

**PATARLĒS FENOMENAS:
TARPTAUTIŠKUMAS IR TAUTIŠKUMAS**
Prof. habil. dr. KAZIO GRIGO (1924–2002) aštuoniasdešimtmečiui

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**THE MONOGRAPH “LITHUANIAN PROVERBS”
BY KAZYS GRIGAS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE
TO THE PAREMIOLOGICAL RESEARCH**

ARVO KRIKMANN

Estonian Literary Museum

The contribution of Kazys Grigas to Lithuanian folkloristics cannot be overestimated; his theoretical works and publications of source materials made K. Grigas one of the most famous and prolific paremiologists of the second half of the 20th century. His lifework is worth a whole monograph and I sincerely hope that someone from the younger generation of Lithuanian folklorists would eventually write it.

My paper aims at discussing only some particular problems that emerge from the fundamental monograph by K. Grigas, “Lithuanian Proverbs” (in Lithuanian *Lietuvių patarlės*, 1976; in Russian *Литовские пословицы*, 1987), which has not been done justice so far, as it deserved. Due to the limited space at my disposal I will only be able to touch upon just a few of those problems.

The main problem raised in the monograph by K. Grigas is the relationship between the national and the international not only in the Lithuanian proverbs, but also generally in proverbs. It is discussed on two levels: in the first part of the work, the genetic relations and borrowings based on three Lithuanian proverbs (‘Don’t drive God into the forest / into the tree’; ‘The calves drink mead (honey) elsewhere, where we are not’; ‘The forest has ears, the field has eyes’) are considered; and in the second part, the analysis of poetical forms and the dynamics of verse and prose in Lithuanian proverbs, and in those of other peoples, is carried out.

The current research paradigm, embedded in the theoretical basis of post-modernism and prevalent in the recent folkloristics, focusing on culture, context and modern times and regarding folklore as a social and cultural phenomenon, eschews discussing it as a natural phenomenon, showing no interest in the “objective past”, aspects of dissemination etc. of the folklore phenomena. This paradigm has also resolutely discarded the earlier attitude towards folklore as “an unwritten

literature, an oral poetic creation”. As demonstrated by Thomas Kuhn (1962), shifts in scientific paradigms do not usually occur at the moment when the previous paradigm has fully exhausted its potential; rather, along with the old paradigm, a new one frequently emerges to claim the leading position. Studies dealing with the history of folklore and folk poetry were among the research areas that shared the unfortunate fate of having their hopes for the future annihilated due to the paradigm shift occurring even before these areas could become mature. The fate of proverbs, however, was not so harsh, as they did not belong to the folklore proper, but rather to the so-called rhetorical folklore that remained on the borderline between folklore and language, i.e. in a certain periphery, where it was possible to overlook the rules governing the metropolis.

The great scholar Matti Kuusi who had his background in the Finnish historical-geographical school came into folkloristics at the time when the splendor and wretchedness of the Finnish method had already been generally recognized, and structuralism was the leading paradigm of humanities. Extracting the best qualities of the Finnish method, M. Kuusi developed and expanded them (e.g. in his monograph of the global scope *Regen bei Sonnenschein*, 1957) devising a special “method of close reading” for studying runic songs, etc. Stressing the international aspect and applying the potential of the comparative analysis, the text-, type- and structure-centered approach, and the quantitative methods were characteristic to M. Kuusi’s paremiological works as well. The sudden upsurge in the Finnic and Baltic paremiology (and also elsewhere) of the 1960s–1980s was more or less the result of M. Kuusi’s initiatives and his methodological impact: e.g. works by K. Grigas in Lithuania, by Elza Kokare in Latvia, publications by the Estonian paremiology group, theoretical works by Vilmos Voigt and the hyper-multilingual lexicons by Gyula Paczolay (especially the *European Proverbs*, 1997) in Hungary, even the paremiological activities by Grigory Permyakov and Peter Grzybek, and Wolfgang Mieder’s ascension to the leading position of the global paremiology in the post-Kuusian period.

Therefore I venture to claim that in the first part of his book, likewise in his other works, K. Grigas appeared as a bearer and developer of the best traditions of the Finnish method.

★ Among the examples analyzed by K. Grigas in the first part of his book, there is the extremely widely known proverb “The field has eyes, the forest has ears” and its frequent extension “The walls have ears”, occupying respectively the 18th and the 22nd positions in G. Paczolay’s European chart (1997: 120/4 and 142/5). The proverb materials presented by G. Paczolay and also in the Finnic studies (*Proverbia septentrionalia* (1985) and preceding works) appearing after 1976, confirm the main conclusions drawn by K. Grigas.

1. The predominant environmental elements allegedly owning eyes or ears in the European area include forest, field, wall(s), and bush / bushes, while others are more rare or / and local (cf. the following table).

	Grigas	Paczolay
forest	36	26
field	30	26
wall(s) (in combination)	13	19
wall(s) (alone)	11	37
bush / bushes	13	11
hedge	5	3
sea	2	4
mountain(s)	2	4
corner(s)	1	3
night	2	5
day, light	1	5
earth	1	4
lake	1	1
water	1	1
fence	–	6
road, path, street	–	5
sees : hears	8	8

2. The corpus of the mainly binary parallel texts originating in Europe seems to stem from two typological cores: the binomial ‘The field has eyes, the forest has ears’ (or conversely), and monomial ‘The walls have (also) ears’. Both may have originated from an antique source, but G. Paczolay (1997), M. Kuusi (1975), Matti Kuusi & Outi Lauhakangas (<http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/ceerp.html>), groups M1c18 and J1n18 present abundant examples from outside Europe as well (often exceptional in form), the time of origin and relation to the European material of which are difficult to guess.

3. Among the rarest / local forms the following examples could be mentioned:

1) the essentially West European forms comprising components *bush / bushes* and *hedge*;

2) the Finnic forms comprising a component *sea (has eyes)*: e.g. in Finnish, Estonian, Votian, Livonian;

3) the Lithuanian adjectival forms (literally ‘eyed’ and ‘eared’), i.e. the 1st version according to K. Grigas; see 1987: 110 a.o.;

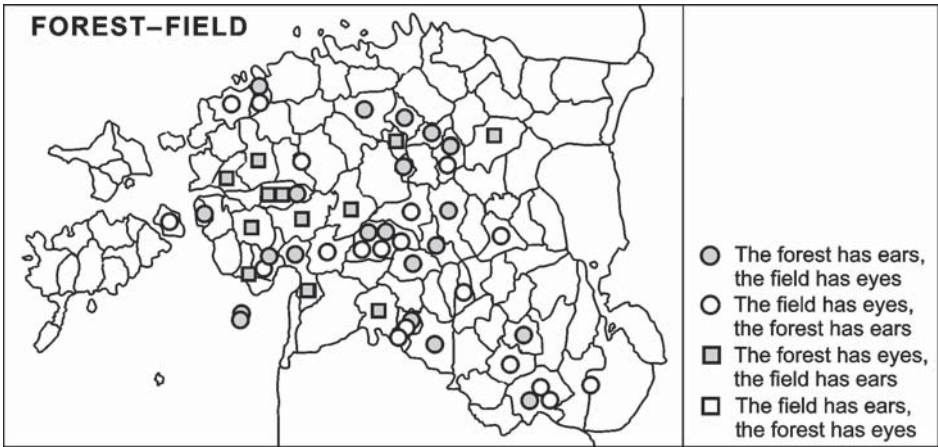
4) the *mountain(s)*-component forms occurring sporadically in some mountainous areas (Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Slovakia);

5) the distinctly more Eastern forms, in which names of the sense-organs are replaced by the verbal pair *hears : sees* (the Eastern Slavic, Udmurtian (Votiak) and Finnic (except for the Livonians) examples could be presented).

