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, Bezhita, 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
languages). The following so called majority languages alongside with Russian have the status of official language in Dagestan: Avar, Agul, Dargin, Kumyk, Lak, Lезgин, 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 ḠучІ жëннëтдиан гъафиб ву “Fear came from paradise” that may correlate with the true statement of human consciousness; the Aguls have a culturally significant proverb ᴄаdамаs ḳъаvа въаrъeнa corresponding with the meaning “years ago, in the year one” (literally “When Eva married Adam”). Comparing with Archin: ᴄаdам ḳъаvамтыш нъaръи “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 вылъядид “People mustn’t sell their father, mother and motherland”, Дид икъиды сада итим, нин ригъид – итва “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans”, Нинды къадри дживацъаный ватанди къадри ки ватъядиди “Those who cannot appreciate their mother neither can appreciate their motherland” (Rutul); Баб хуудаф ер clase етум, дад хуудаф сагерлай “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans”; Бабан къыммат аттаас верефтйовава “Mother is treasured” (Agul); Багъри вабтъан артукъ дустъ айиб дар “There is no better friend than your own mother”, Бицъир дадайш хвандъ сери ву, къордуу – урдум ву “The child for a mother is as important as shade in hot summer and warm clothes in winter”, Адам хътрур сар йитим, дада хътрур – урдум йитим “Those who have no father are once orphans, while those who have no mother are seven times orphans” (Tabasaran); Диди ди вичин велел патанлы вич шулъъин гадарда “Mother is able to rush into fire for the sake of her child”, Диддиин чиарар веледри рехи ийона “Mother turns gray because she is worried about her children” (Lezgin); Азир гиширира, неыша мер хъебури “Even a thousand of aunties cannot replace your birthmother”, Нешичин малъыынгы ыгъымай хъирар “There is no better friend than your own mother”, Дай хъютлад байгина берилъада, неыша чылбя ахъес хъейруд “You owe your mother everything” (Dargin).

The image of mother having negative connotation is extremely rare in the Dagestan proverbial fund: Гыънарға въыыр, вишъланымъоо гиширира “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: Ыкъа вътру баби къул арду бай гъхку “A mother without heart has a son without head”. Or there is a Lezgin saying: Диди ди вичин велел галкувай багъабын 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: Дархи баркъыбесли ахъенку, айъурисли 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 гаръичл “Stepmother has a long palm” [= she can slap] (Tabasaran); Дархъууд нине джинаджикъ хъын ике рухудин “Stepmother and soggy bread cannot be tasty”, Дархъууд нинды джанахъох рухудинъох хъуд ийха винны “Mother’s fist is better than stepmother’s tenderness” (Rutul); Дахе баба съы къанчаг адайыб “Stepmother hurts by a big fang”, Дахе баб – ярхи къанч “Stepmother is a long fang”, Дахе бабан ылъыч ачадархъурай “It is awful to fling oneself on the
mercy of stepmother!", Дахе бабан азуурариккес/ макуу азмурариккес Алагьди ухурай! “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 чирар “Wife is the lantern of home” (Lak); Выгылды – лилкывад цлай, хыдылы – салкывад хвед “Man is a fire, while woman is the water to slake it” (Rutul); Авлети ёкъны оькъетәрләгы ёкъ, къатыны ёкъны бир зать дә 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 идемиккә идеми аркъәф “Woman makes a man out of a man” (Agul); Лълъанна бошорва “Woman makes a man” [= real man] (Archin); Чужуа бокъани, хәмилги бийан къулылга “Wife can make a real husband out of a donkey if she wants to”, Лади лъвкый вагъ ёлю, гъада квеша квеш вагъ “Those who have good wives live happily, while those who have bad wives live poorly” (Avar); Гъил гъилин къмек я, паб гъулын “Hand helps the other hand, while wife helps her husband”, Кивалкый кивал ийидайди паб 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 