

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

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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, Bezhit, Budukh, Botlikh, Godoberi, Hinukh, Hunzib, Dargin, Kryz, Karata, Lezgin, Lak, Rutul, Tindi, Tabasaran, Udi, Khvarshin, 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

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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 *ГучI женнетдиан гъафуб ву* "Fear came from paradise" that may correlate with the true statement of human consciousness; the Aguls have a culturally significant proverb *Адамас ХIява гъаругена* corresponding with the meaning "years ago, in the year one" (literally "When Eva married Adam"). Comparing with Archin: *Адам ХIавамтIиш харашу* "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 theologians, 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 imitatrices 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 – *mauz*, 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 вылцIадиш* “People mustn’t sell their father, mother and motherland”, *Дид йикъид сада етим, нин рикъид – йыва* “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans”, *Нинды къадри джавацIанийс ватандид къадри ки вацIасдиш* “Those who cannot appreciate their mother neither can appreciate their motherland” (**Rutul**); *Баб хъудаф еригелай етум, дад хъудаф сагелай* “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans”; *Бабан къимат атIас верефттава* “Mother is treasured” (**Agul**); *Багъри бабIан артухъ дустъ айиб дар* “There is no better friend than your own mother”, *БицIур дадайиз хъадну серин ву, къюрдну – ургам ву* “The child for a mother is as important as shade in hot summer and warm clothes in winter”, *Адаш хътрур сар йитим, дада хътрур – ургур йитим* “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans” (**Tabasaran**); *Дидеди вичин велед паталди вич цIузни гадарда* “Mother is able to rush into fire for the sake of her child”, *Дидедин чIарар веледри рехи ийида* “Mother turns gray because she is worried about her children” (**Lezgin**); *Азир зизинира, нешла мер хIебурицу* “Even a thousand of aunts cannot replace your birthmother”, *Нешличив малхIямси гьалмагъ хIерар* “There is no better friend than your own mother”, *Дай хъатлаб хайгина берцIадра, нешла чебла ахъес хIейруд* “You owe your mother everything” (**Dargin**).

The image of *mother* having negative connotation is extremely rare in the Dagestan proverbial fund: *Гибугара выгъыр, виштIанбыхъде гивирхъере* “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: *ЮкIв хътру бабу кIул алдру бай гъхну* “A mother without heart has a son without head”. Or there is a Lezgin saying: *Дидедин къаргъиш галукъай баладихъ фу 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: *ДурхIя варкъибсила ахIенну, 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 дадин ярхи гарччил* “Stepmother has a long palm” [= she can slap] (**Tabasaran**); *Джурхуд нин не дживдждид хъыв иде рузудиш* “Stepmother and soggy bread cannot be tasty”, *Джурхуд нинды джанахъагъ рухуднийды худ йыха вигъи* “Mother’s fist is better than stepmother’s tenderness” (**Rutul**); *Дахе баба хIа кканч адайхIа* “Stepmother hurts by a big fang”, *Дахе баб – ирхе кканчч* “Stepmother is a long fang”, *Дахе бабан гъилигъ ачадархъурай!* “It is awful to fling oneself on the

mercy of stepmother!", *Дахе бабан азмурариккес/ макурарикес Алагъди ухIурай!* "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 ттарцIри* "Wife is the backbone of home", *Щарсса къатлул чирахъри* "Wife is the lantern of home" (**Lak**); *ВыгIылды – лилкIвад цIай, хьыдылды – салхъаIд хъед* "Man is a fire, while woman is the water to slake it" (**Rutul**); *Авлети ёкъну оьктемлиги ёкъ, къатыны ёкъну бир заты да ёкъ.* "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 э идемикес идеми аркъаф* "Woman makes a man out of a man" (**Agul**); *Лълъанна бошореар* "Woman makes a man" [= real man] (**Archin**); *ЧIужуялге бокъани, хIамилги бихъинчи гъавулила* "Wife can make a real husband out of a donkey if she wants to", *Лъади лъикIав лъикI вуго, лъади квешав квеш вуго* "Those who have good wives live happily, while those who have bad wives live poorly" (**Avar**); *Гъил гъилин куьмек я, наб гъуьлин* "Hand helps the other hand, while wife helps her husband", *КIваликай кIвал ийидайди наб я* "It is the wife who turns her home to a fortress" (**Lezgin**).