The Finnic and the Baltic regions are generally acknowledged as the zone of contact and merging between the Western and Eastern folklore tides. I cannot determine whether establishing traces of different impacts would be possible directly by using

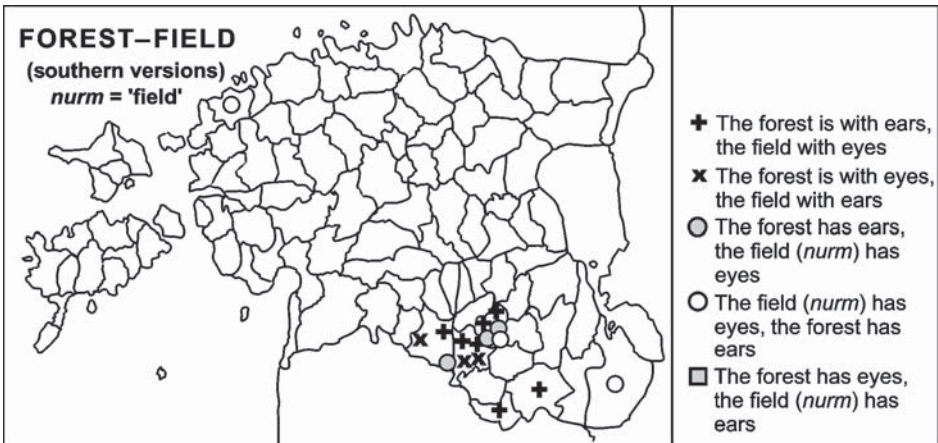
the geographic distribution cartograms based on Lithuanian material, K. Grigas at least has not done that. The Estonian parallel material to some extent allows us observing the impact directions. But generally, the observation results are rather ordinary, i.e. sometimes the empirical dissemination pictures could be explained quite well by the probable directions of loaning, yet in some cases they remain completely obscure.

Let us take a look at some of the cartograms based on the Estonian material.



Map 1a. The distribution of the European basic redaction, completely unknown in the northern, northeastern and eastern parts of Estonia.

Grammatical construction deviates from Germanic languages: not the nominative + *has / had*, but ablative + the usually ellipticized verb *is*; this form is general in Estonian and other Finnic redactions and corresponds to the dative of the Baltic languages. K. Grigas discussed Germanic and Balto-Finnic forms together as the Third version, while separating the Latvian dative forms from them (e.g. *Mežam ausis, laukam acis*) as the Eighth version.

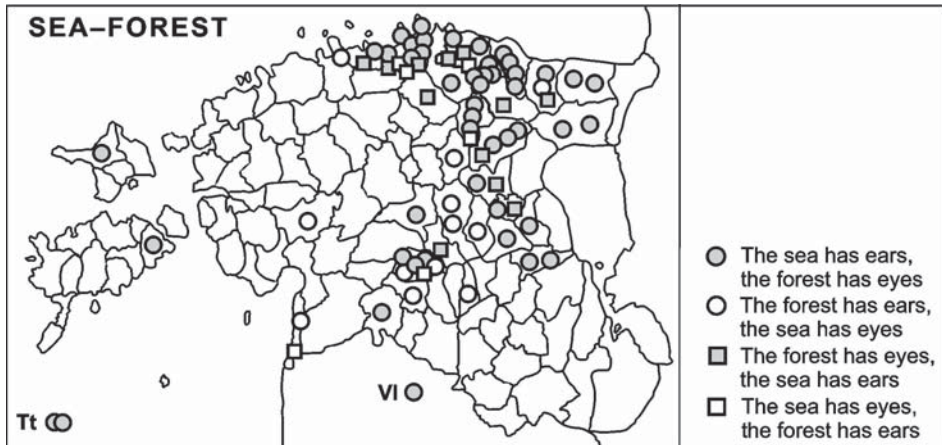


Map 1b. The South Estonian forms of the main combination *forest + field*. Characteristic features are as follows:

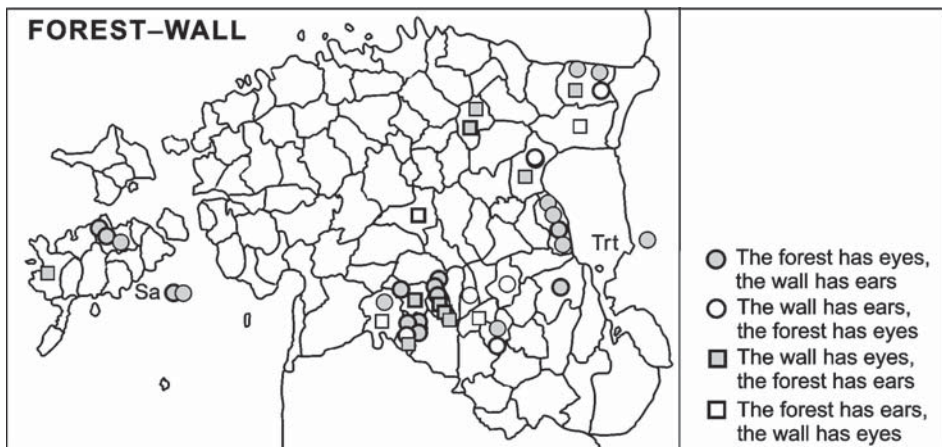
1) along with the regular word *väli*, the word *nurm* also occurs; in North Estonia it means ‘meadow’, whereas in South Estonia ‘corn field’;

2) besides the regular ablative form, the comitative form occurs in this proverb (‘The wood is with ears, the field with eyes’ etc.), which may be considered a Baltic impact, i.e. the Fourth version discerned by K. Grigas, which according to his data is known only in Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian.

In addition to South Estonia, the *nurm*-stem elements also occur in the Votian and Livonian variants of the proverb.



Map 1c. The combination *meri + mets* (*sea + forest*), which dominates on the northern coast of Estonia and in the northeastern and eastern areas. Simultaneously, it is also the basic version in Finnish, and according to all the available data, is known only in the Balto-Finnic language area (Finnish, Estonian, Votian, and Livonian), apparently except eastern Karelian and Vepsian regions. Judging by the Estonian dissemination chart, it seems to be a borrowing from Finland.

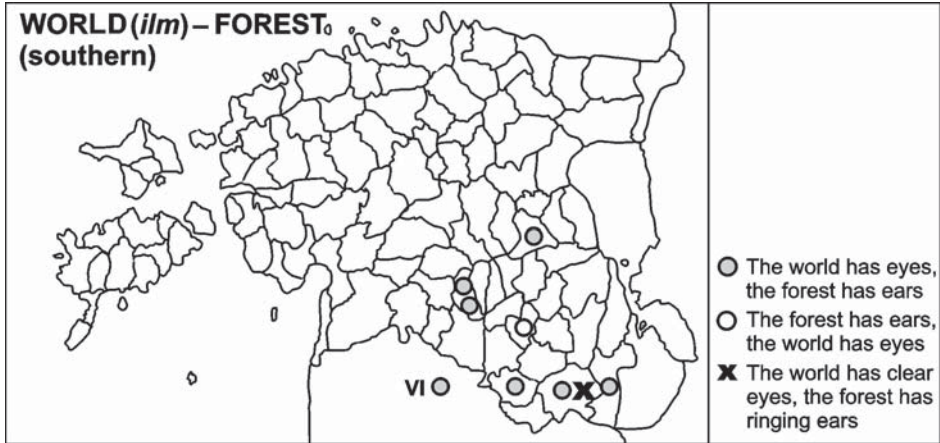


Map 1d. ‘The wall(s) have ears’ alone occurs only in a few North Estonian texts. Judging by the dissemination chart of the combination *forest + wall(s)*, etc. given also on the map here, it is difficult to suggest any direction of its dissemination. This version

is known mainly in the peripheries, which denotes that the form might be relatively old. The peripheral chart of dissemination on an empiric cartogram may in itself be, e.g.