ве гъурә, 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 къаури ‘old woman’, while woman can call her husband идеми ‘man’; the Avars address to wives using word уо [= 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: ытмышаб риғ, нѳдѳгѳйл хѳйби, чығыл кѳкѳлѳ кѳ — гѳвѳ гѳбѳ бѳд ёгѳмру “To have a small house, a kind wife and to know no need is a happy life” (AVAR); Хав ҕѳъатана хѳунатѳ єехъ “It is wife who makes home”, Ахѳелканѳ хѳунатѳ зйымуъини хѳанъе нѳъкѳнѳтѳ кѳъѳѣнѳ “A clever wife is the one who moves from her husband’s house only to the grave” (Tsakhur); Дунъяллѫл ялѫа хѳыммүр талѫх1 ҕах1мѫз т1айлысса лаъщар хѳунаб бакшавур “The biggest happiness on Earth is righteous husband and wife”, Ласналы бунгусса ѕарѳсса ѕях Ѿѳъришувы “The woman who respects her husband’s relations, gives a good account of herself” (LAK); Хумбѳтѳн ѓ хѳл ўмыш арквѳф “The interior (coziness) in the house is created by woman”, Эрѳкѳ њѳдѳм љамъус ўх1афѳ “Devoted woman keeps her credit” (AGU); Дахал гѹйдъ бириги ахъѳню єг1ах1си хѳунун, єг1ах1си бѳркѳла бириги сѳрй “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: Чиркѳн хЄирѳн жєлир кукур (бєркѳлъ) дъунъу ћусуну “A slattern’s husband should be blind”. Кѳчѳл риѳ кабгѳлайдз єумщир алдѳбѳъу “Whilst the ugly bride was decorating herself, the wedding came to an end”. Гѳъммишан, гѳъммишан - хилашы, машкѳвър ѕиъѳған - гўулъан ѕиъ “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. Хъбаъ хѳъабынсан, гѳъиъи хЄир гъалъик ѕулу “When evening comes, shepherd’s wife starts to hurry up” [= about the necessity not to postpone work] (Tabasaran); Гѳвѳ ћакуну - ќах ѕѳъаз ћанъа “A negligent housewife has everything done wrong”, Чиркѳн папан гъуул бѳуркѳлүдї ћѳсан Ѩ “A slattern’s husband should be blind” (Lezgin); Къях бирзѳ х1єрчүб1єлъи, къя мукѳкѳ ваз1 ќаби ри1 “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 ѵывандид джыбрѫ рѫг рѫъд и, бѫт1radouro хѫдыньиѣды.
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: 'A wife shouldn't be beautiful, because she is not a mirror hung on the wall' (Tabasaran); Берцианый беразе, цъодорай рекле “Beautiful to eyes, smart to heart”, Берцианый чужу мадуязаласе ляйнлацйла “A beautiful wife is good for the neighbor”, Чяйр чужу берицайная, чяйр чу цнакбила “Another man’s wife is beautiful; another man’s horse is good”, Пакзиллас пакзиллай чу жагула, Лабдас вузмер берицай лягылула “A clever man seeks for a clever wife, while a dull one seeks for a beautiful one” (Avar); Гъурчег хъана хаццал эсиззвач къи “She is a beauty but she can’t be laid on shelf” (Lezgin); Бътпраз къарн не къаргъар нянан къумишлъада някыйлы “Let your neighbor have a beautiful wife and a good horse”, Бътпраз къарн ылъкъыдэ хъул хъул ыгылаб и “A beautiful wife is like a field by the road”, Бътпразылъа къарн бътпраз бахт ыкъа въяз “A beautiful fate is better than a beautiful face” (Rutul); Бътпраз эгэй, бътпраз серитъллас хъул укъадэва “Beauty is only skin-deep” (Agul); Бътпраз хъулъеса царсэгъу, хъулъуцъулъкъа хъулу виланлъ къил чыккесар “A beautiful wife and a garden along the road are better when they belong to another man” (Lak); Ариъ хонъуда ахынэ “It is better to have a beauty in the neighborhood”, Арыъюу арууу къеъ “A beauty woman has many diseases” (Kumyk); Адым бузъилъуу вуэра жагаарусу, жагадешли хьатъарину “Labor makes a person, not beauty”, Гъялягъабла жараакълъав гъялягъав вуэра, жагаал хъунуул адым – унарлъирич “Let a hero be as far as possible and a beautiful wife be neighbor’s”, Жагаал жагаси ахъенуу, гъялягъилъукъу сары “Beautiful is not a beauty, but a beloved one”, Жагадешлирич нукъун дашес хьатъарин “There is no use in beauty”, Жагадеш къацкала мерлах хьедъука “Beauty can’t substitute bread”, Жагасиль хъулъунуу хъурна хьедъулхар, къьуугъилъуу къьуугъилъар акъэра хьедъулхар “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: Шыраъз уччулъуу пуу, дырибэрир “Girl shouldn’t hear praising to her beauty” (Tabasaran).