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, рижв 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 *ее гъари*, while wife refers to her husband – *гъужа*. 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 *йо* [= 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: *ГьитИнаб ригь, недегвай лъади, чияде ккечЛеб къо – гьеле гьеб буго гIумру* “To have a small house, a kind wife and to know no need is a happy life” (**Avar**); *Хав гъагана хъунаще еехъи* “It is wife who makes home”, *АКелжана хъунаще эйчIуйини хаанче нюкнейхъа кочмиш ейхъена* “A clever wife is the one who moves from her husband’s house only to the grave” (**Tsakhur**); *Дунияллул яла хъунмур талихI дакIмаз тIайласса ласцар хъуна бакъавур* “The biggest happiness on Earth is righteous husband and wife”, *Ласналми бувгъусса царсса цях къарицуви* “The woman who respects her husband’s relatives, gives a good account of herself” (**Lak**); *Хумбеттин э хал ухиар аркъаф* “The interior (coziness) in the house is created by woman”, *Эркек идеми ламус ухIафе* “Devoted woman keeps her credit” (**Agul**); *Дахъал гъай дируси ахIенну гIяхIси хъунул, гIяхси беркала бируси 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 uncleanness: *Чиркин хпирин жилир курур (бюркьюр) духъну ккунду* “A slattern's husband should be blind”. *Кечел риш кабалгайиз сумчир алдабгъну* “Whilst the ugly bride was decorating herself, the wedding came to an end”. *Гъаммишан, гъаммишан - хялишив, машквар йигъан – гъулан шив* “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. *Хябяхъ гъабшинган, габнин хпир гъялак шул* “When evening comes, shepherd’s wife starts to hurry up” [= about the necessity not to postpone work] (**Tabasaran**); *Гъен какуна – кал ацаз хъанач* “A negligent housewife has everything done wrong”, *Чиркин папан гъуьл буркьуьди хъсан я* “A slattern's husband should be blind” (**Lezgin**); *Къял бирзес хIериубхIели, къя мукеки балкIа саби рикIи* “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: *Юргъа йивандид джыбра руг ругуд и, бытIрад хъыдынийды*

джыбра – чIел “Behind a good race horse there is a swirl of dust, while behind a beauty there is animadversion”, *Выды йивандыхда джыбыр хъумабама гаджакъыр, хъура гид хъыдынийды къачIелийахда гамакъ* “Having not checked the tail of your horse don't look at the braids of the woman going ahead of you”, *ЛычIере джыбыр лаъ джывытыйне, дана бейде выкъасдиш* “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 уччвур хъуб шартI дар – цалик кибхру гюзгю дар* “A wife shouldn't be beautiful, because she is not a mirror hung on the wall” (**Tabasaran**); *Берцинай беразе, цIодорай рекIее* “Beautiful to eyes, smart to heart”, *Берцинай чIужу мадугьаласе лъикIацила* “A beautiful wife is good for the neighbor”, *Чияр чIужу берцинайила, чияр чу цIакъабила* “Another man's wife is beautiful; another man's horse is good”, *Пакъилас гIакъилай чIужу ялагъула, гIабдалас гьумер берцинай ялагъула* “A clever man seeks for a clever wife, while a dull one seeks for a beautiful one” (**Avar**); *Гуърчег хъана къацIал эцигзавач хьи* “She is a beauty but she can't be laid on shelf” (**Lezgin**); *БытIрад къари не юргъа йиван къумшияхда йикийхъ* “Let your neighbor have a beautiful wife and a good horse”, *БытIрад къари рыIкъыде хад хуй гьаIсаб и* “A beautiful wife is like a field by the road”, *БытIраваIлихъаъ бытIрад бахт йыха виъи* “A beautiful fate is better than a beautiful face” (**Rutul**); *БатIарф эгъай, батIар суратилас хъед ухайдава* “Beauty is only skin-deep” (**Agul**); *БакIрал ххуйсса царссагу, ххуллуцIухсса хъугу виланияр чил хъинссар* “A beautiful wife and a garden along the road are better when they belong to another man” (**Lak**); *Арив хоншуда яхшы* “It is better to have a beauty in the neighborhood”, *Аривню авруву кѐп.* “A beauty woman has many diseases” (**Kumyk**); *Адам бузерили вирар жагаирусси, жагадешли хIейрарну* “Labor makes a person, not beauty”, *ГIяхIгъабза гъарахълав гIяхIси вирар, жагал хъунул адам – унраличир* “Let a hero be as far as possible and a beautiful wife be neighbor's”, *Жагаси жагаси ахIенну, гIяхIрилзуси сари* “Beautiful is not a beauty, but a beloved one”, *Жагадешличир нукъун дашес хIейрар* “There is no use in beauty”, *Жагадеш къацIла мерлаб хIебука* “Beauty can't substitute bread”, *Жагасила дяхIличир хъура хIедухъар, къугъасила хъуцIарлар анхъра хIедухъар* “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 уччвур пну, дирибхъри* “Girl shouldn't hear praising to her beauty” (**Tabasaran**).

