Linguoculturological Analysis of Woman’s Image in the Proverbs and Sayings of the Dagestan Languages

Marina Gasanova¹, Patimat Magomedova¹ and Salminat Gasanova¹

¹Dagestan State University, Makhachkala, RUSSIA

ABSTRACT
The article is devoted to linguoculturological description of woman’s image in the proverbial worldview of the Dagestan languages. The analysis of proverbial expressions revealed androcentric bias of the Dagestan paroemiological worldview where woman, as a rule, appears for an object: mainly for mother, daughter, bride, and wife/mistress. The proverbs representing the image of mother have uniquely positive connotation, while the image of stepmother is traditionally laden with negative context. One of the most important components of the gender worldview is marriage. The role and position of woman in family is represented especially eloquently. Image of wife is one of the most frequent female proverbial images. In the proverbs and sayings a series of warnings and recommendations regarding marriage are represented, addressed mostly to man, which shows the androgenic character of the Dagestan language worldview. Zoomorphic images in the Dagestan culture may have gender compound. The concept of woman, actualized by the Dagestan proverbial units is of a contradictory and inhomogeneous nature. Some attributes represent the moral system and social grounds of patriarchal society, while the other are connected with the fair side of the female origin as a source of life. The woman’s image is multifaceted and expresses opposite connotations which may be explained by the enigma of womanhood and its ambiguous interpretation in the national linguistic views of the world.

KEYWORDS
Dagestan languages, proverbs and sayings, proverbial worldview, concept, woman, linguoculturology

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Introduction
Dagestan is a republic of the Russian Federation, a unique region justly named modern Babylon: there are more than thirty languages functioning within relatively limited territory (Mazanaev, 1990). Twenty six of them belong to the autochthonous population being genetically close to each other and forming the Dagestan group of the Caucasus language family: Avar, Agul, Archin, Akhvakh, Andi, Bagvalal, Bezhita, Budukh, Botlikh, Godoberi, Hinukh, Hunzib, Dargin, Kryz, Karata, Lezgin, Lak, Rutul, Tindi, Tabasaran, Udi, Khwarshin, Khinalug, Tsez, Tsakhur, and Chamalal. In Dagestan there are also languages belonging to other groups and families, such as: Azerbaijani, Kumyk, Nogai (Turkic languages), Tat (Iranian languages), and Chechen (Nakh
languages). The following so called majority languages alongside with Russian have the status of official language in Dagestan: Avar, Agul, Dargin, Kumyk, Lak, Lezgin, Nogai, Rutul, Tabasaran, Tat, and Tsakhur. Such ethno-lingual and ethnocultural diversity have become the factor of the distinct uniqueness of the region (Gyulmagomedov, 1972; 1989; 2002).

Anthropocentric approach in the modern humanitarian science implies sayings and thoughts as a research core of homo loquens. And the concept of woman is of a particular interest here. The gender code of culture discovers uniqueness of the language and cultural representation (Gasanova, 2014a). Linguoculturological description of the Dagestan languages will allow revealing the uniqueness of the language representation of woman’s concept and national-cultural components of the gender code of the culture of the Dagestan linguistic view of the world as well as reconstructing positive and negative images of women in the linguistic consciousness of the Dagestan languages native speakers, formed under the influence of national stereotypes (Gasanova, 2012).

Materials and methods

Linguistics, based on the modern methodological settings of cognitive approach, individualizes a person with the equivalents of speech genres. The new aspect of the folklore research is focused on solving the main task from the gender perspective (Nasrulaev, 2009). The corpus of saying and proverbs allows discovering the concept structure of human factor through ‘natural mission’ of the both genders (Balkansky, 1984). Cognitive linguistics can explain why separation of woman and man set woman, who is able to give birth and patch up the lineage, to a special position dependent on man.

From the perspectives of language and culture idiomatic expressions are ideal material for research. According to G.L. Permyakov (1970): “all the folklore texts have the plan of logical structure and the plan of realia”. Their peculiarity is the focus on ethical and aesthetic ideal fixed in pragmatic frame (Adoneva, 2004; Isaev, 2016; Zakharenko, 2006). In this regard V.N. Telia (1996) notes that phraseological fond of a language is “a mirror where the linguistic and cultural community identifies its national self-consciousness”. Proverbial units which are broadly defined as idioms are the subject of our linguoculturological study. They actualize the historical experience, customs and traditions of the nation, its preferences and religious viewpoints (Hasanova, 2014).

Results and Discussions

Peoples of Caucasus have proverbs containing cultural notation of “antiquity”. For example, the Tabasarans have a proverb ГуЧІ женнетдиан гъафиб ву “Fear came from paradise” that may correlate with the true statement of human consciousness; the Aguls have a culturally significant proverb Адамас XІява гъаруэена corresponding with the meaning “years ago, in the year one” (literally “When Eva married Adam”). Comparing with Archin: Адам XІаваттиш хараши “From ancient times” (literally “After the times of Adam and Eva”). Actually, one may observe that the proverbs and sayings of Caucasian peoples define the content of evidentiality markers.

The concept of gender is one of the main concepts though it is rather new in the science. This concept explains genesis, core and sense of the majority of the social processes. Gender may be defined by several approaches, but they all are
reduced to the representation of “man-woman”, “masculinity-feminity” natural opposition. The considered binary pair has its value content in every national view of the world.

Gender aspect of linguistics implies research and detection of social differences represented in ethnocultural and linguistic heritage. The linguists study the influence of biological sex on speech which is more than any other factors affects speech behavior in various situations. The proverbial material, we have analyzed, shows that woman, as a rule, is represented as an object compared to males. For example, there are ‘instructions’-proverbs on the choice of the future wife, but there is no analogue for women with the recommendations on the choice of the future husband (Mazanaev & Baziev, 2014).

Proverbs are considered by researchers as the units, reflecting the worldview of the linguistic-cultural society, also including the peculiarities of emotional and intellectual comprehension of the world depending on the attributes of gender (Avar proverbs, 2012; Nazarevich, 1997; Gasanova, 2014b, Isayev, 2006). Proverbial units are the reflection of the way of living of one or another ethnos. This is a “complete set of ethno-geographical realia and in-depth characteristic of geographical environment, the recollections of the long-gone events and historical characters as well as religious viewpoints.” (Permyakov, 1988).

According to historians and theologists, a significant role in suppression of female principle was played by religion (Gasanova & Mazanaev, 2014). Sacred religious books were created by men and reflected patriarchal views and settings, the canonization of which in the form of quotations, revelations and ideas bolstered men’s domination in culture and its defense from the positions of spiritual authority of the value (Korolenko, 2005). The evidence of female principles’ suppression in the Middle Ages was “Malleus Maleficarum (Hammer of Witches)”, the treatise by Henricus Institoris and Jacob Sprenger, published in 1487. The treatise contained the arguments towards the suppression of woman represented as imitatries of the first sinner Eva up to physical extermination. The etymology of word ‘femina’ (woman): ‘fe’ (fides) – ‘faith’ and ‘minus’ – ‘less’, also shows negative attitude towards woman’s image.

The proverbial material of the Dagestan languages actualizes the following female images: designation according to age [= girl/young woman, woman, old woman], marital status [= wife, bride, mother-in-law, widow], family relationship [= daughter, mother, stepmother, sister].