But on the other hand, there are also the following proverbs: Жагадеш агарси чэхъер – э агарси хурегъуна сары “An ugly girl is like a food without
The Dagestan proverbial worldview reflects the relationships of dominancy. The family power is concentrated in man's hands: Қъарынг Ыниси ыычыг и “Husband is wife's god”, Ти ымгыдды ыычыг и ки ыычынан ванбар марака къыну ымгы “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 хпир, мал - мутму жилмири ап нгыр алдат шулу “It is accepted that wife saves house and wealth, while husband makes the cattle and property”, Хпир ыжимир гвани, къуелетра ыжимир шулу “If the wife is strong, then the family is also strong”, Хпир гыворкъ жилмири жилмири гыворкъ ыыгарган улыгы шулу “The husband is always ahead who is attended by his wife and the bull that is bred by the husband” (Tabasaran); Хав гыйвана хунаще гыйвана “Wife makes home”, Алгиланы хунаще къутыг элманс гыйвана гыйвана вусханена “A clever wife's coffee is always full” (Tsakhur); Лас хууйшу калтыл ыыллү, ирарса хууйшү - ужагьарал бусайсыр “Husband's dignity is proved by his earnings, while wife's dignity is proved by domestic order” (Lak); Даава - муршулла сархибеден, г1як1си къалы - къунулла сархибеден “Wealth is husband's achievement, while cozy home is wife's” (Dargin); Лызыкан нокъ ар “Wife makes home” (Archin); Лызыкдай чуужу, къыц1ыхан къуатлы уатлы, гырдыман ныхъ уусун ячъуңейшылга “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: Дирбаш жилмири хпир дуруччыр “Generous man does not beat his wife”, Сабан дышатылдынгы гыйву жилмишкуну ыыгарандын чын жилмишкун жыбларыр “A man who at least once beat his woman, loses his masculinity for ever”. In another Tabasaran saying Хпир гырдым турусушы, жилмири ыывдар “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: Хуйус – фырд, хырарас – фырд “Soil needs dung, while wife needs feast”, Хырарас вахчуну, хыр укуу люкъ жырл “If you are not able to beat your wife, beat the place where she was sitting” (Agul); Чуужуыаданалык керендалады, чыл мукъгыдагы бихинчи гырхлыке кылдары “A man shouldn't have compassion neither on the back of his horse nor on the soul of his wife” (Avar). Пис дишетылы ащукуйылга, въч гатул,
“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: Гъубъу на хъындыэйды сир аргадий “One cannot find the secret of a bee as well as of a woman”, Хъындыэйды гыякъал дабне а “The woman’s intellect is in her skirt”, Цинэндэ кетхуундэ а бъырдж лайма1бун, хъындыэйды сир маьгүл “Don’t go a borrowing of a fresh-baked rich man; don’t confide in a woman” (Rutul); Хумбиттин къиллэ бала гарабе сиви э “Woman’s tongue is her enemy”, Хумбиттин йокъул берхэлэн хыряв апеф “The woman’s intellect is in her skirt” (Agul); Мелункухх хынна мугъял – адамла хыъулы бажэ абшылгын ганги саби “A gossip woman’s tongue is a stairway bringing misery in her home”, Хынкух адамда гынъул хэвлэлэ дэлгизиб бярар “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 (Кына чычун къурач базар, шаанна чычун къурач (шаресс цармук) “Three women and a goose make a market” (Lak); Хъындыни къазамиги гыъыд ки ийккъийх, клаатъурыра въыды гыъылыг ки “There is no use in woman’s earnings as well as in the egg laid by a hen” (Rutul); Чынжулданагул йакъул къантептэй бүкъунебила, гыйе тлаце якъунгун, бортунгун унебила “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: Къыалгыйылда йыялым лъычк куруъуд и: са маньнымы ливес чалымы руръур “A harlot usually has many scarves and covers one upon another”, Къыалъи эд къылды къылдэ рак ливес чалымы руръур “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 къыф сус ийн, 1у маш гуннин ойкос, къыкъынлда ийн – 1у ракъ атаже, сивин гаеф ийн, гис чара адама – кынъулы алийн алыкъуля къанда “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: Чынжул къыкъыл уйонине, нодо чынжултан гюдове къулунги, гынъул дайнбай “Even if your wife is short, then bend over and take her advice”, Чынжул лъыкъаб руъ узге гёккенирэе рагаге “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 – уррэж жиларыкку тутрукурдан “There are women who cannot be substituted even by seven men” (Tabasaran), Чынжуллъул балъыя гычев росе вукууневила, инцдэ сосасул балъыя чынжуги йынъунула “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 ахтм бая ахтмнаны хуннашье гвайааджена “Husband’s dignity is supported by his wife” (Tsakhur); Хал кябюрук, кябюрукра сиер ву “House is created and dissolved only by the woman”, Хулан ўй мани антюр, я айкъо “Hearth may both be heat and cool”, Хайкъан шу туши ёнри ёрд ёвд, ёвд ёрири жилл ёжеми антюр “The same as water makes wool turn to felt, woman brazes her husband”, Хыр айчвун тел кай кюю гвайши, жиллрикар арф шул. Хыр аёру айччун гвайши, жилл битриак тюммис шул, калур “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”, Жылл инсанаарг гюръуррда, инсарааг гюръуррда сиер шул “Wife is able both to introduce her husband into the society and to turn it off her husband” (Tabasarar); Идемин бармак ахтм аркъафра, вартм аркъафра хумбетти э “Husband’s dignity is supported and may be broken by his wife” (Agul): Шерсса ныхла яааххъуссар ялларялисса “The hearth is the reflection of the wife”, Арула адаминал буусса кяатта ца щарссаал бийган ланын байсар “The hearth created by seven men is easily distorted by one woman” (Lak); Цыр澍ире выглия лав ки гывара, са ки “Wife is able both to elevate her husband and to put him down” (Rutul); Пис паб аавай къвал жыдынем я “Home where a bad wife lives is like a hell”, Паб ава къвал къаалкъайрудулай, паб ава къвал чылардулай “Wife can both create home and destroy it” (Lezgin); Лъигана бэйор бэху вар “Wife elevates her husband” (Archin); Чужгу лъиклав рос лъиклав, чужгу кевшав рос – кевшаб “Good wife has a good husband, while bad wife has a bad one”, Чужгу кевшасул мегеж хекко къаалкъаалг “Husband of a bad wife turns gray early”, Рос рэгүл тхъалаги – гывади, рос вахунеб шобеги – гывади “Wife may be both a hill to elevate her husband and a steep to put him down”, Хъуда яывачлони, чылун къолареб, чужгу гывачлони, руку къолареб “A beam may fall without the bearing as well as home without wife”. Чужу ёвганни, руку бегилеге “If the wife falls ill, the home will also fall”, Кевшаг лъиклааса данке чыбарав чи – кевшаб бакылдаса къыбач тамхарав 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 – бычк гэулмур, выглтид хала – пыч гэулмур “In the father’s home your life is like a flower, while in the husband’s it is hopeless” (Rutul); Цымурчагу щарсса цыламур укэгърайчай зылгъурун, къыалхъурун “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” (Tabasarar).