1) a relic of some once much more widespread phenomenon, which has by now disappeared from the central region, or

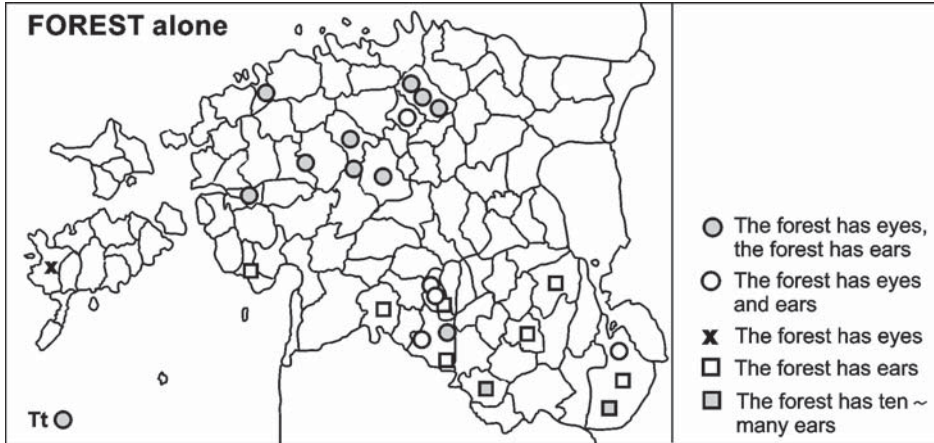
2) an imaginary thing altogether, i.e. an illustration of foreign influences reaching different parts of Estonian periphery (from Russia in the northeast, from Latvia in the Mulgi region, etc.), but none of them made it to the central area or started merging.



Map 1e. Combinations of *forest* + *world*. This is apparently the genuine South Estonian local version. Estonian *ilm* originates from the ancient Finno-Ugric stem; it has counterparts in all the Balto-Finnic languages. In standard Estonian *ilm* mostly means ‘weather’, but particularly in the earlier Estonian, i.e. in the abundant folkloric and phraseological contexts it also means ‘world’, the equivalent of which in the standard language is *maailm*. Generally, this *ilm* used to mean a certain vague open outer sphere, primarily the more distant, strange and unknown part of the human world that is indifferent or hostile towards the person, and about which one could not care less. In Estonian proverbs, *ilm* denotes the environment to which one should not trust secrets, and which is more than ready to spread gossip, etc.



Map 1f. Obviously, *põõsas* ‘bush’ seems to be relatively rare in Estonian texts, but at the same time it tends to be western constituent (only two records from Saaremaa). *Bush* appears also in three Livonian texts, but probably is not a borrowing from Latvian there (at least it is not found in the Latvian printed sources). Cases mentioned by K. Grigas and G. Paczolay originated mainly from the Western and Southern Europe. Because of the scarce material available, it is not possible to suggest by what way exactly did *põõsas* reach Saaremaa.



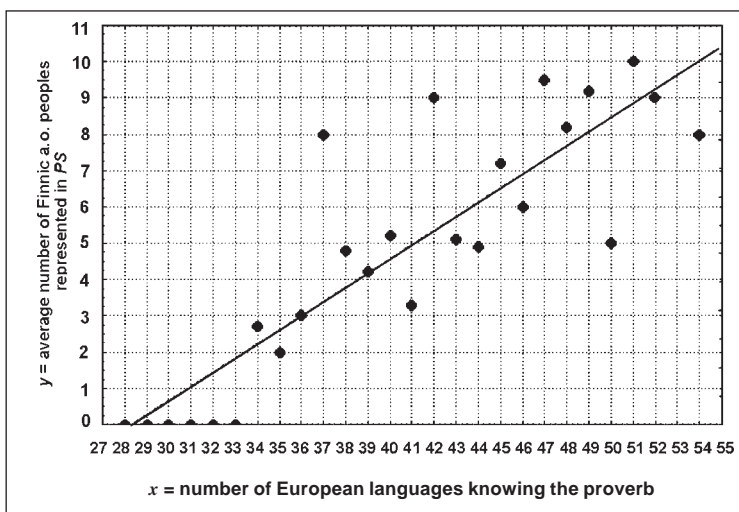
Map 1g. Estonian texts, in which *forest* lacks a parallel counterpart, can be localized into two weird and separate clusters: northwestern and southern. While forms with parallel compound sentence structure dominate in the North Estonia, e.g. ‘The forest has eyes, the forest has ears’, in South Estonia the most frequent ones are the simple sentence forms, i.e. ‘The forest has (eyes and) ears’.

What is regular in those forms, what is occasional, what is local, and what is borrowed (and from where), it is again impossible to determine based on my data.

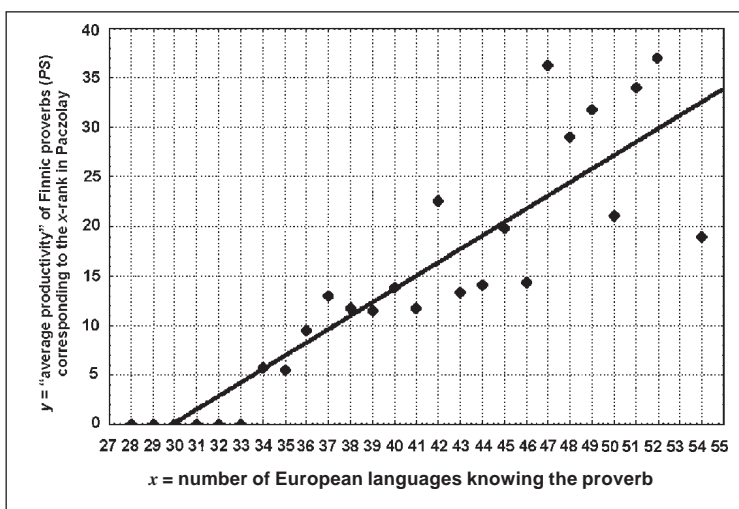
★ Both M. Kuusi (1954: 55) and K. Grigas (1976: 141, 1987: 145) have independently of each other noticed the regularity that in a somewhat generalized form could be called “the golden reserve paradox”. The essence of it lies, briefly, in a strong tendency that proverbs known by many different peoples would also be found among the most popular ones in the repertoire of the majority of these peoples. We shall for the moment discard problems concerning criteria and methods of measuring that popularity, e.g. whether the number of records of a proverb in some large folklore archives or other funds of source materials could serve as an adequate measure of its popularity, or whether the proverb popularity and frequency of its use mean practically the same or not, etc.

