbial lore of the language. One of these exceptions is the proverb currently under scrutiny, “There’s nowt so queer as folk” (ODP, p. 234), which shows a few characteristics worth mentioning.

- A look at the *morpho-syntactic* aspects of the proverb shows that, as an *existential construction*, this proverb does not include a proper subject, as anticipated above. Regarding any grammatical peculiarities that might be present, there is the easily spottable “nowt”, *dialect* for “nothing” (ODP, p. 234), which, to a large extent, makes the saying recognisable enough allow for its *clipping*. Finally, the use of a verbal form, together with the rest of the elements qualifies it as a *sentence*, and it is thus marked.
- From the sphere of *pragmatics*, there is no remarkable feature that needs

mentioning, as this proverb may be used with the general four purposes as it lacks any elements that would allow for its use with moralising or commanding intentions. As mentioned above, though, the inclusion of the dialectal form “nowt” might prevent its use outside certain areas and, therefore, makes it a *localism*.

- At first sight there may not be any elements that show the *rhetorical* side of this proverb clearly. However, the fact that “folk”, or the people, are presented as the strangest possible thing seems rather exaggerated and, therefore, it has been marked as *rhetorical* due to the hyperbole present in the proverb.

- Finally, looking at the elements present in the proverb, after considering the reason the elements may have been chosen, and the way in which they are related, this proverb has been introduced into the group of *qualifying* proverbs as that is what it does: it attributes to people the condition of being strange. Additionally, the proverb has also been included in the category of *grammatically-determined* due to the existential construction it shows and which has already been referred to.

Subjects may be considered one of the most important syntactical roles within the sentence, significantly so in English, where the possibility of subject *ellipsis* is reserved for rather concrete cases. This importance given to the subject, together with the fact that it is generally the first element introduced in the sentence make it quite the convenient element for the classification and arrangement of proverbs, especially when undertaking the sorting of a large number of them, as in a glossary or dictionary of proverbs. The main ways in which this procedure is carried out have been mentioned elsewhere (see Chapter 7) and it is not the purpose here to go into further detail. Nevertheless, it is interesting to highlight the usefulness of the subject for the organisation of proverbs, even when there is none, given that the rigid grammatical

rules with respect to subjects also allow for the distinction of those cases in which there is no subject as commonly understood.

12.2.13. He that cannot pay, let him pray

Similarly to other examples that have been presented, the proverb “He that cannot pay, let him pray” (ODEP, p. 614; ODP, p. 245) does not seem to have any features that make it particularly interesting for an individual analysis. However, after scratching the surface and running it through the different levels of the classification, features are brought to light that distinguish it from many other similar proverbs.

- From the point of view of the *morpho-syntactic* sphere, there are two juxtaposed clauses, the first of which has an *indefinite personal subject*, whereas the second one, being an *imperative*, lacks a subject. This juxtaposition of clauses creating a *sentence* and the appreciated rhyme, similarly to example 12.2.6, allow for the *clipping* of the second part of the proverb without risking its perception as such by the hearer. The last noticeable aspect within this sphere, or more precisely the lack of it, has to do with the grammatical peculiarities found in this proverb, which are nonexistent.
- Regarding the *pragmatic* sphere, this proverb is particularly interesting because it is one of the few that can be employed with all six purposes. Apart from the general four, i.e. teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous intention, it may also be used with a moralising intention, which can be implied from the allusion to praying, and commanding, which becomes obvious by the use of the imperative. Additionally, this proverb has been marked as a *localism* as it cannot be assured whether all human societies have the custom of praying in the sense that it has within the Western world; similarly, it cannot be asseverated whether all human societies are familiar with monetary systems in which goods can be purchased with currency.
- Within the *rhetoric* sphere there is not much that can be said after analysing the

proverb, other than that it is indeed a *rhetorical* proverb, a condition granted by the *rhyme* between “pay” and “pray”, which, though not an elaborate device, suffices to include this proverb in the group of rhetorical ones.

- The last section, the one focusing on *the way in which the elements of the proverb interrelate*, shows that this proverb may most suitably be included in the group of *condition—result* proverbs, the condition being that the individual is unable to pay for something, which leads to someone else “letting him pray”.

The main reason why this proverb has been included is its ability to be used with any of the six major uses of proverbs as devised after careful examination of hundreds of proverbs. As has been mentioned several times throughout the present section, there are four general uses that any proverb may fulfil given the necessary conditions. Additionally, there are two other uses that depend on other elements to achieve that purpose: moralising and commanding. The former depends on the inclusion in the proverb of any idea related to morals, ethics, religion, or the like; on the other hand, the latter usually depends on the use of the imperative, the most direct artifice to persuade someone to do something.

12.2.14. Tell the truth and shame the devil

The proverb “Tell the truth and shame the Devil” (ODEP, p. 807; ODP, p. 314) has several coinciding points with the preceding one, although, at the same time, there are multiple differing aspects. This is caused by the miscellaneous nature of proverbs, in which one can find the most varied topics and the most varied devices employed to transmit the intended idea.

- An approximation at the proverb from the point of view of the *morpho-syntactic* features of the proverb shows that there are two juxtaposed clauses making up a sentence, both of which lack a subject as both of them are

imperatives. In this case, the possibility of *clipping* the proverb seems more difficult and less plausible than in previous examples as the omission of the whole second half of the proverb would leave it in “tell the truth”, such a common collocation that it might hardly be recognised as referring to the proverb. Finally, there are no other grammatical aspects that need mentioning.

- From the *pragmatic* sphere, what was mentioned regarding the preceding proverb is valid for this one as well, as this is another one of those rare proverbs that allow for their use to fulfil any of the six proposed uses of proverbs: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, humorous intention, moralising, and commanding. Also similarly to the previous example, this proverb has been marked as a *localism* given the inability to determine whether the concept of a Devil is known to all cultures.

- Finally, a look at the elements of the proverb, the way in which they are arranged, and the relationships established among them have led to its inclusion in the *cause—effect* group, the cause that has the effect of producing embarrassment in the Devil himself being the action of telling the truth. Additionally, the presence of the two imperatives determine its inclusion in the group of *grammatically-determined* proverbs.

Each proverb is unique and, despite the similarities existing among different ones, there are always elements and features that distinguish them from the rest and turn them into singular creations. Thus, when comparing the preceding proverb and this one multiple similarities do arise, yet, there are always differing elements that encourage a careful individual analysis of proverbs and which contribute to making paremiology one of the most complex and rewarding areas of study within the discipline of phraseology.

12.2.15. Truth will out

As has been mentioned several times, the boundaries between proverbs and other types of phraseological units are blurred. Thus, it is sometimes hard to determine whether an item is a *proverb*, an *idiom*, or any other type of PU. This difficulty is often incited by the lack of agreement among scholars and the lack of a definite definition of what a proverb is. This situation is further worsened when attempting a cross-linguistic analysis of proverbs, as resorting to scholars who have studied proverbs from the scope of different paremiological traditions will undoubtedly aggravate the situation. It is generally agreed, nevertheless, that proverbs are multi-word elements, the limits in the amount of words differing among languages. Thus, as already mentioned, R. Honeck (1997, p. 23) establishes the minimum for English proverbs in two words. However, this cannot be made extensive to all languages, as, for instance, the flexibility for the creation of compound words in German might allow for one-word proverbs.⁸ The possibility of two-word proverbs is a real one, as demonstrated in epigraph 12.1.6 in the present chapter, yet, the amount of two-word proverbs is smaller than that of three-word proverbs, such as “Truth will out” (ODEP, p. 845; ODP, p. 329), which may be used to exemplify one of, possibly, the simplest types of proverbs.

- Regarding the *morpho-syntactic* aspects of the proverb, it can be seen that the subject is an *abstract noun*, “truth”; the already mentioned shortness does not allow for the omission of any of its elements; there are no grammatical peculiarities; and, in spite of its shortness, this proverb is a whole *sentence*.
- From the point of view of *pragmatics*, this proverb may be used with any of the four general uses: teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous purpose. Besides this, there are no elements that limit its use to a certain context and,

⁸ See Piirainen (2012).

therefore, it can be seen as a proverb that should be able to be employed universally.

- There are no rhetorical devices found in this proverb and for this reason, it has been marked as *non-rhetorical*.
- As for the way in which its *elements correlate*, it has been included in the group of *unclassified* proverbs, given that none of the suggested patterns may be applied to it.

Proverbs are generally considered to be elaborate uses of language, however, that is not necessarily the case. What turns a handful of words with a meaning into a proverb is not their careful or artful arrangement, there is more to it than that. Furthermore, as has been shown, not all proverbs present a remarkable aesthetic wording. The complexity of proverbs is such that elements that may pass for normal routine utterances are in fact fossilised sayings that have been around for centuries. On the other hand, an individual may come up with a particularly masterful arrangement of words that do not even catch on among his or her closest relations. To sum up, the amount of words or the style or register with which the message has been composed do not suffice to turn something into a proverb, as there are multiple examples that demonstrate the contrary.

12.3. Conclusions

Proverbs are possibly the richest type of phraseological units, appearing in the thousands in any language of the world. Furthermore, their richness cannot only be appraised according to their vast numbers, but also to their varied natures. As seen from the examples provided, the amount of possible combinations is almost infinite, even though there are some combinations that appear with a higher degree of frequency than some others. Thus, the establishment of a handful of type-proverbs would result in an insulting oversimplification of one of the most valued heritages that different societies and cultures have.

The intention of the present chapter has been to illustrate two different ways in which this classification can be applied to the study of proverbs. On the one hand, a collection of proverbs, regardless of their amount, can be run through the four spheres included in the classification in order to determine their most outstanding characteristics. This has been done from two different perspectives.

In the first part, the classification included in Appendix A and which contains the analysis of 1,164 proverbs was dissected in order to illustrate how it is intended to be applied to the classification of proverbs. Thus, a description of the four spheres of the classification, as well as each of the subclasses making them up has been presented with illustrative examples representative of the aspect under analysis.

Next, a series of proverbs has been subjected to analysis. On the one hand, J. K. Lau's list of the 10 proverbs most frequently found in journalistic texts has been analysed according to the proposed criteria in an attempt to show the unbiased character of said criteria. The reason for the choice of Lau's list was to show that any list of proverbs, regardless of the standards according to which it was composed, can successfully be analysed according to the proposed classification. Lau's classification seemed particularly suitable for the purpose for several reasons, the most important of which is that it was made up of proverbs whose status as well-known and widespread had been confirmed by Lau's own research. However, after analysing those proverbs, it became clear that they might not be as suitable as anticipated due to their uniformity and lack of diversity.

For the above reason, a set of another fifteen proverbs was selected in order to make up for that lack of variety and in order to show the most remarkable features of proverbs according to the basics included in the classification, which allowed for the achievement of a much more detailed picture of what proverbs are. This selection of

fifteen proverbs responded to the necessity of showing aspects that remained hidden by the previous list and in spite of some similarities among them as well, they show the heterogeneity that characterises proverbs.

Chapter 13

Classification of the proverbs in the ODP

For anyone undertaking the task of finding an accessible system for the organisation of proverbs, one of the earliest realisations is the difficulty in coming up with an intuitive system that manages just a handful of categories under which the whole of the vast heterogeneousness of proverbs can be included. Also, another shortcoming from which similar attempts suffer is the lack of thoroughness and the impossibility of implementing a system that accounts for the complexity of proverbs with all their nuances, like for instance G. L. Permyakov's and M. Kuusi's choice of leaving out the rhetorical side of proverbs in their respective classification proposals.

Learning from the experiences of previous scholars, an attempt has been made here at bridging those gaps found in earlier works. However, there is an aspect that still escapes the purpose of this classification: the composition of a reduced set of labels under which all proverbs can be included. If one of the major criticisms that M. Kuusi's system received was the large amount of different categories proposed by him for the classification of proverbs, attempting different systems may only prove that there is no other way around it. Nevertheless, there is indeed one point which has been hopefully improved: the accessibility and manageability of the proposed set of labels.

In the present system, each proverb has been labelled according to its features as shown in the chart in Appendix A. Even though the total number of labels resulting from this is much larger than what might have been anticipated, even surpassing that in Kuusi's system, the way in which these labels are applied allow for a much more thorough classification, including aspects that were obviated in Kuusi's classification. Additionally, the implementation of the system here proposed does not require much

practice and can be carried out by anyone, as he or she would almost instantaneously become familiar with the system, without the need to bear in mind over three hundred possibilities at the same time.

The way in which this classification works is rather simple. First of all, each one of the categories marked at the top of the chart are identified with a letter as follows:

- A. Subject
- B. Divisibility
- C. Grammatical peculiarities
- D. Syntactic unit
- E. Purpose with which the proverb may be used
- F. Rhetorical vs. non-rhetorical
- G. Relationships among its elements

Then, each category is given a value, from 1 to 9, identifying the type of each proverb regarding the particular feature under scrutiny, as detailed in each respective chapter dealing with each of the spheres around which this classification is articulated. Accordingly, regarding the kind of subject that is found in a particular proverb, the different labels are as follow:

- A1. Personal
- A2. Animal
- A3. Action-process-state
- A4. Concrete noun
- A5. Abstract noun
- A6. Impersonal
- A7. Existential
- A8. Indefinite
- A9. No subject

In the second group, that analysing the divisibility of proverbs, they are labelled as follows:

- B1. Clippable
- B2. Unclippable

The third group, where the grammatical peculiarities of proverbs are noted, is organised in the following two subsections:

- C1. No noticeable grammatical peculiarities
- C2. Grammatical peculiarities (those noted in 8.3, as well as any other) present in the proverb

In the fourth place, the grammatical units making up a proverb (see 8.4) are identified as follows:

- D1. Sentence proverbs
- D2. Phrase proverbs

Next, the purpose with which different proverbs may be used is stated.

According to Chapter 9, the proverbs are identified as follows:

- E1. Four general uses (e.g. teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous)
- E2. General uses and moral
- E3. General uses and commanding
- E4. All six uses

The sixth characteristic used for the classification of proverbs deals with their rhetorical side. As seen in Chapter 10, proverbs have been given either of the following two labels according to their features:

- F1. Rhetorical
- F2. Non-rhetorical

The final aspect according to which proverbs may be classified, see Chapter 11, accounts for the different ways in which the elements of proverbs interrelate and which give place to different patterns that allow for this categorisation of proverbs.

Thus, the following seven groups can be found:

- G1. Cause—effect
- G2. Condition—result
- G3. Contrast
- G4. Qualifying
- G5. Succession
- G6. Grammatically-determined
- G7. Unclassified

As a result, each proverb is given an identification code similar to the following:

- A4 B1 C2 D1 E2 F2 G2
- A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7

According to what has been explained, the first example belongs to a proverb that presents a concrete noun subject, which can be clipped, presents some grammatical

peculiarities, has a sentence structure, may be used with moral intentions apart from the general four, does not include any rhetorical features, and belongs to the *condition—result* pattern. Conversely, the second example corresponds to a proverb that presents an abstract noun as its subject, it is clippable, presents no grammatical peculiarities, and is a whole sentence; additionally, it may be used with the general purposes, includes some rhetorical element, and is included in the group of unclassified proverbs.

One remark that must be made is that, as shown in the chart in Appendix A, there are proverbs that present more than one of the features analysed in each section. That being the case, the proverb in question will present two numbers following the letter that identifies the aspect under analysis. Thus, a proverb presenting a multiple subject or made up of a compound clause with different subjects belonging to different types will present two digits following the letter *A* and which identify the nature of said subjects. Thus, examples such as the following may be found:

A18 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3

A45 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7

A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6

In the first example there are two subjects to be found, i.e. a personal and an indefinite; in the second example there are a concrete noun and an abstract noun respectively; finally, the last example belongs to a proverb that is, seemingly, a compound sentence made up of a subjectless clause, most likely an imperative, followed by a personal subject clause.

The other element of analysis that may present two or more digits is the last sphere, the one accounting for the relationships observed between the elements of a proverb and which, due to the complex nature of proverbs, may be a mixture of several of them. Thus, the following cases may be found:

A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34

A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G26

A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G35

According to what has been explained, the first of the examples above presents both a contrasting and a qualifying structure; the second example shows a condition—result structure that is also grammatically determined, probably due to the inclusion of a conditional sentence; lastly, the third example shows a mixture of a contrast and a succession pattern.

An observation needs to be made at this point. As has been mentioned several times throughout the present dissertation, the purpose is to present a system that allows for the classification of the so-called *europaisms*, but which should allow for the classification of any proverbs from any language. To achieve this an assumption must be made: there are certain universals⁹ and, conversely, there are proverbs with such a high idiomatic charge that hardly allow for their employment outside the context in which they were devised. The latter were identified in the chart in Appendix A as *localisms*. This poses several problems, though, the most important of which is how hard it may be to assess whether the use of a proverb is in fact confined to a certain context and within a certain society or if, on the contrary, it may be of universal applicability. For this reason, this feature may be considered unimportant when applying the present classification with certain purposes. However, due to the nature of the present study and risking having committed numerous inaccuracies, those proverbs that were perceived as *localisms* were marked with the key *HI*. Yet, this is quite a complex aspect that requires the contribution of specialists from different disciplines to assess whether certain elements present in proverbs are actually culturally-restricted or not.

⁹ For scholarship on paremiological or phraseological universals see Sevilla Muñoz (1987), Marret & Estévez Díez (1992), Mieder (2000), Piirainen (2010), Szerszunowicz (2010).

As was stated at the beginning of the present section, ideally, a classification for proverbs should include as few categories as possible in order to allow for its easy and comprehensive implementation. However, this is almost an unachievable task for one main reason: the nature of proverbs makes many of them unique in some way and it is impossible to find another proverb that presents all the exact same features. Once this realisation is overcome, the only solution possible in order to cope with such hardship is to propose a simple enough system that allows for its application with little to no room for mistake and that is the intention of the proposed system, as anyone could become familiar with it in five minutes.

After the application of all the established criteria, 524 different combinations were found¹⁰ (from a total of 1,164 proverbs), which does not account for the distinction between *localisms* and proverbs of, presumably, universal application. If said distinction is made, the amount of total possible combinations goes up to 618, distinguishing between repeated patterns that vary in this regard. Yet, this is a complex aspect, as determining the cultural specificity of different concepts may turn out to be a matter of taking a risky gamble. Nevertheless, there are different ways to cut down the total number of possible combinations. There are two rather simple, yet efficient strategies to do this: on the one hand, all those proverbs that present different types of subjects could be grouped together under the same label, i.e. *complex subject*; on the other hand, all those proverbs presenting different schemes in which their elements interrelate could also be grouped under a common marker, i.e. *complex patterns*. This would lead to less exactness but a significant increase in the manageability of the classification, as the total amount of different patterns would go down to 393. Despite ending up with an amount larger than anticipated, this is relative, as only English proverbs have been analysed.

¹⁰ All the possible combinations are gathered in Appendix C.

Accordingly, if the incorporation of proverbs from other languages does not mean a drastic increase in the amount of patterns, the resulting amount of patterns would be reasonable if it enabled the classification of thousands of proverbs from various origins.

Nevertheless, the different manners in which this system may be applied are open to consensus with other scholars, which should contribute to finding a balance between comprehensiveness and manageability. Therefore, some criteria might be proved dispensable, and their exclusion might consequently bring the number down.

In spite of the resulting amount of tags and although the amount of proverbs whose resulting combination only appears once is rather overwhelming, there are indeed repeated patterns that show the consistency among the proverbs grouped under the same label and which may prove the usefulness, the thoroughness, and the careful choice of criteria that lead to the composition of this classification system for proverbs. The most frequently found patterns in the stock of proverbs analysed for the composition of this classification are these:

1. A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x48)

Beauty draws with a single hair (ODEP, p. 15)
Beauty is only skin-deep (ODEP, p. 38; ODP, p. 15)
Brevity is the soul of wit (ODEP, p. 84; ODP, p. 36)
Business is war (ODP, p. 39)
Charity covers a multitude of sins (ODEP, p. 115; ODP, p. 50)
Civility costs nothing (ODEP, p. 125; ODP, p. 54)
Cleanliness is next to godliness (ODEP, p. 125; ODP, p. 55)
The company makes the feast (ODEP, p. 138; ODP, p. 59)
The darkest hour is just before the dawn (ODEP, p. 168; ODP, p. 69)
The best defense is a good offense (ODP, p. 72)
Diligence is the mother of good luck (ODP, p. 78)
An Englishman's word is his bond (ODP, p. 96)
Enough is enough (ODEP, p. 224; ODP, p. 97)
Experience is the best teacher (ODP, p. 104)
Experience is the father of wisdom (ODEP, p. 235; ODP, p. 104)
Facts are stubborn things (ODEP, p. 238; ODP, p. 107)
Fair play's a jewel (ODEP, p. 239; ODP, p. 108)
Genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains (ODP, p. 128)
Haste is from the devil (ODEP, p. 356; ODP, p. 149)
Haste makes waste (ODEP, p. 356; ODP, p. 150)
The post of honour is the post of danger (ODEP, p. 641; ODP, p. 157)
Knowledge is power (ODEP, p. 436; ODP, p. 174)
Life isn't all beer and skittles (ODEP, p. 462; ODP, p. 184)
A little knowledge is a dangerous thing (ODP, p. 187)
Love is blind (ODEP, p. 490; ODP, p. 196)
Marriage is a lottery (ODEP, p. 513; ODP, p. 205)

Might is right (ODEP, p. 530; ODP, p. 210)
Nature abhors vacuum (ODEP, p. 555; ODP, p. 221)
Necessity is the mother of invention (ODEP, p. 558; ODP, p. 223)
Necessity knows no law (ODEP, p. 557; ODP, p. 223)
Old habits die hard (ODP, p. 236)
Providence is always on the side of the big battalions (ODEP, p. 652; ODP, p. 258)
Any publicity is good publicity (ODP, p. 259)
Punctuality is the politeness of princes (ODEP, p. 654; ODP, p. 259)
Revenge is sweet (ODEP, p. 673; ODP, p. 267)
Silence is a woman's best garment (ODEP, p. 733; ODP, p. 287)
Silence is golden (ODP, p. 287)
The style is the man (ODEP, p. 783; ODP, p. 306)
Talk is cheap (ODP, p. 313)
Thought is free (ODEP, p. 814; ODP, p. 318)
Time flies (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 320)
Time is money (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 321)
Tomorrow is another day (ODEP, p. 829; ODP, p. 323)
Truth is the first casualty of war (ODP, p. 328)
Union is strength (ODEP, p. 854; ODP, p. 334)
Wedlock is a padlock (ODEP, p. 876; ODP, p. 343)
The wish is father to the thought (ODP, p. 349)
The worth of a thing is what it will bring (ODEP, p. 922; ODP, p. 354)