But on the other hand, there are also the following proverbs: *Жагадеш агарси чехъер – зе агарси хуреггъуна сари* “An ugly girl is like a food without

salt”, *Жагаси ва духуси рурсилис мас абикъес гIягIниси ахIен* “A beautiful and clever girl needs no dowry”, *Жагадеи – пачала тахгъуна секIал саби: гъариллис хIебиркур* “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: *Къариед Йиниш вигIыл и* “Husband is wife's god”, *Ти кIагды вигIылды ки хъыдынийхъаъ бармакас къухъа йиъи* “Even the youngest man 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 хпири, мал - мутму жилири аИури аьдат шул* “It is accepted that wife saves house and wealth, while husband makes the cattle and property”, *Хпир ижмир гъашиш, къолфетра ижмиб шулу* “If the wife is strong, than the family is also strong”, *Хпири гъюрхю жилирна жилири гъюбхю йицар гъарган улигъ шулу* “The husband is always ahead who is attended by his wife and the bull that is bred by the husband” (**Tabasaran**); *Хав гъаъана хъунаце еехи* “Wife makes home”, *АКелнани хъунацейна къутйе гъАмаше гъвицу воохъена* “A clever wife's coffer is always full” (**Tsakhur**); *Лас ххуйшиву хIалтIилул, царсса ххуйшиву – ужагърал бусайсса* “Husband's dignity is proved by his earnings, while wife's dignity is proved by domestic order” (**Lak**); *Давла – мурулла сархибдеи, гIяхIси хъали – хъуцулла сархибдеи* “Wealth is husband's achievement, while cozy home is wife's” (**Dargin**); *Лълъанна нокъ ар* “Wife makes home” (**Archin**); *ЛъикIай чIужу, нуцIихъан къватIие йитIани, гордохъан нахъ юссун ячIунейила* “A good wife being sent with a mission through the door, returns home through the window” [= manages to do the mission or her work quickly] (**Avar**).

Contrary to the set stereotype about suppressed and dependent position of the Eastern woman, we haven't found in the Dagestan idioms any categorical right of husband to punish his wife physically, which are by the way a great deal in the Russian folklore: *Beat your wife for lunch and again for supper; Beat your wife with a bolt and then check whether she is breathing or not: if she does, then she wants more beating; Love your wife like a spirit and shake like a punching bag* and many others.

Wife in the proverbial material is represented as more protected. For example, the Tabasaran sayings are categorical: *Дирбаи жилири хпир дуруччур* “Generous man does not beat his wife”, *Сабан дишагълийиз гъиву жилижвуву гъаргандиз чан жилирвал йибкIуру* “A man who at least once beat his woman, loses his masculinity for ever”. In another Tabasaran saying *Хпири маргъ тутрувиш, жилири йивдар* “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 – фурд, хъирас – хурд* “Soil needs dung, while wife needs feast”, *Хъирас дахъучи, хъир укъу мужь йархI* “If you are not able to beat your wife, beat the place where she was sitting” (**Agul**); *ЧIужуIаданалгъул кереналдаги, чол мугъзадаги бихъинчи гурхIизе кколарев* “A man shouldn't have compassion neither on the back of his horse nor on the soul of his wife” (**Avar**); *Пис дишегъли ацукъайла, вич гатут,*