The image of mother in any language is usually positively assessed. According to the etymological dictionary, substantive mother is Common-Slavic of Indo-European nature (Sanskrit – mata, Armenian – maus, Lithuanian – motina, German – muttez). Substantive mama is formed in children’s language at the level of prattling with doubling of syllable ma. The initial mati that was in the Old Russian and the Old Slavonic languages changed as a result of loss of the unstressed ending i. Mat (mother) in the proverbial units of the Russian language also actualizes the meaning of a source, an origin: Repetition is the mother of learning. Laziness is the mother of all vices.

Explicitly positive connotations are peculiar to the proverbial units representing the image of mother in the Dagestan languages. Mother is always ready to sacrifice for the sake of her children, she must be honored and
respected: Дид, нин, ватан масак вылчплидиш “People mustn’t sell their father, mother and motherland”, Дид айкылд сада этим, нин рякыл – ыны “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans”, Нинды къадры джанаатылыш ватандыд къадры ки ваангплидиш “Those who cannot appreciate their mother neither can appreciate their motherland” (Rutul); Баб хүүд фүржелар етүм, дад хүүд фүржел “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans”;

A stepmother has a long palm” [= she can slap] (Agul); Вагыры бабыл ан артурду пүлү образ дар “There is no better friend than your own mother”, Бацир дасылы жандуу серин ву, къордуну – ураг ву “The child for a mother is as important as shade in hot summer and warm clothes in winter”, Адам хатрур сар ынтым, дада хатрур – ураг ынтым “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans” (Tabasaran); Дидди винчи велео папалды вик чылыны къадарда “Mother is able to rush into fire for the sake of her child”, Диддиин чыырар веледи рехи ийда “Mother turns gray because she is worried about her children” (Lezgin); Азир зылгына, нешала мер хебуру “Even a thousand of aunties cannot replace your birthmother”, Немилчив малхиымы гыйлымы къелар “There is no better friend than your own mother”, Дай хатлаб хаишна берилирда, нешла чебла абъес хайеруд “You owe your mother everything” (Dargin).

The image of mother having negative connotation is extremely rare in the Dagestan proverbial fund: Гыбугара вийир, виишланыккөн гивырыккөн “A cuckoo laid an egg and left it under another one” [= it is about parental irresponsibility] (Rutul) (Mahmudova, 2014). While a Tabasaran saying provides not so much negative assessment as cause and effect relationship of upbringing and direct interconnection between the child’s personality and its parent’s authority: Ӈк1в хатру бабу к1ул алдыр бай гэхүү “A mother without heart has a son without head”. Or there is a Lezgin saying: Диддиин къаргыш галукый чыдылыг фү жедач “If a child is cursed by its mother, then it will live in poverty” shows that there cannot be well-being and prosperity without mother’s blessing.

Thus, woman-mother takes a special position in the Dagestan society, being honored and indisputably respected. Such attitude towards mother is supported by religion: Woman is subordinated to her husband, while man is subordinated to his mother. The paradise is under the mothers’ feet [Hadith]. The importance of the mother’s role in the Dagestan consciousness is concluded not only in the fact that she bore a child and delivered it but also in the responsibility of upbringing from the cradle. It is approved by the following Dargin saying: Дарх1я варкыбешла ах1енку, айкъурсила сай “Mother is not the person who gave birth, but the person who brought the child up”.

Image of stepmother, in comparison with the image of mother, traditionally formed in many linguocultures, contains negative context: Дархи далын ярхы гарчылык “Stepmother has a long palm” [= she can slap] (Tabasaran); Джархүүд нин не джирааджид жыкк иди рухууды “Stepmother and soggy bread cannot be tasty”, Джархүүд нинди джанахъа рухуудындый худ ийча вини “Mother’s fist is better than stepmother’s tenderness” (Rutul); Дахе баба 1я къанчч адыай1я “Stepmother hurts by a big fang”, Дахе баб – ирх къанч “Stepmother is a long fang”, Дахе бабан ынылчы ачыдыыхар “It is awful to flog oneself on the
mercy of stepmother!”, Дахе бабан алкурариккес/ макуурариккес Алагыди ухýра ли “God save you from stepmother’s cunning!” (Agul).

An important component of the gender worldview is marriage. In the speech genres of the Caucasian cultural layer marriage is considered as something whole and integral – “fortress of the Creator”. In this fortress man can be protected against the evil forces only thanks to woman. In such assessment-significant proverbs woman is deemed to be not only the ‘guardian of the hearth’, but also ‘protector’ from evil forces and the rigours of life: Щарсса къатлул ттарц “Wife is the backbone of home”, Щарсса къатлул чиракъ “Wife is the lantern of home” (Lak); Выглындус – ликлывад џалайд, хыыдыйды – салхьалд хвед “Man is a fire, while woman is the water to slake it” (Rutul).

Those who don’t have a heir – have nothing to be proud of, while those who don’t have wife – just have nothing” (Kumyk); Хумбетти з идемикес идеми арксаг “Woman makes a man out of a man” (Agul); Львъанна бошореар “Woman makes a man” [= real man] (Archin); Чукулгъа бокъанни, хъилгилли бишъинчи гавулигъа “Wife can make a real husband out of a donkey if she wants it”, Львъин льыяление льыкъ вуюо, львъие къеша въеш вуюо “Those who have good wives live happily, while those who have bad wives live poorly” (Avar).

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In the culture of Dagestan family/home are interpreted as the main value, obligatory stage in the life of any person. That’s why when it comes to family, one forgets even about his or her own dignity, which is so revered by the Caucasian traditions: Хал хабгай, рижев забгай “When your family is in need, forget about your pride” (Tabasaran).

Relationship of wife and husband as well as parents and children are defining for the concept of family/home. There is a tradition in Dagestan, according to which it is not acceptable and even impermissible for spouses to refer to each other by name. And this tradition though being not common, but still remains in the villages. For example, a Tabasaran man refers to a woman calling her въ гьары, while wife refers to her husband – гьужа. Probably, the warmth of the relationship is concluded in it, the value origin of the family, and frankness of expressing feelings to each other. It may also be caused by ancient ideas of human regarding the existence of organic connection between word, name and the object, person. It resulted in a ban, taboo on pronouncing of certain words including the spouses’ names. It was considered that frequent mentioning of wife/husband’s name, reference to them by their names may be harmful for the spouses. That is exactly why instead of the name or even the word itself husband and wife used the words-substitutes. For example, an Agul husband may call his wife къари ‘old woman’, while woman can call her husband идеми ‘man’; the Avars address to wives using word юо [= as a usual address to a woman].

The considered folklore texts provide an opportunity to trace all the milestones of emergence, creation and formation of family: the choice of the life partner, marriage, family household, delivery of children and grandchildren. They give possible forecasts and variants of family life. The role and position of
woman in family is especially brightly and originally represented in the Dagestan proverbial sayings.