2. A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 (x21)

Care killed the cat (ODEP, p. 103; ODP, p. 44)
Crime doesn't pay (ODP, p. 65)
Curiosity killed the cat (ODP, p. 67)
Curses, like chickens, come home to roost (ODEP, p. 162; ODP, p. 67)
The end crowns the work (ODEP, p. 220; ODP, p. 94)
The exception proves the rule (ODEP, p. 234; ODP, p. 103)
Experience keeps a dear school (ODEP, p. 235; ODP, p. 105)
Extremes meet (ODEP, 235; ODP, p. 105)
Faith will move mountains (ODP, p. 108)
Fine words butter no parsnips (ODEP, p. 241; ODP, p. 114)
Hard words break no bones (ODEP, p. 353; ODP, p. 149)
Length begets loathing (ODEP, p. 456; ODP, p. 182)
Life begins at forty (ODP, p. 184)
Love laughs at locksmiths (ODEP, p. 491; ODP, p. 196)
Love makes the world go round (ODEP, p. 492; ODP, p. 196)
Love will find a way (ODEP, p. 493; ODP, p. 197)
Misery loves company (ODP, p. 211)
Opportunity makes a thief (ODEP, p. 600; ODP, p. 241)
The third time pays for all (ODEP, p. 813; ODP, p. 317)
Time will tell (ODP, p. 322)
Time works wonders (ODEP, p. 825; ODP, p. 322)

3. A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x17)

Blood will tell (ODP, p. 31)
Clothes make the man (ODP, p. 56)
Diamond cuts diamond (ODEP, p. 185; ODP, p. 76)
An Englishman's house is his castle (ODP, p. 96)
The eyes are the windows of the soul (ODP, p. 106)
The same fire that melts the butter hardens the egg (ODP, p. 115)
Gold may be bought too dear (ODP, p. 135)
Ill weeds grow apace (ODEP, p. 401; ODP, p. 164)
Little pitchers have large ears (ODEP, p. 471; ODP, p. 188)
Money has no smell (ODP, p. 213)
Money isn't everything (ODP, p. 213)
Money is power (ODP, p. 214)
Money is the root of all evil (ODP, p. 214)
Money talks (ODP, p. 215)
Every picture tells a story (ODP, p. 249)
All roads lead to Rome (ODEP, p. 679; ODP, p. 269)

Walls have ears (ODEP, p. 864; ODP, p. 338)

4. A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x1)

Appearances are deceptive (ODP, p. 7)
Beauty is in the eye of the beholder (ODP, p. 15)
Monday's child is fair of face (ODP, p. 51)
Circumstances alter cases (ODEP, p. 124; ODP, p. 54)
Enough is as good as a feast (ODEP, p. 224; ODP, p. 96)
First thoughts are best (ODP, p. 117)
Hope springs eternal (ODP, p. 158)
The age of miracles is past (ODP, p. 211)
Morning dreams come true (ODEP, 544; ODP, p. 217)
One size does not fit all (ODP, p. 240)
Poverty is not a crime (ODEP, p. 642; ODP, p. 255)
Pride feels no pain (ODEP, p. 647; ODP, p. 257)
Tastes differ (ODEP, p. 805; ODP, p. 313)
Thrift is a great revenue (ODEP, p. 818; ODP, p. 319)
Truth lies at the bottom of the well (ODEP, p. 844; ODP: 329)

5. A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 (x15)

Cold hands, warm heart (ODEP, p. 132; ODP, p. 58)
One day honey, one day onion (ODP, p. 70)
Like father, like son (ODEP, p. 248; ODP, p. 110)
More haste, less speed (ODP, p. 149)
In for a penny, in for a pound (ODEP, p. 402; ODP, p. 165)
One law for the rich and another for the poor (ODEP, p. 445; ODP, p. 178)
Long and lazy, little and loud; fat and fulsome, pretty and proud (ODEP, p. 478; ODP, p. 192)
Long foretold, long last; short notice, soon past (ODEP, p. 479; ODP, p. 192)
Lucky at cards, unlucky in love (ODEP, p. 496; ODP, p. 198)
Other times, other manners (ODEP, p. 600; ODP, p. 242)
Penny wise and pound foolish (ODEP, p. 620; ODP, p. 248)
Rain before seven, fine before eleven (ODEP, p. 662; ODP, p. 264)
Up like a rocket, down like a stick (ODP, p. 270)
Six hours' sleep for a man, seven for a woman, and eight for a fool (ODEP, p. 738; ODP, p. 289)
From the sweetest wine, the tartest vinegar (ODP, p. 310)

6. A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 (x14)

There are no birds in last year's nest (ODEP, p. 60; ODP, p. 27)
There's no such thing as a free lunch (ODP, p. 124)
There is honour among thieves (ODEP, p. 382; ODP, p. 156)
There is luck in odd numbers (ODEP, p. 496; ODP, p. 197)
There is measure in all things (ODEP, p. 520; ODP, p. 208)
There is always something new out of Africa (ODP, p. 227)
There is safety in numbers (ODEP, p. 691; ODP, p. 276)
There is a time and place for everything (ODP, p. 320)
There is a time for everything (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 321)
There are two sides to every question (ODEP, p. 852; ODP, p. 332)
There is more than one way to skin a cat (ODP, p. 341)
There are more ways of killing a cat than choking it with cream (ODEP, p. 872; ODP, p. 342)
There are more ways of killing a dog than choking it with butter (ODP, p. 342)
There are more ways of killing a dog than hanging it (ODEP, p. 872; ODP, p. 342)

7. A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x13)

An army marches on its stomach (ODEP, p. 18; ODP, p. 8)
The best is the enemy of the good (ODEP, p. 48; ODP, p. 18)
The best of men are but men at best (ODEP, p. 48; ODP, p. 18)
Boys will be boys (ODEP, p. 79; ODP, p. 34)
The buyer has need of a hundred eyes, the seller of but one (ODEP, p. 96; ODP, p. 40)
The child is the father of the man (ODEP, p. 119; ODP, p. 52)

You are what you eat (ODP, p. 91)
Every man is the architect of his own fortune (ODEP, p. 230; ODP, p. 99)
Everybody's business is nobody's business (ODEP, p. 231; ODP, p. 100)
A hungry man is an angry man (ODEP, p. 393; ODP, p. 160)
Kings have long arms (ODEP, p. 428; ODP, p. 172)
Man is the measure of all things (ODEP, p. 505; ODP, p. 201)
One volunteer is worth two pressed men (ODP, p. 337)

8. A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x13)

Every bullet has its billet (ODEP, p. 90; ODP, p. 38)
A chain is no stronger than its weakest link (ODEP, p. 113; ODP, p. 49)
From clogs to clogs is only three generations (ODP, p. 56)
Fields have eyes, and woods have ears (ODEP, p. 255; ODP, p. 113)
Fire is a good servant but a bad master (ODEP, p. 259; ODP, p. 115)
A golden key can open any door (ODP, p. 135)
A great book is a great evil (ODEP, p. 333; ODP, p. 140)
One hand for yourself and one for the ship (ODP, p. 146)
The last drop makes the cup run over (ODEP, p. 443; ODP, p. 176)
The mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small (ODEP, p. 314; ODP, p. 211)
A penny saved is a penny earned (ODEP, p. 619; ODP, p. 248)
A still tongue makes a wise head (ODEP, p. 774; ODP, p. 301)
Three things are not to be trusted: a cow's horn, a dog's tooth, and a horse's hoof (ODP, p. 318)

9. A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x13)

Different strokes for different folks (ODP, p. 77)
East is east, and west is west (ODP, p. 90)
East, west, home's best (ODEP, p. 213; ODP, p. 90)
First impressions are the most lasting (ODEP, p. 262; ODP, p. 116)
Justice delayed is justice denied (ODP, p. 169)
A nation without a language is a nation without a heart (ODP, p. 221)
No news is good news (ODEP, p. 572; ODP, p. 230)
An ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept (ODEP, p. 601; ODP, p. 242)
Poverty is no disgrace, but it is a great inconvenience (ODEP, p. 642; ODP, p. 255)
Punctuality is the soul of business (ODEP, p. 654; ODP, p. 259)
The quarrel of lovers is the renewal of love (ODP, p. 262)
Times change and we with time (ODEP, p. 825; ODP, p. 322)
A trouble shared is a trouble halved (ODP, p. 326)

10. A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x12)

Two boys are half a boy, and three boys are no boy at all (ODP, p. 34)
Children are certain cares, but uncertain comforts (ODEP, p. 120; ODP, p. 52)
He that complies against his will is of his own opinion still (ODEP, p. 139; ODP, p. 59)
A deaf husband and a blind wife are always a happy couple (ODP, p. 72)
The best doctors are Dr Diet, Dr Quiet, and Dr Merryman (ODP, p. 81)
The enemy of my enemy is my friend (ODP, p. 94)
A friend in need is a friend indeed (ODEP, p. 289; ODP, p. 124)
He who hesitates is lost (ODP, p. 153)
One man's loss is another man's gain (ODEP, p. 486; ODP, p. 194)
Robin Hood could brave all weathers but a thaw wind (ODEP, p. 681; ODP, p. 270)
A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle (ODP, p. 350)
A young man married is a young man marred (ODP, p. 355)

The most repeated pattern is A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 with a remarkable 48 matches, over twice as many as the second most repeated one. According to the analysis of proverbs proposed in preceding chapters, proverbs included in this group are made

up of an *abstract noun*; they do not allow for *clipping*; they do not present any grammatical peculiarities worthy of note; they are whole *sentences*; they may be used with the general four purposes, i.e. teaching, assessing reality, self-justification, and humorous intention; they include some kind of rhetorical device; and they are used to *qualify* said abstract noun.

The second most frequently found pattern, A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7, has been found 21 times within the 1,164 proverbs analysed. This pattern also introduces an *abstract noun* as the subject and also seems to include *unclippable* proverbs with no grammatical peculiarities and structured as a *sentence*. Similarly to the most frequent pattern, these proverbs may be used with the general four uses, they are *rhetorical*, and, unlike the previous ones, cannot be included in any of the 6 structural patterns analysed in the fourth sphere of this classification and, therefore, are marked as *unclassified*.

The next most frequent pattern, with 17 matches, is A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4. This pattern includes proverbs with a *concrete noun* subject; they do not allow for their *clipping*, do not present any grammatical peculiarities and are structured as whole *sentences*. Additionally, they may be used with the already mentioned four general uses; they present some *rhetorical* features, and are used for *qualifying*.

The fourth most numerous label is A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 with 15 proverbs grouped under it. These proverbs also have an *abstract noun* for a subject; they are *unclippable*, do not show any remarkable grammatical features, and are whole *sentences*. Moreover, these proverbs are also used with the general four uses; they are marked as *non-rhetorical* and are also used for *qualifying*.

In fifth place, with 15 matches, comes A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3. Proverbs showing this label do not have a subject, are divisible, do not present grammatical peculiarities, and are *phrases* and not *sentences*. Regarding their use, they are also used with the four

general uses. Also, they are *rhetorical* and include some kind of *contrast* among their components.

In sixth place, also with 14 results, comes patterns A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46. Unlike any of the already analysed groups, these proverbs are *existential constructions*, which greatly determines some of their other features. They are also unclippable, do not show any grammatical peculiarities, and are whole *sentences*. Also, they are generally used with the primary four uses of proverbs; they are *non-rhetorical*, and, unlike any of the previous groups presented, they are a mixture of two patterns: on the one hand, they are *qualifying* proverbs, but, also, they are marked as *grammatically-determined* due to their already mentioned structure as *existential constructions*.

In seventh position, with 13 proverbs, comes the A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 label. These proverbs show *personal* subjects; they are *unclippable*, without grammatical peculiarities, and whole *sentences*. They are, equally to the previously shown groups, used with the four general uses. Also, they are *rhetorical* and *qualifying*.

The next most frequently observed pattern, in eighth place and also with 13 proverbs showing the features is A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4. The proverbs included in this group present *concrete noun* subjects; they are *clippable*; without any grammatical peculiarities; and whole sentences. Unsurprisingly, they may be used with the general four purposes, are *rhetorical*, and used for *qualifying*.

In ninth position and also with 13 results comes a group of proverbs quite similar to the one that has just been analysed: A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4. The similarities are such that they only have one distinctive feature, as can be observed: whereas the previous group was made up of proverbs with *concrete noun* subjects, the present one includes *abstract noun* subjects. Yet, regarding the rest of features, they are identical.

Finally, the tenth most repeated label is A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 with twelve proverbs included under it. Little can be said about it that has not been already said, as it is identical to the previous two save for one detail: proverbs in this group have a *personal subject*.

These ten groups have been chosen to illustrate the way in which proverbs have been arranged according to their features due to the fact that they are the ten most repeated of all the different combinations detected. However, as was explained earlier, the possibility that, in addition to all the observed features, they may be identified as *localisms* has not been accounted for at the present stage for practicality's sake and for the difficulty to determine whether a proverb is in fact limited for its use within a certain context. Yet, in the chart shown in Appendix A and where all the features of the 1,164 proverbs analysed are brought together, those that are considered *localisms* have been identified as such. With this in mind, the proverbs included in the previously detailed ten groups that have been labelled as *localism* due to their inclusion of some culturally or geographically-restricted elements are the following:

11. A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1

Business is war (ODEP, p. 39)
Charity covers a multitude of sins (ODEP, p. 115; ODP, p. 50)
Cleanliness is next to godliness (ODEP, p. 125; ODP, p. 55)
An Englishman's word is his bond (ODEP, p. 96)
Fair play's a jewel (ODEP, p. 239; ODP, p. 108)
Haste is from the devil (ODEP, p. 356; ODP, p. 149)
Life isn't all beer and skittles (ODEP, p. 462; ODP, p. 184)
Marriage is a lottery (ODEP, p. 513; ODP, p. 205)
Necessity knows no law (ODEP, p. 557; ODP, p. 223)
Providence is always on the side of the big battalions (ODEP, p. 652; ODP, p. 258)
Any publicity is good publicity (ODP, p. 259)
Punctuality is the politeness of princes (ODEP, p. 654; ODP, p. 259)
Silence is golden (ODP, p. 287)
Time is money (ODEP, p. 823; ODP, p. 321)
Wedlock is a padlock (ODEP, p. 876; ODP, p. 343)

12. A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1

Care killed the cat (ODEP, p. 103; ODP, p. 44)
Curiosity killed the cat (ODP, p. 67)
Curses, like chickens, come home to roost (ODEP, p. 162; ODP, p. 67)
Fine words butter no parsnips (ODEP, p. 241; ODP, p. 114)
Love laughs at locksmiths (ODEP, p. 491; ODP, p. 196)

13. A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1

Diamond cuts diamond (ODEP, p. 185; ODP, p. 76)
An Englishman's house is his castle (ODP, p. 96)
The same fire that melts the butter hardens the egg (ODP, p. 115)
Gold may be bought too dear (ODP, p. 135)
Little pitchers have large ears (ODEP, p. 471; ODP, p. 188)
Money has no smell (ODP, p. 213)
Money isn't everything (ODP, p. 213)
Money is power (ODP, p. 214)
Money is the root of all evil (ODP, p. 214)
Money talks (ODP, p. 215)
All roads lead to Rome (ODEP, p. 679; ODP, p. 269)

14. A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1

One day honey, one day onion (ODP, p. 70)
In for a penny, in for a pound (ODEP, p. 402; ODP, p. 165)
One law for the rich and another for the poor (ODEP, p. 445; ODP, p. 178)
Lucky at cards, unlucky in love (ODEP, p. 496; ODP, p. 198)
Penny wise and pound foolish (ODEP, p. 620; ODP, p. 248)
Rain before seven, fine before eleven (ODEP, p. 662; ODP, p. 264)
Up like a rocket, down like a stick (ODP, p. 270)
From the sweetest wine, the tartest vinegar (ODP, p. 310)

15. A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1

Monday's child is fair of face (ODP, p. 51)
The age of miracles is past (ODP, p. 211)

16. A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1

There is always something new out of Africa (ODP, p. 227)
There is safety in numbers (ODEP, p. 691; ODP, p. 276)
There is more than one way to skin a cat (ODP, p. 341)
There are more ways of killing a cat than choking it with cream (ODEP, p. 872; ODP, p. 342)
There are more ways of killing a dog than choking it with butter (ODP, p. 342)
There are more ways of killing a dog than hanging it (ODEP, p. 872; ODP, p. 342)

17. A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1

The buyer has need of a hundred eyes, the seller of but one (ODEP, p. 96; ODP, p. 40)
Every man is the architect of his own fortune (ODEP, p. 230; ODP, p. 99)
Kings have long arms (ODEP, p. 428; ODP, p. 172)

18. A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1

Every bullet has its billet (ODEP, p. 90; ODP, p. 38)
From clogs to clogs is only three generations (ODP, p. 56)
A golden key can open any door (ODP, p. 135)
A great book is a great evil (ODEP, p. 333; ODP, p. 140)
The mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small (ODEP, p. 314; ODP, p. 211)
A penny saved is a penny earned (ODEP, p. 619; ODP, p. 248)
Three things are not to be trusted: a cow's horn, a dog's tooth, and a horse's hoof (ODP, p. 318)

19. A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1

An ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept (ODEP, p. 601; ODP, p. 242)
Punctuality is the soul of business (ODEP, p. 654; ODP, p. 259)

20. A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1

Robin Hood could brave all weathers but a thaw wind (ODEP, p. 681; ODP, p. 270)
A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle (ODP, p. 350)

The reason why these proverbs have been identified as *localisms*, an appreciation that may however be mistaken in some cases, has to do with the presence of elements that may not be easily transposed from one language to another, one culture to another, or one geographical area to another. These elements have to do with cultural matters (e.g. marriage, punctuality, clogs, etc.), religion (e.g. God, the Devil, miracles, etc.), geographical and weather features (e.g. “Rain before seven, fine before eleven,”)¹¹ socio-political structures (e.g. king, penny, etc.), professions (e.g. locksmith, seller, etc), or any other aspects of daily life that may be taken for granted by those who have been brought up in a certain context but which may be completely alien to people from remote societies.

13.1. Conclusions

The system that has been presented here for the classification of proverbs is aimed at achieving applicability to the most varied proverbial stocks of different languages. This task has already been undertaken by previous scholars, see Chapter 5, with different proceedings, different intentions, and different results. However, after analysing those attempts, one soon realises something: this is no easy task, the major hardship being the heterogeneous nature of proverbs within the proverbial stock of one language, let alone a cross-linguistic classification. This often results in an unmanageable amount of categories where all the proverbs analysed can be sheltered. Consequently, and as there seems to be no way around the appearance of more labels than would be desired, the best way to cope with this difficulty is the creation of a system based on simplicity and

¹¹ See ODEP (p. 662), ODP (p. 264).

which can still account for the complex and varied nature of proverbs and all their different nuances.

Bearing all those requisites in mind, the classification presented in this dissertation has been designed with the intention of making it as intelligible as possible even for those that are unfamiliar with linguistic or paremiological analyses of any kind. Thus, the whole system revolves around a series of accessible features, all of which are believed to be of broad applicability regardless of the language and paremiological stock in question. Accordingly, examples have been brought forward in order to illustrate how proverbs are to be tagged, highlighting the most frequently repeated patterns within the collection of proverbs analysed for the composition of this dissertation. Finally, there are a series of strategies that would allow for a reduction in the total amount of different patterns detected. On the one hand, the convenience of stating the assumed local character of certain proverbs must be assessed. On the other hand, it also needs to be determined whether it is convenient to rely of less exhaustiveness in order to present an easy-to-use system.

This proposal is certainly open to any future improvements and revisions, including the criteria followed or the way in which it has been applied to the analysis of proverbs. Although the data gathered at its present state is quite significant and demonstrates that the results obtained are solid, as the similarities among some of the most frequently repeated patterns show. Yet, there is room for refinement, especially after its application to proverbs in other languages. An example that shows that this proposal seems to be on the right track can be seen in the multiple similarities among the proverbs in the top two most frequently found combinations; similarly, the last three groups presented, i.e. eight, nine, and ten, are identical except for the kind of subject present in them. Additionally, exhaustive research could show whether certain patterns

occur more frequently in proverbs of a certain semantic field. The analysis of all these facts may also be indicative of the existence of similarities among different groups at different levels, the analysis of which may also yield relevant results for a better understanding of proverbs.

14. Closing remarks

Throughout the development of the present dissertation, a rather extensive collection of English proverbs has been dissected in order to establish a comprehensive system for their classification and, eventually, the classification of proverbs in other languages. In order to carry out this task, a model for a cross-linguistic approach to paremiological studies has been presented. As has been defended multiple times, paremiology needs a clear-cut framework for the realisation of studies that contribute to the betterment of the discipline, including those that attempt cross-linguistic approaches.

To determine which items should be considered fit for the application of the proposed system, a brief account of different kinds of PU has been provided in order to distinguish them from the actual subject of this analysis: the proverb, for which a definition based on several previous scholarly definitions has been presented. The necessity to do this comes from the lack of agreement among specialists about said definition. This lack of agreement is motivated by the complexity of items that are generally labelled *proverbs*, especially when dealing with paremiological stocks from different languages and origins.

Assessing what a proverb is and what it is not will only take one so far. No doubt it is an important step, but new difficulties soon appear. Proverbs are the heritage of all human societies¹ and, therefore, manifest in the most varied human groups and in the most remote places. One is often awestruck by the realisation that a certain proverb, which he or she considered as belonging to his or her own culture, exists, often in an almost identical form, in a foreign language. This phenomenon has motivated numerous

¹ See Honeck (1997, p. 2) and Mieder (1998, p. 21).

specialised studies within the spectra of phraseology and paremiology² and here, an attempt has been made to reconsider the aptness of some of the most traditional approaches and to propose an alternative.

The existence of identical proverbs in different languages may or may not be the fruit of similar backgrounds. However, an answer is often sought in literature³ as one of the most important traditional vehicles for knowledge and entertainment throughout history. In order to assess the importance of literature in the process that leads to a multilingual spread of proverbs, several of the most influential literary works for the development of European culture have been briefly discussed in relation to their use of proverbs. These analyses have shed light on some misconceptions that are often held by people. Thus, even though the amount of proverbs present in different literary works may vary due to multiple factors, there does not seem to be anything that indicates the avoidance of their use by some of the highest-reputed, most influential authors that contributed to the development of both national and vernacular identities, as well as a common European one.

The preponderance of literature and other written forms as the most important means for the distribution of knowledge and leisure has been slowly replaced in the last few decades by the appearance of new media. The technological development experienced in the last century has undoubtedly affected people's routines and their attitudes towards free time activities. Consequently, people are brought closer than ever

² It is practically impossible just to attempt an outline of the specialised literature tackling this particular subject. The following are, in the best of circumstances, just a good beginning for such a list: Kuusi (1957b, 1970, 1972), Permyakov (1968), Dobrovol'skij (1988, 1992), Blanco García (1993), Burrell (1993), Corpas Pastor (1995, 2000a, 2000b) Morvay (1996), Mieder (2000, 2001, 2010), Lauhakangas (2001), Corpas Pastor & Mena Martínez (2003), Babušytė (2004), Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2005a), Piirainen (2005, 2010, 2012), Zholobova (2005), Timofeeva (2006), Álvarez de la Granja (2008), Leal (2008), Pamies Bertrán (2010), Shariati (2012), Sevilla Muñoz & Cantera Ortiz de Urbina (2002), among others.

³ See Morvay (1996), Corpas Pastor (2001b), Mieder (2004a).

before and the access to knowledge and resources of different types is more universal than ever. This globalising phenomenon has had an impact on both the lexicons and paremiological lore of languages.⁴ Given the array of means of communication to which people resort for the obtention of knowledge, information, or leisure in today's society, only two of them that are considered to be particularly influential for the diffusion of proverbs have been analysed here. One reason for doing this is that, despite having been around for quite a long time, the lack of interest some of these new media have received from paremiologists is rather surprising. In order to fill a part of this gap, a number of paremiological instances in television series and Internet *memes* have been analysed and proven to play an important role in the cross-linguistic distribution of proverbs.