кэрагъайла – чил “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: *Гъубгъуд на хьыдыныйди сир аргадии* “One cannot find the secret of a bee as well as of a woman”, *Хьыдыныйды гьакьал дабне а* “The woman's intellect is in her skirt”, *Цинды кетхудидаа бырдэж ламабуш, хьыдыныйде сир малуцI* “Don't go a borrowing of a fresh-baked rich man; don't confide in a woman” (**Rutul**); *Хумбеттин килил бала ггареф сиви э* “Woman's tongue is her enemy”, *Хумбеттин лекьул берхIемин хириъ авефе* “The woman's intellect is in her skirt” (**Agul**); *Мезлукья хьуна мухIли – адамла хьули балагь абицIуси ганзи саби* “A gossip woman's tongue is a stairway bringing misery in her home”, *Хьунул адамла гIякьлу хIевала дублизиб бирар* “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 (*КIира цачIун хьурча базар, шанна цачIун хьурча (царсса) ярмукIа* “Three women and a goose make a market” (**Lak**); *Хьыдыныйе кьазамии гьыгьид ки йикьийхь, кIатIырыра выгьид гьылыгь ки* “There is no use in woman's earnings as well as in the egg laid by a hen” (**Rutul**); *ЧужугIаданалгьул гIакьлу квенчIелтIа букIунебила, гьей тIаде яхьингун, бортунги унебила* “Woman's intellect is upon her knees when she is sitting and it falls down as she gets up” [= reference to the small intellect of a woman, who does many things in hurry and without due reflection] (**Avar**), then woman's dishonesty is assessed extremely negatively: *КьаIгьбийяхда йывыб лычек вуругьуд и: са маннийыи ливес чалыш рургура* “A harlot usually has many scarves and covers one upon another”, *КьаIгьбе хьыдылды кьваIд рак лийес чалыш рургура* “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: *Фунин хIаф сус ичин, Iу таш гунивар акьсе, кьяхIнна ичин – Iу ракк атIасе, сивин Iаеф ичин, гис чара адава – нецIул алийина гьикуна кканде* “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-mouthed 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: *Чужу кьокъай йигониги, нодо чIвазегIан гIодове кьулунги, гIакьлу дандбай* “Even if your wife is short, then bend over and take her advice”, *Чужу лъикIаб рукъ лъазе гоекIанире ралагье* “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: *Хнар а – ургур жиларихъ тутруврудар* “There are women who cannot be substituted even by seven men” (**Tabasaran**), *Чужуялгьул багъаяв гьечIев росги вукуневила, аницIго росасул багъаяй чIужугу йикIунила* “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 папах ахтыба аИкелнани хьунаше гьывааджена* “Husband’s dignity is supported by his wife” (**Tsakhur**); *Хал ккебгърурра, ккидинрурра хпир ву* “House is created and dissolved only by the woman”, *Хулан цIи я мани аИур, я аьхъю* “Hearth may both heat and cool”, *Хъайкан иту фици юрт хьуз гъитруш, гьаци хпири жилир ижми аИур* “The same as water makes wool turn to felt, woman brazes her husband”, *Хпир йиччвун тIем кайи кюкю гъашиш, жилиरिकан арф шул. Хпир агъу йибчрур гъашиш, жилир битIраз дюнмиш шул, кIур* “If a wife is a melliferous flower, then her husband will be a bee, but if a woman spatters poison, then her husband will turn into a snake”, *Жилир инсанаригъ гъягърурра, инсаригъян гъядягърурра хпир шул* “Wife is able both to introduce her husband into the society and to turn it off her husband” (**Tabasaran**); *Идемин бармак ахтт аркъафра, вартт аркъафра хумбетти э* “Husband’s dignity is supported and may be broken by his wife” (**Agul**); *Щарсса ниha лавхъхъуссар кIюххигу бикIайсса* “The hearth is the reflection of the wife”, *Арула адиминал бувсса къатта ца щарссанил бигъанма лекъан байссар* “The hearth created by seven men is easily distorted by one woman” (**Lak**); *Къариере выгIыл лаъ ки гъагара, саъ ки* “Wife is able both to elevate her husband and to put him down” (**Rutul**); *Пис наб авай кIвал жегънем я* “Home where a bad wife lives is like a hell”, *Паб ава кIвал тIуькIуьрдай, наб ава кIвал чIурдай* “Wife can both create home and destroy it” (**Lezgin**); *Лълъана бошор беху вар* “Wife elevates her husband” (**Archin**); *Чужу лъикIав рос лъикIав, чIужу квешав рос – квешав* “Good wife has a good husband, while bad wife has a bad one”, *Чужу квешасул мегеж хекко хъахIлъулеб* “Husband of a bad wife turns gray early”, *Рос рехулеб кIкIалги – лъади, рос вахунеб щобги – лъади* “Wife may be both a hill to elevate her husband and a steep to put him down”, *ХIуби чIвачIони, чIалу кколареб, чIужу гъечIони, рукъ кколареб* “A beam may fall without the bearing as well as home without wife”. *Чужу егани, рукъ бегулеб* “If the wife falls ill, the home will also fall”, *Квешай лъадиялда данде чIварав чи – квешаб бакIалдаса хъабача бихъарав чи* “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: *Дидды хала – бычI гьуIмир, выгIлид хала – ныч гьуIмир* “In the father’s home your life is like a flower, while in the husband’s it is hopeless” (**Rutul**); *Цумуцагу щарсса циламур ужагърай заллугур, къазахъгур* “Any woman is her own mistress and servant” (**Lak**); *Гагайин хал – майдан, жилирин 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: *Щар дуцин ччарчан, щар дакъуцал маслихIат маккаккара* “If you want to marry, don’t advise with a bachelor” (**Lak**); *Рыш ара риви, сус гъараа раъ* “Marry your daughter off to a relative, but take the bride from the other village” (**Rutul**); *Жуван хIуриъ Iатте-бурIеф ами, сасра хIуриъди руш майицIана* “Don’t marry your daughter off to a man from