The image of wife is the most frequent female proverbial image. The main positive characteristics of wife are modesty, domesticity, prudence, housewifery, fidelity and mild nature: Ты вишён риг, недеяй лядай, чыкдё көкчелб кю – гөөл гөбү бүүл. “To have a small house, a kind wife and to know no need is a happy life” (Avar); Хав гыйгана хунаще еехи “It is wife who makes home”, Ахтэлкала хунаще зэчүүшүнү өөлөө нюккейхэ көчмүш ээхэна “A clever wife is the one who moves from her husband’s house only to the grave” (Tsakhur); Дунийналлүү яла хуңнуур талих1 дак1маз т1айласса ласыр хүүна баквавура “The biggest happiness on Earth is righteous husband and wife”, Ласыллы бүүкүусса шарасса цяя қырышуйу “The woman who respects her husband’s relatives, gives a good account of herself” (Lak); Хүүбөтүү э хал хагар аркыф “The interior (coziness) in the house is created by woman”, Эркек идеми ламус ук1афы “Devoted woman keeps her credit” (Agul); Дахгал гэйд биргүү ахиннүү г1ах1е гүүнуул, г1ахсү бөркүл биргүү сари “A good wife is not the one who talks much, but the one who cooks well” (Dargin). If to summarize the semantic connections of the given examples, we may conclude that: Husband brings wealth into the house (this obligation is pointed at indirectly), while his wife is obligated to consolidate, keep the house and the property.

The oral national tradition usually holds up to ridicule and criticizes such qualities of woman as laziness, and uncleanliness: Чыркын өпири жылгир күүр (бүүкүрүр) дүүгүлүн күндү “A slattern’s husband should be blind”. Көөл риш кабыгайык сүүчүр алуу беркүл “Whilst the ugly bride was decorating herself, the wedding came to an end”. Гыяммишан, ыяммишан - халышия, машикөөр ыяган – гүүлүл шыв “She behaves as a citizen all the time, but on a holiday she becomes a hardworking rural woman” - this way a woman is described who usually does nothing, but starts to show off her working skills on a holiday. Хабык ыямбишан, өбөнөн өпири ыялаг шул “When evening comes, shepherd’s wife starts to hurry up” [= about the necessity not to postpone work] (Tabasaran); Өөл көүгүнү – көл ачыл ханач “A negligent housewife has everything done wrong”, Чыркын папан гүүл бүүкүрүүдү ээс папан я “A slattern’s husband should be blind” (Lezgin); Кыял биргүү ыярүчүлүү, кыя мүүкөө балкыл кабы рүн тү “She couldn’t do milking, because, she said, the cow’s horn is crooked” (Dargin).

Appearance plays a certain role in creation of conceptual image of woman. The attributes of external beauty are directly connected with the national mentality. Woman’s beauty in the majority of cultures is traditionally compared to a flower. Light-colored eyes are usually considered not beautiful and evil-spelling in the Islamic culture. Such negative connotation also entered the Dagestan languages, which is confirmed by comparisons with cat’s, snake’s and fish’s eyes, while beautiful eyes are given such positive metaphorical nomination as: cherry, coal (coal-black), star.

In the Russian culture light-colored, green eyes are considered beautiful, enigmatic: ‘green as mermaid’s’. A Russian would say about a girl ‘she is as beautiful as a doll or painting’, while a Dagestan – ‘she is as beautiful as the moon or a flower’. But female beauty may provoke envy and temptation, may lead into sin: Ыргын ыйванды джыбара руж ружу ю, быт1рад хыйдынйыйды
дёра – цел “Behind a good race horse there is a swirl of dust, while behind a beauty there is animadversion”, Выху шиванымха дёра ху симапама гаджакьыр, хура гид хьыдяндай кван1лешьаха гамак “Having not checked the tail of your horse don’t look at the braids of the woman going ahead of you”, Лыч1ере дёрыра ла ла дёрырынйэне, дана бейде выкьардыш “A dog never mounts an unwilling bitch” (Rutul).

A charming female pace in the Russian language is usually denoted as ‘walks like a peafowl’ [= proudly, slowly and stately], while in the Dagestan linguoculture a charming female pace is compared with the way a partridge walks [= quickly, hurry-scurry and quietly]. The second example already provides the difference in the linguistic and culturally caused expression of female external beauty.

Beauty in the Dagestan language worldview is often represented with a negative context as a disadvantage of the wife or as a redundant and useless quality for the family life. Probably the attitude towards the female beauty as to an insignificant quality is caused by the time and environment of emergence of the national aphorisms, when the first position was pragmatically occupied not by the woman’s appearance, but by her industry and housewifery: Шив уччяур хьуб шар1 дар – цаар кывъуру гозёл1 дар “A wife shouldn’t be beautiful, because she is not a mirror hung on the wall” (Tabasarан); Беричиай бера, цоодрая рекке “Beautiful to eyes, smart to heart”, Беричий чуужу мадуналас ляск1ацэля “A beautiful wife is good for the neighbor”, Чиаа чуужу бериначыяй, чиаа чу цлаквабила “Another man’s wife is beautiful; another man’s horse is good”, Пакьылас гакьылай чуужу ялагъула, габдаслас гымыр беричий ялагъула “A clever man seeks for a clever wife, while a dull one seeks for a beautiful one” (Avar); Гырчек хьаная кван1ал эцялгаач кьын “She is a beauty but she can’t be laid on shelf” (Lezgin); Был1рад къары не къары иван кымунызды икийэ “Let your neighbor have a beautiful wife and a good horse”, Был1рад къары рыкъьоде кад кьын га1са1б и “A beautiful wife is like a field by the road”, Был1равалык1вар был1рад бац1 къыа висы “A beautiful fate is better than a beautiful face” (Rutul); Был1арф кэйгар, кэйгар суратилас хэд укайдаба “Beauty is only skin-deep” (Agul); Был1ал хьусса царсегу, хьулундыхуesa къуу виланньир чыл хыннсар “A beautiful wife and a garden along the road are better when they belong to another man” (Lak); Арип егошуда кхыне “It is better to have a beauty in the neighborhood”, Арынню арууну кён “A beauty woman has many diseases” (Kumyk); Адым буларлы вирар хагуаруси, жагаделчиы х1ейарангу “Labor makes a person, not beauty”, Гырх1жыбэ бааарахълав г1ахиси вирар, жагал хунуул алад – упраличир “Let a hero be as far as possible and a beautiful wife be neighbor’s”, Жагаси жагаси ак1енну, г1ах1илл1уси сари “Beautiful is not a beauty, but a beloved one”, Жагаделчирир нукьун дашес х1ейар “There is no use in beauty”, Жагадеш кваш1ла мериаб х1ебука “Beauty can’t substitute bread”, Жагасылыа хв1ичир кхура х1едухтар, кыгысвиса хуыч1арыр анхъыра х1едухтар “A beautiful face can bring no harvest, and a gracile shoulder will bring no flourishing garden” (Dargin). But if a woman is nonetheless beautiful, then she shouldn’t pay to it any attention and be flattered: Шураз уччяур пнэ, дирэбхыр “Girl shouldn’t hear praising to her beauty” (Tabasarан).

But on the other hand are also the following proverbs: Жагадеш агарси чехъер – эе агарси хурегъуна сари “An ugly girl is like a food without
A beautiful and clever girl needs no dowry", Жагагия – начало табаанна сёнтал сабый: гвариэлси хебэтъур "Beauty is like a tsar's throne: can't belong to everybody" (Dargin).