After obtaining a clearer idea of the reality under analysis, an evaluation of some of the different approaches made by different scholars in an attempt to classify proverbs has been offered. Here, the classifications proposed by four remarkable paremiologists⁵ have been assessed with the purpose of determining some of their contributions and deficiencies in order to resolve some of them in the system that has been proposed.

In an attempt to resolve some of the deficiencies, there is a starting point that has been considered at all times: the necessity to bear in mind the fact that proverbs are best approached cross-linguistically. The proposal made here, although based on a collection of English proverbs, is intended to be applicable to proverbs in other languages. Other scholars have proposed similar systems before, but, as seen in Chapter 5, their systems fall short when applied to the paremiological system of a language other than the one in which they were devised.

⁴ See Corpus Pastor (2004), Mieder (2010), Paczolay (2010), Pamies Bertrán (2010).

⁵ I.e. L. Martínez Kleiser (1953), M. Kuusi (1972), G. L. Permyakov (1979), and N. R. Norrick (1985). See Chapter 5.

Given the profound differences at various levels that may be observed in the comparison of different languages, elements that may be too specific or too language-restrictive have intentionally been avoided. For this reason, the purpose here was to arrange a set of features distinctive of proverbs as phraseological units but which avoid any kind of linguistic bias that might prevent it from being applied to different codes. This system is divided into four sections that account for most of the defining features of proverbs as linguistic items, i.e. *morpho-syntactic*, *pragmatic*, *rhetorical*, and *relationships among the elements* of a proverb.⁶ The application of these criteria to the dissection and posterior classification of proverbs has been quite successful, with only a few minor aspects that need refining, such as the impossibility to classify certain proverbs according to the relationships among their components. However, the true validity of the system can only be assessed by its application to a vaster amount of proverbs from various languages, which must be carried out by a larger group of scholars specialised in different languages.

After a minute analysis of all 1,164 proverbs in the ODP following the established criteria, each of them has been identified with a tag resulting from the coding of their features as determined by the chart in Appendix A. Accordingly, each of the features under analysis is identified with a letter and a number, the latter indicating the range of possibilities noted for each of the aforementioned features. Even though the resulting number of different tags is much higher than anticipated, different strategies for reducing this number have been proposed, the advisability of which is questionable given that it would result in a less comprehensive identification of certain proverbs. However, despite the great number of distinct patterns that came out of the analysis, several recurrent ones have also been detected that show the similarities among different

⁶ As explained in Chapter 7, the *lexico-semantic sphere* has not been included in the system proposed.

proverbs, which proves, at least to a certain extent, that the proposed system is in fact consistent and a solid starting point for the analysis of proverbs.

Finally, as has been mentioned, there is quite a lot to be done still, particularly the application of the system to a variety of proverbial stocks from different languages in order to determine its true validity. Nonetheless, this task cannot be undertaken by any single person as it requires the cooperation of specialists from different origins and disciplines in order to assess some of the most controversial aspects, like for instance, the cultural restrictions that some proverbs present. The intention here was to provide a suitable system for the realisation of the intended task which, despite the difficulties encountered along the way, has been achieved, and can hopefully be further perfected in the future with the contribution of other paremiologists and paremiographers.

Appendices

Appendix A. Analysis of the proverbs in the ODP (Table 3)

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
Absence makes the heart grow fonder	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Allegory		X					
He who is absent is always in the wrong	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Accidents will happen in the best regulated families	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
There is no accounting for tastes	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						Existential construction	
Actions speak louder than words	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification/antithesis		X				Comparison	
When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme/ erotema						Question	
As good be an addled egg as an idle bird	Concrete noun	Clippable	Abnormal verb inflection	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Comparison	
Adventures are to the adventurous	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration	X						
Adversity makes strange bedfellows	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Allegory							X
After a storm comes a calm	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton				X			
After dinner rest a while, after supper walk a mile	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anaphora/ Rhyme		X		X	Imperative		
After the feast comes the reckoning	Action-process state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton					X		
All good things must come to an end	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
It takes all sorts to make a world	Impersonal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						Impersonal construction	
All things are possible with God	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Hyperbole			X				
All things come to those who wait	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X						
Good Americans when they die go to Paris	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Another day, another dollar	No subject	Unclippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora					X		
Any port in a storm	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
If anything can go wrong, it will	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Modality: can	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Conditional sentence	
An ape's an ape, a varlet's a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet	Animal/personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Tautology/rhyme/diacope/epitaxis	X	X	X				
Appearances are deceptive	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Appetite comes with eating	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox	X						
An apple a day keeps the doctor away	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification	X						
The apple never falls far from the tree	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
An apple-pie without some cheese is like a kiss without a squeeze	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/mesodplosis			X	X			
April showers bring forth May flowers	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme					X		
An army marches on its stomach	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metonymy			X				
Art is long and life is short	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X	X				
Ask a silly question and you get a silly answer	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Mesodplosis	X					Imperative	
Ask no questions and hear no lies	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X		Conduplicatio	X					Imperative	
Attack is the best form of defence	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X			Comparison	
A bad excuse is better than none	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Comparison	
Bad money drives out good	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis			X				
Bad news travels fast	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification	X						
A bad penny always turns up	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Bad things come in threes	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
There is no such thing as bad weather, only the wrong clothes	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Litotes						Existential construction	
A bad workman blames his tools	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
As you bake, so shall you brew	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison	
A barking dog never bites	Animal subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Barnaby bright, Barnaby bright, the longest day and the shortest night	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/epitaxis		X				Comparison	
Be what you would seem to be	No subject/ indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X		Epanalepsis			X			Imperative	
Bear and forbear	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X		Rhyme				X		Imperative	
If you can't beat them, join them	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Epiphora	X					Conditional sentence	
Beauty draws with a single hair	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification/Hyperbole			X				

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
Beauty is in the eye of the beholder	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
Beauty is only skin-deep	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Litotes				X			
Where bees are, there is honey	Animal subject/Existential construction	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Existential construction	
Set a beggar on horseback, and he'll ride to the Devil	No subject/Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Hyperbole	X						
Beggars can't be choosers	Personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
Believe nothing of what you hear, and only half of what you see	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Hyperbole			X			Imperative	
A bellowing cow soon forgets her calf	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
All's for the best in the best of all possible worlds	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Conduplicatio	X						
The best is the enemy of the good	Personal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antanaclassis/paradox				X			
The best-laid schemes of mice and men gang aft agley	Abstract noun	Clippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration				X			
The best of friends must part	Personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						X	
The best of men are but men at best	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis/antanaclassis				X			
The best things come in small packages	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
The best things in life are free	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
Better a century of tyranny than one day of chaos	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole		X				Comparison	
Better a dinner of herbs than a stalled ox where hate is	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison	
Better a good cow than a cow of a good kind	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison	
Better are small fish than an empty dish	Animal subject	Clippable	Word order	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton/Rhyme		X				Comparison	
Better be an old man's darling, than a young man's slave	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis		X				Comparison/Imperative	
Better be envied than pitied	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X		X	X	X		Rhyme		X				Comparison/Imperative	
Better be out of the world than out of the fashion	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison/Imperative	
Better be safe than sorry	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison/Imperative	
Better late than never	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison/Imperative	
Better one house spoiled than two	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Parallelism		X				Comparison/Imperative	
The better the day, the better the deed	Abstract noun	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X		X			Comparison	
Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Epiphora			X			Comparison	
It is better to be born lucky than rich	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Impersonal construction / Comparison	
Better to die on your feet than live on your knees	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Comparison	
It is better to give than to receive	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Impersonal construction / Comparison	
Better to have loved and lost, than never to have loved at all	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplois		X				Comparison	
Better to light one candle than to curse the darkness	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Comparison	
Better to live one day as a tiger than a thousand years as a sheep	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X				Comparison	
Better to marry than to burn	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison	
It is better to travel hopefully than to arrive	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Impersonal construction / Comparison	
Better to wear out than to rust out	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Epiphora		X				Comparison	
Better to wed over the mixen than over the moor	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplois		X				Comparison	
Between two stools one falls to the ground	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton	X						
Never bid the Devil good morrow until you meet him	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
Big fish eat little fish	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/Epiphora			X				
Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them, and little fleas have lesser fleas, and so ad finitum	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Conduplicatio					X		
The bigger they are, the harder they fall	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism		X				Comparison	
A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis			X				
A bird never flew on one wing	Animal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
There are no birds in last year's nest	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
Birds in their little nests agree	Animal subject	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
Birds of a feather flock together	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
Little birds that can sing and won't sing must be made to sing	Animal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Conductio		X				Passive voice	
The man who has once been bitten by the snake fears every piece of rope	Personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: once	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X					Passive voice	
The bleating of the kid excites the tiger	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
A bleating sheep loses a bite	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Blessed is he who expects nothing, for he shall never be disappointed	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Word order / Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Hyperbaton	X					Passive voice	
Blessings brighten as they take their flight	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Zoomorphism					X		
There's none so blind as those who will not see	Existential construction/ Indefinite Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole		X				Existential construction	
When the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Diacoepis	X						
A blind man's wife needs no paint	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Catachresis		X					
You cannot get blood from a stone	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
Blood is thicker than water	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis						Comparison	
The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Metaphor				X			
Blood will have blood	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis					X		
Blood will tell	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Blue are the hills that are far away	Concrete noun	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
You can't tell a book by its cover	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
If you're born to be hanged then you'll never be drowned	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						Conditional	
Neither a borrower nor a lender be	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
You can take the boy out of the country but you can't take the country out of the boy	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Chiasmus		X					
Never send a boy to do a man's job	No subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis	X					Imperative	
Two boys are half a boy, and three boys are no boy at all	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplosis			X				
Boys will be boys	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis/ Tautology			X				
Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is better	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Allegory		X	X		Comparison		
None but the brave deserve the fair	Personal subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Brave men lived before Agamemnon	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						X	
The bread never falls but on its buttered side	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole	X						
What's bred in the bone will come out in the flesh	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X						
Brevity is the soul of wit	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor				X			
As you brew, so shall you bake	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Simile		X				Comparison	
You cannot make bricks without straw	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
Happy is the bride that the sun shines on	Personal/ Concrete noun	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton	X						
Always a bridesmaid, never a bride	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: always/ never	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis	X		X				
It is good to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
If it ain't broke, don't fix it	Impersonal	Clippable	Abnormal verb inflection	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis	X					Conditional sentence	
Every bullet has its billet	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Pun/ rhyme				X			
A bully is always a coward	Personal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox				X			
A burnt child dreads the fire	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
The busiest men have the most leisure	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
Business before pleasure	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis					X		
Business is war	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor				X			
Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Rhyme/ Antithesis					X	Imperative	

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
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You buy land, you buy stones; you buy meat, you buy bones	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme/ Anaphora			X					
Let the buyer beware	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Alliteration							Imperative	
The buyer has need of a hundred eyes, the seller of but one	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Antithesis/ Hyperbole				X				
Caesar's wife must be above suspicion	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	Non-rhetorical	X							
He who can, does; he who cannot, teaches	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: can/cannot	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Anaphora			X	X				
If Candlemas day be sunny and bright, winter will have another flight; if Candlemas day be cloudy with rain, winter is gone, and won't come again	Abstract noun	Clippable	Verbal inflection	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme/ Anaphora		X	X				Conditional sentence	
Candlemas day, put beans in the clay; put candles and candlesticks away	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme/ Anaphora	X						Imperative	
If the cap fits, wear it	Concrete noun/ no subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					Conditional sentence/ Imperative	
Where the carcass is, there shall the eagles be gathered together	Concrete noun/ Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Hyperbaton		X					Existential construction	
Care killed the cat	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Alliteration								X
Don't care was made to care	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	Irregular verbal inflection	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme							Passive voice	
Be careful what you pray for, you might get it	No subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						Imperative	
The caribou feeds the wolf, but it is the wolf who keeps the caribou strong	Animal subject/ Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Chiasmus			X					
A carpenter is known by his chips	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			Passive voice	
Ne'er cast a clout till May be out	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme		X					Imperative	
It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice	Impersonal / Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme/ Antithesis			X				Impersonal construction	
A cat in gloves catches no mice	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X							
A cat may look at a king	Animal subject	Unclippable	Modality: may	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X				
When the cat's away, the mice will play	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X						
The cat, the rat and Lovell the dog, rule all England under the hog	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme				X				
The cat would eat fish, but would not wet her feet	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X							
You cannot catch old birds with chaff	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical				X				
Catching's before hanging	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Rhyme						X		
All cats are grey in the dark	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X				
A chain is no stronger than its weakest link	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Antithesis				X				
Don't change horses in mid-stream	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						Imperative	
A change is as good as a rest	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				Comparison	
Change the name and not the letter, change the worse and not the better	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme/ Anaphora/ Antithesis			X				Imperative	
Charity begins at home	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical								X
Charity covers a multitude of sins	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Allegory				X			Impersonal construction	
It is as cheap sitting as standing	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Antithesis			X					
Cheats never prosper	Personal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical	X							
A cherry year, a merry year; a plum year, a dumb year	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme/ Antithesis/ Mesodiplosis/ Epiphora	X		X					
Monday's child is fair of face	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X				
The child is the father of the man	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Oxymoron				X				
Children and fools tell the truth	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical	X							
Children are certain cares, but uncertain comforts	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Antithesis				X				
Children should be seen and not heard	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: should	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Antithesis			X					
Never choose your women or your linen by candlelight	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme	X						Imperative	
The Church is an anvil which has worn many hammers	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	Metaphor				X				
Circumstances alter cases	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical				X				
A civil question deserves a civil answer	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X		Anaphora/ Antithesis						X		

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Civility costs nothing	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Synesthesia				X			
Cleanliness is next to godliness	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/ Hyperbole				X			
Clergymen's sons always turn out badly	Personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
A clever hawk hides its claws	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration	X						
Hasty climbers have sudden falls	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
From clogs to clogs is only three generations	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metonymy/ Litotes				X			
Clothes make the man	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification				X			
Every cloud has its silver lining	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
Let the cobbler stick to his last	No subject/ Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
The cobbler to his last and the gunner to his linstock	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X		X	X	X	X	Parallelism			X				
Every cock will crow upon his own dunghill	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Cold hands, warm heart	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X					
Coming events cast their shadows before	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X						
Common fame is seldom to blame	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: seldom	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme				X			
A man is known by the company he keeps	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X		Passive voice	
The company makes the feast	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metonymy				X			
Comparisons are odious	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
He that complains against his will is of his own opinion still	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme				X			
Confess and be hanged	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical					X	Imperative	
Confession is good for the soul	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			
A clean conscience is a good pillow	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Metaphor				X			
Conscience makes cowards of us all	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Allegory							X
Constant dropping wears away a stone	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Corporations have neither bodies to be punished nor souls to be damned	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Personification				X			
Councils of war never fight	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
Don't count your chickens before they are hatched	No subject/ Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king	Personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor/ Hyperbaton/ Irony		X					
Happy is the country which has no history	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton/ Metonymy	X						
The course of true love never did run smooth	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Synesthesia				X			
Why buy a cow when milk is so cheap?	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Erotoma		X				Question	
Cowards die many times before their death	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X						
The cowl does not make the monk	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
A creaking door hangs longest	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
Give credit where credit is due	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Conduplicatio	X					Imperative	
Crime doesn't pay	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Don't cross the bridge till you come to it	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Crosses are ladders that lead to heaven	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Metaphor				X			
Don't cry before you're hurt	No subject/ Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
It is no use crying over spilt milk	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Impersonal construction	
He that will to Cupar maun to Cupar	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Epiphora/ Rhyme		X					
What can't be cured must be endured	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Modality: can't/ must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme		X				Impersonal construction/ Passive voice	
Curiosity killed the cat	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration							X
Curses, like chickens, come home to roost	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Simile							X
The customer is always right	Personal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			
Don't cut off your nose to spite your face	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Cut your coat according to your cloth	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration	X					Imperative	
They that dance must pay the fiddler	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						

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The darkest hour is just before the dawn	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox				X			
As the day lengthens, so the cold strengthens	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism	X						
Be the day weary or be the day long, at least it ringeth to evensong	Abstract noun	Clippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Mesodiplosis			X				
One day honey, one day onion	No subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/ Antithesis			X				
Let the dead bury the dead	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme		X				Imperative	
Dead men don't bite	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration	X						
Dead men tell no tales	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration	X						
Blessed are the dead that the rain rains on	Personal subject	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Hyperbaton	X					Passive voice	
There's none so deaf as those who will not hear	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X			Existential construction	
A deaf husband and a blind wife are always a happy couple	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Pan			X				
Death is the great leveller	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Personification			X				
Death pays all debts	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Personification						X	
The best defense is a good offense	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox			X				
Delays are dangerous	Action-process state	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
Desperate diseases must have desperate remedies	Abstract noun	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplosis	X						
The devil can quote Scripture for his own ends	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: can	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Paradox			X				
The devil finds work for idle hands to do	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
Why should the devil have all the best tunes?	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Erotema						Question	
The devil is in the details	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
The devil is not so black as he is painted	Personal subject	Clippable	Comparison	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Meiosis			X			Passive voice	
The devil looks after his own	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
The devil makes his Christmas pies of lawyers' tongues and clerks' fingers	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Parallelism		X					
The devil's children have the devil's luck	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Anaphora/ Parallelism			X				
Devil take the hindmost	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
The Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be; the Devil was well, the devil a saint was he!	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme/ Anaphora/ Antithesis			X				
Diamond cuts diamond	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Epanalepsis			X				
You can only die once	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Meiosis			X				
Different strokes for different folks	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Anaphora		X					
The difficult is done at once; the impossible takes a little longer	Abstract noun	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Meiosis			X			Passive voice	
Diligence is the mother of good luck	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Throw dirt enough, and some will stick	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Dirty water will quench fire	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Discretion is the better part of valour	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Distance lends enchantment to the view	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						X	
Divide and rule	No subject/ Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Parallelism				X		Imperative	
Do as I say, not as I do	No subject/ Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis/ Paradox/ Epanalepsis		X				Imperative	
Do as you would be done by	No subject/ Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative/ Passive voice	
Do right and fear no man	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Do unto others as you would they should do unto you	No subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Conduplication		X				Imperative	
The best doctors are Dr Diet, Dr Quiet, and Dr Merryman	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Parallelism			X				
Feed a dog for three days and he will remember your kindness for three years; feed a cat for three years and she will forget your kindness in three days	No subject/ Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis/ Climax		X				Imperative	
Give a dog a bad name and hang him	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Dog does not eat dog	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Epanalepsis		X					
Every dog has his day	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Every dog is allowed one bite	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						X	

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
A dog is for life, not just for Christmas	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			
The dog returns to its vomit	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
A dog that will fetch a bone will carry a bone	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Parallelism	X						
It's dogged as does it	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration/ Epianalepsis				X		Impersonal construction	
Dogs bark, but the caravan goes on	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Dogs look up to you, cats look down on you, pigs is equal	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification		X					
What's done cannot be undone	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme				X		Impersonal construction/ Passive voice	
A door must either be shut or open	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
When in doubt, do nowt	No subject	Clippable	Word order/ Dialect	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Rhyme	X					Imperative	
Whoever draws his sword against the prince must throw the scabbard away	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Dreams go by contraries	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
He that drinks beer, thinks beer	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Epiphora/ Rhyme	X						
A dripping June sets all in tune	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X					
Drive gently over the stones	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
You can drive out Nature with a pitchfork, but she keeps coming back	Indefinite personal subject/ Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
A drowning man will clutch a straw	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X						
Eagles don't catch flies	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
The early bird catches the worm	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
The early man never borrows from the late man	Personal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme		X					
Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise	Action-process state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Anaphora/ Climax	X						
East is east, and west is west	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology				X			
East, west, home's best	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme				X			
Easy come, easy go	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora/ Antithesis		X					
Easy does it	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration				X			
You are what you eat	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora/ Metaphor				X			
We must eat a peck of dirt before we die	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Meiosis					X		
Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Meiosis/ Climax					X	Imperative	
He that would eat the fruit must climb the tree	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
Eat to live, not live to eat	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Chiasmus		X				Imperative	
Don't put all your eggs in one basket	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers	Animal subject/ Concrete noun	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification	X						
Empty sacks will never stand upright	Concrete noun	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Empty vessels make the most sound	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox	X						
The end crowns the work	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
The end justifies the means	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Personification							X
The enemy of my enemy is my friend	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor				X			
England is the paradise of women, the hell of horses, and the purgatory of servants	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor/ Climax		X	X				
England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor/ Antithesis		X	X				
The English are a nation of shopkeepers	Personal subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			
One Englishman can beat three Frenchmen	Personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole		X			X		
An Englishman's house is his castle	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole				X			
An Englishman's word is his bond	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor				X			
Enough is as good as a feast	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
Enough is enough	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epianalepsis/ Tautology				X			
To err is human (to forgive divine)	Action-process state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
Every little helps	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Every man for himself	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
Every man for himself, and God for us all	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Mesodiplosis/Parallelism							X
Every man has his price	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Every man is the architect of his own fortune	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
Every man to his taste	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Every man to his trade	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Everybody loves a lord	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
What everybody says must be true	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Everybody's business is nobody's business	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Epiphora/ Antithesis			X				
Everything has an end	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Evil communications corrupt good manners	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis	X						
Evil doers are evil dreaders	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Anaphora	X						
Evil to him who evil thinks	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Anaphora		X					
Never do evil that good may come of it	No subject/ Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation/ Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Antithesis	X					Imperative	
Of two evils choose the less	No subject	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton		X				Imperative	
Example is better than precept	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Comparison	
The exception proves the rule	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox							X
There is an exception to every rule	Existential	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X					Existential construction	
A fair exchange is no robbery	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
He who excuses, accuses himself	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme	X						
What can you expect from a pig but a grunt?	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Eretema						Question	
Experience is the best teacher	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification			X				
Experience is the father of wisdom	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification			X				
Experience keeps a dear school	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Extremes meet	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox							X
What the eye doesn't see, the heart doesn't grieve over	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplosis/Parallelism	X						
The eye of a master does more work than both his hands	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Synecdoche		X					
The eyes are the windows of the soul	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Fact is stranger than fiction	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Comparison	
Facts are stubborn things	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification			X				
Faint heart never won fair lady	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification/ Synecdoche	X						
Fair and softly goes far in a day	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
All's fair in love and war	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
Fair play's a jewel	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
Faith will move mountains	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole							X
Fall down seven times, get up eight	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Parallelism	X					Imperative	
Familiarity breeds contempt	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox/ Personification	X						
The family that prays together stays together	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Epiphora/ Rhyme		X					
Far-fetched and dear-bought is good for ladies	Action-process state subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
The fat man knoweth not what the lean thinketh	Personal subject	Unclippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis			X				
Like father, like son	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora		X				Comparison	
A fault confessed is half redressed	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Rhyme	X					Passive voice	
Fear the Greeks bearing gifts	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							Imperative
February fill dyke, be it black or be it white	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X					