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 буучи чачраан, цар дакъуцал маккаккара “If you want to marry, don’t advise with a bachelor” (Lak); Рышара рым, сус эрарра раб “Marry your daughter off to a relative, but take the bride from the other village” (Rutul); Жуван хырык 1атмт-бүрдэф амий, сагра хырыкду руу майшылана “Don’t marry your daughter off to a man from
another village until there is the last gimpy man in yours” (Agul); Душмандин кынчы якъамыр, папап пирех “Don’t believe in the oath of your enemy and in the sanctity of your wife”, Рутул тилкем тилкем агъал агъал агъал агъал “One should seek for a future wife in iron shoes” [= before getting married one should think over the candidate very carefully] (Lezgin); Чужо илчие ячы: Хамданида чони чони чони чони “Marry a clever woman: a silly hen won’t bring you a clever egg”, Васасе ригин, гыйгычо гыйгычо гыйгычо, гыйгычо гыйгычо “Choose the wife not with your eyes but with your ears” (Agul). The following proverb of the Avar language is especially interesting: Яч хьулеб мату-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-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 идая тываал’ гейванак, мамкъын удикум шукам “When you seek the future wife for your son, first learn her mother” (Tsakhur); Бабада жигын, гыйгычо гыйгычо, гыйгычо гыйгычо “Don’t marry the woman who makes crumbs out of bread”, Чужу ячы чинчы чинчы, чу босе, чыяча чыячасе “Marry off your daughter in good time: daughter is like a glass”, Чужуула гыйкъейила, Духайс шукам “Ask your wife but do the opposite”, Чужо ячыу, чыяча жумгери гыйкъул “Don’t marry the woman who makes crumbles out of bread”, Чужу ячы чинчы чинчы, чу босе, чыяча чыячасе “Marry the woman who wasn’t another man’s wife; buy the horse who didn’t carry others” (Avar); Хьунул хъулеб чынарырчун, лиххан чынарырчун “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: Буфаху цуклардууна яс илкэл цуклар улкэл “A girl with excess of intellect is better than the one with the excess of rich dowry”; Түхүм улкэл дүйгө те, жүйе гыйкъул дүйе кө = “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: Яч хьулеб мату-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.
woman next door: Гъуншдилан гъир гъахирин юкІв динж даришул “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: Жуван гъулан бекетІан, жара гъулан шягьяй уччвуди рыш майыцІана “Don’t marry your daughter off to a man from another village until there is the last gimpy man in yours”, Сасра хуриъ бика дала, учин хури ѓакъаккай ідджи 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: Машківар йигъан гаш даришул, галин шиваз марн даришул “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 жввуаз – галин шив, сивун жввуаз – 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 кьюб 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: Ччяни ѓар дурцума пашман къашиасса “Those who marry early are right” (Lak); Багалмектест ки сама гун ІуытІуфна, дахи хыр акъуб пашмал верефттава “Those who eat bread and cheese for breakfast and marry early will know no regret” (Agul); Къыб лав лугуд н на къыб къары рыйьыд пашмал рукудии “Those who wake up early and marry early will know no regret” (Rutul); Буылдіміді шышуи гэхэрина гэччініміді ул гэйгірір шермоал даришул “Those who marry early and have early breakfast will know no regret” (Tabasaran); Вахундамал овас гэйги, пакам къыллаи фу тіүрді пашман жедан “Those who marry in good time and those who eats early in the morning will know no regret” (Lezgin); Жавли мекъ баринш пашман хейрар “Those who marry early will know no regret” (Dargin). People were especially negative about the girls who remained unmarried for a long time: Думу рииш базардан удучІван “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: Шуррак лишан кипайы, дуган куришах 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, шинтах хэхэну 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: Пакьыллас цо чужу ячуней, Габдуллас чан цваныгь ячуней “A clever man marry one woman, while a silly man marry as many woman as he is able to attract” (Avar); Къор шив гьадагъайы, къоб гьван гьадагъку, яа къул убчев “There will be more use in taking two stones and beating your own head than marrying two women”; Пинайын пына ашвун, ишвунна шив анпирр жылъар