The Dagestan proverbial worldview reflects the relationships of dominancy. The family power is concentrated in man's hands: Къарш ийипш выгыл и "Husband is wife's god", Ти къаршы выгылды ки хъэъйнишъъа бармакас къухъа йиши "Even the youngest men is older than any woman by his dignity" (Rutul). There is an obvious differentiation of social obligations: husband keeps the family, while wife is mistress and mother: Хал - хазна хпирли, мал - мутъму жилири анъури акъат шул "It is accepted that wife saves house and wealth, while husband makes the cattle and property", Хпир ижемир гъашиш, кълъетра ижемир шулу “If the wife is strong, than the family is also strong”, Хпиро гъыркъо жилирина жилири гъыбъо йицар гъарган улгыш шулу “The husband is always ahead who is attended by his wife and the bull that is bred by the husband” (Tabasaran); Хав гьягына ххуначе сэххи “Wife makes home", Алкъелъанан ххуначеи дукъие гъалмасе гъациш воохьена “A clever wife's coffer is always full" (Tsakhur);

Лас ххуйшишъ ылтывлу, ырасса ххуйшишу – ужээргал гуасийар "Husband's dignity is proved by his earnings, while wife's dignity is proved by domestic order" (Lak); Давла – мурзъла сархъибэв, г1якъс ылъы – ххунулла сархъибэв “Wealth is husband's achievement, while cozy home is wife's" (Dargin); Лълъанна нокъ ар “Wife makes home” (Archin);

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Вife in the proverbial material is represented as more protected. For example, the Tabasaran sayings are categorical: Дирбаш жилири хпир дурчычур "Generous man does not beat his wife", Сабан дишатгылйиз гъынъу жилижъошъу гъаргандыс чан жилирвал йыбъиру "A man who at least once beat his woman, loses his masculinity for ever". In another Tabasaran saying Хпирли маръ гъаргандыс, жилири йывдар "If the wife doesn't give the reason, her husband won't beat her", it is stated that the reason for husband's displeasure may be provided only by a silly wife. A clever one may rule her husband by means of affection, good conduct, cunning and flattery. However in some Dagestan languages the sayings also show us another attitude towards wife, though there are not many examples of it: Хуйис – фуор, хырол – хурд “Soil needs dung, while wife needs feast", Хырол дагъачи, хырл укъо сүлл идарл "If you are not able to beat your wife, beat the place where she was sitting" (Agul); Чуражуа Идаранъу кереладаги, чол мугъазадаги бихъинчи сурхылле къоларев "A man shouldn't have compassion neither on the back of his horse nor on the soul of his wife” (Avar). Пис дишевъель ацухъйыл, вич гатып,
A bad wife should be beaten as she is sitting and when she stands up, one should beat the place where she was sitting on” (Lezgin).

In the Dagestan proverbial worldview the image of wife is not connected with categorically negative connotation, though some traits of its character such as stupidity and falsehood are assessed negatively: one shouldn’t believe female tears.

In the proverbs and sayings of the considered languages such female disadvantages as overtalk and stupidity are also negatively characterized: Гъубъэй на хьыдыныды сири огыду “One cannot find the secret of a bee as well as of a woman”, Хъыдыныды гызык габане а “The woman’s intellect is in her skirt”, Цӏинды кешхунин да бырдже лайма1буш, хъыдыныды сири маыгъял “Don’t go a borrowing of a fresh-baked rich man; don’t confide in a woman” (Rutul); Хъымбыттии къилаг бала гыараб сиви э “Woman’s tongue is her enemy”, Хъымбыттин өкъулы берхъелеин хыръиг авеф “The woman’s intellect is in her skirt” (Agul); Мелгуукъ хъуну маыхъи – адамиа хъул багья абцьыгъу ганги саби и “A gossip woman’s tongue is a stairway bringing misery in her home”, Хъуну адамиа гыыкъул хӏевала дыгуъиз бырар “The woman’s intellect is in her skirt” (Dargin).

But if woman’s loose tongue and folly provokes a kind of ironic and uncensorious attitude (Кӏыра ыачъын хъурча базар, шанна ыачъын хъурча (шарес) ярмугы “Three women and a goose make a market” (Lak); Хъыдынине къазамии гызыды ки йыкъийъех, кӏатырыра вызыды гылылыгъ ки “There is no use in woman’s earnings as well as in the egg laid by a hen” (Rutul); Чӏужъуэдандагымъл гылъулу къынчелэптӏа букунебыча, гыэ тӏаде якъынгу, бортунгу унебыча “Woman’s intellect is upon her knees when she is sitting and it falls down as she gets up” [= reference to the small size of a woman, who does many things in hurry and without due reflection] (Avar), then woman’s dishonesty is assessed extremely negatively: Къа1эбийъхда йылъыгъ вургъу и: са маннинъы бывес чалыш рурукъу “A harlot usually has many scarves and covers one upon another”, Къа1эбъе хьыдыны къаид раг лиес чалыш рурукъу “A harlot strives to have two doors” (Rutul). In this regard a special attention should be paid to an Agul proverb saying that the worst sin in exactly woman’s slander: Фунъин ылъэф сус ичин, 1у мах гыйнавв акъее, кӏыхъ1ппа ичин – 1у рагъ астӏасе, сивин ыаев ичин, гис чара адамира – миишъул алишъина гыыкъунца кканда “If daughter-in-law is gluttonous then we’ll bake two breads instead of one, if she is a harlot, we’ll Hack the second door, but if she is bad-mouthing then we’ll have nothing to do but to send her down the river [= it can’t be changed]”. According to the national idea, it shows that women are more prone to feelings and emotions than to the reason.

Some proverbs represent wife wiser than her husband: Чӏужу гъокъын ынокнии, нода Чӏакъэгэн ыгдово къулуунги, гыакъу ландбай “Even if your wife is short, then bend over and take her advice”, Чӏужу гыыкъыб рукул лӏаге гокъэлэнирэ ралазвье “A good wife’s husband behaves well even in public” (Avar).

Among all the proverbs, we found those where wife is of a higher priority than her husband: Хнап а – урзур жилариыхъ тутурукъудар “There are women who cannot be substituted even by seven men” (Tabasaran), Чӏужулахъул багъын гыччев росе вукунуемла, анчӏегро сосуслу багъын чӏужуеги ыыкъуниса “There are husbands who don’t deserve their wives and the wives
who deserve ten husbands”, (Avar). But exactly woman as a guardian of the hearth is blamed in family dissolution: Адамийна нанах ахтыб айке лячхийн хууснаны хуунаш агваададжена “Husband's dignity is supported by his wife” (Tsakhur); Хал къеберъгурра, къеберъгурра хипр ву “House is created and dissolved only by the woman”, Хулан цили я мани анъйр, я ахъо “Hearth may both heat and cool”, Хайкан шуу бици къръ хул гытырун, гыши хипри желир ижеми анъйр “The same as water makes wool turn to felt, woman brazes her husband”, Хипр ииччүп тил кайи къюю гышиши, желиркэн арф шул. Хипр агъу ииччур гышиши, желир битриаз дюммис шул, хипр “If a wife is a melliforous flower, then her husband will be a bee, but if a woman spatters poison, then her husband will turn into a snake”, Жилир инсанаргъев гъыпръгъурра, инсанаргъев гъыджъгъурра хипр шул “Wife is able both to introduce her husband into the society and to turn it off her husband” (Tabasaran); Идемин бармак ахты аркъафра, варт аркъафра хумъбетти с “Husband's dignity is supported and may be broken by his wife” (Agul); Цареса нанма ланакъхъуссар къ1хъхъыгу бикайес “The hearth is the reflection of the wife”, Арлу адиминан бувеса къатуца цийарсанила биганма ленкян байсар “The hearth created by seven men is easily distorted by one woman” (Lak); Къарерио выгълы лав ки гывара, са ки “Wife is able both to elevate her husband and to put him down” (Rutul); Пис паб авая къ1вал жегымем я “Home where a bad wife lives is like a hell”, Паб ава къ1вал т1ыкъ1ырдай, паб ава къ1вал ч1урадай “Wife can both create home and destroy it” (Lezgin); Лъйканна бошор беху вар “Wife elevates her husband” (Archin); Чужжус лык1лав рос лык1лав, чужжус къеева рос – къеева “Good wife has a good husband, while bad wife has a bad one”, Чужжу къевасаул мегеж хакко хыахлъулылеб “Husband of a bad wife turns gray early”, Рос реухъеб къ1валги – лыады, рос вахъуб ўобъеб – лыады “Wife may be both a hill to elevate her husband and a steep to put him down”, Хуул бичватъони, чалзу къколареб, чужжус гычватъони, руку къколареб “A beam may fall without the bearing as well as home without wife”. Чужжу ёганы, руку бегулеб “If the wife falls ill, the home will also fall”, Къеваш лъадырдла данде чъара ви – къееваб бак1алдаса хъабача бихъарев ви “Who married a bad wife is like a person who tore his fur coat in the most inconvenient place (Avar). Thus, according to the Dagestan proverbial worldview, the patriarchal structure of family does not deprive the wife of a right to be more important than her husband in some aspects of house life. A part of the proverbs points out at the fact that the status and position of a husband depends on his wife.