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If in February there be no rain, 'tis neither good for hay nor grain	Abstract noun/Impersonal	Clippable	Subjunctive/Archaisms	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme	X						
Feed a cold and starve a fever	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis		X				Imperative	
The female of the species is more deadly than the male	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	Comparative	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X	X			Comparison	
Fields have eyes, and woods have ears	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification			X				
Fight fire with fire	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Conduplicatio						Imperative	
He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: may	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme	X						
Finders keepers (losers weepers)	Personal subject	Unclippable	Verb ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				
Findings keepings	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	Verb ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				
Fine feathers make fine birds	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
Fine words butter no parsnips	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification							X
Fingers were made before forks	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Fire is a good servant but a bad master	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor/Antithesis			X				
The same fire that melts the butter hardens the egg	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis			X				
First catch your hare	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
First come, first served	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
The first duty of a soldier is obedience	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
First impressions are the most lasting	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
On the first of March, the crows begin to search	Animal subject	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/Hyperbaton	X						
It is the first step that is difficult	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metonymy			X				
First things first	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis							X
First thoughts are best	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
There is always a first time	Existential construction	Unclippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						Existential construction	
First up, best dressed	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
The fish always stinks from the head downwards	Animal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Fish and guests smell after three days	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Zeugma			X				
There are as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction/Comparison	
He that follows freits, freits will follow him	Indefinite personal subject/Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Chiasmus	X						
A fool and his money are soon parted	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
A fool at forty is a fool indeed	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
There's no fool like an old fool	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora/Rhyme			X			Existential construction	
A fool may give a wise man counsel	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: once, twice	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anaphora/Antithesis	X	X				Imperative	
Fools and bairns should never see half-done work	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: should/Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Fools ask questions that wise men cannot answer	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
Fools build houses and wise men live in them	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Irony		X					
Fools for luck	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Fools rush in where angels fear to tread	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole	X						
Forewarned is forearmed	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme	X						
Fortune favours fools	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Allegory	X						
Fortune favours the brave	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Allegory	X						
Four eyes see more than two	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology		X				Comparison	
There's no such thing as a free lunch	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
A friend in need is a friend indeed	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora/Rhyme			X				
The frog in the well knows nothing of the sea	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis	X						
When all fruit fails, welcome haws	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Full cup, steady hand	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
It's ill speaking between a full man and a fasting	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis			X			Impersonal construction	

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Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaks	Concrete noun	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton		X					
One funeral makes many	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X						
When the furze is in bloom, my love's in tune	Concrete noun/abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X					
Garbage in, garbage out	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/Antithesis					X		
It takes three generations to make a gentleman	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole						Impersonal construction	
Genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphore			X				
Never look a gift horse in the mouth	No subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
Give and take is fair play	Action-process state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis			X				
Give a thing, and take a thing, to wear the Devil's gold ring	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Rhyme/ Antithesis		X				Imperative	
Give the Devil his due	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
He gives twice who gives quickly	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: twice	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Mesodipsis		X					
Those who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: shouldn't	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
All that glitters is not gold	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Go abroad and you'll hear news of home	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis		X					
Go further and fare worse	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Parallelism	X						
You cannot serve God and Mammon	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Antithesis			X				
Where God builds a church, the Devil will build a chapel	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Antithesis/Parallelism	X		X				
God helps them that help themselves	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Paradox		X					
God is high above, and the tsar is far away	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Parallelism		X					
God made the country, and man made the town	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Antithesis/Parallelism		X					
God makes the back to the burden	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
God never sends mouths but he sends meat	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Synecdoche			X				
God sends meat, but the Devil sends cooks	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Antithesis		X					
God's in his heaven; all's right with the world	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Hyperbole			X				
God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
Whom the gods love die young	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
The gods send nuts to those who have no teeth	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Paradox		X					
Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
He that goes a-borrowing, goes a-sorrowing	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme	X						
What goes around comes around	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme		X					
When the going gets tough, the tough get going	Action-process state subject/Personal subject	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Chiasmus	X						
Gold may be bought too dear	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole			X				
A golden key can open any door	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole			X				
If you can't be good, be careful	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	
A good beginning makes a good ending	Action-process state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/Parallelism		X					
There's many a good cock come out of a tattered bag	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Paradox		X				Existential construction	
No good deed goes unpunished	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
The good die young	Personal subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
He is a good dog who goes to church	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Personification			X				
Good fences make good neighbours	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora		X					
A good horse cannot be of a bad colour	Animal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X					
The only good Indian is a dead Indian	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Irony		X					
The good is the enemy of the best	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Irony		X					
A good Jack makes a good Jill	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Anaphora/Alliteration		X					
Good men are scarce	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
There's many a good tune played on an old fiddle	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Existential construction	

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
One good turn deserves another	Abstract noun	Clippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical					X		
Good wine needs no bush	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			
When the gorse is out of bloom, kissing's out of fashion	Concrete noun/Action-process-state	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
What is got over the Devil's back is spent under his belly	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
While the grass grows, the steed starves	Concrete noun/Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Paradox	X						
The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole/Antanacsis		X				Comparison	
A great book is a great evil	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole/Antanacsis				X			
Great minds think alike	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Great oaks from little acorns grow	Concrete noun	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis/Paradox		X					
The greater the sinner, the greater the saint	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/Antithesis/Paradox		X				Comparison	
The greater the truth, the greater the libel	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora		X				Comparison	
When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war	Personal subject	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Conduplication	X						
A green Yule makes a fat churchyard	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Catachresis	X						
The grey mare is the better horse	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			
All is grist that comes to the mill	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			
A guilty conscience needs no accuser	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Litotes		X					
What you've never had you never miss	Indefinite/personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metonymy/Tautology	X						
Half a loaf is better than no bread	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
The half is better than the whole	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
One half of the world does not know how the other half lives	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
Half the truth is often a whole lie	Abstract noun	Clippable	Frequency: often	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Antithesis				X			
Don't halloo till you are out of the wood	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
When all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X						
One hand for yourself and one for the ship	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora			X				
The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism	X						
One hand washes the other	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification						X	
Handsome is as handsome does	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X					Comparison	
Hang a thief when he's young, and he'll no' steal when he's old	No subject/Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Tautology	X					Imperative	
One might as well he hanged for a sheep as a lamb	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: might	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
Hanging and wiving go by destiny	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/Antithesis			X				
If you would be happy for a week take a wife; if you would be happy for a month kill a pig; but if you would be happy all your life plant a garden	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Anaphora/Climax		X				Conditional sentence	
Call no man happy till he dies	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Paradox	X					Imperative	
Hard cases make bad law	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			
Hard words break no bones	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Synesthesia						X	
Haste is from the devil	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole				X			
More haste, less speed	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/Paradox		X					
Haste makes waste	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme				X			
Make haste slowly	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Paradox						Imperative	
What you have, hold	Indefinite personal subject/No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
You cannot have your cake and eat it	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology		X					
Hawks will not pick out hawk's eyes	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora				X			
Hear all, see all, say nowt, tak' all, keep all, gie nowt, and if the ever does owt for nowt do it for thysen	No subject	Clippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Epiphora/Rhyme/Climax					X	Imperative	
If you don't like the heat, get out of the kitchen	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
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Heaven protects children, sailors, and drunken men	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Climax							X
Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole		X					
Every herring must hang by its own gill	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
He who hesitates is lost	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration			X				
Those who hide can find	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme	X						
The higher the monkey climbs the more he shows his tail	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X				Comparison		
History repeats itself	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
When you are in a hole, stop digging	Indefinite personal subject/ No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X				Imperative		
Home is home, as the Devil said when he found himself in the Court of Session	Abstract noun/ Personal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Tautology/ Epitaphiasis			X				
Home is home though it's never so homely	Abstract noun	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology/ Epitaphiasis/ Paradox			X				
Home is where the heart is	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Homer sometimes nods	Personal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: sometimes	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
Honesty is the best policy	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Hyperbole			X		Comparison		
Honey catches more flies than vinegar	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X			Comparison		
There is honour among thieves	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X		Existential construction		
The post of honour is the post of danger	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Hope deferred makes the heart sick	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Synesthesia	X						
Hope for the best and prepare for the worst	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole/ Antithesis				X	Imperative		
Hope is a good breakfast but a bad supper	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor		X	X				
Hope springs eternal	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
If it were not for hope, the heart would break	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole/ Hyperbaton		X			Conditional		
You can take a horse to the water, but you can't make him drink	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
Horses for courses	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme							X
One hour's sleep before midnight is worth two after	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X		X				
When house and land are gone and spent, then learning is most excellent	Abstract/ concrete/ Action-process-state	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X	X			
A house divided cannot stand	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Hunger drives the wolf out of the wood	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
Hunger is the best sauce	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X		Comparison		
A hungry man is an angry man	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Consonance			X				
Hurry no man's cattle	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical					Imperative		
The husband is always the last to know	Personal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
An idle brain is the Devil's workshop	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
Idle people have the least leisure	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox	X						
Idleness is the root of all evil	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Metaphor/ Hyperbole			X				
If ifs and ands were pots and pans, there'd be no work for tinkers' hands	Abstract noun/ Existential	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/ Epizeusis		X			Conditional sentence/ Existential construction		
Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise	Abstract noun/ Impersonal	Clippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Irony	X				Impersonal construction		
Ignorance of the law is no excuse for breaking it	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X		Impersonal construction		
Ill gotten goods never thrive	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
He that has an ill name is half hanged	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole	X				Passive voice		
It's ill waiting for dead men's shoes	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X		Impersonal construction		
Ill weeds grow apace	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X		Impersonal construction		
Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X		Comparison		

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In for a penny, in for a pound	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/Parallelism			X				
Every Jack has his Jill	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
Jack is as good as his master	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison	
Jack of all trades and master of none	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
Jam tomorrow and jam yesterday, but never jam today	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anaphora		X				Imperative	
Jouk and let the jaw go by	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration					X	Imperative	
Jove but laughs at lovers' perjury	Personal noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration							X
No one should be judge in his own cause	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: should	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Judge not, that ye be judged	No subject/Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anastrophe/Epanalepsis		X				Imperative/Passive voice	
Be just before you're generous	No subject/Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration					X		
Justice delayed is justice denied	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora			X				
Why keep a dog and bark yourself?	No subject	Clippable	Syntax	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Erotema						Question	
Keep a thing seven years and you'll always find a use for it	No subject/Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Hyperbole		X				Imperative	
Keep no more cats than will catch mice	No subject/Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X			X				Imperative	
Keep your own fish-guts for your own sea-maws	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Mesodiplois						Imperative	
Keep your shop and your shop will keep you	No subject/Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Chiasmus	X					Imperative	
Killing no murder	No subject	Unclippable	Verb ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Parallelism/Paradox			X				
The king can do no harm	Personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
A king's chaff is worth more than other men's corn	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole			X			Comparison	
Kings have long arms	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole/ Pun			X				
There is always one who kisses, and one who turns the cheek	Existential construction/Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Existential construction	
Kissing goes by favour	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
To know all is to forgive all	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Hyperbole/Symplece			X				
You should know a man seven years before you stir his fire	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: should	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole		X					
What you don't know can't hurt you	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology/Conduplicatio	X						
Know thyself	No subject	Unclippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
You never know what you can do till you try	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: never/Modality: can	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
Knowledge is power	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Who knows most, speaks least	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/Paradox	X						
The kumara does not speak of its own sweetness	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification							X
The labourer is worthy of his hire	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Every land has its own law	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
The last drop makes the cup run over	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Litotes			X				
It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Litotes						Impersonal construction	
When the last tree is cut down, the last fish eaten, and the last stream poisoned, you will realize that you cannot eat money	Concrete noun/Animal subject/Indefinite	Clippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Parallelism	X					Passive voice	
Laugh and the world laughs with you; weep and you weep alone	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis		X				Imperative	
Let them laugh that win	No subject	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Hyperbaton						Imperative	
He laughs best who laughs last	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplois		X					
He who laughs last, laughs longest	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Conduplicatio		X				Comparison	

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
Laughter is the best medicine	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor				X			
One law for the rich and another for the poor	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X					
The more laws, the more thieves and bandits	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Parallelism	X					Comparison	
A man who is his own lawyer has a fool for his client	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Lay-overs for meddlers	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						X	
If you are not the lead dog, the view never changes	Indefinite personal subject/ Abstract noun	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor		X				Conditional sentence	
Learning is better than house and land	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole		X				Comparison	
Least said, soonest mended	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Parallelism	X					Comparison	
There is nothing like leather	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole			X			Existential construction	
Lend your money and lose your friend	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Antithesis	X					Imperative	
Length begets loathing	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification						X	
The leopard does not change his spots	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Less is more	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/ Paradox			X				
Let well alone	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
A liar ought to have a good memory A lie is halfway round the world before the truth has got its boots on	Personal subject/ Abstract noun	Unclippable	Modality: ought to	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
If you lie down with dogs, you will get up with fleas	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	
Life begins at forty	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox						X	
If life hands you lemons, make lemonade	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor	X					Conditional sentence	
Life isn't all beer and skittles	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora			X				
While there's life there's hope	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism	X					Existential construction	
Light come, light go	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora		X					
Lightning never strikes the same place twice	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Frequency: twice	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						X	
Like breeds like	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis	X						
Like will to like	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis	X						
Until the lions produce their own historian, the story of the hunt will glorify the hunter	Animal subject/ Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole	X						
Listeners never hear any good of themselves	Personal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox	X						
There is no little enemy	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Litotes			X			Existential construction	
Little fish are sweet	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
A little knowledge is a dangerous thing	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
Little leaks sink the ship	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						X	
Little pitchers have large ears	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis			X				
A little pot is soon hot	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Little strokes fell great oaks	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/ Antithesis						X	
Little thieves are hanged, but great ones escape	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X					
Little things please little minds	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
Live and learn	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration				X		Imperative	
Live and let live	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration				X		Imperative	
If you have to live in the river, it is best to be friends with the crocodile	Indefinite personal subject/ Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence/ Comparison	
If you want to live and thrive, let the spider run alive	Indefinite personal subject/ No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Rhyme	X					Imperative	
A live dog is better than a dead lion	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison	
They that live longest, see most	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme	X					Comparison	
Come live with me and you'll know me	No subject/ Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme	X						

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
He who lives by the sword dies by the sword	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora	X						
He that lives in hope dances to an ill tune	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Meiosis	X						
He lives long who lives well	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplosis	X						
No matter how long a log stays in the water, it doesn't become a crocodile	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Tautology		X					
Long and lazy, little and loud; fat and fulsome, pretty and proud	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Alliteration/ Rhyme			X				
Long foretold, long last; short notice, soon past	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora/ Alliteration/ Rhyme/ Antithesis			X				Impersonal construction
It is a long lane that has no turning	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration				X			Comparison
The longest journey begins with a single step	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology		X					Comparison
The longest way round is the shortest way home	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/ Paradox			X				Comparison
Look before you leap	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration							Imperative
Lookers-on see most of the game	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
What you lose on the swings you gain on the roundabouts	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X					
You cannot lose what you never had	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot/ Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology	X						
One man's loss is another man's gain	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis				X			
There's no great loss without some gain	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X					Existential construction
Love and a cough cannot be hid	No subject	Clippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme		X					Imperative
One cannot love and be wise	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X		X			
Love begets love	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis							X
Love is blind	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification			X				
Love laughs at locksmiths	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification							X
Love makes the world go round	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole							X
Love me little, love me long	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anaphora		X					Imperative
Love me, love my dog	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Hyperbole		X					Imperative
Love will find a way	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
There is luck in leisure	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration			X				Existential construction
There is luck in odd numbers	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				Existential construction
Lucky at cards, unlucky in love	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/ Antithesis		X					
Where MacGregor sits is the head of the table	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Don't get mad, get even	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anaphora		X					Imperative
Make hay while the sun shines	No subject/ Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Alliteration		X					Imperative
As you make your bed, so you must lie upon it	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism		X					Comparison
Man cannot live by bread alone	Personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Tautology				X			
Whatever man has done, man may do	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Conduplicatio	X						
A man is as old as he feels, and a woman as old as she looks	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis			X	X			Comparison
Man is the measure of all things	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
Man proposes, God disposes	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme		X					
Man's extremity is God's opportunity	Abstract subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme			X				
Because a man is born in a stable that does not make him a horse	Personal subject/ Action-process-state	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Tautology			X				
What Manchester says today, the rest of England says tomorrow	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Parallelism		X					
Manners maketh man	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
Many a little makes a mickle	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration/ Rhyme							X
Many a mickle makes a muckle	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration/ Rhyme							X
There's many a slip between cup and lip	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				Existential construction

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Many are called but few are chosen	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis			X				
Many hands make light work	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
March comes in like a lion, and goes out like a lamb	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Simile			X	X			
Marriage is a lottery	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
There goes more to marriage than four bare legs in a bed	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Meiosis			X			Existential construction	
Marriages are made in heaven	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Hyperbole			X			Passive voice	
Never marry for money, but marry where money is	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Anaphora/ Irony	X					Imperative	
Marry in haste and repent in leisure	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Marry in May, rue for aye	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Rhyme	X					Imperative	
Like master, like man	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora		X				Comparison	
What matters is what works	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
May chickens come cheeping	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration	X						
Measure seven times, cut once	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Hyperbole/ Antithesis					X	Imperative	
Measure twice, cut once	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis					X	Imperative	
There is measure in all things	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
Meat and mass never hindered man	Concrete/Abstract nouns	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration						X	
One man's meat is another man's poison	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration/ Antithesis		X	X				
Do not meet troubles halfway	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
So many men, so many opinions	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
It is merry in hall when beards wag all	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X				Impersonal construction	
Might is right	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				
The mill cannot grind with water that is past	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Tautology	X						
The mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole			X				
The age of miracles is past	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Misery loves company	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Meiosis						X	
Misfortunes never come singly	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
A miss is as good as a mile	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration		X	X			Comparison	
You never miss the water till the well runs dry	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox	X						
If you don't make mistakes you don't make anything	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora		X				Conditional sentence	
So many mists in March, so many frosts in May	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/ Antithesis	X		X				
Moderation in all things	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						X	
Money can't buy happiness	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						X	
Money has no smell	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Synesthesia			X				
Money isn't everything	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
Money is power	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
Money is the root of all evil	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor/ Hyperbole			X				
Money, like manure, does no good till it is spread	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Simile		X	X				
Money makes a man	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration						X	
Money makes money	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Epanalepsis						X	
Money makes the mare to go	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration						X	
Money talks	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification			X				
A moneyless man goes fast through the market	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
More people know Tom Fool than Tom Fool knows	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Diaphora		X					
The more, the merrier	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Parallelism	X					Comparison	
The more you get, the more you want	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X					Comparison	
Morning dreams come true	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Like mother, like daughter	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora/ Parallelism/ Simile		X				Comparison	
The mother of mischief is no bigger than a midge's wing	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical		X	X			Comparison	

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If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain	Concrete noun/ Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Diaphora/ Chiasmus		X				Conditional sentence	
The mountains are high, and the emperor is far away	Concrete noun/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
A mouse may help a lion	Animal subject	Unclippable	Modality: may	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Paradox							X
Out of the mouths of babes	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
Much cry and little wool	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X					
Much would have more	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism							X
Where there's muck there's brass	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/ Synecdoche		X				Existential construction	
Murder will out	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
What must be, must be	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora	X						
The nail that sticks up gets hammered down	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
A nation without a language is a nation without a heart	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora			X				
Nature abhors vacuum	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification			X				
Near is my kirtle, but nearer is my smock	Concrete noun	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/ Parallelism		X	X			Comparison	
Near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora/ Parallelism		X	X			Comparison	
The nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Comparison	
The nearer the church, the farther from God	Concrete noun/ Personal subject	Unclippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X	X		X	X	X	Paradox		X				Comparison	
Necessity is the mother of invention	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Necessity knows no law	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification			X				
Needles and pins, needles and pins, when a man marries, his trouble begins	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/ Epizeuxis	X						
Needs must when the Devil rides	Abstract noun/ Personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
What a neighbour gets is not lost	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
In vain the net is spread in the sight of the bird	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Passive voice	
If you gently touch a nettle it'll sting you for your pains; grasp it like a lad of mettle, an' as soft as silk remains	Indefinite personal subject/ Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X				Conditional sentence	
Never is a long time	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Meiosis			X				
Never say never	No subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Epunalepsis						Imperative	
It is never too late to learn	Impersonal	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Impersonal construction	
It is never too late to mend	Impersonal	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Impersonal construction	
Never too old to learn	No subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
New brooms sweep clean	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
What is new cannot be true	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				
New lords, new laws	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora	X						
You can't put new wine in old bottles	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
There is always something new out of Africa	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
Night brings counsel	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Nine tailors make a man	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole							X
No cross, no crown	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X	X		X	X	X	Anaphora/ Alliteration	X						
No cure, no pay	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora	X						
No foot, no horse	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora	X						
No man can serve two masters	Personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
No man is a hero to his valet	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
No moon, no man	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora/ Alliteration	X						
No names, no pack-drill	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora	X						
No news is good news	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme/ Paradox			X				
No pain, no gain	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X	X		X	X		Anaphora/ Rhyme	X						
No penny, no paternoster	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X	X		X	X	X	Anaphora/ Alliteration	X						