даршул “It is not a true man who takes the second wife just like sewing a patch on a patch”, Къорни хир ареран швакъар хвайр шул “The second wife has no silver heels”, Шиве чашна къаны хьубтан, кьаныгъы чан йикк удубтуб къабул анпир “A wife will rather agree to be injured by tongs than to have a competitorress” (Tabasaran); Іүдєн хирран 1ашваниртукар хвай арғафет ака ишувас “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 рагынугтан зеленьмис 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: Гъубин гъирран хинкаг даршул, Ачны 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”, Ачны хиринсеб ганахи хил ау “Heavy hand just like widow’s”, Ачны шив ганаынан жылъары даршул пашман шул “The one who married a widow will be saddened just like the one who stood out of the road to the path”; Ачны шив гьадагъар жылъар даршул (The one who marries a widow won’t be a groom); Ахта гэйванъан акыны шив вердйш анпир даршул (A castrated horse and a widow can’t be habituated) (Tabasaran); Хинданањндая гучунд ау руғуу и “A widow has nine rectums” (Rutul); Ашкын бабан руш маръа “Don’t marry a widow’s daughter” [= the Aguls believe there will be no rest in such family]; Аллахъас цунуаги тиндий къоролалъул куштун къекълдаса “Save Allah from becoming a good-daughter of a young widow”, Аллахъас цунуаги къоролалъул сихирлъылдаса “Save Allah from widow’s cunning”, Къоролалъ хывънараб лакаги босге, къоролалъ куцараб ягьи ячуне “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: Сизжар шивууг гъахъыш, шивууганна шивуу шуллу “If a mother-in-law was a daughter-in-law, then the bride will also become the daughter-in-law” (Tabasaran); Сус руўулууну дуух углес “The one who eats daughter-in-law will also eat the son”, Я га1ниндага писды рыши руўуулдыш, я га1ниндага йыхду суг “A mother doesn’t have a bad
daughter as well as a mother-in-law doesn't have a good mother-in-law” (Rutul). Идясев ёчын, баба дапуна, къеджарбаб пасма тавун гис “If she was good she would be called mother rather than mother-in-law” [in the Agul language ‘mother’ – баба, ‘mother-in-law’ – хъеджарбаб]. Суған ачатана баба къиркъан ыйркъав йыттанане “A mother-in-law eating her daughter-in-law kills the soul of her child” (Agul). Relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law can seldom be based on love, understanding and mutual respect: Ґвойца пурчямах къикъанеб бихъанлан абун, божа, нус йоъулул юкъад ́иъхъанлан абун, 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”; Чуржу рекъаран нусги щечча, вас рекъаран чуғи щечча “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: Нылъерго чундуг гайдаал ясаг чига, чирп паххалаб нылъет “Our beautiful daughters we give others while taking their ugly daughters”; Дурчесул вас лъовъачув, къасъулл яс лъовъачув “A son-in-law will never become just a son, while daughter-in-law will never become just a daughter”; Корогъе габилье – яс, габилье йитилье – 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 юкъад – нус ‘mother-in-law-daughter-in-law’ and ракъи – нус ‘bone-knife’: these words sound alike, which is well outplayed in the proverbs: Эбели ясаг – ракъи гунккъиг, нусги юкъаги – ракъи гусиги “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 гантама къичал хъав тъовъачул гайиб, якъадаал ярхъыда къулал ракъи – къасъулл гайиб “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: Ячусаас къасъл якъасаасе дадаалаб абулебал, дагъаб хадуб дамдааалаб абулебал “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: Нусадла бывччыг ясакда абулеб, оюда бывччыг булаанында къабулеб “If you want to make your daughter-in-law understand you, scold your daughter” (Avar); Шуышкан къыл гафы сяжар чан шурарди углур “When getting angry with her daughter-in-law, the mother-in-law begins to scold her daughter” (Tabasaran); Хьыбу шинъкъав хвастаевен къутар гъучархайн углайфе агга 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 рухьура, сус, вас 
yн иш “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 хьэдэравбабан мугултъулукъас 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
causèd 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: Льиненеттур ло бишьин, меллелтъу ло гову “Girl
belongs to others, while boy belongs to you” (Archin); Яс гьаравраб кьо 
къваридаб “The day when a girl was born is a sad day”, Анъьо вас вугев