According to the Dagestan sayings and proverbs woman's life in the house of her husband may be not easy: Диды хала – быч1 гу1м1ир, вы1л1ид хала – пыч гу1м1ир “In the father’s home your life is like a flower, while in the husband's it is hopeless” (Rutul); Цумурцагу цареса циламур ужаж1рый заллугур, къазахъгур “Any woman is her own mistress and servant” (Lak); Гагайн хал – майдан, желирн1 хал – зиндан “Father's home is a field, while husband's is a prison” (Tabasaran).

In the proverbs and sayings one may observe a series of warnings and recommendations on marriage addressed mostly to men as it was already mentioned above: Шар душун учарын, шар дахыцал1 мааши1 атм маккаккаара “If you want to marry, don’t advise with a bachelor” (Lak); Рыш ара рини, сус съара раб “Marry your daughter off to a relative, but take the bride from the other village” (Rutul); Жуван х1ур1и 1атыг-буриф ами, сара х1урн1и1 руш майш1ана “Don’t marry your daughter off to a man from
another village until there is the last gimp man in yours” (Agul); Душмандин кьынчы якъымыр, папан пирех “Don’t believe in the oath of your enemy and in the sanctity of your wife”, Рутул шаламар алукина кыл ахтармища “One should seek for a future wife in iron shoes” [= before getting married one should think over the candidate very carefully] (Lezgin); Чуку же ечю, ячун къыю со барб мечаль “You may praise your wife after twenty years of living together”, Чуку жакъилай яче: Ггадалаб Ганкуулыңыл юндойоб хоно габулареб “Marry a clever woman: a silly hen won’t bring you a clever egg”, Васасе ригин, лидали гыкъичого, габе, ясалье ригин, вугого гыкъичого, габуге “Marry off your son with asking nobody, but marry off your daughter just having asked a hundred of people”, Педал яче росасе къе: яс ий ворол вораел “Marry off your daughter in good time: daughter is like a glass”, Чужукъала гыкъейшла, ганка габейшала “Ask your wife but do the opposite”, Чужу ичунге, чадил мукары габуйлек “Don’t marry the woman who makes crumbs out of bread”, Чуку же чие инччел, чу босе, чияна рекинчеб “Marry the woman who wasn’t another man’s wife; buy the horse who didn’t carry others” (Avar); Хунун ылчулбани чермарикиндю, лих16ани черрик1а “Choose the wife not with your eyes but with your ears” (Dargin).

Such personal traits as mild nature, housewifery, intellect of a woman are appreciated in the Dagestan proverbial worldview as primary and are prioritized, unlike the dowry of the wife, her beauty and even noble origin: Бодын атышынышга деда яс аныктуу атышыныш ийкъайн “A girl with excess of intellect is better than the one with the excess of rich dowry”; Тухум ийкъайн дуього те, жийюг ийкъайн дие къе “You may keep the girl with good relatives, but give me the virtuous one” (Avar). The following proverb of the Avar language is especially interesting: Яс ийкъейшеб матык – расайшга “Girl’s mirror is her housewares”. In the old times people thought that if one wants to learn his future wife, he should check her housewares. If they were dirty, then it was concluded she would be a bad wife.

As known, the main function of proverbs is instructional. So, the folk wisdom recommends looking closely at the potential mother-in-law character in order to forecast what the future wife may become. Because daughter is the continuation, the mirror of the mother in moral and behavioral way. Girl inherits exactly the mother’s qualities: Духаися иядаг т1абал’ геййанб, ванкъали энчика илада “When you seek the future wife for your son, first learn her mother” (Tsakhur), Бабаа лыгы, рис гавадай, суркъын лыгы, ир гавдадаб “Canvas is chosen by its forel, while wife is chosen by her mother” (Tabasaran); Бабааг хуутурфунна сус 1амтый, дадааг хуутурфунна руши тин “Choose future wife by her mother, while choose future husband by his father” (Agul); Рыгы ниды ыккъычыда рукуду и “Daughter should be by her mother’s knees” [= it is exactly the mother who is responsible for her daughter’s upbringing, as she teaches her all the tricks of house holding and the manners] (Rutul); Эбель ийкъун – яс, йала ийкъун – тай “Food is to the mare the same as daughter is to her mother” (Avar); Руши дидедал, гада бубадал къведа “Daughter is like her mother, while son is like his father” (Lezgin); Ней рагурили ах1и рурес камарирд, дуб ыккъубарыли ах1и чиянк1и майсыд “Having learnt the mother, marry her daughter; having checked the forel, buy the canvas”, Рурили сукнин уккайчи, илал илаж рагыг “Before marrying the daughter, learn her mother” (Dargin). The proverbs do not advise marrying the
woman next door: Гъуншдилан хпир гъахирин юкъв динъ даршул “The one who married his neighbor woman won’t find comfort in his heart” (Tabasaran).

In Dagestan people have always had a positive attitude towards the marriages within one village and encouraged them, that’s why the proverbs and sayings disfavor the men who seek for their future wives beyond their native village: Жууван гъулан бектан, жара гъулан шягъая уччүүдү рякъору “A plain woman from another village is better than a beauty from yours” (Tabasaran); Жууриъ гъулар сукъуна, рякъорор амин саъра хурины терш майыча “Don’t marry your daughter off to a man from another village until there is the last gimpy man in yours”, Сасра хурина бика дала, учин хурина къакъаккай үдже з “A plain woman from another village is better than a beauty from yours” (Agul). For example, in the idioms there is actualization of a wide spread stereotype among the villages of Verkhny Tabasaran that the woman from the plain villages of Nizhny Tabasaran are lazy, useless around the house and inhospitable: Машкквар йигъан гаш даршул, галин шиваз марш даршул “If you are not hungry on a holiday, don’t expect a woman of the plane to welcome you”. That’s why the imperative that was actual in the routine life came into the folklore: Галин жвуваз – галин шив, сивун жвуваз – сивун шив “A man from the plain should have a woman from the plain while the mountain man needs a mountain woman”. Such proverbs reflect traditional for many languages ‘us-them’.