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
A nod's as good as a wink to a blind horse	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Meiosis				X		Comparison	
North wind doth blow, we shall have snow	Concrete noun	Clippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme	X						
Nothing comes of nothing	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis				X			
Nothing for nothing	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis		X					
Nothing is certain but death and taxes	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Meiosis				X			
Nothing is certain but the unforeseen	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox				X			
Nothing is for ever	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
There is nothing new under the sun	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole				X		Existential construction	
Nothing should be done in haste but gripping a flea	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Modality: should	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X			Passive voice	
Nothing so bad but it might have been worse	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Modality: might	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism		X					
Nothing so bold as a blind mare	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole				X			
There is nothing so good for the inside of a man as the outside of a horse	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis				X		Existential construction	
Nothing succeeds like success	Indefinite subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antitacsis			X				
Nothing venture, nothing gain	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anaphora	X					Imperative	
Nothing venture, nothing have	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anaphora	X					Imperative	
There's nowt so queer as folk	Existential construction	Clippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole				X		Existential construction	
When the oak is before the ash, then you will only get a splash; when the ash is before the oak, then you may expect a soak	Concrete noun/Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: may	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Onomatopoeia/Rhyme			X	X			
Beware of an oak, it draws the stroke; avoid an ash, it counts the flash; creep under the thorn, it can save you from harm	No subject/Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Rhyme	X					Imperative	
He that cannot obey cannot command	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/Mesodiplosis				X			
Obey orders, if you break owners	No subject/Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X				Conditional sentence/Imperative	
It is best to be off with the old love before you are on with the new	Impersonal/Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Impersonal construction/Comparison	
Offenders never pardon	Personal subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
Old habits die hard	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification				X			
You cannot put an old head on young shoulders	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis			X				
Old sins cast long shadows	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Hyperbole				X			
Old soldiers never die	Personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole				X			
You cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology		X					
Once a—, always a—	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: once, always	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Parallelism			X				
Once a priest, always a priest	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: once, always	Phrase	X	X	X		X	X	X	Egphora/Parallelism			X				
Once a whore, always a whore	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: once, always	Phrase	X	X	X		X	X		Egphora/Parallelism			X				
Once bitten, twice shy	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: once, twice	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Parallelism			X				
When one door shuts, another opens	Concrete noun	Clippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis	X						
One for sorrow, two for mirth; three for a wedding, four for a birth	No subject	Clippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/Parallelism/Climax					X		
One for the mouse, one for the crow, one to rot, one to grow	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/Rhyme					X		
One nail drives out another	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
One size does not fit all	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
One year's seeding makes seven years' weeding	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/Hyperbole	X						
The opera isn't over till the fat lady sings	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
Opportunity makes a thief	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Opportunity never knocks twice at any man's door	Abstract noun	Clippable	Frequency: never, twice	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Other times, other manners	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora			X				
An ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole/Antithesis				X			
Out of debt, out of danger	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
Out of sight, out of mind	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
It is the pace that kills	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Impersonal construction	
Parsley seed goes nine times to the devil	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole							X
Things past cannot be recalled	Concrete noun	Clippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Patience is a virtue	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Pay beforehand was never well served	Action-process state subject	Clippable	Verbal inflection/Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anthimeria			X				
He that cannot pay, let him pray	Indefinite personal subject/No subject	Clippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Rhyme	X					Imperative	
If you pay peanuts, you get monkeys	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	
He who pays the piper calls the tune	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
You pays your money and you takes your choice	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Verbal inflection	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
If you want peace, you must prepare for war	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Conditional sentence	
Do not throw pearls to swine	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
A peck of March dust is worth a king's ransom	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole		X					
The pen is mightier than the sword	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Paradox		X				Comparison	
Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves	No subject/Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Parallelism		X				Imperative	
A penny saved is a penny earned	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora		X					
Penny wise and pound foolish	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X					
Like people, like priest	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X	X		X	X	X	Anaphora		X				Comparison	
Physician, heal thyself	No subject	Unclippable	Vocative	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
One picture is worth ten thousand words	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole		X					
Every picture tells a story	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification			X				
See a pin and pick it up, all the day you'll have good luck; see a pin and let it lie, bad luck you'll have all the day	No subject/Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Rhyme	X					Imperative	
The pitcher will go to the well once too often	Concrete noun	Clippable	Frequency: once, too often	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Pity is akin to love	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
A place for everything, and everything in its place	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Chiasmus							X
There's no place like home	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Litotes			X			Existential construction	
He who plants thorns should not expect to gather roses	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: should	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Those who play at bowls must look out for rubbers	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
If you play with fire you get burnt	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	
You can't please everyone	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Please your eye and plague your heart	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X		Antithesis		X				Infinitive	
An old poacher makes the best gamekeeper	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox			X			Comparison	
Politics makes strange bedfellows	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X
It is a poor dog that's not worth whistling for	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X			Impersonal construction	
It is a poor heart that never rejoices	Impersonal	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Impersonal construction	
Possession is nine points of the law	Action-process state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole			X				
A postern door makes a thief	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
When poverty comes in at the door, love flies out of the window	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis	X						
Poverty is no disgrace, but it is a great inconvenience	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Litotes			X				
Poverty is not a crime	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Power corrupts	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Practice makes perfect	Action-process state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						

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Practise what you preach	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X		Alliteration						Imperative	
Praise the child, and you make love to the mother	No subject/Indefinite Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Pretty is as pretty does	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora			X			Comparison	
Prevention is better than cure	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Comparison	
Pride feels no pain	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Pride goes before a fall	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical					X		
Procrastination is the thief of time	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
Promises, like pie crusts, are made to be broken	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Simile		X	X			Passive voice	
The proof of the pudding is in the eating	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration/Rhyme			X				
A prophet is not without honour save in his own country	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Litotes			X				
Providence is always on the side of the big battalions	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Allegory			X				
Any publicity is good publicity	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Epiphora/Rhyme			X				
It is easier to pull down than to build up	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X				Impersonal construction/Comparison	
Punctuality is the politeness of princes	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
Punctuality is the soul of business	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
To the pure all things are pure	Personal subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Epiphora/Rhyme		X					
Don't put the cart before the horse	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today	No subject	Clippable	Frequency: never/Modality: can	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis	X					Imperative	
The quarrel of lovers is the renewal of love	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
You cannot get a quart into a pint pot	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Tautology			X				
Quickly come, quickly go	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Rain before seven, fine before eleven	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X					
It never rains but pours	Impersonal	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole						Impersonal construction	
It is easier to raise the Devil than to lay him	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Antithesis		X				Comparison	
There is reason in the roasting of eggs	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration			X			Existential construction	
If there were no receivers, there would be no thieves	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplois		X				Conditional sentence/Existential construction	
Red sky at night, shepherd's delight; red sky in the morning, shepherds warning	Concrete noun	Clippable	Verb ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/Rhyme/Antithesis		X	X				
A reed before the wind lives on, while mighty oaks do fall	Concrete noun	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton		X					
There is a remedy for everything except death	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Litotes						Existential construction	
Revenge is a dish that can be eaten cold	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X			Passive voice	
Revenge is sweet	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Synesthesia			X				
Revolutions are not made with rose-water	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Litotes						Passive voice	
The rich man has his ice in the summer and the poor man gets his in the winter	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X	X				
If you can't ride two horses at once, you shouldn't be in the circus	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: shouldn't	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora		X				Conditional sentence	
He who rides a tiger is afraid to dismount	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
A rising tide lifts all boats	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology							X
The road to hell is paved with good intentions	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Synesthesia			X			Passive voice	
All roads lead to Rome	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole			X				
The robin and the wren are God's cock and hen; the martin and the swallow are God's mate and marrow	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor/Rhyme		X	X				
Robin Hood could brave all weathers but a thaw wind	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Paradox			X				
Up like a rocket, down like a stick	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X					

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A rolling stone gathers no moss	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
When in Rome, do as the Romans do	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Alliteration		X				Imperative	
Rome was not built in a day	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Litotes						Passive voice	
There is always room at the top	Existential construction	Unclippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
Give a man rope enough and he will hang himself	No subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Never mention rope in the house of a man who has been hanged	No subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative/ passive voice	
No rose without a thorn	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Do not grieve that rose-trees have thorns, rather rejoice that thorny bushes bear roses	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Chiasmus		X				Imperative	
The rotten apple injures its neighbour	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
There is no royal road to learning	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration			X			Existential construction	
Who won't be ruled by the rudder must be ruled by the rock	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration	X					Passive voice	
Rules are made to be broken	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox			X			Passive voice	
If you run after two hares you will catch neither	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	
You cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hounds	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
Safe bind, safe find	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora/ Rhyme	X						
There is safety in numbers	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
If Saint Paul's day be fair and clear, it will betide a happy year	Abstract noun	Clippable	Verbal inflection	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X				Conditional sentence	
Saint Swithun's day, if thou be fair, for forty days it will remain; Saint Swithun's day, if thou bring rain, for forty days it will remain	Abstract noun	Clippable	Vocative/ Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/ Epiphora/ Rhyme		X				Conditional sentence	
On Saint Thomas the Divine kill all turkeys, geese, and swine	No subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Rhym/ Hyperbaton							X
Help you to salt, help you to sorrow	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Anaphora	X					Imperative	
What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anaphora/ Alliteration			X	X			
Save us from our friends	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Paradox						Imperative	
Who says A must say B	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Conduplicatio	X						
You scratch my back, I'll scratch yours	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Conduplicatio/ Parallelism					X		
Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar	No subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Pun	X					Imperative	
He that would go to sea for pleasure, would go to hell for a pastime	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Meiosis		X					
The sea refuses no river	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Second thoughts are best	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Comparison	
What you see is what you get	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Epiphora					X	Imperative	
Good seed makes a good crop	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
Seeing is believing	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				
Seek and ye shall find	No subject/ Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Self-praise is no recommendation	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Self-preservation is the first law of nature	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Sell in May and go away	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Rhyme					X	Imperative	
Don't sell the skin till you have caught the bear	No subject/ Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
September blow soft, till the fruit's in the loft	Abstract noun/ Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme	X						
If you would be well served, serve yourself	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Anadiplosis	X					Conditional sentence/ Passive voice/ Imperative	

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
The sharper the storm, the sooner it's over	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism			X			Comparison	
You cannot shift an old tree without it dying	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						X
Do not spoil the ship for ha' porth of tar	No subject	Unclippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
From shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Conduplicatio							X
If the shoe fits, wear it	Concrete noun/ No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence/ Imperative	
The shoemaker's son always goes barefoot	Personal subject	Clippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox	X						
A short horse is soon curried	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Meiosis	X						
Short reckonings make long friends	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox	X						
Shrouds have no pockets	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
A shut mouth catches no flies	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Silence is a woman's best garment	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Silence is golden	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Synesthesia			X				
Silence means consent	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Tautology							X
It's a sin to steal a pin	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Rhyme			X				
Sing before breakfast, cry before night	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis		X				Imperative	
If you sit by the river for long enough, you will see the body of your enemy float by	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	
It is ill sitting at Rome and striving with the Pope Six hours' sleep for a man, seven for a woman, and eight for a fool	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Climax		X					
	Abstract noun/ Indefinite persona subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Meiosis	X					Conditional sentence	
Let sleeping dogs lie	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Alliteration		X				Imperative	
A slice off a cut loaf isn't missed	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						Passive voice	
Slow and steady wins the race	Abstract noun	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
Slow but sure	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Alliteration		X					
Small choice in rotten apples	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Meiosis							X
Small is beautiful	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
No smoke without a fire	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
A soft answer turneth away wrath	Abstract noun	Clippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Softly, softly, catchee monkey	No subject	Unclippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Epizeuxis/ Rhyme		X					
What the soldier said isn't evidence	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Mesodiplosis/ Antithesis		X	X			Conditional sentence	
You don't get something for nothing	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X					
Something is better than nothing	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/ Tautology		X				Comparison	
My son is my son till he gets him a wife, but my daughter's my daughter all the days of her life	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology/ Rhyme		X	X				
Soon ripe, soon rotten	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X						
The sooner begun, the sooner done	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X					Comparison	
If it sounds too good to be true, it probably is	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	
Sow dry and set wet	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration					X	Imperative	
A sow may whistle, though it has an ill mouth for it	Animal subject	Clippable	Modality: may	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Personification		X					
As you sow, so you reap	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Mesodiplosis		X				Comparison	
They that sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Rhyme	X						
Spare the spigot, and let out the bung-hole	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Alliteration	X					Imperative	
Spare the rod and spoil the child	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration	X					Imperative	
Spare well and have to spend	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Alliteration	X					Imperative	
Speak as you find	No subject/ Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	

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Never speak ill of the dead	No subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
Speak not of my debts unless you mean to pay them	No subject/ Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
Speak softly and carry a big stick	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Imperative	
Everyone speaks well of the bridge which carries him over	Indefinite personal subject/ Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
If you don't speculate, you can't accumulate	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme		X				Conditional sentence	
Speech is silver, but silence is gold	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor/ Antithesis			X	X			
What you spend, you have	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Paradox		X					
When spider webs unite, they can tie up a lion	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole		X					
It is not spring until you can plant your foot upon twelve daisies	Impersonal / Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole		X				Impersonal construction	
The squeaking wheel gets the grease	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
It is too late to shut the stable-door after the horse has bolted	Impersonal/ Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical					X	Impersonal construction	
One man may steal a horse, while another may not look over a hedge	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: may	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
One step at a time	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
A stern chase is a long chase	Action-process state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora			X				
It is easy to find a stick to beat a dog	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X		Impersonal construction	
Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me	Concrete noun	Clippable	Modality: may	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Metonymy		X					
A still tongue makes a wise head	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metonymy			X				
Still waters run deep	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
The more you stir it the worse it stinks	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration/ Parallelism		X				Comparison	
A stitch in time saves nine	Concrete noun	Clippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Hyperbole		X					
Stolen fruit is sweet	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
Stolen waters are sweet	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
Stone-dead hath no fellow	Personal subject	Unclippable	Archaism/ Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
One story is good till another is told	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Passive voice	
Put a stout heart to a stey brae	No subject	Unclippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration		X				Imperative	
Straws tell which way the wind blows	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
A stream cannot rise above its source	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Modality: cannot	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Stretch your arm no further than your sleeve will reach	No subject/ Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
Everyone stretches his legs according to the length of his coverlet	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
Strike while the iron is hot	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
The style is the man	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
From the sublime to the ridiculous is only a step	Abstract noun	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/ Hyperbole		X					
If at first you don't succeed, try, try, try again	Indefinite personal subject/ No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Epizeuxis		X				Conditional sentence/ Imperative	
Success has many fathers, while failure is an orphan	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X					
Never give a sucker an even break	No subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
Sue a beggar and catch a louse	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof	Abstract noun	Clippable	Nominalisation/ Word order	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Hyperbaton			X				
Never let the sun go down on your anger	No subject/ Concrete noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
The sun loses nothing by shining into a puddle	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
He who sups with the Devil should have a long spoon	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: should	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Hyperbole		X					
Sussex won't be druv	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical							X

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
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One swallow does not make a summer	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
It is idle to swallow the cow and choke on the tail	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X				
A swarm in May is worth a load of hay; a swarm in June is worth a silver spoon; but a swarm in July is not worth a fly	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/ Climax			X				
If every man would sweep his own doorstep the city would soon be clean	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Conditional sentence	
Sweep the house with broom in May, you sweep the head of the house away	No subject/ Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Rhyme	X					Imperative	
With a sweet tongue and kindness, you can drag an elephant by a hair	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbole		X					
From the sweetest wine, the tartest vinegar	No subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis			X				
Take the goods the gods provide	No subject/ Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
It takes one to know one	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme		X				Impersonal construction	
A tale never loses in the telling	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
Never tell tales out of school	No subject	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Alliteration		X				Imperative	
Talk is cheap	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Synesthesia				X			
Talk of the devil, and he is bound to appear	No subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X					Imperative	
Tastes differ	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
You can't teach an old dog new tricks	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
Don't teach your grandmother to suck eggs	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
Tell the truth and shame the Devil	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Alliteration	X					Imperative	
Set a thief to catch a thief	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme	X					Imperative	
When thieves fall out, honest men come by their own	Personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical					X		
If a thing's worth doing, it's worth doing well	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anadiplosis		X				Conditional sentence	
When things are at the worst they begin to mend	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole		X				Comparison	
Think first and speak afterwards	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
Think global, act local	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Antithesis		X				Imperative	
Think twice, cut once	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
Third time lucky	No subject	Unclippable	Verb ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
The third time pays for all	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole							X
Thought is free	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Synesthesia			X				
Threatened men live long	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
Three may keep a secret, if two of them are dead	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: may	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Pun		X				Conditional sentence	
Three removals are as bad as a fire	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole		X				Comparison	
Three things are not to be trusted: a cow's horn, a dog's tooth, and a horse's hoof	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme			X				
Thrift is a great revenue	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
He that will thrive must first ask his wife	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
Don't throw out your dirty water until you get in fresh	No subject/ Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis		X				Imperative	
Don't throw the baby out with the bathwater	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical						Imperative	
There is a time and place for everything	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
Time and tide wait for no man	Abstract noun/ concrete nouns	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
Time flies	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Zoomorphism			X				
There is a time for everything	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
Time is a great healer	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Time is money	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
Man fears time, but time fears the pyramids	Personal subject& Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Anadiplosis		X					
No time like the present	No subject	Unclippable	Ellipsis	Phrase	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole/ Simile			X			Comparison	

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Time will tell	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Time works wonders	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification							X
Times change and we with time	Abstract noun/ Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epanalepsis			X				
Today you, tomorrow me	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X		X	X	X		Antithesis		X					
Tomorrow is another day	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology			X				
Tomorrow never comes	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole							X
The tongue always returns to the sore tooth	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
Too many cooks spoil the broth	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox	X						
You can have too much of a good thing	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox			X				
He that touches pitch shall be defiled	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Trade follows the flag	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration							X
Travel broadens the mind	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
He travels fastest who travels alone	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton		X				Comparison	
As a tree falls, so shall it lie	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
The tree is known by its fruit	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					Passive voice
There are tricks in every trade	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							Existential construction
A trouble shared is a trouble halved	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora			X				
Never trouble trouble till trouble troubles you	No subject/ Abstract noun	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Antanaglasia/ Conduplicatio	X						Imperative
Many a true word is spoken in jest	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Agreement	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox							Passive voice
Trust in God but tie your camel	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical				X			Imperative
Put your trust in God, and keep your powder dry	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical					X		Imperative
There is truth in wine	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Synesthesia			X				Existential construction
Truth is the first casualty of war	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
Truth is stranger than fiction	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox			X				Comparison
Truth lies at the bottom of a well	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole			X				
Truth makes the Devil blush	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Hyperbole							X
Truth will out	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Every tub must stand on its own bottom	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
Turkey, heresy, hops, and beer came into England all in one year	Abstract noun/ Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Climax					X		
Turn about is fair play	Action-process- state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
As the twig is bent, so is the tree inclined	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Parallelism	X						Passive voice
Two blacks don't make a white	Concrete noun	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis		X					
While two dogs are fighting for a bone, a third runs away with it	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						
Two heads are better than one	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Tautology		X					Comparison
Two is company, but three is none	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X	X				
Two of a trade never agree	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation/ Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
If two ride on a horse, one must ride behind	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Nominalisation/ Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical	X						Conditional sentence
There are two sides to every question	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				Existential construction
It takes two to make a bargain	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration		X					Impersonal construction
It takes two to make a quarrel	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration		X					Impersonal construction
It takes two to tango	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration		X					Impersonal construction
Two wrongs don't make a right	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis			X				

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
The unexpected always happens	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation Frequency: always	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Paradox		X					
Union is strength	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor				X			
United we stand, divided we fall	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/ Hyperbaton		X					
What goes up must come down	Indefinite subject	Clippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis	X						
Use it or lose it	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Rhyme		X				Imperative	
Variety is the spice of life	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
It takes a whole village to bring up a child	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbaton						Impersonal construction	
Virtue is its own reward	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X		Metaphor			X				
The voice of the people is the voice of God	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X	X		X	X	X	Metaphor			X				
One volunteer is worth two pressed men	Personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis			X				
If you can walk you can dance, if you can talk you can sing	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: can	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X					Conditional sentence	
We must learn to walk before we can run	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: must/ can	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Passive voice	
Walls have ears	Concrete noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Personification			X				
Walnuts and pears you plant for your heirs	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/ Hyperbaton							X
If you want a thing done well, do it yourself	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X					Conditional sentence	
For want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost, and for want of a horse the man was lost	Concrete noun/ Animal subject/ Personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Hyperbaton/ Epiphora	X					Passive voice	
If you want something done, ask a busy person	Indefinite personal subject/ No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Paradox	X					Conditional sentence/ Imperative	
Wanton kittens make sober cats	Animal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis/ Paradox		X					
One does not wash one's dirty linen in public	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
Waste not, want not	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Epiphora		X				Imperative	
A watched pot never boils	Concrete noun	Clippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Hyperbole		X					
Don't go near the water until you learn how to swim	No subject/ Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X		Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
There is more than one way to skin a cat	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
There are more ways of killing a cat than choking it with cream	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
There are more ways of killing a dog than choking it with butter	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical			X			Existential construction	
There are more ways of killing a dog than hanging it	Existential construction	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X	X			Existential construction	
The weakest go to the wall	Personal subject	Unclippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Alliteration		X					
One wedding brings another	Concrete noun	Unclippable	Ellipsis	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
Wedlock is a padlock	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme			X				
Well begun is half done	Action-process-state subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme		X					
All's well that ends well	Indefinite subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme		X		X			
It's not what you know, it's who you know	Impersonal / Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Epiphora/ Rhyme		X					
A whistling woman and a crowning hen are neither fit for God nor men	Personal/ Animal subjects	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme				X			
One white foot, buy him; two white feet, try him; three white feet, look well about him; four white feet, go with him	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Conduplicatio/ Epiphora/ Rhyme			X			Imperative	
A wilful man must have his way	Personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
Wilful waste makes woeful want	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration		X					
He that will not when he may, when he will he shall have nay	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Modality: may/ Dialect	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Conduplicatio					X		
Where there's a will, there's a way	Existential construction	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora		X				Existential construction	
He who wills the end, wills the means	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Conduplicatio		X					

	Morphosyntactic Sphere				Pragmatic Sphere						Rhetoric Sphere	Relationships among its elements							
	Subject	Divisibility	Grammar features	Syntactic unit	Teaching	Assessing reality	Moral	Commanding	Self justification	Humorous	Localism		Cause—effect	Condition—result	Contrast	Qualifying	Succession	Grammatically-determined	Unclassified
You win a few, you lose a few	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Symplece			X				
You can't win them all	Indefinite personal subject	Unclippable	Modality: can't	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
When the wind is in the east, 'tis neither good for man nor beast	Concrete noun	Clippable	Archaism	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				
When the wine is in, the wit is out	Concrete noun/ Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Antithesis		X					
Winter never rots	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
It is easy to be wise after the event	Impersonal	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical				X			
It is a wise child that knows its own father	Impersonal	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical	X						
The wish is father to the thought	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Metaphor			X				
If wishes were horses, beggars would ride	Abstract noun/ Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Metaphor	X					Conditional sentence	
Do not call a wolf to help you against the dogs	No subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X		X	X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X				Imperative	
A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree, the more you beat them the better they be	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Rhyme/ Hyperbaton	X						
A woman and a ship ever want mending	Personal / Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical		X					
A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Simile/ Pun			X				
A woman's place is the home	Concrete noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical			X				
A woman's work is never done	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration		X					
Wonders will never cease	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Frequency: never	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
Happy's the wooing that is not long a-doing	Action-process-state subject	Clippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme/ Hyperbaton	X		X				
Many go out for wool and come home shorn	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Nominalisation	Sentence	X	X			X	X	X	Non-rhetorical		X					
A word to the wise is enough	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Word order	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration/ Hyperbaton	X						
All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy	Abstract nouns	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme							X
Work expands so as to fill the time available	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical							X
It is not work that kills, but worry	Impersonal/ Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration		X	X			Impersonal construction	
If you won't work you shan't eat	Indefinite personal subject	Clippable	Dialect	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration/ Mesodiplosis	X					Conditional sentence	
Even a worm will turn	Animal subject	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Alliteration							X
The worth of a thing is what it will bring	Abstract noun	Unclippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				
Yorkshire born and Yorkshire bred, strong in the arm and weak in the head	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X			X	X	X	Conduplicatio/ Rhyme		X	X				
Young folks think old folks to be fools, but old folks know young folks to be fools	Personal subjects	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Chiasmus/ Epiphora/ Rhyme	X	X	X				
A young man married is a young man marred	Personal subject	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Rhyme			X				
Young men may die, but old men must die	Personal subject	Clippable	Modality: may/ must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Antithesis/ Mesodiplosis/ Epiphora/ Rhyme		X					
Young saint, old evil	No subject	Clippable	N/A	Phrase	X	X	X		X	X	X	Antithesis		X					
Youth must be served	Abstract noun	Unclippable	Modality: must	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Non-rhetorical						Passive voice	
If youth knew, if age could	Abstract noun	Clippable	N/A	Sentence	X	X			X	X		Anaphora	X					Conditional sentence	

Appendix B. ODP Proverbs and their resulting tags (Table 4)