For me, a paradox lies mostly in the question of the empirically obvious positive correlation between the “horizontal” and the “vertical” dimensions of the paremiological productivity (i.e. between the scope of geographic dissemination and the frequency of actualization) being trivial or not. True, all the empirical data available to me verifies the existence of such a connection. In an earlier work

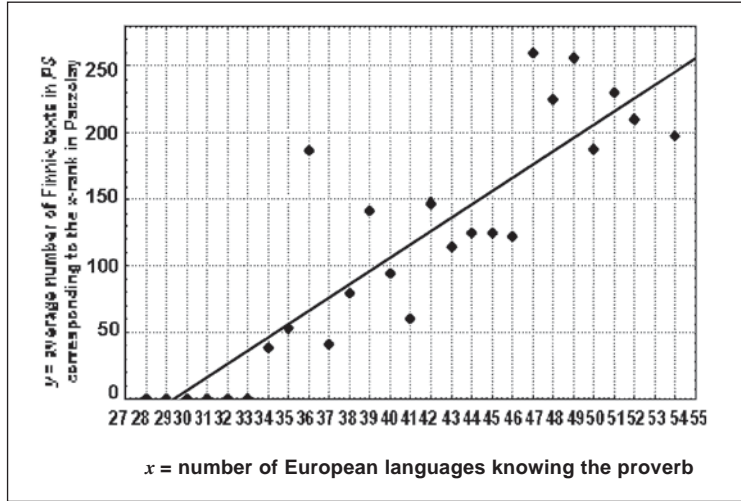
(Krikmann & Sarv 1996: 128/9), the verifying numerical data based on *Proverbia septentrionalia* where the productivity indicators of the Finnic material were compared to the corresponding Estonian parameters on the one hand, and to those of the non-Finnic neighboring peoples on the other, was presented. Moreover, I will present here analogical graphs of even wider scale, where coordinate x includes the number of European nations familiar with a given proverb according to the book by G. Paczolay (1997), and y presents the power parameter gleaned from some Finnic material, e.g. the average number of the Finnic peoples knowing the proverbs of x -rank (graph 1a); the average “scaled into uniformity” productivity indicator of the Finnic material (graph 1b); the average number of the Finnic texts (graph 1c), or the average number of the Estonian archived texts (graph 1d).



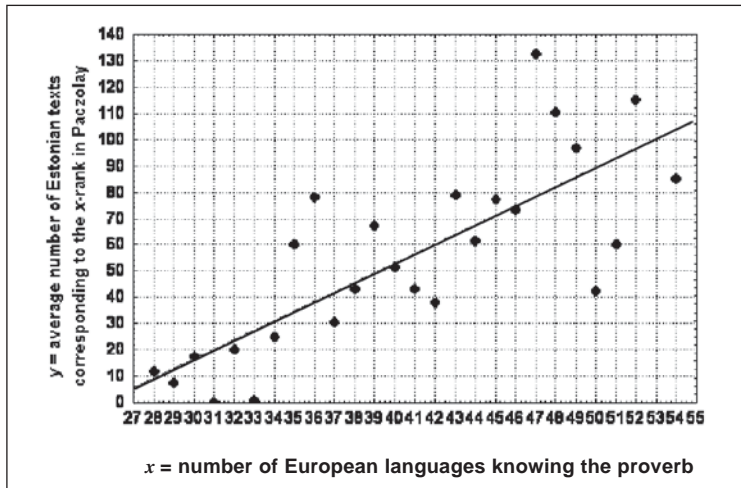
Graph 1a



Graph 1b



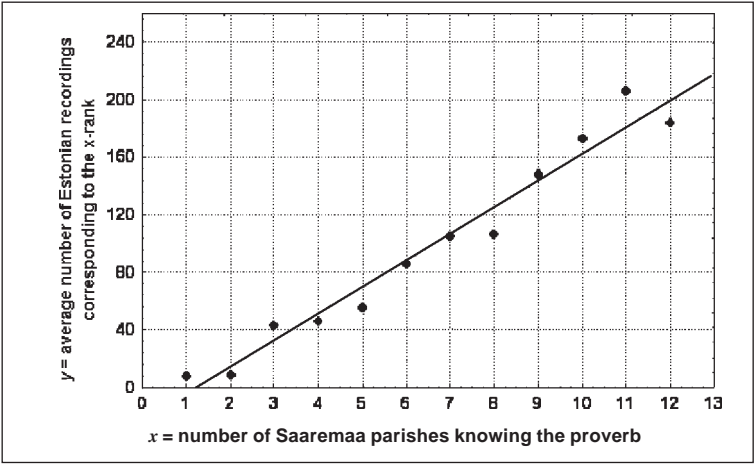
Graph 1c



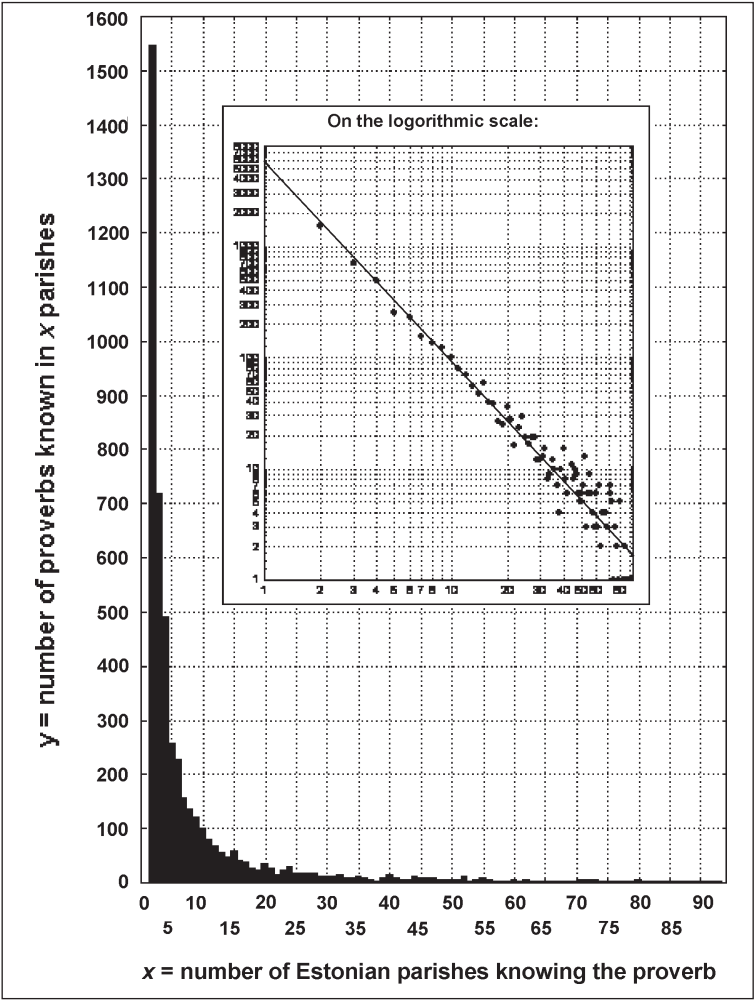
Graph 1d

Apparently, this regularity also applies on the extreme micro level, e.g. when considering the correlation between the (geographic) productivity of a certain proverbial material in the limits of Saaremaa district / isle and its (textual) productivity average in the whole Estonian corpus (graph 1e).

And here, another side of the paradox is most drastically revealed. Many authors including Archer Taylor (1931) have repeatedly complained that attempts of paremiologists at explaining the worldview, mentality, etc. of peoples or ethnic groups had regularly failed. One possible reason might lay in the same invasion of the “golden reserve utterances”, i.e. the high perseverance of the universally human, non-local material. According to our Saaremaa graph, it would seem that for the tradition bearer from Saaremaa the most “genuine”, the most Saaremaa-like proverbs would comprise in particular those having the widest dissemination across Estonia, across Europe, or the global ones, rather than the locally created material.