In Dagestan so called ‘exchange marriages’ were widely spread: a family took a girl from another family and promised to marry off its own girl to the brother of the taken one. This tradition is reflected in the following proverb: Узуна йиз шив саб рякъюн къьюң пай чуча “My wife and me are two sides of the same road” [= exchange marriage is literally translated from the Tabasaran language яркъюн паяр “road quota”].

According to the Dagestan proverbs one should marry in an early age: Ччяни щар дуризу маашман къашайяс “Those who marry early are right” (Lak); Багамикестти кисна гунин 1уът1уфна, дахи ҳпир акъуф пушмал верефттава “Those who eat bread and cheese for breakfast and marry early will know no regret” (Agul); Къъб 1ав лаъдун на къъб къаъри ръьыъд пашмал руъуди “Those who wake up early and marry early will know no regret” (Rutul); Биълдимди ишуш гъахирна гавч1инимдиг ул 1ун1ур шуъул даршулу “Those who marry early and have early breakfast will know no regret” (Tabasaran); Вахпундамал евас гайсиди, пакам къияъ ду 1уърдун пашмал жедаан “Those who marry in good time and those who eats early in the morning will know no regret” (Lezgin); Жявли мекъ барыбби пашмал1ейрар “Those who marry early will know no regret” (Dargin). People were especially negative about the girls who remained unmarried for a long time: Думу риъ базардан удуъвану “That girl has already been out of market” [about a girl who didn’t marry in time, i.e. she left the age when she could be bargained].

A ‘blind’ marriage was also not welcomed [= when the groom didn’t see his bride up to the wedding day], which had been widely spread among the Dagestan people before: Шураак лишан кипайли, дугъан куръундан лиз “Before to marry a girl, take a look at her” (Tabasaran). This proverb contains a practical suggestion: the future wife should be healthy, without physical defects, which is confirmed with the following proverb: Шив ликкур, шинтаъ хвахран алдакуру “A lame wife will stumble over the cradle and fall down” (Tabasaran).
Among the Dagestans the phenomena of bigamy and polygamy were not widely spread before. Infertility of the first wife or delivery of only girls was usually caused the necessity of the second wife (Magomedov & Isaeva, 2015). In folklore one may observe negative attitude towards polygamy which is seen from the following proverbs and sayings of the Dagestan people: Пакъылас цо чуужу ячуней, Габдалас чан шаванги ячуней “A clever man marry one woman, while a silly man marry as many woman as he is able to attract” (Avar); Къор шив гвадагвайиш, къоб ьыван гвадагъу, яв къул убчеч “There will be more use in taking two stones and beating your own head than marrying two women”; Пинайиш пина ишвур, ишвина шив аншур жилил даршул “It is not a true man who takes the second wife just like sewing a patch on a patch”, Къорни хири ареран ишвайр шул “The second wife has no silver heels”, Шиву чашна къымс хубтъан, къянцьи чан йикк ьдубтъуб къабул аншур “A wife will rather agree to be injured by tongs than to have a competitoress” (Tabasaran); Үдждэ хъиръан 1аишарикъ дукар хвай арэвафе агъа шувас “A husband thinks there are flowers on the second wife’s heels” (Agul). Such attitude towards the second marriage or polygamy is provoked by the fact that the second and further marriages were considered among the Dagestans the attributes of pathetic fate: Бахт айи кас саб рагзунтъан яленьиш даршул “A happy person marries only once” (Tabasaran).

Interestingly, there are no fixed cases of use of lexeme groom in the proverbial fund; in comparison with the word bride, this lexeme is not widely used in the colloquial speech. This is a rather bright attribute of the fact that the linguistic worldview represents male world-perception and axiological content. The modern scientists conducting gender researches, noted androcentrism of the language for many times.

The image of widow in the Dagestan proverbial worldview has a negative connotation: Гъубши гъора ран хинкъ даршул, Ачни шиван мах даршул “One can’t cook khinkali out of a runaway hare as well as one can’t see a widow’s real face”, Ачни хиринъис гъагъи хил ау “Heavy hand just like widow’s”, Ачни шив гъапъурна жилилгъайиш удукур пашман шул “The one who married a widow will be saddened just like the one who stood out of the road to the path”; Ачни шив гвадагъурур жатл даршул (The one who marries a widow won’t be a groom); Ахта гъяйванин ачни шив вердин аншур даршул (A castrated horse and a widow can’t be habituated) (Tabasaran); Хинзадымъа гъиччъуд руд руукуд и “A widow has nine rectums” (Rutul); Ашкъин бабан руш маръа “Don’t marry a widow’s daughter” [= the Aguls believe there will be no rest in such family]; Аллаъас цунагъ мъинъай къоролъуу къустьъун къеълдаса “Save Allah from becoming a good-daughter of a young widow”, Аллаъас цунагъ къоролъуу сиъиръылдаса “Save Allah from widow’s cunning”, Къоролъуу хышъараб лакъагъ досугъ, къоролъуу къуцараб ягъе ячунге “Don’t buy the cow bred by a widow as well as don’t marry a daughter brought up by a widow” (Avar).

In the Dagestan proverbial expressions mother-in-law is often represented as the main originator of family conflicts: Сижар шивуш галяъъуш, шуышванна шуыш шулу “If a mother-in-law was a daughter-in-law, then the bride will also become the daughter-in-law” (Tabasaran); Сус руъуленид ох дух улеси “The one who eats daughter-in-law will also eat the son”, Я пинахда писды рыш руъуддиси, я га1нинхда йыкъды сус “A mother doesn’t have a bad
daughter as well as a mother-in-law doesn’t have a good daughter-in-law” (Rutul): Иддэеф ичиин, баб дапуна, хөлөгөрөө байгавгай эдгээ “If she was good she would be called mother rather than mother-in-law” [in the Agul language ‘mother’ – баб, ‘mother-in-law’ – хөлөгөрөө]. Суусан ачын баба кырктан ыркчы үүттөөк “A mother-in-law eating her daughter-in-law kills the soul of her mother” (Agul). Relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law can seldom be based on love, understanding and mutual respect: Үйөча пүрриймах көлөнөн бүхийнлан абунин божа, нус иокуулей якка лийхийнан абунин, божуге “One rather believes that he saw as a dog was chewing a plowshare than that a mother-in-law loved her daughter-in-law”; Чин жераанду нусгии сөөчө, өөр жераанду чүүгии сөөчө “The daughter-in-law that would satisfy your wife is difficult to find as well as a horse that would satisfy your son” (Avar). For a mother-in-law her own daughter will always be better than her daughter-in-law, and the latter has no chance to get even though equal position with the daughter of her mother-in-law: Нылгөргө чүнүүл гайдал ясгал чыяя, чыяр пакгүлбө нийгөө “Our beautiful daughters we give others while taking their ugly daughters”; Дүрүсүүл вав лүүгөнчө, нусгүлүү дөө лүүгөнчөл “A son-in-law will never become just a son, while daughter-in-law will never become just a daughter”; Корожө гыйгиле – дөө, гыйгиле йүтгиле – нус “The hardest work is always delegated to the daughter-in-law, not a daughter” (Avar). There is an interesting comparison made in the Avar language between lexemes яккаа – нус ‘mother-in-law-daughter-in-law’ and рага – нус ‘bone-knife’: these words sound alike, which is well outplayed in the proverbs: Эбелиг иччи – рагасыл күнчилги, нусгий яккаа – рагасы сөөгий “Mother and daughter are like a ladder and a mouse, while mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are like a bone and a knife” [= a bone can’t be cut by a knife, the same as mother-in-law holds her ground in the conflicts with her daughter-in-law].