Absence makes the heart grow fonder	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
He who is absent is always in the wrong	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Accidents will happen in the best regulated families	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
There is no accounting for tastes	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6
Actions speak louder than words	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G6 H1
As good be an addled egg as an idle bird	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Adventures are to the adventurous	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Adversity makes strange bedfellows	A5 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7
After a storm comes a calm	A4 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G5
After dinner rest a while, after supper walk a mile	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G356
After the feast comes the reckoning	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5
All good things must come to an end	A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
It takes all sorts to make a world	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6
All things are possible with God	A8 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
All things come to those who wait	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Good Americans when they die go to Paris	A1 B2 D1 C1 G1 F2 G2 H1
Another day, another dollar	A9 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G5 H1
Any port in a storm	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F2 G1
If anything can go wrong, it will	A8 B1 D2 C1 E1 F2 G26
An ape's an ape, a varlet's a varlet, though they be clad in silk or scarlet	A12 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G234 H1
Appearances are deceptive	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Appetite comes with eating	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
An apple a day keeps the doctor away	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
The apple never falls far from the tree	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
An apple-pie without some cheese is like a kiss without a squeeze	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34 H1
April showers bring forth May flowers	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 H1
An army marches on its stomach	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Art is long and life is short	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G34
Ask a silly question and you get a silly answer	A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F1 G25
Ask no questions and hear no lies	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
Attack is the best form of defence	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
A bad excuse is better than none	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Bad money drives out good	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Bad news travels fast	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
A bad penny always turns up	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
Bad things come in threes	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
There is no such thing as bad weather, only the wrong clothes	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
A bad workman blames his tools	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
As you bake, so shall you brew	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G3 H1
A barking dog never bites	A2 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
Barnaby bright, Barnaby bright, the longest day and the shortest night	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
Be what you would seem to be	A91 B2 C1 D1 E4 F1 G46
Bear and forbear	A9 B2 C1 D1 E4 F1 G56
If you can't beat them, join them	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
Beauty draws with a single hair	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Beauty is in the eye of the beholder	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Beauty is only skin-deep	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Where bees are, there is honey	A27 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G26
Set a beggar on horseback, and he'll ride to the Devil	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 H1
Beggars can't be choosers	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Believe nothing of what you hear, and only half of what you see	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
A bellowing cow soon forgets her calf	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
All's for the best in the best of all possible worlds	A8 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2
The best is the enemy of the good	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
The best-laid schemes of mice and men gang aft a-gley	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
The best of friends must part	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7
The best of men are but men at best	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
The best things come in small packages	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
The best things in life are free	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4

Better a century of tyranny than one day of chaos	A9 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36
Better a dinner of herbs than a stalled ox where hate is	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F2 G36 H1
Better a good cow than a cow of a good kind	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F2 G36 H1
Better are small fish than an empty dish	A2 B1 C2 D2 E2 F1 G36
Better be an old man's darling, than a young man's slave	A9 B1 C2 D2 E3 F1 G36
Better be envied than pitied	A9 B1 C2 D2 E3 F1 G36
Better be out of the world than out of the fashion	A9 B1 C2 D2 E3 F2 G36 H1
Better be safe than sorry	A9 B1 C2 D2 E3 F2 G36
Better late than never	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F2 G36
Better one house spoiled than two	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36
The better the day, the better the deed	A5 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G136
Better the devil you know than the devil you don't know	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36 H1
It is better to be born lucky than rich	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
Better to die on your feet than live on your knees	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36
It is better to give than to receive	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
Better to have loved and lost, than never to have loved at all	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36
Better to light one candle than to curse the darkness	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36
Better to live one day as a tiger than a thousand years as a sheep	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36 H1
Better to marry than to bum	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F2 G36
It is better to travel hopefully than to arrive	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
Better to wear out than to rust out	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36
Better to wed over the mixen than over the moor	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36
Between two stools one falls to the ground	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
Never bid the Devil good morrow until you meet him	A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G26 H1
Big fish eat little fish	A2 B2 C1 E1 D1 F1 G3
Big fleas have little fleas upon their backs to bite them, and little fleas have lesser fleas, and so ad finitum	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5
The bigger they are, the harder they fall	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
A bird never flew on one wing	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
There are no birds in last year's nest	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Birds in their little nests agree	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Birds of a feather flock together	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
Little birds that can sing and won't sing must be made to sing	A2 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26
The man who has once been bitten by the snake fears every piece of rope	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16
The bleating of the kid excites the tiger	A3 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G1 H1
A bleating sheep loses a bite	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
Blessed is he who expects nothing, for he shall never be disappointed	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G16
Blessings brighten as they take their flight	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G5
There's none so blind as those who will not see	A71 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
When the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
A blind man's wife needs no paint	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
You cannot get blood from a stone	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6
Blood is thicker than water	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church	A4 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Blood will have blood	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Blood will tell	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Blue are the hills that are far away	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4
You can't tell a book by its cover	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
If you're born to be hanged then you'll never be drowned	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6
Neither a borrower nor a lender be	A9 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6
You can take the boy out of the country but you can't take the country out of the boy	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Never send a boy to do a man's job	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16
Two boys are half a boy, and three boys are no boy at all	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4

Boys will be boys	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Brag is a good dog, but Holdfast is better	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346 H1
None but the brave deserve the fair	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Brave men lived before Agamemnon	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
The bread never falls but on its buttered side	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
What's bred in the bone will come out in the flesh	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Brevity is the soul of wit	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
As you brew, so shall you bake	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36 H1
You cannot make bricks without straw	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
Happy is the bride that the sun shines on	A13 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
Always a bridesmaid, never a bride	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G13 H1
It is good to make a bridge of gold to a flying enemy	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
If it ain't broke, don't fix it	A6 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G16
Every bullet has its billet	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
A bully is always a coward	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
A burnt child dreads the fire	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
The busiest men have the most leisure	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Business before pleasure	A9 B2 C1 D2 E3 F1 G5
Business is war	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56 H1
You buy land, you buy stones; you buy meat, you buy bones	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
Let the buyer beware	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G6 H1
The buyer has need of a hundred eyes, the seller of but one	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Caesar's wife must be above suspicion	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F2 G1 H1
He who can, does; he who cannot, teaches	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G34
If Candlemas day be sunny and bright, winter will have another flight; if Candlemas day be cloudy with rain, winter is gone, and won't come again	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G236 H1
Candlemas day, put beans in the clay; put candles and candlesticks away	A5 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1 H1
If the cap fits, wear it	A49 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 H1
Where the carcass is, there shall the eagles be gathered together	A47 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G27 H1
Care killed the cat	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Don't care was made to care	A3 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G6
Be careful what you pray for, you might get it	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16 H1
The caribou feeds the wolf, but it is the wolf who keeps the caribou strong	A26 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
A carpenter is known by his chips	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Ne'er cast a clout till May be out	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G26 H1
It doesn't matter if a cat is black or white, as long as it catches mice	A62 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 H1
A cat in gloves catches no mice	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
A cat may look at a king	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
When the cat's away, the mice will play	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
The cat, the rat and Lovell the dog, rule all England under the hog	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
The cat would eat fish, but would not wet her feet	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
You cannot catch old birds with chaff	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4
Catching's before hanging	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5
All cats are grey in the dark	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
A chain is no stronger than its weakest link	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Don't change horses in mid-stream	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16 H1
A change is as good as a rest	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36
Change the name and not the letter, change the worse and not the better	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36 H1
Charity begins at home	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Charity covers a multitude of sins	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
It is as cheap sitting as standing	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 H1
Cheats never prosper	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
A cherry year, a merry year; a plum year, a dumb year	A5 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G13 H1
Monday's child is fair of face	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
The child is the father of the man	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Children and fools tell the truth	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1

Children are certain cares, but uncertain comforts	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Children should be seen and not heard	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Never choose your women or your linen by candlelight	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G16
The Church is an anvil which has worn many hammers	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Circumstances alter cases	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
A civil question deserves a civil answer	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5
Civility costs nothing	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Cleanliness is next to godliness	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Clergymen's sons always turn out badly	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F2 G1 H1
A clever hawk hides its claws	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
Hasty climbers have sudden falls	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
From clogs to clogs is only three generations	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Clothes make the man	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Every cloud has its silver lining	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Let the cobbler stick to his last	A91 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G6 H1
The cobbler to his last and the gunner to his linstock	A1 B1 C1 D2 E3 F1 G3 H1
Every cock will crow upon his own dunghill	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
Cold hands, warm heart	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
Coming events cast their shadows before	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Common fame is seldom to blame	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
A man is known by the company he keeps	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G46
The company makes the feast	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Comparisons are odious	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
He that complies against his will is of his own opinion still	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Confess and be hanged	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G56 H1
Confession is good for the soul	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4 H1
A clean conscience is a good pillow	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4
Conscience makes cowards of us all	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G7
Constant dropping wears away a stone	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
Corporations have neither bodies to be punished nor souls to be damned	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4 H1
Councils of war never fight	A5 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Don't count your chickens before they are hatched	A92 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 H1
In the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
Happy is the country which has no history	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
The course of true love never did run smooth	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
Why buy a cow when milk is so cheap?	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 H1
Cowards die many times before their death	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
The cowl does not make the monk	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
A creaking door hangs longest	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Give credit where credit is due	A9 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G16
Crime doesn't pay	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Don't cross the bridge till you come to it	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Crosses are ladders that lead to heaven	A4 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Don't cry before you're hurt	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16
It is no use crying over spilt milk	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16
He that will to Cupar maun to Cupar	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
What can't be cured must be endured	A8 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G26
Curiosity killed the cat	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Curses, like chickens, come home to roost	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
The customer is always right	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Don't cut off your nose to spite your face	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Cut your coat according to your cloth	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
They that dance must pay the fiddler	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
The darkest hour is just before the dawn	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
As the day lengthens, so the cold strengthens	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Be the day weary or be the day long, at least it ringeth to evensong	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
One day honey, one day onion	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1

Let the dead bury the dead	A91 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
Dead men don't bite	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Dead men tell no tales	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Blessed are the dead that the rain rains on	A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G16
There's none so deaf as those who will not hear	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
A deaf husband and a blind wife are always a happy couple	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Death is the great leveller	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4
Death pays all debts	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G7
The best defense is a good offense	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Delays are dangerous	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Desperate diseases must have desperate remedies	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
The devil can quote Scripture for his own ends	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G2
The devil finds work for idle hands to do	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G2 H1
Why should the devil have all the best tunes?	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G6 H1
The devil is in the details	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4 H1
The devil is not so black as he is painted	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G46 H1
The devil looks after his own	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G2 H1
The devil makes his Christmas pies of lawyers' tongues and clerks' fingers	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
The devil's children have the devil's luck	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Devil take the hindmost	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G1 H1
The Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be; the Devil was well, the devil a saint was he!	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
Diamond cuts diamond	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
You can only die once	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
Different strokes for different folks	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
The difficult is done at once; the impossible takes a little longer	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36
Diligence is the mother of good luck	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Throw dirt enough, and some will stick	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16
Dirty water will quench fire	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Discretion is the better part of valour	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4
Distance lends enchantment to the view	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Divide and rule	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56
Do as I say, not as I do	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G3
Do as you would be done by	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Do right and fear no man	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16
Do unto others as you would they should do unto you	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
The best doctors are Dr Diet, Dr Quiet, and Dr Merryman	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Feed a dog for three days and he will remember your kindness for three years; feed a cat for three years and she will forget your kindness in three days	A92 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 H1
Give a dog a bad name and hang him	A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G16
Dog does not eat dog	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Every dog has his day	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Every dog is allowed one bite	A2 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
A dog is for life, not just for Christmas	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
The dog returns to its vomit	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
A dog that will fetch a bone will carry a bone	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
It's dogged as does it	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 H1
Dogs bark, but the caravan goes on	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
Dogs look up to you, cats look down on you, pigs is equal	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
What's done cannot be undone	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
A door must either be shut or open	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G3
When in doubt, do nowt	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G16
Whosoever draws his sword against the prince must throw the scabbard away	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
Dreams go by contraries	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3
He that drinks beer, thinks beer	A92 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 H1
A dripping June sets all in tune	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
Drive gently over the stones	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16 H1

You can drive out Nature with a pitchfork, but she keeps coming back	A85 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
A drowning man will clutch a straw	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Eagles don't catch flies	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
The early bird catches the worm	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
The early man never borrows from the late man	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
East is east, and west is west	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
East, west, home's best	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Easy come, easy go	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Easy does it	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
You are what you eat	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
We must eat a peck of dirt before we die	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G5
Eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56
He that would eat the fruit must climb the tree	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Eat to live, not live to eat	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
Don't put all your eggs in one basket	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6
When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers	A24 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
Empty sacks will never stand upright	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
Empty vessels make the most sound	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
The end crowns the work	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
The end justifies the means	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G7
The enemy of my enemy is my friend	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
England is the paradise of women, the hell of horses, and the purgatory of servants	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 H1
England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34 H1
The English are a nation of shopkeepers	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
One Englishman can beat three Frenchmen	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
An Englishman house is his castle	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
An Englishman's word is his bond	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Enough is as good as a feast	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Enough is enough	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
To err is human (to forgive divine)	A3 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4
Every little helps	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4
Every man for himself	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7
Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G7
Every man for himself, and God for us all	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
Every man has his price	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Every man is the architect of his own fortune	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Every man to his taste	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Every man to his trade	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Everybody loves a lord	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
What everybody says must be true	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Everybody's business is nobody's business	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Everything has an end	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Evil communications corrupt good manners	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Evil doers are evil dreaders	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2
Evil to him who evil thinks	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2
Never do evil that good may come of it	A95 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G16
Of two evils choose the less	A9 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36
Example is better than precept	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
The exception proves the rule	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
There is an exception to every rule	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
A fair exchange is no robbery	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
He who excuses, accuses himself	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
What can you expect from a pig but a grunt?	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 H1
Experience is the best teacher	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Experience is the father of wisdom	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Experience keeps a dear school	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Extremes meet	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7

What the eye doesn't see, the heart doesn't grieve over	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
The eye of a master does more work than both his hands	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
The eyes are the windows of the soul	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Fact is stranger than fiction	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
Facts are stubborn things	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Faint heart never won fair lady	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Fair and softly goes far in a day	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7
All's fair in love and war	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Fair play's a jewel	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Faith will move mountains	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Fall down seven times, get up eight	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16
Familiarity breeds contempt	A5 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16
The family that prays together stays together	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
Far-fetched and dear-bought is good for ladies	A3 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
The fat man knoweth not what the lean thinketh	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Like father, like son	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
A fault confessed is half redressed	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G26
Fear the Greeks bearing gifts	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6
February fill dyke, be it black or be it white	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
If in February there be no rain, 'tis neither good for hay nor grain	A56 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
Feed a cold and starve a fever	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
The female of the species is more deadly than the male	A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G346
Fields have eyes, and woods have ears	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Fight fire with fire	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G6
He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Finders keepers (losers weepers)	A1 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G4
Findings keepings	A3 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G4
Fine feathers make fine birds	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Fine words butter no parsnips	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Fingers were made before forks	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Fire is a good servant but a bad master	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
The same fire that melts the butter hardens the egg	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
First catch your hare	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6 H1
First come, first served	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1
The first duty of a soldier is obedience	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
First impressions are the most lasting	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
On the first of March, the crows begin to search	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
It is the first step that is difficult	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
First things first	A5 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7
First thoughts are best	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
There is always a first time	A7 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6
First up, best dressed	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F2 G2
The fish always stinks from the head downwards	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4
Fish and guests smell after three days	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
There are as good fish in the sea as ever came out of it	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
He that follows freits, freits will follow him	A15 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
A fool and his money are soon parted	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
A fool at forty is a fool indeed	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
There's no fool like an old fool	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
A fool may give a wise man counsel	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F1 G136
Fools and bairns should never see half-done work	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Fools ask questions that wise men cannot answer	A1 B1 C2 S1 E1 F1 G3
Fools build houses and wise men live in them	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Fools for luck	A9 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Fools rush in where angels fear to tread	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
Forewarned is forearmed	A9 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Fortune favours fools	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Fortune favours the brave	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2

Four eyes see more than two	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
There's no such thing as a free meal	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
A friend in need is a friend indeed	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
The frog in the well knows nothing of the sea	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
When all fruit fails, welcome haws	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
Full cup, steady hand	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F2 G1
It's ill speaking between a full man and a fasting	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaks	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
One funeral makes many	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
When the furze is in bloom, my love's in tune	A45 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
Garbage in, garbage out	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G5 H1
It takes three generations to make a gentleman	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
Genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Never look a gift horse in the mouth	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6
Give and take is fair play	A3 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G4
Give a thing, and take a thing, to wear the Devil's gold ring	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 H1
Give the Devil his due	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6 H1
He gives twice who gives quickly	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Those who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
All that glitters is not gold	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Go abroad and you'll hear news of home	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G2
Go further and fare worse	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1
You cannot serve God and Mammon	A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
Where God builds a church, the Devil will build a chapel	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G13 H1
God helps them that help themselves	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2 H1
God is high above, and the tsar is far away	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
God made the country, and man made the town	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
God makes the back to the burden	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G2 H1
God never sends mouths but he sends meat	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
God sends meat, but the Devil sends cooks	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
God's in his heaven; all's right with the world	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G2 H1
Whom the gods love die young	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G2 H1
The gods send nuts to those who have no teeth	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2 H1
Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G2 H1
He that goes a-borrowing, goes a-sorrowing	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
What goes around comes around	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
When the going gets tough, the tough get going	A31 B1 C2 D1 E1 F3 G1
Gold may be bought too dear	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
A golden key can open any door	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
If you can't be good, be careful	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16
A good beginning makes a good ending	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
There's many a good cock come out of a tattered bag	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 H1
No good deed goes unpunished	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G7
The good die young	A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F2 G4
He is a good dog who goes to church	A2 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Good fences make good neighbours	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
A good horse cannot be of a bad colour	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
The only good Indian is a dead Indian	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
The good is the enemy of the best	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
A good Jack makes a good Jill	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2
Good men are scarce	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4
There's many a good tune played on an old fiddle	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26 H1
One good turn deserves another	A5 B1 C2 D1 E2 F2 G5
Good wine needs no bush	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
When the gorse is out of bloom, kissing's out of fashion	A43 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1

What is got over the Devil's back is spent under his belly	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
While the grass grows, the steed starves	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
A great book is a great evil	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Great minds think alike	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Great oaks from little acorns grow	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
The greater the sinner, the greater the saint	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
The greater the truth, the greater the libel	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
A green Yule makes a fat churchyard	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
The grey mare is the better horse	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
All is grist that comes to the mill	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
A guilty conscience needs no accuser	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
What you've never had you never miss	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
Half a loaf is better than no bread	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
The half is better than the whole	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
One half of the world does not know how the other half lives	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Half the truth is often a whole lie	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6
Don't halloo till you are out of the wood	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
When all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
One hand for yourself and one for the ship	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
One hand washes the other	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Handsome is as handsome does	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
Hang a thief when he's young, and he'll no' steal when he's old	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
One might as well be hanged for a sheep as a lamb	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G3 H1
Hanging and wiving go by destiny	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
If you would be happy for a week take a wife; if you would be happy for a month kill a pig; but if you would be happy all your life plant a garden	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 H1
Call no man happy till he dies	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
Hard cases make bad law	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Hard words break no bones	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Haste is from the devil	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
More haste, less speed	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
Haste makes waste	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Make haste slowly	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G6
What you have, hold	A19 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
You cannot have your cake and eat it	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Hawks will not pick out hawk's eyes	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Hear all, see all, say nowt, tak' all, keep all, gie nowt, and if tha ever does owt for nowt do it for thysen	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G56
If you don't like the heat, get out of the kitchen	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16
Heaven protects children, sailors, and drunken men	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G7
Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
Every herring must hang by its own gill	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
He who hesitates is lost	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Those who hide can find	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
The higher the monkey climbs the more he shows his tail	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16 H1
History repeats itself	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16 H1
When you are in a hole, stop digging	A19 B2 C1 D3 E3 F2 G26
Home is home, as the Devil said when he found himself in the Court of Session	A51 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Home is home though it's never so homely	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Home is where the heart is	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
Homer sometimes nods	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
Honesty is the best policy	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G46
Honey catches more flies than vinegar	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36 H1

There is honour among thieves	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
The post of honour is the post of danger	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Hope deferred makes the heart sick	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Hope for the best and prepare for the worst	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G56
Hope is a good breakfast but a bad supper	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34
Hope springs eternal	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
If it were not for hope, the heart would break	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
You can take a horse to the water, but you can't make him drink	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3 H1
Horses for courses	A2 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7
One hour's sleep before midnight is worth two after	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G24
When house and land are gone and spent, then learning is most excellent	A543 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34
A house divided cannot stand	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
Hunger drives the wolf out of the wood	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
Hunger is the best sauce	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
A hungry man is an angry man	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Hurry no man's cattle	A9 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6
The husband is always the last to know	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
An idle brain is the Devil's workshop	A4 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Idle people have the least leisure	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Idleness is the root of all evil	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4
If ifs and ands were pots and pans, there'd be no work for tinkers' hands	A57 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise	A56 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16
Ignorance of the law is no excuse for breaking it	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Ill gotten goods never thrive	A4 B1 C2 D1 E2 F2 G2
He that has an ill name is half hanged	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16
It's ill waiting for dead men's shoes	A6 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G46
Ill weeds grow apace	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
It's an ill wind that blows nobody any good	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
In for a penny, in for a pound	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1
Every Jack has his Jill	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Jack is as good as his master	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36
Jack of all trades and master of none	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G4
Jam tomorrow and jam yesterday, but never jam today	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
Jouk and let the jaw go by	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56
Jove but laughs at lovers' perjury	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
No one should be judge in his own cause	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
Judge not, that ye be judged	A91 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G36
Be just before you're generous	A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G5
Justice delayed is justice denied	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Why keep a dog and bark yourself?	A9 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G6 H1
Keep a thing seven years and you'll always find a use for it	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
Keep no more cats than will catch mice	A92 B2 C2 D1 E3 F3 G2 H1
Keep your own fish-guts for your own sea-maws	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G6 H1
Keep your shop and your shop will keep you	A94 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 H1
Killing no murder	A9 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G4
The king can do no harm	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
A king's chaff is worth more than other men's corn	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 H1
Kings have long arms	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
There is always one who kisses, and one who turns the cheek	A71 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G36
Kissing goes by favour	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
To know all is to forgive all	A3 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4
You should know a man seven years before you stir his fire	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
What you don't know can't hurt you	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
Know thyself	A9 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6
You never know what you can do till you try	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1