another village until there is the last gimp in yours” (**Agul**); *Душмандин кьинехъ ягъамир, папан пIурехъ* “Don’t believe in the oath of your enemy and in the sanctity of your wife”, *Ракъун шаламар алуКIна кьил ахтармиша* “One should seek for a future wife in iron shoes” [= before getting married one should think over the candidate very carefully] (**Lezgin**); *ЧIужу ецце, ячун кього сон бараб мехалъ* “You may praise your wife after twenty years of living together”, *ЧIужу гIакъилай яче: гIадалаб гIанкIуялъ цIодораб хоно гьабулареб* “Marry a clever woman: a silly hen won’t bring you a clever egg”, *Васасе ригьин, лъидаго гьикъичIого, гьабе, ясалъе ригьин, нусгоясда гьикъичIого, гьабуге* “Marry off your son with asking nobody, but marry off your daughter just having asked a hundred of people”, *Педал яс росасе кье: яс йиго цIорол цIарагI* “Marry off your daughter in good time: daughter is like a glass”, *ЧIужуялда гьикъейила, гIакса гьабейила* “Ask your wife but do the opposite”, *ЧIужу ячунге, чадил мучари гьабудей* “Don’t marry the woman who makes crumbs out of bread”, *ЧIужу яче чияе инчIей, чу босе, чияца рекIинчIеб* “Marry the woman who wasn’t another man’s wife; buy the horse who didn’t carry others” (**Avar**); *Хьунул хIулбани чермариркIидну, лихIбани черрикIа* “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: *БоцIуИи цIикIкIаралдаса яс гIакълу цIикIкIарай лъикIай* “A girl with excess of intellect is better than the one with the excess of rich dowry”; *Тухум лъикIай дуйго те, жийго лъикIай дие кье* “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 йихъулеб матIу – расайила* “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’s-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: *Духайс усдагъ тIабал’ гьейъанкъаI, манкъьини едихъа иляке* “When you seek the future wife for your son, first learn her mother” (**Tsakhur**); *Бабахъ лигьну, риш гьадагъ, суркъназ лигьну, ир гьадабгъ* “Canvas is chosen by its forel, while wife is chosen by her mother” (**Tabasaran**); *Бабахъ хъуттурфуна сус гIаттив, дадахъ хъуттурфуна руш тин* “Choose future wife by her mother, while choose future husband by his father” (**Agul**); *Рыш нинды къвакьыда руъуд 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**); *Эбел йихъун – яс, гIала бихъун – тай* “Foal is to the mare the same as daughter is to her mother” (**Avar**); *Руш дидедал, гада бубадал кьведа* “Daughter is like her mother, while son is like his father” (**Lezgin**); *Неш рагъурли ахIи рурси камаририд, дуб хIясиббарили ахIи чIянкIи майсид* “Having learnt the mother, marry her daughter; having checked the forel, buy the canvas”, *Рурсиличи сукни укъайчи, илал неш рагъи* “Before marrying the daughter, learn her mother” (**Dargin**). The proverbs do not advise marrying the