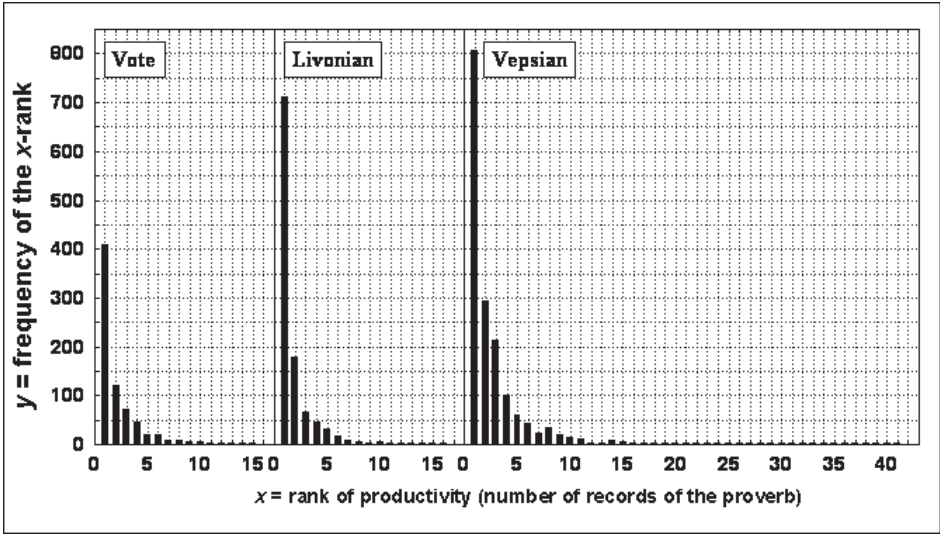


Graph 1e



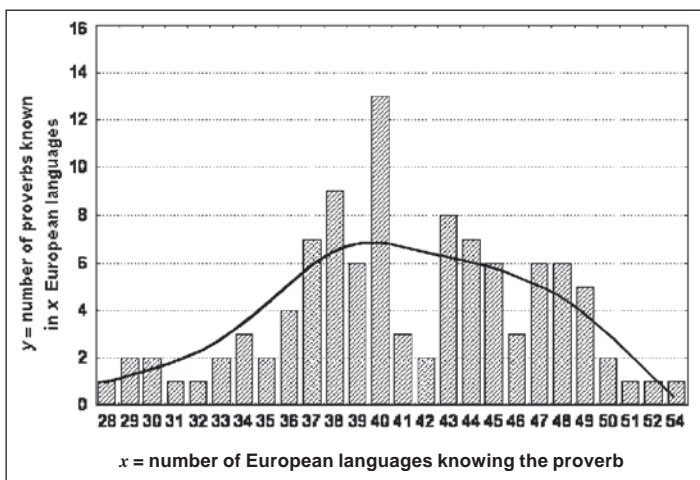
Graph 2a

★ The data presented in K. Grigas’ book on the frequency distribution of the dominant and the exceptional forms in Lithuanian and international proverbs (cf. e.g. the frequency of place adverbs *field*, *forest*, *wall*, etc. in the analysis of the proverb “Field with eyes, forest with ears”, 1987: 143/4) seem to confirm the observation that the frequency of typological units or other material categories in folkloric archival deposit (incl. that of a concrete genre, e.g. proverbs) follow the so-called Zipf’s law. Irrespective of whether we measure the potency of those categories, e.g., in the quantity of texts, or in the quantity of the geographic origin localities by which they are represented in the archival material – in the case of a little bit larger sampling it appears that there nevertheless occur a large number of “weak”, i.e. non-frequent units (and the majority being still units, e.g. proverb types, that have been recorded just once and / or from only one parish, or some other place); the average amount of units of average frequency; and extremely few “potent” units, i.e. those represented by a large amount of texts and / or known in a wide area. In comparison, let us provide histograms that have been compiled from the Estonian proverb archive (a crosscut of parishes, graph 2a) and based on the material of small Finnic peoples (a crosscut of text quantity, graph 2b):



Graph 2b

★ Taking into account the above-mentioned things, the frequency distribution of G. Paczolay’s “European favorites” seems extremely surprising (graph 3), although the absolute values of the frequencies are not too big. Perhaps if one were to move along the x-axis from 40 peoples to the left, a customary exponential blast on the histogram could be expected, but instead the decrease can be clearly seen.



Graph 3

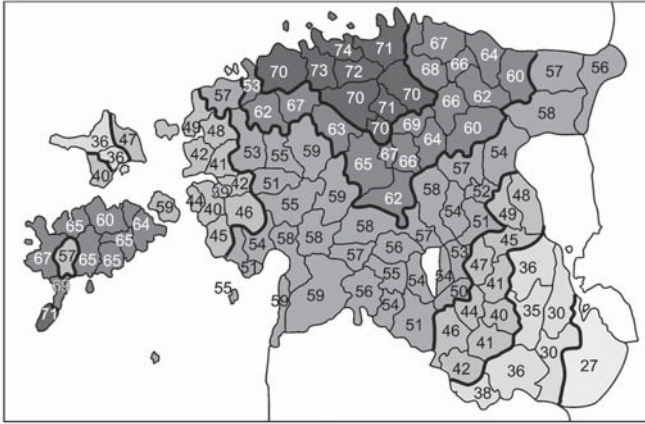
I shall be so bold as to propose two explanations for such a surprising distribution.

Explanation no. 1, although boring, seems to be extremely likely: G. Paczolay was mainly looking for “the record owners of Europe”, perhaps wishing to present at least 100 of the most potent ones among them, while in smaller frequency rates even his material actually is selective, despite the titanic scope of the whole work. In that case, the x -interval that is necessary to accommodate the top 100 should be even smaller than it is now, i.e. perhaps limited by 35...54.

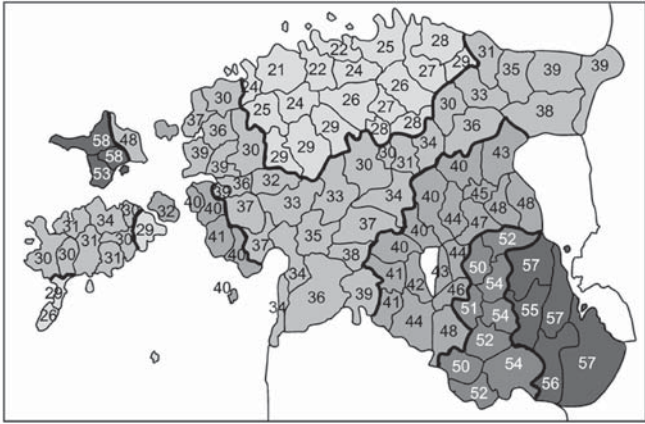
Explanation no. 2 would appear the most exciting, but is extremely unlikely: linguists have discovered that in case of the particularly huge textual masses the Zipf’s law ceases to apply, because the number of repetitions being already so great, it exhausts the vocabulary, so to say, and the number of words or grammatical forms of single occurrence decreases. In case of proverbs, the shift of the maximum away from the coordinate y would be the result of the impact of the very same “golden reserve paradox”. But I am nearly certain that the “golden reserve” phenomenon could not bring on such a powerful mutation of the frequency distribution.

★ In his book, K. Grigas distributed the analyzed Lithuanian proverbs into versions not according to the core image vocabulary but rather according to the syntactic formula, or other formal syntactic features (see 1987: 46–49, 80–82, 110–112; cf. also 1974). M. Kuusi, on the other hand, has recounted the analysis of some Finnish proverb clusters this way: “The compiler of redaction charts should undoubtedly better forget altogether about the dispersal of formulae” (1967: 85/6; cf. also 1974). It seems that in regard to the single proverb types, or clusters, M. Kuusi’s suggestion holds true. But on the level of analyzing the whole “national repertoire” of proverbs, the distinct correlations between certain syntactical formulae and certain geographic areas may be clearly noticed. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer here to the statistics offered in some of my previous works (Krikmann 1997: 386, 1998: 74/5) regarding the comparative percentage

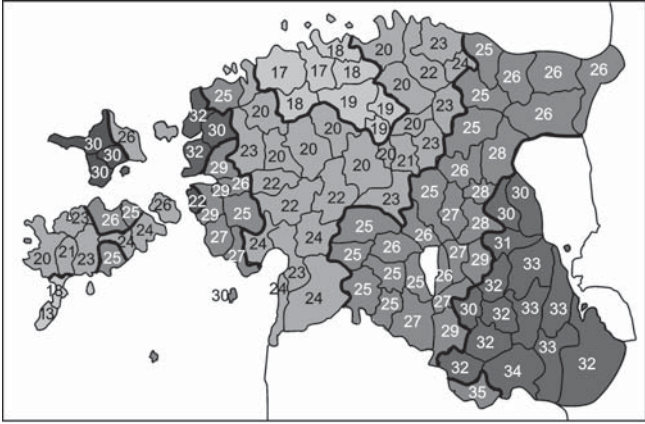
of formulae (*He*) *who... (that)...*, *If / When...*, (*then*)... in the proverb corpus from different parts of Estonia (see map 2a–d). In my opinion, the preference of the second person singular (map 2) and the elliptic structures (map 4) in the Southeastern Estonia ought to be considered a Russian influence, while the relative predominance of the formula (*He*) *who... (that)...* in the Northern Estonia could, on the other hand, be a spontaneous result of the lack of impact from the East.