инусааса беседав чи гьечевила “There is no man who would be richer than a
father of two sons”, Вас гьавуравь абулебила: вас жинца гьавуравила;
яс гьаравраб абулебила: Аллахасуь къваридлан “Woman, who
delivered a son says that it is her own deed, while the one who delivered a
daughter says inshallah” (Avar); Бай гьяпъунва, дару риш? “Have you
delivered a son or a daughter?” (the question has the following meaning: have
you done your work or not?), Бай айй хал ызар, адору хал аъзар ау “In the
family having a son there is joy, in the family with no son there is sadness”
(Tabasaran); Руш хьэйитъа – вак, вада хьэйитъа – вак “If we have daughter,
she will be yours, but if we have son, he will be mine” (Lezgin); Рыш биьыды
халъа, къаракъ ыйшир, хъыбылыхвъан хъу’лмаргъули “The father’s home doesn’t
need the daughter to come back”, Рыш вирды халъы рисиэтъ ыйни, дуъ халъы 
мыъылъы вини “Daughter is a brick for another wall” (Rutul); Геда – хулъан дэвлет э “Son is the wealth of the home”, Руш 
рухайдала, гъван куна идже э “It is better to deliver a stone than a girl”, Руш 
сарабулаан чилъын жъаа гъван ачылас э “Daughter is a brick for the other’s wall”,
Руш хъычъин ачыды – къиркъ1 хъычъин – ваъды “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: Кьав гьадишдъо харарабас хьин рыхылд и “The one with
the roof is called the house, while the one without a roof is called the ruins”,
Кьав гьадишдъо харарабас хьин рыхылд и “One enters the ruins only to ease
himself” [= roof in these Rutul proverbs is a metaphor of marriage] (Rutul); Итим авачир к1вал хайи чанах хьыз акыаа “House without the man is like a broken ladder” (Lezgin). Unmarried woman is perceived like handicapped: Лас акъа яцарил къушпил бараач чансаар “There is no good in the home of an unmarried woman”, Лас акъасса щаресса магьи дакъасса чалкъур “A woman without the husband is like a barn without the roof” Ах увкунал пувгу, ххян увкунал нац1гу “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: Курчуцар хъырвай дакхан дин1йесар “A divorced woman walks nightly”, Курчуцарин къамайъесса цур “A divorced woman will be happy to have any man” (Lak). The Dagestan national wisdom condemns divorce: Лъади ячине анц1гоявгун 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 ийигей мехалъ – монсул къат иса юссиндал – туулааасул 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 къылъхъ дулухур “A man never discusses the others behind their backs”, Жилирвал кайии, тахсир чан гарданди бисурру, услири — къолдинн илпиру “A manly one will take the spear in his chest, while a coward will cast the blame on somebody” (Tabasaran); Итим масадан къулуххай рагадач “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: Диншагъ1ин намус убхъоб жилирван1ин мах 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 эйъен “Man should be devoted to his words” (Tsakhur); Лисуу Селим, лисход Керим даршул. “Man should be stable in his opinion”, Хулаг къубан, чат усул махьан “Don’t be strong at home and weak outside”, Жилир ил1ру шурпд къанди убхъоб “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 vail his principles, in spite of all the possible circumstances: Манири ву к1ури, жилир урсълъ урукъүр “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 даршу элл “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: Хыйдыхин халамлии гьыъыд ки йикъийхь, къат тамдыр гъыъыд гъыъыд гъыъыд 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, zoominic metaphor of female character, on the contrary underlines the social inequality of women: Люкъ певс ие щул, амма пев люкъися за даршуэл “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 дуьхьу, чъат пев махьан “One shouldn’t be a man in the kitchen and a hen in the street”, Хулъ датт, — чъат 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 сан лавлад 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 кыйй, пис балкъанни “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 кивэлэлыы гъана гъабгуд и, шус риши – ришис огулэ гутлахьдэ гинеэ “A brother for his sister is the peak of a mountain, while a sister for his brother is a heap of cinders” (Rutul); Чууччув чи – девлетлур, хпир сагъур къун 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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