woman next door: *Гъунидилан хпир гъахирин юкIв динж 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: *Жвуван гъулан бекетIан, жара гъулан шягъай уччвуди рякъюру* “A plain woman from another village is better than a beauty from yours” (**Tabasaran**); *Жуван хIуриъ сукъурна, раккаттай амии сасра хIуринтти руш майицIана* “Don’t marry your daughter off to a man from another village until there is the last gimp man in yours”, *Сасра хIурин бика дала, учин хIурин къакъаккай иджи э* “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: *Маишквар йигъан гаиш даршул, галин шиваз мариш даршул* “If you are not hungry on a holiday, don’t expect a woman of the plain 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 къюб пай вуча* “My wife and me are two sides of the same road” [= exchange marriage is literally translated from the Tabasaran language as *рякъюн паяр* “road quota”].

According to the Dagestan proverbs one should marry in an early age: *Чяни цар дуриума паишман къаишайсса* “Those who marry early are right” (**Lak**); *Багамикестти нисна гуни IуьтIуфна, дахи хъир акъуф пушмал верефттава* “Those who eat bread and cheese for breakfast and marry early will know no regret” (**Agul**); *КIыб лаъ лузуд на кIыб къари рыгъид паишмал руьудиш* “Those who wake up early and marry early will know no regret” (**Rutul**); *БицIидимиди швушв гъахирна гвачIнимиди уьл гдипIур швушмал даршул* “Those who marry early and have early breakfast will know no regret” (**Tabasaran**); *Вахтундамаз свас гъайиди, накам къиляй фу тIуьрди паишман жедач* “Those who marry in good time and those who eats early in the morning will know no regret” (**Lezgin**); *Жявли мекъ барибси паишманхIейрар* “Those who marry early will know no regret” (**Dargin**). People were especially negative about the girls who remained unmarried for a long time: *Думу риш базариан удучIвну* “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: *Шурак лишан кипайиз, дугъан юрушназ лиг* “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 ликур, шинтахъ хъахъну алдакур* “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: *Пакъилас цо чIужу ячуней, гIабдалас чан шваниги ячуней* “A clever man marry one woman, while a silly man marry as many woman as he is able to attract” (**Avar**); *Къюр шив гъадагъайиз, къюб гъван гъадагъну, яв кIул убччв* “There will be more use in taking two stones and beating your own head than marrying two women”, *Пинайиин пина иливрур, шив’инна шив апIрур жилир даршул* “It is not a true man who takes the second wife just like sewing a patch on a patch”, *Къюрни хпир арсран швякъяр хъайир шул* “The second wife has no silver heels”, *Шиву чаина къями хубтIан, къянцици чан йикк удубтIуб къабул апIур* “A wife will rather agree to be injured by tongs than to have a competitiveness” (**Tabasaran**); *Иудне хъиран Iашварихъ тукар хъай аргъафе 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 ражнутIан эвленмиш 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 гъюран хинкал даршул, ачIни шиван маш даршул* “One can’t cook khinkali out of a runaway hare as well as one can’t see a widow’s real face”, *АчIни хпиринсиб гъагъи хил ву* “Heavy hand just like widow’s”, *АчIни шив гъапIурна жилгъайиз удучIевур пашман шул* “The one who married a widow will be sadden just like the one who stood out of the road to the path”; *АчIни шив гъадагърур жам даршул* (The one who marries a widow won’t be a groom); *Ахта гъайванна ачIни шив вердиш апIуз даршул* (A castrated horse and a widow can’t be habituated) (**Tabasaran**); *Хиндадыяхда гъучIуд руд ругуд и* “A widow has nine rectums” (**Rutul**); *АшкIин бабан руш маркъа* “Don’t marry a widow’s daughter” [= the Aguls believe there will be no rest in such family]; *Аллагъас цIунаги тIинчIай къоролалъул нуслъун ккеялдаса* “Save Allah from becoming a good-daughter of a young widow”, *Аллагъас цIунаги къоролалъул сихIирлъиялдаса* “Save Allah from widow’s cunning”, *Къоролалъ хъихъараб гIакаги босуге, къоролалъ куцарай ясги 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 швушв гъахънуш, швушвканна швушв шулу* “If a mother-in-law was a daughter-in-law, then the bride will also become the daughter-in-law” (**Tabasaran**); *Сус ругуленийе дух улеси* “The one who eats daughter-in-law will also eat the son”, *Я