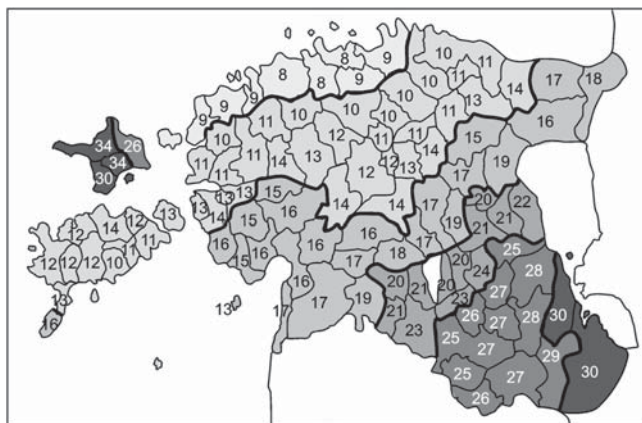
Map 2a. The distribution of (*He*) *who... (that)...* – formula (the verb 3rd person singular)



Map 2b. The distribution of the 2nd person singular in the elliptical implicative structures with *If/ When...*, (*then*)... – formula



Map 2c. The distribution of *If/ When...*, (*then*)... – formula (the verb in 2nd or 3rd person singular)



Map 2d. The distribution of elliptical implicative structures (the verb in 2nd person singular)

★ In the final section of his book, where parallelism and syntactical patterns of proverbs were discussed in more general terms, K. Grigas mentioned the problem of proverbs' syntactical synonymy, i. e. an area in which very little research had been conducted. I would like to draw special attention to one of the structural patterns distinguished by K. Grigas, i.e. the so-called 2nd form group, which he referred to simply as “elliptical constructions”, e.g. sentences in the form *A [is] B* or *A is not B* (cf. 1987: 236/7 ff.): *Atminimas – ne vežimas*; *Dūma – širdies kūma*; *Jaunystē – paikystē* etc. The affirmative sentence forms of this structural type (assembled in the group “Equalities and comparisons” in my attempt at creating a classification of Estonian proverbs, see Krikmann 1998a: 57–62) may be extremely truncated, even to a point where the syntactical structure of the sentence becomes completely unclear, as in the Lithuanian *Jaunystē – paikystē* [‘Youth – folly’], the Estonian *Poisslaps – tākutsälg* [‘A boy – a colt’; literally: ‘A boy-child – a male colt’] etc. This situation is reminiscent of the device in poetical semantics that Philip Wheelwright (1962) referred to as a diaphor, the essence of which lies in the so-called “juxtaposition without comparison”. A syntactically “blind” ellipse can allow different logical-syntactical interpretations, besides revealing variants and progressions in which the lexical core and the essential meaning of the utterance remain intact, and which are syntactically definite but very different. The following illustrations comprise sentences that are partly taken from the empirical folklore data, and partly from my own improvisations in order to demonstrate the essence of the topic. In the Slavic languages lacking the *is* copula (and perhaps due to the influence of these languages, as in the case of the Baltic proverbs), *A – B* ellipses are apparently mainly interpreted as *A is B* sentences, and in other languages the latter form also occurs extensively and explicitly (in the cognitive Lakoffian metaphor theory, *A IS B* is considered the “general formula” for metaphor). In Estonian and other Finnic languages, ellipses of *A and B* and *A or B* form are also possible. Variants of the comparative type (*A is like B*) and those emphasizing the complete sameness (*A is the same as B*) should be possible on a regular basis. From the latter, forms with both *A* and *B* belonging to the same subject side should be within easy reach, while their sameness or similarity is the only predication: *A and B (these) are one and the same / similar*. This predicate

can then be replaced or a “generic” component may be added to it in order to specify the sameness or similarity, e.g. ‘Youth and foolishness go together always’; ‘Boy and colt (these are similar because) both are playful’ etc. This common element may be formulated in the “vehicle-language” or in the “tenor-language”, or in terms of some other more abstract, neutral, “generic level”. In borderline cases such forms may also be developed in a fully parallel manner, in which the generic derivation becomes implicit once again, and both predications are explicitly literal in their so-called conceptual domains: ‘Boys are rowdy, colts are skittish’. When *A* and *B* belong to the same conceptual domain, the result can also include the implicative precondition-consequence structures: ‘Where there is youth there is foolishness’; ‘(If) you’re young, (then) you’re foolish’; ‘He who is young is also foolish’ etc.

There are two other very special proverb forms, into which *A* [*is*] *B* ellipses can overflow.

1. “Zwei / drei / vier Dinge” forms, which are apparently particularly common in German proverbs: e.g. ‘There are two things in the world that are difficult to restrain – boys and colts’.

2. Trinomial patterns with a “truncated fourth”, which the cognitive metaphor theorist Mark Turner has referred to as XYZ-structures, examining them in his numerous works (cf. e.g. Turner 1987, 1991: 198–215, 1996: 104/9, 1998: 52/5 etc.; Fauconnier & Turner 2002: 139–168 etc.), often through kinship metaphors, e.g. ‘Youth and foolishness are friends / brothers / children of the same mother / ... → Youth is the brother of foolishness’. This complex thicket of variability also illustrates the close relationship between the syntactical-logical and figurative structure of proverbs, also raising a question regarding the fundamental cognitive substance of metaphor that remains hotly debated up to this day, i.e. whether metaphor is means for ascertaining analogies, as Dedre Gentner and his co-authors (e.g. Gentner, Bowdle, Wolff & Boronat 2001; Gentner & Bowdle 2001 et al.) suggest, or if it is an act of predication creating a new *ad hoc* category, and whether the tenor component of metaphor thus is placed within this category, as proposed by Sam Glucksberg and his colleagues (cf. e.g. Glucksberg 2001 et al.). Similarly fundamental questions arise here concerning the relations between predication and logical-causal implication in proverbs.