However a negative can be not only the image of mother-in-law, but sometimes in this conflicts there is also the daughter’s-in-law guilt: Росас гыпстама кычыл чычык чүчүнүүл гайыб, яккадагы чыргыда күүлүү рагалы – нусгүлүү гайыб “If the husband ticks the plates with flour, so it is his wife’s fault, and if the mother-in-law locks the bin – so it is her daughter’s-in-law fault”, which points out at the wife’s squander, or: Ячудагы нусгүл яккадагыда көдөйнөн абулбили, дагыб хадуу дөмөлдөйнөн абулбили “After the wedding the daughter-in-law calls her father-in-law ‘dad’ (just father), but in a while begins to scold him” (Avar), which refers to the daughter-in-law hypocrisy and her animus towards her father-in-law. Interestingly, the conflict relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are not so acute in the other linguocultures. The Russian linguistic view of the world, for example, to a greater extent reflects the conflict between son-in-law and his mother-in-law, which can’t be found in the Dagestan culture.

In a series of the proverbs mother-in-law is represented as a wise person, so certain proverbs and sayings actualize the advice on being patient towards daughters-in-law: Нусалда бөйөнчүле якслана абулбели, оюда бөйөнчүле болгөнчилгөн къыйбүлүү “If you want to make your daughter-in-law understand you, scold your daughter” (Avar); Шарыкман кынг гафағы эчжар чан шыкаргыдү углура “When getting angry with her daughter-in-law, the mother-in-law begins to scold her daughter” (Tabasaran); Хылуун ушкыко хавстеген къутар гөөчаракчай ухтафө агъа сус “Until she delivers three children, the mother-in-
law should be patient to her daughter-in-law” [= to please her and to give the
time to get accustomed to her new family] (Agul);  Рыш, вага рухкъура, сус, вас 
ун йшы “When I address to my daughter, my daughter-in-law should hear me”
(Rutul). In this regard the following Agul proverb is of interest: Сус 
хьеджарбабан мугулт1уликке хьуная “The daughter-in-law appeared to be
like made out of her mother’s-in-law rib” [= it means industrious, housewifely
and fitting the bill of her mother-in-law].

The image of mother-in-law is actualized not very often. To our mind, it is
caused by the distinction of the Dagestan people mentality. The proverbs and
sayings recommend paying attention to the mother of the girl with the only
purpose: in order to understand what the man’s choice will be like in the family
future.

In the majority of the world cultures delivery of a son is perceived as a more
joyful and significant event than delivery of a daughter. “The reason is the
patrarchal character of family relationship, where the head and the
breadwinner of the family is the man” (Maslova, 2004). The son is the heir, that
patches up the lineage, while the daughter is a brick for another wall: in
comparison with the Russian proverbial material: A peasant is spreading the rye
and is whispering, “One part I’ll through to the wind [= I’ll pay the taxes],
another one I’ll through into the water [= I’ll give to my daughter who will sail
away to another family], the third I’ll eat myself, the forth part I’ll use to pay
back [= I’ll give to my parents], while the fifth I’ll grant as a loan to [= I’ll give to
my son who will support me when I’m old] (Maslova, 2004).

The Dagestan proverbs and sayings brightly demonstrate different attitude
towards son and daughter: Льевинеттур ло бишэн, мелЛетту ло лову “Girl
belongs to others, while boy belongs to you” (Archin); Яс гьавораб кьо
кьваридаб “The day when a girl was born is a sad day”, Анькьо вас вугев
инсудаса беседав чи гьечевила “There is no man who would be richer than a
father of two sons”, Вас гьавораб адру вас кьувыримал “A man who
delivered a son says that it is her own deed, while the one who delivered a
daughter says insshallah” (Avar); Бай гаплунува, дару риш? “Have you
delivered a son or a daughter?” (the question has the following meaning: have
you done your work or not?), Бай айн хал йазар, адору хал аьзар ву “In the
family having a son there is joy, in the family with no son there is sadness”
(Tabasaran); Руш хьайят1а – ваа, эсда хьайят1а – заз “If we have daughter,
she will be yours, but if we have son, he will be mine” (Lezgin); Рыш дйоды
хага, къукъ къийиш, хьыбличьван хьу1маргъу1 “The father’s home doesn’t
need the daughter to come back”, Рыш вьрыды халды рисилан йыгы, дук халды
лыгылыг выги “Daughter is a brick for another wall” (Rutul); Геда – хулан дэвлет з “Son is the wealth of the home”, Рыш рухайдала, гьван хуна иджи з “It is better to deliver a stone than a girl”, Рыш 
саракайин цыылг иха гьван х1исаб з “Daughter is a brick for the other’s wall”,
Рыш хьинчи хахы – к1ирк1 хьинчи – хахы “If we have daughter, she will be
mine [= my fault], if we have son, he will be yours [= your dignity] (Agul).

It is notable that marriage in Dagestan is a warranty of social and moral
protection of a woman: Къав гьадишды харарабас хьын рыхы10 и “The one with
the roof is called the house, while the one without a roof is called the ruins”,
Къав гьадишды харарабас хьын рыхы10 и “One enters the ruins only to ease
himself” [= roof in these Rutul proverbs is a metaphor of marriage] (Rutul); Итим авачир кӏавал хайи чана хӏиз акӏада “House without the man is like a broken ladder” (Lezgin). Unmarried woman is perceived like handicapped: Лас акӏа џарнил кӏущилл ирагат чанасп “There is no good in the home of an unmarried woman”, Лас акӏасса џарса маҕьи дакӏасса чӏаркӏур “A woman without the husband is like a barn without the roof” Аӏх уӏкунал пӏуӏгу, хӏян уӏкунал маӏгӏу – лас акӏасса џарсасанил ялун “All the reproaches and spits fall on the unmarried woman’s head” (Lak). While a divorced woman has a low social status at all: in the proverbs we observe a frank disregard towards women who were not able to keep their marriage: Курчӏушар хӏьураӏд дакӏан дилӏайсар “A divorced woman walks nightly”, Курчӏушарым ӏкӏалайкӏесса цӏур “A divorced woman will be happy to have any man” (Lak). The Dagestan national wisdom condemns divorce: Лӏади ячӏин анӏгӏовагун ӏргӏе, ӏйичӏале нугӏовагун ӏргӏе. “Before getting married, ask advice of ten people, while before getting divorced ask advice of a hundred” (Avar). Divorce among the Caucasian people is not a private matter and could damage the reputation of the whole family, that’s why it was extremely undesirable and condemned by the society. A divorced daughter was not accepted even in the father’s home: Рӏукӏой ӏйигей мӏехӏь – эӏбӏь- инӏсуӏл рӏукӏь, ӏкӏватӏиса ӏсьгӏиндӏал – тӏшӏмӏанасуӏл рӏукӏь “Before marriage father’s home was your own home, but after divorce it became the home of an enemy” (Avar).