ниньхда писды рыш руръуддиш, я гаIнинхда йыхды 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**); *Иджеф ичин, баб дапуна, хведжарбаб насттавууйи гис* "If she was good she would be called mother rather than mother-in-law" [in the Agul language 'mother' – *баб*, 'mother-in-law' – *хведжарбаб*], *Сусаъ ачата баба кIиркIан йиркIв IуьтIанасе* "A mother-in-law eating her daughter-in-law kills the soul of her son" (**Agul**). Relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law can seldom be based on love, understanding and mutual respect: *Гьойца пурцимахх кIкIунеб бихъанилан абунни, божжа, нус йокьулей якъад йихъанилан абунни, 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"; *ЧIужу рекъарай нусги цвечIо, вас рекъараб чуги цвечIо* "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: *Нилъерго чундул гIадал ясал чияе, чияр пахълаби нилъее* "Our beautiful daughters we give others while taking their ugly daughters"; *Дурцасул вас лъугьинчIев, нусалъул яс лъугьинчIей* "A son-in-law will never become just a son, while daughter-in-law will never become just a daughter"; *Корохъе гъабизе – яс, гъабихъе йитIизе – 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 *якъад – нус* 'mother-in-law-daughter-in-law' and *ракъа – нус* 'bone-knife': these words sound alike, which is well outplayed in the proverbs: *Эбелги ясги – расаги гIункIкIги, нусги якъадги – ракъаги нусги* "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 гIатIатIа хIуччал хъвай чIужуялъул гIайиб, якъадалъ царгъида кIулал рахай – нусалъул гIайиб* "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: *Ячудаса нусалъ вакъадасде дадайилан абубебила, дагъаб хадуб дамдамадилан абубебила* "After the wedding the daughter-in-law calls her father-in-law 'дада' (just father), but in a while begins to scold him" (**Avar**), which refers to the daughter's-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 бичIчIизе ясалда абубеб, оцода бичIчIизе булагьиналда къабубеб* "If you want to make your daughter-in-law understand you, scold your daughter" (**Avar**); *Швушвкан хъял гъафи сижар чан шуракди улхура* "When getting angry with her daughter-in-law, the mother-in-law begins to scold her daughter" (**Tabasaran**); *Хьибу шиниккв хъасттегъен кIутар гьучархъай ухIафе 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, вада рухъура, сус, вас ун йиш* "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 хъеджарбабан мугултлуликкес хъуня* "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 patriarchal 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: *Лъеннеттур ло бишин, меллетту ло лову* "Girl belongs to others, while boy belongs to you" (**Archin**); *Яс гъаюраб къо къваридаб* "The day when a girl was born is a sad day", *Анкъго вас вугев инсудаса беседав чи гъечЛевила* "There is no man who would be richer than a father of two sons", *Вас гъавурай эбелалъ абулебила: вас жинца гъавуравила; яс гъаюрай эбелалъ абулебила: Аллагъасул къадарилан* "Woman, who delivered a son says that it is her own deed, while the one who delivered a daughter says inshallah" (**Avar**); *Бай гъанЛунва, дару риш?* "Have you delivered a son or a daughter?" (the question has the following meaning: have you done your work or not?), *Бай айи хал йазар, адру хал аьзар ву* "In the family having a son there is joy, in the family with no son there is sadness" (**Tabasaran**); *Руш хъайит1а – ваз, гада хъайит1а – газ* "If we have daughter, she will be yours, but if we have son, he will be mine" (**Lezgin**); *Рыш дидды хала, къурукъ йишир, хъыблихъван хъу1маргъу1й* "The father's home doesn't need the daughter to come back", *Рыш вырды халды ригизан йиъи, дух халды мыхъыл виъи* "Daughter is a part of another's home, while son is a part of your own home" (**Rutul**); *Геда – хулан девлет э* "Son is the wealth of the home", *Руш рухайдала, гъван хуна иджи э* "It is better to deliver a stone than a girl", *Руш сасрайин цилиъ ихъа гъван х1исаб э* "Daughter is a brick for the other's wall", *Руш хъичин захъди – к1ирк1 хъичин – вахъди* "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 гъадишды харарбас хы1н рыхы1д и* "The one with the roof is called the house, while the one without a roof is called the ruins", *Къав гъадишды харабас хы1н рыхы1д и* "One enters the ruins only to ease