Knowledge is power	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Who knows most, speaks least	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
The kumara does not speak of its own sweetness	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
The labourer is worthy of his hire	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Every land has its own law	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
The last drop makes the cup run over	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 H1
When the last tree is cut down, the last fish eaten, and the last stream poisoned, you will realize that you cannot eat money	A42 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16 H1
Laugh and the world laughs with you; weep and you weep alone	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
Let them laugh that win	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F1 G6
He laughs best who laughs last	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
He who laughs last, laughs longest	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
Laughter is the best medicine	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
One law for the rich and another for the poor	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1
The more laws, the more thieves and bandits	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G16
A man who is his own lawyer has a fool for his client	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Lay-overs for meddlers	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F2 G7
If you are not the lead dog, the view never changes	A95 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Learning is better than house and land	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G35
Least said, soonest mended	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G16
There is nothing like leather	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 H1
Lend your money and lose your friend	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16 H1
Length begets loathing	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
The leopard does not change his spots	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Less is more	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
Let well alone	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
A liar ought to have a good memory	A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F2 G4
A lie is halfway round the world before the truth has got its boots on	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
If you lie down with dogs, you will get up with fleas	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16 H1
Life begins at forty	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
If life hands you lemons, make lemonade	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Life isn't all beer and skittles	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
While there's life there's hope	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
Light come, light go	A9 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Lightning never strikes the same place twice	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7
Like breeds like	A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Like will to like	A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Until the lions produce their own historian, the story of the hunt will glorify the hunter	A25 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
Listeners never hear any good of themselves	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
There is no little enemy	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
Little fish are sweet	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
A little knowledge is a dangerous thing	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Little leaks sink the ship	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Little pitchers have large ears	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
A little pot is soon hot	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
Little strokes fell great oaks	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Little thieves are hanged, but great ones escape	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Little things please little minds	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Live and learn	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56
Live and let live	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56
If you have to live in the river, it is best to be friends with the crocodile	A16 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26 H1
If you want to live and thrive, let the spider run alive	A19 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
A live dog is better than a dead lion	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36 H1
They that live longest, see most	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36 H1
Come live with me and you'll know me	A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G2
He who lives by the sword dies by the sword	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1

He that lives in hope dances to an ill tune	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
He lives long who lives well	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
No matter how long a log stays in the water, it doesn't become a crocodile	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
Long and lazy, little and loud; fat and fulsome, pretty and proud	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
Long foretold, long last; short notice, soon past	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
It is a long lane that has no turning	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
The longest journey begins with a single step	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
The longest way round is the shortest way home	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
Look before you leap	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G7
Lookers-on see most of the game	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
What you lose on the swings you gain on the roundabouts	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
You cannot lose what you never had	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
One man's loss is another man's gain	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
There's no great loss without some gain	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
Love and a cough cannot be hid	A9 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36
One cannot love and be wise	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G24
Love begets love	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
Love is blind	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Love laughs at locksmiths	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Love makes the world go round	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Love me little, love me long	A8 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
Love me, love my dog	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36 H1
Love will find a way	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
There is luck in leisure	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
There is luck in odd numbers	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Lucky at cards, unlucky in love	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1
Where MacGregor sits is the head of the table	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Don't get mad, get even	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
Make hay while the sun shines	A94 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
As you make your bed, so you must lie upon it	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26
Man cannot live by bread alone	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Whatever man has done, man may do	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
A man is as old as he feels, and a woman as old as she looks	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346
Man is the measure of all things	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Man proposes, God disposes	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
Man's extremity is God's opportunity	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Because a man is born in a stable that does not make him a horse	A13 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
What Manchester says today, the rest of England says tomorrow	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
Manners maketh man	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
Many a little makes a mickle	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
Many a mickle makes a muckle	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
There's many a slip between cup and lip	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
Many are called but few are chosen	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Many hands make light work	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
March comes in like a lion, and goes out like a lamb	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34 H1
Marriage is a lottery	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
There goes more to marriage than four bare legs in a bed	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
Marriages are made in heaven	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G46 H1
Never marry for money, but marry where money is	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G26 H1
Marry in haste and repent in leisure	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16
Marry in May, rue for aye	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16
Like master, like man	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G36 H1
What matters is what works	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
May chickens come cheeping	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
Measure seven times, cut once	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56
Measure twice, cut once	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56
There is measure in all things	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Meat and mass never hindered man	A45 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
One man's meat is another man's poison	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34
Do not meet troubles halfway	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6

So many men, so many opinions	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1
It is merry in hall when beards wag all	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Might is right	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
The mill cannot grind with water that is past	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
The mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceedingly small	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
The age of miracles is past	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Misery loves company	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Misfortunes never come singly	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
A miss is as good as a mile	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346
You never miss the water till the well runs dry	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
If you don't make mistakes you don't make anything	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
So many mists in March, so many frosts in May	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G13 H1
Moderation in all things	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F2 G7
Money can't buy happiness	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
Money has no smell	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Money isn't everything	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Money is power	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Money is the root of all evil	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Money, like manure, does no good till it is spread	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G23
Money makes a man	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Money makes money	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Money makes the mare to go	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Money talks	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
A moneyless man goes fast through the market	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
More people know Tom Fool than Tom Fool knows	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
The more, the merrier	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G16
The more you get, the more you want	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16
Morning dreams come true	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Like mother, like daughter	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G36
The mother of mischief is no bigger than a midge's wing	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G346
If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain	A41 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
The mountains are high, and the emperor is far away	A41 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
A mouse may help a lion	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
Out of the mouths of babes	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7
Much cry and little wool	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1
Much would have more	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
Where there's muck there's brass	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Murder will out	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G7
What must be, must be	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
The nail that sticks up gets hammered down	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
A nation without a language is a nation without a heart	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Nature abhors vacuum	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Near is my kirtle, but nearer is my smock	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G346 H1
Near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346
The nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G26
The nearer the church, the farther from God	A41 B2 C2 D2 E2 F1 G26 H1
Necessity is the mother of invention	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Necessity knows no law	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Needles and pins, needles and pins, when a man marries, his trouble begins	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
Needs must when the Devil rides	A51 B2 C2 D1 E2 F2 G7 H1
What a neighbour gets is not lost	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
In vain the net is spread in the sight of the bird	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26
If you gently touch a nettle it'll sting you for your pains; grasp it like a lad of mettle, an' as soft as silk remains	A14 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Never is a long time	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
Never say never	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F1 G6
It is never too late to learn	A6 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G46
It is never too late to mend	A6 B2 C2 D1 E2 F2 G46

Never too old to learn	A9 B2 C2 D2 E1 F2 G4
New brooms sweep clean	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
What is new cannot be true	A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
New lords, new laws	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1 H1
You can't put new wine in old bottles	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
There is always something new out of Africa	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Night brings counsel	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Nine tailors make a man	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
No cross, no crown	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G1 H1
No cure, no pay	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1 H1
No foot, no horse	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1 H1
No man can serve two masters	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4
No man is a hero to his valet	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
No moon, no man	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 H1 F1 G1
No names, no pack-drill	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1 H1
No news is good news	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
No pain, no gain	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G1
No penny, no paternoster	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G1 H1
A nod's as good as a wink to a blind horse	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
North wind doth blow, we shall have snow	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
Nothing comes of nothing	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Nothing for nothing	A8 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
Nothing is certain but death and taxes	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Nothing is certain but the unforeseen	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Nothing is for ever	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
There is nothing new under the sun	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Nothing should be done in haste but gripping a flea	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G3 H1
Nothing so bad but it might have been worse	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Nothing so bold as a blind mare	A8 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G4 H1
There is nothing so good for the inside of a man as the outside of a horse	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Nothing succeeds like success	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Nothing venture, nothing gain	A8 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1 H1
Nothing venture, nothing have	A8 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1 H1
There's nowt so queer as folk	A7 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
When the oak is before the ash, then you will only get a splash; when the ash is before the oak, then you may expect a soak	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
Beware of an oak, it draws the stroke; avoid an ash, it counts the flash; creep under the thorn, it can save you from harm	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1 H1
He that cannot obey cannot command	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
Obey orders, if you break owners	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G2 H1
It is best to be off with the old love before you are on with the new	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
Offenders never pardon	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Old habits die hard	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
You cannot put an old head on young shoulders	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Old sins cast long shadows	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Old soldiers never die	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
You cannot make an omelette without breaking eggs	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Once a—, always a—	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G3
Once a priest, always a priest	A9 B1 C2 D2 E2 F1 G3 H1
Once a whore, always a whore	A9 B1 C2 D2 E2 F1 G3
Once bitten, twice shy	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G3
When one door shuts, another opens	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
One for sorrow, two for mirth; three for a wedding, four for a birth	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G5 H1
One for the mouse, one for the crow, one to rot, one to grow	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G5 H1
One nail drives out another	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7
One size does not fit all	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
One year's seeding makes seven years' weeding	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
The opera isn't over till the fat lady sings	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
Opportunity makes a thief	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Opportunity never knocks twice at any man's door	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7

Other times, other manners	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
An ounce of practice is worth a pound of precept	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Out of debt, out of danger	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1
Out of sight, out of mind	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1
It is the pace that kills	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Parsley seed goes nine times to the devil	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
Things past cannot be recalled	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
Patience is a virtue	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
Pay beforehand was never well served	A3 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
He that cannot pay, let him pray	A19 B1 C2 D1 E4 F1 G26 H1
If you pay peanuts, you get monkeys	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26 H1
He who pays the piper calls the tune	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
You pays your money and you takes your choice	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
If you want peace, you must prepare for war	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26
Do not throw pearls to swine	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6 H1
A peck of March dust is worth a king's ransom	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
The pen is mightier than the sword	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
Take care of the pence and the pounds will take care of themselves	A94 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36 H1
A penny saved is a penny earned	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Penny wise and pound foolish	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1
Like people, like priest	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G36 H1
Physician, heal thyself	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G6
One picture is worth ten thousand words	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Every picture tells a story	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
See a pin and pick it up, all the day you'll have good luck; see a pin and let it lie, bad luck you'll have all the day	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16
The pitcher will go to the well once too often	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G6
Pity is akin to love	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3
A place for everything, and everything in its place	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G6
There's no place like home	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
He who plants thorns should not expect to gather roses	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
Those who play at bowls must look out for rubbers	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
If you play with fire you get burnt	A1 B1 C1 D2 E1 F2 G16
You can't please everyone	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4
Please your eye and plague your heart	A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F1 G26
An old poacher makes the best gamekeeper	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
Politics makes strange bedfellows	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
It is a poor dog that's not worth whistling for	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 H1
It is a poor heart that never rejoices	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Possession is nine points of the law	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
A postern door makes a thief	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
When poverty comes in at the door, love flies out of the window	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
Poverty is no disgrace, but it is a great inconvenience	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Poverty is not a crime	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Power corrupts	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Practice makes perfect	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
Practise what you preach	A3 B2 C1 D1 E4 F1 G6
Praise the child, and you make love to the mother	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16
Pretty is as pretty does	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G46
Prevention is better than cure	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36
Pride feels no pain	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Pride goes before a fall	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G5
Procrastination is the thief of time	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Promises, like pie crusts, are made to be broken	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346 H1
The proof of the pudding is in the eating	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
A prophet is not without honour save in his own country	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Providence is always on the side of the big battalions	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Any publicity is good publicity	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1

It is easier to pull down than to build up	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
Punctuality is the politeness of princes	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Punctuality is the soul of business	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
To the pure all things are pure	A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G2
Don't put the cart before the horse	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6 H1
Never put off till tomorrow what you can do today	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G16
The quarrel of lovers is the renewal of love	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
You cannot get a quart into a pint pot	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Quickly come, quickly go	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1
The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Rain before seven, fine before eleven	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1
It never rains but pours	A6 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
It is easier to raise the Devil than to lay him	A6 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G36 H1
There is reason in the roasting of eggs	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
If there were no receivers, there would be no thieves	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
Red sky at night, shepherd's delight; red sky in the morning, shepherds warning	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G34 H1
A reed before the wind lives on, while mighty oaks do fall	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
There is a remedy for everything except death	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
Revenge is a dish that can be eaten cold	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
Revenge is sweet	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Revolutions are not made with rose-water	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 H1
The rich man has his ice in the summer and the poor man gets his in the winter	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G23 H1
If you can't ride two horses at once, you shouldn't be in the circus	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
He who rides a tiger is afraid to dismount	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
A rising tide lifts all boats	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
The road to hell is paved with good intentions	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 H1
All roads lead to Rome	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
The robin and the wren are God's cock and hen; the martin and the swallow are God's mate and marrow	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34 H1
Robin Hood could brave all weathers but a thaw wind	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Up like a rocket, down like a stick	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1
A rolling stone gathers no moss	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
When in Rome, do as the Romans do	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 H1
Rome was not built in a day	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 H1
There is always room at the top	A7 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G46
Give a man rope enough and he will hang himself	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Never mention rope in the house of a man who has been hanged	A91 B1 C2 D1 E3 F2 G26
No rose without a thorn	A9 B2 C1 D2 E3 F2 G4
Do not grieve that rose-trees have thorns, rather rejoice that thorny bushes bear roses	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 H1
The rotten apple injures its neighbour	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
There is no royal road to learning	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 H1
Who won't be ruled by the rudder must be ruled by the rock	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16 H1
Rules are made to be broken	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
If you run after two hares you will catch neither	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16 H1
You cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hounds	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Safe bind, safe find	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1
There is safety in numbers	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
If Saint Paul's day be fair and clear, it will betide a happy year	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Saint Swithun's day, if thou be fair, for forty days it will remain; Saint Swithun's day, if thou bring rain, for forty days it will remain	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
On Saint Thomas the Divine kill all turkeys, geese, and swine	A9 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G6 H1
Help you to salt, help you to sorrow	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16 H1
What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34

Save us from our friends	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G6
Who says A must say B	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
You scratch my back, I'll scratch yours	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5
Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1
He that would go to sea for pleasure, would go to hell for a pastime	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 H1
The sea refuses no river	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Second thoughts are best	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
What you see is what you get	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G56
Good seed makes a good crop	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Seeing is believing	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Seek and ye shall find	A91 D2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G26
Self-praise is no recommendation	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Self-preservation is the first law of nature	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Sell in May and go away	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56 H1
Don't sell the skin till you have caught the bear	A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 H1
September blow soft, till the fruit's in the loft	A54 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
If you would be well served, serve yourself	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
The sharper the storm, the sooner it's over	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
You cannot shift an old tree without it dying	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G26
Do not spoil the ship for ha'porth of tar	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G6
From shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7 H1
If the shoe fits, wear it	A49 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
The shoemaker's son always goes barefoot	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
A short horse is soon curried	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
Short reckonings make long friends	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Shrouds have no pockets	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
A shut mouth catches no flies	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Silence is a woman's best garment	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Silence is golden	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Silence means consent	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
It's a sin to steal a pin	A6 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
Sing before breakfast, cry before night	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
If you sit by the river for long enough, you will see the body of your enemy float by	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26
It is ill sitting at Rome and striving with the Pope	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 H1
Six hours' sleep for a man, seven for a woman, and eight for a fool	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
If the sky falls we shall catch larks	A51 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16
Let sleeping dogs lie	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 H1
A slice off a cut loaf isn't missed	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6
Slow and steady wins the race	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
Slow but sure	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3
Small choice in rotten apples	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7 H1
Small is beautiful	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4
No smoke without a fire	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F2 G1
A soft answer turneth away wrath	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
Softly, softly, catchee monkey	A9 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
What the soldier said isn't evidence	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
If you're not part of the solution, you're part of the problem	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346
You don't get something for nothing	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Something is better than nothing	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
My son is my son till he gets him a wife, but my daughter's my daughter all the days of her life	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34
Soon ripe, soon rotten	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1
The sooner begun, the sooner done	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G16
If it sounds too good to be true, it probably is	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26
Sow dry and set wet	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56
A sow may whistle, though it has an ill mouth for it	A2 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1

As you sow, so you reap	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G26
They that sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G1
Spare the spigot, and let out the bung-hole	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16 H1
Spare the rod and spoil the child	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16
Spare well and have to spend	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16 H1
Speak as you find	A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Never speak ill of the dead	A9 B2 C2 D1 E4 F2 G26
Speak not of my debts unless you mean to pay them	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Speak softly and carry a big stick	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G36
Everyone speaks well of the bridge which carries him over	A14 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36
If you don't speculate, you can't accumulate	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 H1
Speech is silver, but silence is gold	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34 H1
What you spend, you have	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
When spider webs unite, they can tie up a lion	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
It is not spring until you can plant your foot upon twelve daisies	A61 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
The squeaking wheel gets the grease	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
It is too late to shut the stable-door after the horse has bolted	A62 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G56 H1
One man may steal a horse, while another may not look over a hedge	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G3 H1
One step at a time	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F2 G7
A stern chase is a long chase	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
It is easy to find a stick to beat a dog	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 H1
Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
A still tongue makes a wise head	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Still waters run deep	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
The more you stir it the worse it stinks	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16
A stitch in time saves nine	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Stolen fruit is sweet	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Stolen waters are sweet	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
Stone-dead hath no fellow	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4
One story is good till another is told	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Put a stout heart to a stey brae	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F1 G26
Straws tell which way the wind blows	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
A stream cannot rise above its source	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4
Stretch your arm no further than your sleeve will reach	A94 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Everyone stretches his legs according to the length of his coverlet	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
Strike while the iron is hot	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
The style is the man	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
From the sublime to the ridiculous is only a step	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
If at first you don't succeed, try, try, try again	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
Success has many fathers, while failure is an orphan	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
Never give a sucker an even break	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G26
Sue a beggar and catch a louse	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof	A5 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G4
Never let the sun go down on your anger	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G6
The sun loses nothing by shining into a puddle	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
He who sups with the Devil should have a long spoon	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G1
Sussex won't be druv	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7
One swallow does not make a summer	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
It is idle to swallow the cow and choke on the tail	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3 H1
A swarm in May is worth a load of hay; a swarm in June is worth a silver spoon; but a swarm in July is not worth a fly	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
If every man would sweep his own doorstep the city would soon be clean	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26
Sweep the house with broom in May, you sweep the head of the house away	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16 H1
With a sweet tongue and kindness, you can drag an elephant by a hair	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 H1
From the sweetest wine, the tartest vinegar	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 H1
Take the goods the gods provide	A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6 H1

It takes one to know one	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
A tale never loses in the telling	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
Never tell tales out of school	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F1 G26
Talk is cheap	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Talk of the devil, and he is bound to appear	A91 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G16 H1
Tastes differ	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
You can't teach an old dog new tricks	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Don't teach your grandmother to suck eggs	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6
Tell the truth and shame the Devil	A9 B2 C1 D1 E4 F1 G16 H1
Set a thief to catch a thief	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16
When thieves fall out, honest men come by their own	A6 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G5
If a thing's worth doing, it's worth doing well	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
When things are at the worst they begin to mend	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26
Think first and speak afterwards	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Think global, act local	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36 H1
Think twice, cut once	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
Third time lucky	A5 B2 C2 D2 E1 F2 G4
The third time pays for all	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Thought is free	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Threatened men live long	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
Three may keep a secret, if two of them are dead	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
Three removals are as bad as a fire	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
Three things are not to be trusted: a cow's horn, a dog's tooth, and a horse's hoof	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Thrift is a great revenue	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
He that will thrive must first ask his wife	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Don't throw out your dirty water until you get in fresh	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26
Don't throw the baby out with the bathwater	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6
There is a time and place for everything	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Time and tide wait for no man	A54 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Time flies	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
There is a time for everything	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Time is a great healer	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
Time is money	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Man fears time, but time fears the pyramids	A15 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 H1
No time like the present	A9 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36
Time will tell	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Time works wonders	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Times change and we with time	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Today you, tomorrow me	A9 B1 C1 D2 E3 F1 G3
Tomorrow is another day	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Tomorrow never comes	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
The tongue always returns to the sore tooth	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Too many cooks spoil the broth	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
You can have too much of a good thing	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
He that touches pitch shall be defiled	A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G1 H1
Trade follows the flag	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 H1
Travel broadens the mind	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
He travels fastest who travels alone	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36
As a tree falls, so shall it lie	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
The tree is known by its fruit	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26
There are tricks in every trade	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
A trouble shared is a trouble halved	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Never trouble trouble till trouble troubles you	A95 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G16
Many a true word is spoken in jest	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G6
Trust in God but tie your camel	A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G56 H1
Put your trust in God, and keep your powder dry	A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G56 H1
There is truth in wine	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 H1
Truth is the first casualty of war	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Truth is stranger than fiction	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
Truth lies at the bottom of a well	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4

Truth makes the Devil blush	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G7 H1
Truth will out	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Every tub must stand on its own bottom	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4
Turkey, heresy, hops, and beer came into England all in one year	A54 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5 H1
Turn about is fair play	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
As the twig is bent, so is the tree inclined	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16
Two blacks don't make a white	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
While two dogs are fighting for a bone, a third runs away with it	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 H1
Two heads are better than one	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36
Two is company, but three is none	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G34
Two of a trade never agree	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
If two ride on a horse, one must ride behind	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G16 H1
There are two sides to every question	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
It takes two to make a bargain	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
It takes two to make a quarrel	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
It takes two to tango	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Two wrongs don't make a right	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
The unexpected always happens	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Union is strength	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
United we stand, divided we fall	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
What goes up must come down	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
Use it or lose it	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G46
Variety is the spice of life	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
It takes a whole village to bring up a child	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
Virtue is its own reward	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4
The voice of the people is the voice of God	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 H1
One volunteer is worth two pressed men	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
If you can walk you can dance, if you can talk you can sing	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16
We must learn to walk before we can run	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G26
Walls have ears	A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Walnuts and pears you plant for your heirs	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7 H1
If you want a thing done well, do it yourself	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16
For want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost, and for want of a horse the man was lost	A421 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16 H1
If you want something done, ask a busy person	A19 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16
Wanton kittens make sober cats	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
One does not wash one's dirty linen in public	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
Waste not, want not	A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
A watched pot never boils	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
Don't go near the water until you learn how to swim	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26
There is more than one way to skin a cat	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 H1
There are more ways of killing a cat than choking it with cream	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 H1
There are more ways of killing a dog than choking it with butter	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 H1
There are more ways of killing a dog than hanging it	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 H1
The weakest go to the wall	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 H1
One wedding brings another	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1
Wedlock is a padlock	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Well begun is half done	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
All's well that ends well	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G24
It's not what you know, it's who you know	A61 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
A whistling woman and a crowning hen are neither fit for God nor men	A12 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
One white foot, buy him; two white feet, try him; three white feet, look well about him; four white feet, go with him	A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 H1
A wilful man must have his way	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2
Wilful waste makes woeful want	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
He that will not when he may, when he will he shall have nay	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G5

Where there's a will, there's a way	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
He who wills the end, wills the means	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
You win a few, you lose a few	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
You can't win them all	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7
When the wind is in the east, 'tis neither good for man nor beast	A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
When the wine is in, the wit is out	A45 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
Winter never rots	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7
It is easy to be wise after the event	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G5
It is a wise child that knows its own father	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
The wish is father to the thought	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
If wishes were horses, beggars would ride	A51 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 H1
Do not call a wolf to help you against the dogs	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G36 H1
A woman, a dog, and a walnut tree, the more you beat them the better they be	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 H1
A woman and a ship ever want mending	A14 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3
A woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 H1
A woman's place is the home	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
A woman's work is never done	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
Wonders will never cease	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
Happy's the wooing that is not long a-doing	A3 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G14
Many go out for wool and come home shorn	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G3 H1
A word to the wise is enough	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
Work expands so as to fill the time available	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
It is not work that kills, but worry	A65 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346
If you won't work you shan't eat	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
Even a worm will turn	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
The worth of a thing is what it will bring	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Yorkshire born and Yorkshire bred, strong in the arm and weak in the head	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G34 H1
Young folks think old folks to be fools, but old folks know young folks to be fools	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G234
A young man married is a young man marred	A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4
Young men may die, but old men must die	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
Young saint, old evil	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G3 H1
Youth must be served	A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6
If youth knew, if age could	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26