★ As is apparent from analyses carried out by K. Grigas, the main device of phonetic ornamentation of the Lithuanian proverbs is the end rhyme, whereas alliteration is random and of marginal significance. In most of the older layers of the Finnic folklore, however, the so-called Kalevala format characterized by parallelism, alliteration and 4-part metre, used to be predominant. The origin of the Kalevala format lies, of course, in the runic folksongs, although its elements (especially parallelism and alliteration) have been extensively adopted by other genres, e.g. spells, proverbs, proverbial phrases, riddles, narrative formulae, etc. This fact alone proves alliteration and parallelism to be naturally compatible phenomena. Alliteration takes place in the so-called short-wave areas between words situated close together, not interfering with the syntactical-morphological symmetry between the parallel components, be they full sentences, as in case of the “real”, i.e. paratactic parallelism,

or syntagmas, e.g. antecedents and consequents in the so-called implicative structures, which are non-symmetrical from the point of view of the ordinary grammar, i.e. complex sentences, and which K. Grigas referred to as “contour constructions” (*контурные конструкции*) in his investigation. The syntactical-morphological symmetry in both types of the sentence constructions also has a phonetic correlate, and K. Grigas (1987: 192 and passim) emphasized that parallelism promoted creation of the phonetic repetitions. This effect is apparently more accentuated in the so-called synthetic and / or agglutinated languages, characterized by numerous declensional and verb inflectional endings, gender and temporal attributes, and other morphemes facilitating creation of the so-called grammatical or paradigmatic rhyme. K. Grigas was certainly right in postulating the grammatical rhyme to be historically earlier than the more recent “true rhyme”, which in the modern antimimetic poetics based on the “aesthetics of opposition” seeks to avoid everything that is redundant and spontaneous, including grammatical rhyme. If alliteration does not disrupt parallelism, and grammatical rhyme promotes parallelism, then true rhyme should work against parallelism and destroy it. Thus it would be interesting to examine frequency and correlation of parallelisms and the end rhymes in proverbs of different languages. However, I am almost convinced in advance that this correlation would prove to be negative, and that the relative frequency of parallelisms would be considerably higher in, e.g. the Finnic proverbs using alliteration as their main euphonic device, than in the Russian, German or some other proverbs with the end rhyme as their main device of phonetic ornamentation.

Many other observations by K. Grigas encourage performing additional research. E.g. his examination of anonominate word repetitions (1987: 175–182) leaves a strong impression of such repetitions being much more common in the Baltic and Slavic proverbs than in the German or French ones: cf. equivalents like *Клин клином вышибают* and *Ein Keil treibet den andern aus*. This difference apparently originates in the structure of languages in question, although its precise nature is unclear: e.g. whether it arises from the presence / absence of articles, or from something else, etc.

★ In the concluding part of his book, K. Grigas (1987: 298 ff.) summarized the rank of proverbs in verse form or those containing formal elements of verse in terms of their international distribution, and outlined four gradual stages:

- (i) Local verse form versions of the international proverbs;
- (ii) Euphonic proverb versions shared by the related languages;
- (iii) Euphonic “proper proverbs” in one language with no equivalents in any other language;
- (iv) Humorous, lightsome, mostly non-proverbial expressions based mainly on euphony, puns, and other devices, and having neither serious proverbial substance nor didactic significance.

The last stage prompts another fundamental issue in paremiology, namely, the relationship between gravity and humor in folklore expressions. We are aware of

the main function of proverbs to be seriously didactic. We also know, on the other hand, that non-proverbial phrases and idioms, whatever other rhetoric and cognitive functions they may have, almost always have simultaneously a humorous, entertaining function. And we also know that proverbs and non-proverbial phrases are closely interrelated typologically, intertextually, in terms of the imagery they use, etc. These three aspects of knowledge are partly complementary and partly contradicting. Humor based on euphony, idioms and puns is largely untranslatable. An illustrative example here is a website on the “Swedish idioms in painfully literal translation” (<http://home.swipnet.se/~w-52132/te3a/jokes/idiom.html>).

There is an idiom in Estonian (*kellelgi läks kops üle maksa*, meaning ‘(somebody) became angry or infuriated, lost his patience’, etc., which literal translation would be something like ‘His lung crossed his liver’. Having no knowledge of Lithuanian, I was sometimes distressed at the semantic shortsightedness in the certain parts of K. Grigas work, because the footnote translations in Russian simply failed to convey the meaning. But where could we find a multilingual team for an international study of these topics?

Furthermore, we are faced with purely theoretical problems in addressing the issues existing somewhere in the contact zone of phraseology, the trope theory, and theory of humor, such as puns and other wordplay, paradox, oxymoron, absurdity. Personally, I have not come upon successful attempts at including poetry, wisdom and humor into a joint theoretical study, except, perhaps, Arthur Koestler’s “trilogy” of creativity forms in his “The Act of Creation” (1964).

★ Every year, some of those who have imprinted their names in the world of paremiology leave us. On August 5, 2003, Elza Kokare left us so very quietly that I learned about it only much later. On March 6, 2003, Estonian paremiology lost Ingrid Sarv, a key person in preparing the academic edition of “Estonian Proverbs”. Since December 3, 2002, the Lithuanian folkloristics and paremiology has been made do without Kazys Grigas, who only got to see the first volume of his monumental publication of “Lithuanian Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases”. Since January 16, 1998, Finnish folkloristics and the global paremiology have survived without Matti Kuusi, who despite his global grasp of paremiology, till the very end remained essentially a Finnish cultural hero. Twenty two years ago (on November 16, 1983) Grigori Permyakov perished, a man who elicited lively paremiological discussion in the former USSR and the whole world in the 1970s with his proverb classifications, attempts at creating a general cliché theory and paremiological-sociological experimentations. And already thirty two years have passed since the giant and the classical author of paremiology and humanities of the 20th century, Archer Taylor passed away on September 30, 1973. A number of other renowned paremiologists have left us, too.

Fortunately, in Vermont there is the incessantly energetic and productive Wolfgang Mieder. Fortunately, paremiologists still have an international tribune in his yearbook *Proverbium*, gathering the global constellation of proverb researchers around it, although the center of gravity seems to be shifting towards Africa and other exotic regions. Fortunately, we have Teodor Flonta in Tasmania

and his e-journal *De Proverbio*, as well as other publications; there is also Julia Sevilla Muñoz from Madrid with her prolific co-workers and students, and the journal *Paremia*. Both of them have contributed significantly to the research and publishing of paremiological materials, especially those of Roman peoples. The Graz group has published 10 volumes of studies in the series *Phraseologie und Parömiologie* (edited by Wolfgang Eismann, Peter Grzybek and W. Mieder). Hopefully, the tireless G. Paczolay would continue his paremiological activities and publish yet a number of books of global scope. In Finland, M. Kuusi's daughter, the social scientist Outi Lauhakangas has been a co-author with her father, helping to systematize the huge stock of international proverbs and creating a universally accessible databank introduced in FFC 275, and a year ago she defended her doctoral thesis on paremiology. The Finnish and Estonian work groups have prepared two volumes worth of material that will make a continuation to the *Proverbia septentrionalia* and complete the publication of the common Finnic proverbs. The work is practically finished, but for several reasons it is not yet published.

Probably a lot of other positive things have happened, although I am not aware of them. My horizon is unfortunately not wide enough to decide whether all this is sufficient to forecast a bright future for paremiology maintaining its identity through the times to come, or to suggest what should be done and where the discipline should turn to in order to be evolutionarily successful. But I do know that for me the world without paremiology would be a sad place.