himself” [= roof in these Rutul proverbs is a metaphor of marriage] (**Rutul**); *Итим авачир кIвал хайи чанах хьиз аквада* “House without the man is like a broken ladder” (**Lezgin**). Unmarried woman is perceived like handicapped: *Лас акъа царнил къушлий барачат чансса* “There is no good in the home of an unmarried woman”, *Лас акъасса царсса магъи дакъасса чIаркIур* “A woman without the husband is like a barn without the roof” *Ах увкунал пувгу, ххян увкунал нацIгу – лас акъасса царссанил 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: *КурчIуцар хъхъурай даклан дикIайсса* “A divorced woman walks nightly”, *КурчIуцарнин къалайкъсса цур* “A divorced woman will be happy to have any man” (**Lak**). The Dagestan national wisdom condemns divorce: *Лъади ячине аниIгоявгун ургъе, йиччазе нусгоявгун ургъе*. “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: *Рукъой йигей мехалъ – эбел-инсул рукъ, къватIуса юссиндал – тушманасул рукъ* “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: *Адми жарарин къяляхъ дулукхур* “A man never discusses the others behind their backs”, *Жилирвал кайири, тахсир чан гарданди бисуру, улири — юлдишин илипуру* “A manly one will take the spear in his chest, while a coward will cast the blame on somebody” (**Tabasaran**); *Итим масадан къулукъай рахадач* “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: *Дишагълийин намус уьбхюб жилирвалин тах 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: *Адамийн джуваб са эйхьен* “Man should be devoted to his words” (**Tsakhur**); *Лисуз Селим, лисхъан Керим даршул.* “Man should be stable in his opinion”, *Хулаъ кIубан, чIат усал махъан* “Don’t be strong at home and weak outside”, *Жилири апIру шурпа къанди убхъур* “Soup cooked by the husband is not good enough” [= when the traditional family chores are changed] (**Tabasaran**); *Ам итим авачир чкада итим я* “He is a man where there are no men” (**Lezgin**). Man shouldn’t veil his principles, in spite of all the possible circumstances: *Манири ву кIури, жилир урслиъ уручвур* “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 къазамии гьыгьид ки йикъийхь, кIатIырыра гьыгьыд гьылыгъ ки* "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, zoonimic metaphor of female character, on the contrary underlines the social inequality of women: *Люкь пезси ис шул, амма пез 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 гьвалахъ жилир духьну, чIат пез махьан* "One shouldn't be a man in the kitchen and a hen in the street", *Хулаз датт, — чIат пез* "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 саз лагад 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 набни кьий, пис балкIанни* "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 банад кIвезълыты гъана гьабгуд и, шус риши – рыIхъыд гутIахъде гинее* "A brother for his sister is the peak of a mountain, while a sister for his brother is a heap of cinders" (**Rutul**); *Чувчвуз чи – девлетлур, хпир сагъур ккун шулу* "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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