Appendix C. Summary of all possible combinations and their number of

repetitions

A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x10)	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 (x4)	A1 B1C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16 (x4)	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36	A1 B2 C1 D1 31 F1 G2
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x4)	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x6)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G23 (x2)	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G3	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x3)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G234	A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 (x5)	A1 B1 C1 D2 E1 F2 G16	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x2)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x7)	A1 B1 C1 D2 E3 F1 G3	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x15)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x6)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 (x3)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346 (x2)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16 (x2)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x12)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x7)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 (x2)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 (x3)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5 (x2)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x4)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36 (x2)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 (x2)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G34 (x2)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x6)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x6)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16 (x4)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4	A1 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 (x7)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x2)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G5 (x2)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2 (x3)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26 (x2)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x5)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G46
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x3)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G16	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G6
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x4)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G1
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G26 (x2)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G2 (x4)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G1	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G3 (x2)	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4 (x3)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G13	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4	A1 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G7
A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2 (x2)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x2)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26	A1 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x5)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G3 (x8)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G1	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 (x3)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G16	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26
A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G6	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G2	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x3)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G1	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G46	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x6)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G2 (x2)	A1 B1 C2 D1 E2 F2 G1 (x2)	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7
A1 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16	A1 B1 C2 S1 E1 F1 G3	A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x2)

A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x8)	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x3)	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G24	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x3)	A3 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4
A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G3	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16	A3 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G14
A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x6)	A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x6)	A3 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G46	A2 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26	A3 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G6
A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6	A2 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2	A3 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x3)
A1 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7 (x3)	A2 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G35
A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G16	A2 B1 C2 D2 E2 F1 G36	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x5)
A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G2	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5 (x2)
A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G3	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7
A1 B2 C2 D1 E2 F2 G4 (x2)	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x2)	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2
A1 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G4	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36 (x2)
A1 B2 D1 C1 G1 F2 G2	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x4)	A3 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x4)
A12 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G14	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36	A3 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G1
A12 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G234	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x6)	A3 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4 (x2)
A1 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4	A2 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7	A3 B2 C1 D1 E4 F1 G6
A13 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1	A2 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4	A3 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G4
A14 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A2 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7	A31 B1 C3 D1 E1 F3 G1
A14 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3	A2 B2 C1 E1 D1 F1 G3	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x3)
A14 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16
A15 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x2)
A15 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x2)	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
A16 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26	A2 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x2)	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x4)
A18 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3	A2 B2 C3 D1 E1 F1 G2	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34 (x2)
A19 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16	A24 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346
A19 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26	A25 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x13)
A19 B1 C2 D1 E4 F1 G26	A26 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 (x2)
A19 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26	A27 B1 C2 E1 F2 G26	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
A19 B2 C1 D3 E3 F2 G26	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x3)	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 (x2)
A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G 346	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x5)
A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x3)
A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x3)	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26
A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x3)	A4 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x4)
A2 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34	A3 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46	A4 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G5

A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x2)	A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7 (x3)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16
A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x3)	A41 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4	A5 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G13
A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x5)	A41 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 (x2)	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G34	A42 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G236
A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G346	A42 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26 (x2)
A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4	A421 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x2)
A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G6	A43 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x2)	A45 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36
A4 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4	A45 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x3)
A4 B1 C2 D1 E2 F2 G2	A45 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7 (x2)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x2)	A47 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G27	A5 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x2)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x4)	A48 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G34	A5 B1 C2 D1 E2 F1 G4
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x2)	A49 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 (x2)	A5 B1 C2 D1 E2 F2 G5
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 (x2)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1	A5 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G136
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x17)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x4)	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x6)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x4)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 (x2)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x5)	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G24
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 (x9)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34 (x3)	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 (x3)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x4)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 (x3)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G36	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x13)	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x8)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 (x2)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x48)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 (x3)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 (x6)
A4 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 (x2)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1 (x2)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x4)	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7 (x21)
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x2)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3	A5 B1 C1 D1 E1 F23 G34	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3 (x2)
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G26	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x14)
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4 (x2)	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 (x4)
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x2)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G5	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G5
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2 (x2)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G7 (x2)	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7 (x11)
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G3	A5 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4	A5 B2 C1 D1 E1 F4 G4 (x5)
A4 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x3)	A5 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1	A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G46

A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G7 (x3)	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G3	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6
A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G346	A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46	A7 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G46
A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G4 (x4)	A6 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G36	A7 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6
A5 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G7 (x4)	A6 B1 C1 D1 E2 F2 G46	A71 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1	A6 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G5	A71 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G36
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x2)	A6 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G16	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x2)	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 (x5)	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x7)	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G46	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 (x3)	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G6	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 (x2)	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x2)
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7 (x5)	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G16	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G4	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 (x5)	A8 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G5	A8 B1 C1 D1 E2 F1 G2
A5 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G7 (x4)	A6 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6	A8 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16 (x2)
A5 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G4	A6 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4	A8 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G4
A5 B2 C2 D2 E1 F2 G4	A6 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
A51 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16	A6 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G46 (x2)	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26
A51 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A61 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3
A51 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4	A61 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4
A51 B2 C2 D1 E2 F2 G7	A61 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G7 (x3)
A54 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1	A62 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1
A54 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G5	A62 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G56	A8 B1 C2 D1 E1 F2 G36 (x3)
A54 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G7	A65 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G346	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G1
A543 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G34	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26 (x4)	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x2)
A56 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G1	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 (x2)	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3
A56 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G16	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 (x2)	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36
A57 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G4 (x2)
A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G24	A7 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 (x2)	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1
A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G4 (x4)
A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 (x4)	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 (x3)	A8 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7
A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6 (x2)	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G46 (x8)	A8 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G4
A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G1 (x2)	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G6	A8 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36
A6 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G26	A7 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G46 (x14)	A8 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3

A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2 (x2)	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G6 (x4)
A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G4	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F2 G1 (x2)	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G7
A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G2	A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F2 G36	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16 (x2)
A8 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G346	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G1 (x3)	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 (x4)
A85 B1 C1 D1 E1 F2 G2	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G3	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G56
A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G16	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G36	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6 (x11)
A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26	A9 B1 C1 D2 E2 F1 G6	A9 B2 C1 D1 E4 F1 G16
A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G3 (x2)	A9 B1 C1 D2 E3 F1 G3	A9 B2 C1 D1 E4 F1 G56
A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36 (x4)	A9 B1 C1 D2 H1 F1 G1	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G16
A9 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G56 (x2)	A9 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G3	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 (x2)
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16 (x6)	A9 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36 (x2)	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F1 G7 (x2)
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 (x2)	A9 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G6 (x2)	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F2 G1
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G356	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G16 (x3)	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F2 G2
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36 (x10)	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G26 (x2)	A9 B2 C1 D2 E1 F2 G7 (x3)
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G46	A9 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G56	A9 B2 C1 D2 E3 F1 G5
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56 (x6)	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G13	A9 B2 C1 D2 E3 F2 G4
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G6	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G26	A9 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G2
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16 (x3)	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G3 (x2)	A9 B2 C2 D1 E1 F1 G36
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 (x3)	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36 (x7)	A9 B2 C2 D1 E1 F2 G6
A9 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G36	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F1 G5	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F1 G136
A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F1 G25	A9 B1 C2 D2 E1 F2 G36 (x3)	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F1 G26 (x2)
A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F1 G26	A9 B1 C2 D2 E2 F1 G3 (x2)	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F1 G6 (x2)
A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G16	A9 B1 C2 D2 E3 F1 G36 (x2)	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G26
A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G26	A9 B1 C2 D2 E3 F2 G36 (x2)	A9 B2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G6 (x3)
A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G56	A9 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G2	A9 B2 C2 D1 E4 F2 G26
A9 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G56	A9 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G6 (x2)	A9 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G36
A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G1 (x11)	A9 B2 C1 D1 E1 F2 G7	A9 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G4
A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G13	A9 B2 C1 D1 E2 F1 G16	A9 B2 C2 D2 E1 F1 G5
A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G16 (x2)	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1	A9 B2 C2 D2 E1 F2 G4
A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G3 (x15)	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16	A9 B21 C1 D2 E1 F1 G16
A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G34	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G2	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1
A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G36 (x3)	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 (x3)	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G16 (x2)
A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G4	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26 (x6)
A9 B1 C1 D2 E1 F1 G5 (x2)	A9 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G56 (x3)	A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G3

A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G16 (x3)

A91 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 (x4)

A91 B1 C1 D1 E4 F2 G16

A91 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G36

A91 B1 C2 D1 E3 F2 G26 (x2)

A91 B2 C1 D1 E1 F1 G26

A91 B2 C1 D1 E2 F2 G6

A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G2

A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G5

A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 (x2)

A91 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G6

A91 B2 C1 D1 E4 F1 G46

A91 D2 C2 D1 E3 F2 G26

A92 B1 C1 D1 E1 F1 G36

A92 B1 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26 (x2)

A92 B2 C3 D1 E3 F3 G2

A94 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G1

A94 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26

A94 B1 C1 D1 E3 F1 G36

A94 B2 C1 D1 E3 F1 G26

A94 B2 C1 D1 E3 F2 G26

A95 B1 C2 D1 E1 F1 G26

A95 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G16

A95 B2 C2 D1 E2 F1 G16 (x2)

Appendix D. Figures

Figure 1. Distribution of proverbs regarding their type of subject

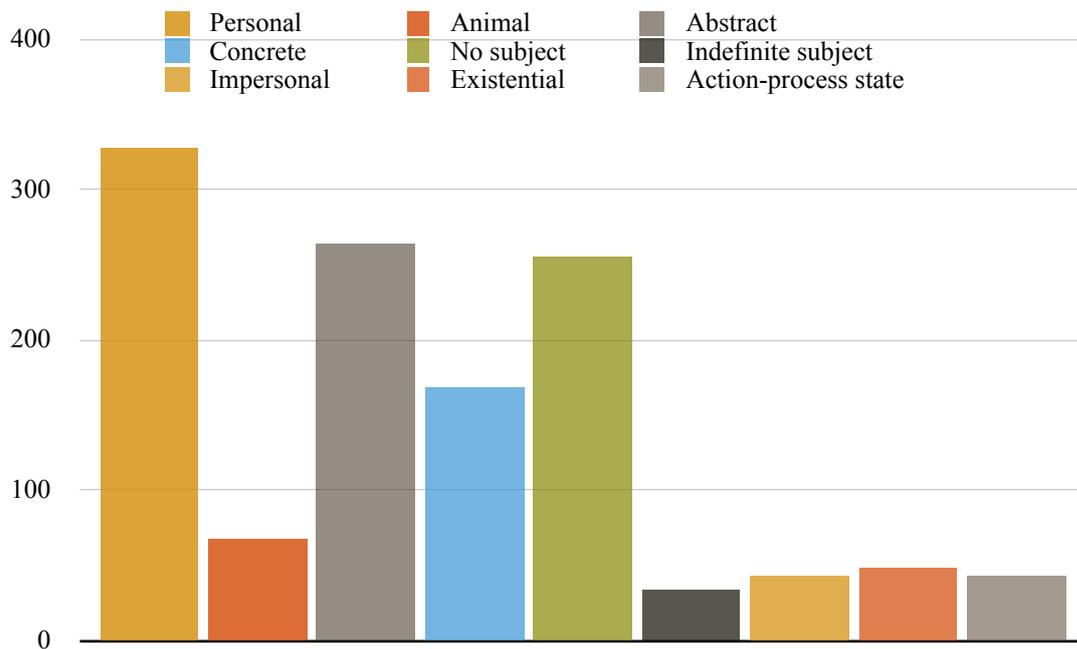


Figure 2. Percentage of *clippable* and *unclippable* proverbs

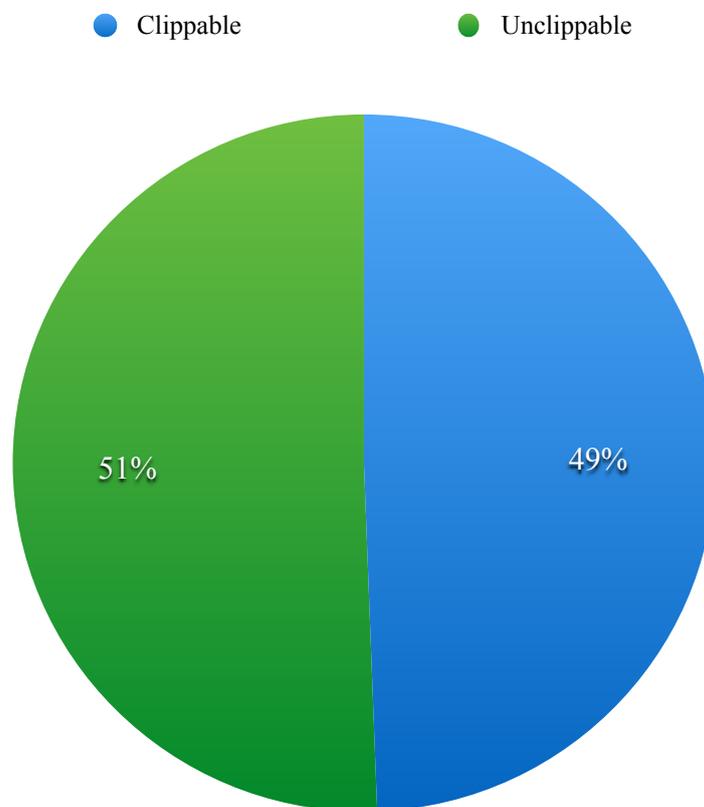


Figure 3. Percentage of proverbs with and without grammatical peculiarities

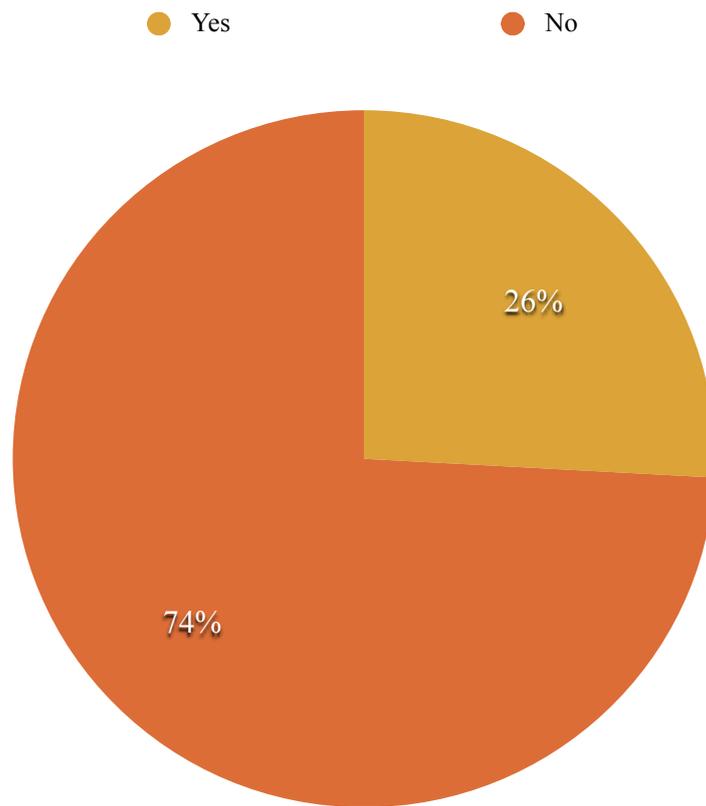


Figure 4. Percentage of *sentence* and *phrase* proverbs

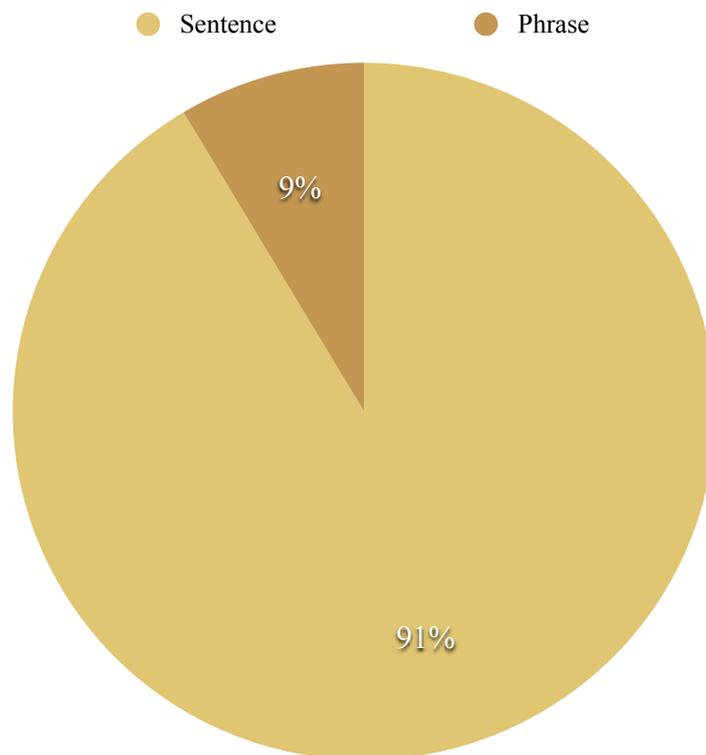


Figure 5. Percentage of proverbs according to the purpose they fulfil

● General uses ● General and moral ● General and commanding
● All six uses

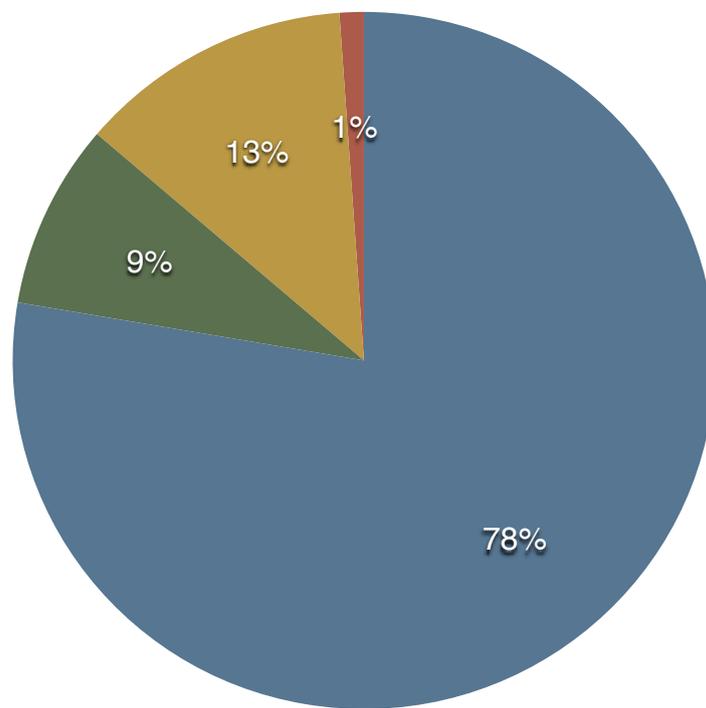


Figure 6. Percentage of *rhetorical* and *non-rhetorical* proverbs

● Rhetorical ● Non-rhetorical

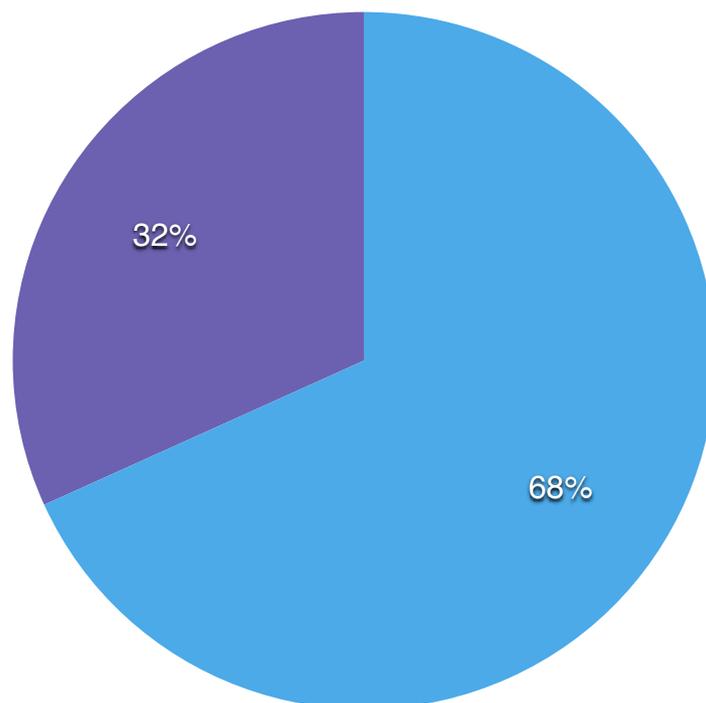
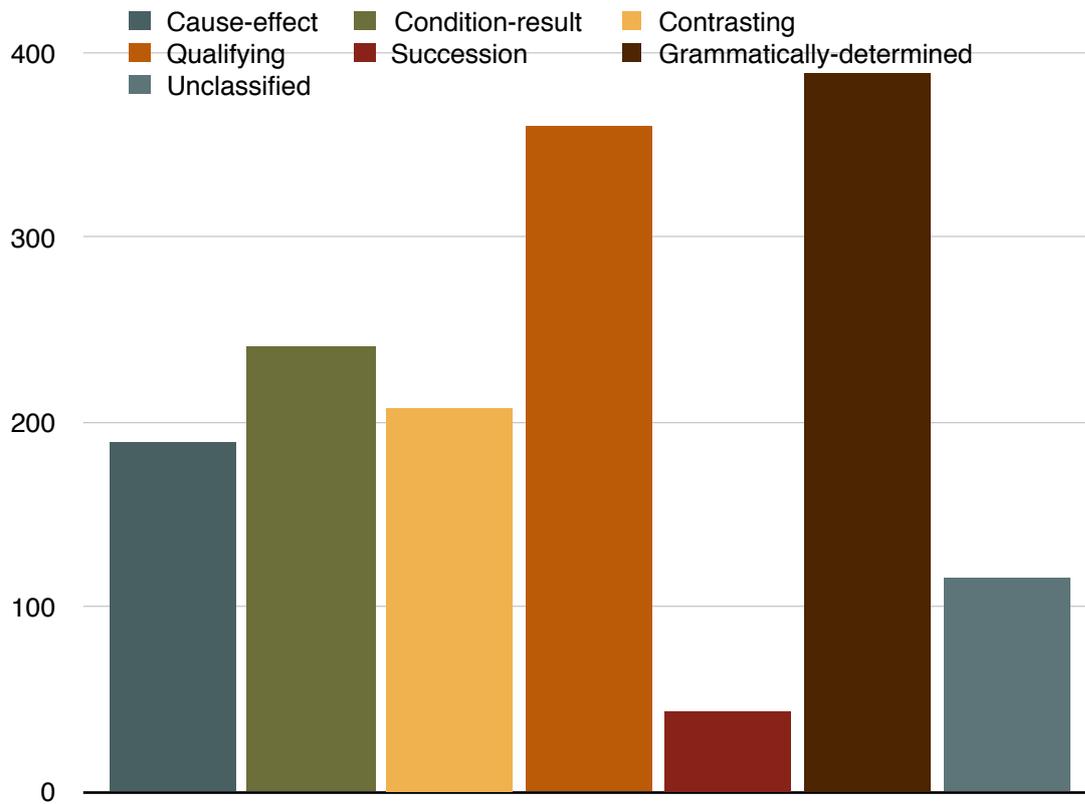


Figure 7. Distribution of proverbs according to the relationships among their elements



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