The stereotype of a man, actualized in the Dagestan linguistic worldview is represented by such qualities which are peculiar and positively assessed in the patriarchal sociocultures. The characteristic of an ideal man in the proverbial fund is reduced to the presence of such qualities as masculinity, physical force, mental superiority, industry, dignity, power and independence: Адӏи жӏарарин кӏьлӏхӏь дӏуӏхӏур “A man never discusses the others behind their backs”, Жӏилɬӏвал кайири, тӏахӏири чӏан гӏардӏани дӏюсьуӏу, уӏслири — жӏодӏинин илӏуӏруӏу “A manly one will take the spear in his chest, while a coward will cast the blame on somebody” (Tabasaran); Итим масадан кӏуӏлуӏхӏай рӏахӏадӏоч “A man never discusses the others behind their backs” (Lezgin). A man not only has the right and power over a woman, but also is responsible for her safety, because the protection of a woman is a man’s obligation: Дӏишӏгӏийин нӏамӏус уӏбӏхӏоб ӏьԓӏирӏвӏалпин мӏах ву “To keep woman’s dignity safe is the matter of a man” (Tabasaran).

Man’s words shouldn’t contradict his actions. A man should be deprived of hypocrisy. Contradictory manifestation of internal and external peculiarities are represented in such proverbial images, as: Адӏамӏин дӏжӏуӏбав са эӏҥӏвӏен “Man should be devoted to his words” (Tsakhur); Лӏусуӏ Селим, лӏисхӏан Кӏерӏим дӏаршӏул. “Man should be stable in his opinion”, Хӏулӏь ӏкӏубан, чӏат уӏсэл мӏазӏьан “Don’t be strong at home and weak outside”, Жӏилɬӏири анӏпӏу ӏшуӏра кӏьандӏи уӏбӏхӏур “Soup cooked by the husband is not good enough” [= when the traditional family chores are changed] (Tabasaran); Аӏи итим авачир чӏода итим я “He is a man where there are no men” (Lezgin). Man shouldn’t vail his principles, in spite of all the possible circumstances: Мӏанири ву ӏгӏуӏри, ӏьԓӏир ӏуӏрӏьӏь ӏрӏуӏчӏуӏр “Man won’t get into the dung, just because it is hot” (Tabasaran).
Accordingly female stereotype is composed of the traits which man would like to see in women: modesty, humbleness, fidelity, dependence and carefulness.

An interesting ‘anti-gender’ peculiarity is concluded in the following proverbial image of the Tabasaran language; Асланарин жилибна хпир даршул “Among lions there are no men and women”. In this case, the first place is taken not by the gender components, but by those main traits, incorporated into the image of lion – power, courage and determination. They are represented in the language consciousness of a native speaker as the most important in the attitude towards a person, while the gender factor is relegated to the background as less acute in this aspect.

Zoomorphic images in the Dagestan culture may have gender sense. For example, a charming female pace is compared with the way a partridge walks, as we already mentioned above, while improvidence and stupidity of a woman is usually compared with the behavior of a chicken: Хьыдынийе къазамиш гъыъыд кійиккійхь, к1ат пев махьан “There is no use in woman’s earnings as well as in the egg laid by a hen” (Rutul). In the linguistic worldview of the Dagestan languages ornithonym eagle is endowed with a positive male symbolism, zoonomic metaphor of female character, on the contrary underlines the social inequality of women: Люкь пев кійиккійхь гъылыгъ гыыхь кийиккійхь кійиккійхь кійиккійхь, амма пев люкьси за даршул “An eagle is able to descend just like a hen, while a hen can’t fly as high as an eagle does” (Tabasaran). But typical for female comparison image of chicken can be involved at the evaluation of male character as contradiction of inner and outer manifestations: Пичран гъалахь жилир дуухь, ч1ат пев махьан “One shouldn’t be a man in the kitchen and a hen in the street”, Хулъ датт, — ч1ат пев “Behaves like a cockerel at home and like a hen outside” (Tabasaran). An interesting proverbial image with a zoomorphic cultural code is shown in the following Rutul proverb: Хварар гяв гавд айгъыр “A foreigner throwing mares into the abyss”; so called a man, whose wives die. And in a Lezgin proverb the opposition to woman is horse, which is, to our mind, is caused by their chores: Пис пабни кый, пис балк1анни “One doesn’t need a bad wife as well as a bad horse”.

The analysis of the Dagestan language proverbial material revealed a slight overbalance in the quantity of the proverbs and sayings with the concept of femininity. The proverbs define social status, social role of women, their personal traits and denote moral and household requirements to her. The assessment of woman is made from the men’s positions, which is caused by the relevance of her life and the men’s activities: Ришис шу бана к1евэллын гвана гвабгуд и, шус риши – ришис гут1ахъдэ гинее “A brother for his sister is the peak of a mountain, while a sister for his brother is a heap of cinders” (Rutul); Чууччуз чи – девлетлур, хпир сагъур ккун шуллу “A brother needs a rich sister and a healthy wife” (Tabasaran). Accordingly, among the most frequently represented are such female images as mother, daughter, bride, and wife. Such ‘pragmatically consumer’ attitude towards woman defined those qualities which are positive and useful from the perspective of men – housewifery and motherhood. In the Dagestan proverbial view of the world there is the following most widely spread gender oppositions: husband and wife, father and mother.

Conclusion
Linguoculturological analysis showed that the image of woman contains the following four micro-concepts: appearance – a parameter of biological and physiological characteristics; personal qualities – a parameter of psychological characteristics, moral and ethical qualities, and mental capacities; age – a parameter which is the most frequently represented with the images of young woman/girl (the period of maidenhood) and woman (objectification of middle age); and social status – marital position and socially significant activities.

According to the results of the linguoculturological analysis of the considered languages proverbial material the definition of female character is often negative. Alongside with that an entire group of proverbs actualizes the traits of female character which are positively assessed: virtue, cheerful nature, industry and fidelity.

In the proverbial expressions characterizing female intellect, one may see the prevalence of man over woman. Use of female nominations towards men is negatively assessed.

Thus, the image of woman, actualized by the Dagestan proverbial units, has a contradictory and inhomogeneous nature. The Dagestan folklore reflects the national view on the characteristic, assessment and the parameters of the female image, often reserving archaic forms and partially religious code of culture. A part of the attributes represents ethics, morals and social grounds, while the other part is connected with a fine side of the feminine principle as the source of life. The image of woman is many-faceted and expresses opposite connotations, which may be explained by an enigmatic female nature and its multivalued interpretation in the national linguistic worldviews.

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Notes on contributors

Marina Gasanova, PhD, professor, faculty of philology, department of theoretical and applied linguistics, Federal state budgetary educational institution of higher professional education “Dagestan state University”, Makhachkala, Russia.

Patimat Magomedova, PhD, professor, faculty of philology, department of theoretical and applied linguistics, Federal state budgetary educational institution of higher professional education “Dagestan state University”, Makhachkala, Russia.

Salminat Gasanova, PhD, professor, faculty of philology, department of theoretical and applied linguistics, Federal state budgetary educational institution of higher professional education “Dagestan state University”, Makhachkala, Russia.

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