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KAZIO GRIGO MONOGRAFIJA „LIETUVIŲ PATARLĖS“ IR JOS SVARBA PAREMIOLOGIJOS MOKSLUI

ARVO KRIKMANN

Santrauka

Straipsnyje pabrėžiama ypatinga Kazio Grigo darbų reikšmė pasaulinei paremiologijai. Visų pirma turima galvoje monografija „Lietuvių patarlės“ (1976, rusų k. *Литовские пословицы*, 1987), skirta tautinių ir tarptautinių elementų sąsajoms patarlėse, kuri, deja, dėl kalbos barjero liko nepelnytai mažai žinoma patarlių tyrėjams Vakaruose. Iš daugybės problemų, kurias aprėpė K. Grigas, detaliausiai tiriamos šios:

A. Dažnai kontaminuojamų ir labiausiai išplitusių iš visų K. Grigo monografijoje pateiktų pavyzdžių patarlių dvejeta – *Laukas turi akis, miškas turi ausis* ir *Sienos turi ausis* – etimologiniai klausimai. Duomenys, kuriuos knygoje „European Proverbs“ (1997) pateikė Gyula Paczolay, populiariausių Pabaltijo finougrų patarlių statistika leidinyje „Proverbia septentrionalia“ (1985), kiti po 1976 metų pasirodę šaltiniai, taip pat atitinkamos estiškos medžiagos geografinio paplitimo faktai (žr. *Map 1a–f*) visiškai patvirtina K. Grigo išvadas apie šių patarlių kilmę ir paplitimą. 1. Vyraujantys „aplinkos elementai“ šiose paremijose, esą turintys akis ir ausis, Europoje yra *miškas, laukas, sienos* ir *krūmas(ai)*, o kiti aptinkami kur kas rečiau ir gerokai siauresniame plote. 2. Daugybė dabartinių paprastai paralelišku dvinarių tekstų greičiausiai yra kilę iš dviejų atskirų tipologinių branduolių, t. y. *laukas + miškas* kombinacijų ir iš pradžių atskiro tipo *Sienos turi ausis*, o galiausiai galbūt iš antikinių šaltinių, nors G. Paczolay ir M. Kuusi pateikia tolimesnes retas formas iš Azijos ir Afrikos, kurių

genetinį ryšį su europietiška medžiaga sunku nuspėti. 3. Iš retesnių lokalinių formų dar aptinkamos, pavyzdžiui, tokios: a) iš esmės Vakarų Europai būdingos formos, turinčios komponentą *krūmas(ai)* ir *gyvatvorė*; b) Pabaltijo finougrų formos su komponentu *jūra* (suomių, estų, votų, lyvių medžiaga); c) grynai lietuviška versija su būdvardine pora *akylas : ausylas* (t. y. K. Grigo išskirta I versija); d) formos su komponentu *kalnas*; jos sporadiškai pasitaiko įvairiose kalnuotose vietovėse, dažniausiai Pietų Europoje (pvz., Ispanijoje, Portugalijoje, Bulgarijoje, Slovakijoje); e) aiškiai rytietiškos formos, kur vietoj įprastinių jutimo organų pavadinimų būna veiksmažodžių pora *girdi : mato*; tokios formos pirmiausia būdingos rytų slavų, taip pat udmurtų ir visų Pabaltijo finougrų, išskyrus lyvius, patarlėms.

B. Dėsningumas, kurį nepriklausomai vienas nuo kito pastebėjo K. Grigas ir žymus suomių folkloristas Matti Kuusi, šiek tiek apibendrintai gali būti pavadintas „aukso fondo paradoksu“. Jo esmė glūdi akivaizdžioje tendencijoje, jog patarlės, žinomos daugeliui s k i r t i n g ų tautų, dažniausiai būna itin populiarios daugumos tų tautų repertuare. Kaip rodo skirtingi empiriniai duomenys (žr. *Graph 1 a–e*), teigiama koreliacija tarp patarlių produktyvumo „horizontalaus“ ir „vertikalus“ matmens (t. y. tarp geografinio patarlės paplitimo ir jos aktualizacijos dažnio) pastebima daugelyje skirtingų makro- ir mikroarealų. Šis fenomenas galbūt iš dalies paaiškina, kodėl bandymai remiantis patarlėmis apibūdinti atskirų tautų arba etnosų pasaulėžiūrą, mentalitetą, tautinį charakterį, etines nuostatas ir pan. nuolatos žlugdavo. Kitaip sakant, viena priežasčių gali būti ta, kad populiariausios patarlės, įeinančios į „aukso fondą“, itin plačiai paplinta, drauge visur paskleisdamos ir tam tikrą visiems žmonėms bendrą, nebūtinai tik vietinę, ideologiją. Dėl to labiausiai „sąvos“, pavyzdžiui, Estijos Saremos salos gyventojams, ima rodytis kaip tik tos paremijos, kurios yra labiausiai paplitusios ir neatspindi vietinio saliečių mentaliteto.

C. Knygoje pateikti duomenys apie vyraujančių ir retesnių formų paplitimo dažnį patvirtina mūsų ankstesnes išvalgas, kad tipologinių vienetų arba kitų medžiagos grupių gausiausių klasių dydžiai tam tikrame žanriniame fonde (tiek archyvuiniuose šaltiniuose, tiek „gyvajame folklore“) pasiskirstę pagal Zipfo dėsnį, arba vadinamąjį Lotynų Amerikos modelį – nesvarbu, ar matuojame šių vienetų gausumą / produktyvumą pagal tai, kiek jų užfiksuota (pvz., pagal archyvinių užrašymų skaičių), ar pagal jų geografinį paplitimą. Kai turimos medžiagos apimtis gana didelė, visada paaiškėja, kad daugiausia joje esama „silpnų“ (retai pasitaikančių) vienetų arba grupių, mažiausiai – „stiprių“ (labai dažnai vartojamų) ir vidutiniškai – „vidutinių“, t. y., Lotynų Amerikos modelio terminais sakant, labai daug vargšų, labai mažai turtuolių ir vidutiniškai – vidutinių. Keturiuose straipsnyje pateiktose histogramose (žr. *Graph 2a–b*) parodytas estų, votų, lyvių ir vepsų patarlių tipų paplitimas. Dėl to informacija apie populiariausių Europoje patarlių vartojimo dažnumą G. Paczolay knygoje (žr. *Graph 3*) atrodo išskirtinė ir kelianti nuostabą.

D. Monografijoje K. Grigas analizuojamų patarlių versijas skiria ne tiek pagal jų „bazinę leksiką“, kiek pagal sintaksinių formulių tipą ir kitus sintaksinės bei gramatinės formos požymius. Savo ruožtu M. Kuusi, daug kur ginčijęs su K. Grigu, kartą tiesiai ir kategoriškai pareiškė: „[vairių [patarlės] redakcijų paplitimo žemėlapiu sudarytoji, be abejo, išmintingiausia būtų visiškai išmesti iš galvos formulių sklaidą“. Mano asmeninė patirtis rodo, kad M. Kuusi patarimas tinka analizuojant vieną atskirą tipą, sinonimų grupę ar pan. Tačiau turint reikalą su dideliu medžiagos kiekiu, pavyzdžiui, visu nacionaliniu patarlių fondu, kuriame būna daugybė įvairiomis tarmėmis pateiktų tekstų, praktiškai galima nuspėti bet kokias koreliacijas tarp geografinio paplitimo ir teksto požymių. Keturiuose kartogramose (žr. *Map 2a–d*) matyti, kokią didelę santykinę persvarą įvairių Estijos regionų patarlėse turi kai kurios sintaksinės formulės bei kiti gramatiniai požymiai.

E. Antroje K. Grigo knygos dalyje taip pat buvo daug mane sudominusių ir gausybę vaisingų minčių sukėlusių vietų. Straipsnyje šiek tiek daugiau gilinamasi į tris iš jų, būtent: 1) ypatinga sintaksiškai neapibrėžtų elipsinių struktūrų vieta (t. y., pasak K. Grigo, II formali grupė) ir nepaprastai plačios jų galimybės sudaryti sinonimus su kitomis struktūromis; 2) skirtingas kai kurių eufonijos priemonių, pavyzdžiui, galūninio rimo ir aliteracijos, santykis su paralelizmu kaip pamatiniu patarlių formą kuriančiu principu; 3) ypatingas humoristinių kalambūrų, dažnai dar ir fonetiškai ornamentuotų, vienetų statusas, jų tyrimo sunkumai, teorinis rimtumo ir humoro santykis retoriniame folklore apskritai.

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