BALTO-FINNIC PROVERB LORE AS A MIRROR OF FOLKLORIC, ETHNIC AND
LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIPS

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Based on the handout of the paper presented in the Colloquium

Balto-Finnic peoples – where do they live and how large are the communities that speak Balto-Finnic languages?

Saami – 35 000
Finnic
  Estonian – 1 000 000
  Finnish – 5 000 000
  Ingrian – 300
  Karelian (and Lude) – 35 000 / 5000
  Livonian – < 20
  Livvi (Olonetsian) – 25 000
  Vepsian – 6000
  Votian – 50

The map on the left is based on the original located at the address:
http://www.helsinki.fi/~sugl_smi/kuvat/Kartat/Kielet/Fenno-Ugrian_languages.jpg

Introductory

In the period 1964–1985, a team of Finnish and Estonian paremiologists headed by Matti Kuusi prepared a comparative edition of the most common proverbs of the Balto-Finnic peoples. The first output of the collaborative project, Proverbia septentrionalia: 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels (FF Communications No. 236, Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia; hereinafter PS), was issued in 1985. Its introductory writings also included a statistical analysis entitled “The connections between the Balto-Finnic and non-Balto-Finnic materials” (PS, pp. 29–36; cf. also a more extensive version of the analysis: Arvo Krikmann, Some Statistics on Balto-Finnic Proverbs (Preprint KKI-36, Tallinn, 1985)).

The PS did not embrace the whole shared proverb lore of the Balto-Finnic peoples, but only about a third of it; moreover, it covered only the most productive, most stereotypical, most “common-North-European” part, leaving out the less productive layers, which would be particularly interesting for a purely Balto-Finnic field of studies. After the PS was published, Matti Kuusi unfortunately terminated his participation in the project, so it came to a standstill for about ten years. Fortunately, with the aid of the welcome and precious funding that our team received from the Open Estonia Foundation, the Finnish Cultural Foundation and later from the Academy of Finland, it was possible to revive the project in 1994, to continue the work and to complete it (though not yet to publish the two follow-up volumes of the PS) by the end of the century.

I shall offer an updated version of the geographical distribution and other statistics, based on the full data of shared Balto-Finnic proverbs.
Some recalculations

Two simple parameters were used as estimates of the ethno-geographic density of the connection between the involved Balto-Finnic and non-Balto-Finnic materials:
1) the values of the residuals of linear regression fields;
2) the so-called colligation coefficients (or “bivariate percentages”) that are calculated from the formula

$$\lambda_{AB} = \frac{A \cap B \times \Sigma_{tab}}{\Sigma A \times \Sigma B}$$

where $A \cap B$ is the number of “meetings” (intersections) of events $A$ and $B$,
$\Sigma A$ and $\Sigma B$ are the summary frequencies of these events in the given collection and
$\Sigma_{tab}$ is the sum total of all numerical data in the table through all of its rows and columns.

In 1985 I found that the hexagonal model can be used to illustrate the density of internal connections between the 6 involved BF materials: here the strongest positive connections are represented by the sides of the hexagon, the graphs of the weakest (largest negative) connections – by the diametric chords, and the graphs of the intermediate connections by the remaining chords.

Thus the strongest connections hold between the FIN and KAR, VOT and VEP, and EST and LIV.
Respectively, the connections KAR–LIV, EST–VEP and FIN–VOT are the weakest ~ most strongly negative.
From the viewpoint of “ethno-geographic logic”, such a configuration seems quite predictable.

In 1985 I also found that, considering the whole field of BF/BF and BF/non-BF relations, the involved BF peoples can be grouped, on the one hand, into western (FIN, EST, LIV) and eastern (KAR, VOT, VEP) groups and, on the other hand, into northern (FIN, KAR) and non-northern groups (the rest of the BF peoples).

The eastern sub-group (especially VEP) has closer relations with RUS, the non-northern sub-group (especially LIV) with LAT, and the western group with GER. The northern sub-group (especially FIN) is more closely connected with SCN (mainly Swedish).

GER has no clearly preferred BF partner and EST has no clearly preferred non-BF partner.
My early calculations were, of course, based only on the materials of the *Proverbia septentrionalia* ‘proper’, i.e. the book published in 1985 in the FFC series, no. 236.

In the intervening 23 years, the situation has changed substantially:

- The number of Balto-Finnic proverb types that are ready to be analyzed has increased from 900 to at least 4170;
- In 1992 Vaina Mälk published her academic edition of Vepsian proverbs with Estonian, Votic, Livonian, Karelian and Russian counterparts;
- Karelian parallels to Estonian proverbs were provided;
- Latvian (and Lithuanian), German and Swedish (and Scandinavian in general) parallels to the whole unpublished corpus of Balto-Finnic proverbs were found,

etc.

Thus it would be intriguing to know what statistical changes the new added information – and perhaps also new noises – might have brought about.

In the tables below we see some results of the updated $\lambda$-calculations.

Compared with my preliminary models, the configuration of relationships has not substantially changed.

It is, however, noteworthy that some positive estimates for VEP, KAR and also GER, have become counterintuitively high – this is apparently due to the inordinately diligent work of some participants on some objects, like Vaina Mälk in compiling her Vepsian issue, Rein Saukas in seeking EST-KAR parallels, myself in searching for proverbs on the contemporary Russian Internet, and perhaps also Outi Lauhakangas in identifying some too loose GER counterparts, etc.

For the 1996 spring school in Joensuu I also made a preliminary attempt to evaluate one by one the closeness of the connection (degree of similarity ~ relative share) between the non-Estonian BF and non-BF proverb materials and the material of each Estonian parish in particular.

At that time we already had the bulk of BF follow-up materials in an almost updated condition, but we did not yet have any non-BF, or Karelian, parallels for the follow-up part of the BF data.

In the following series of cartograms the (hitherto practically unpublished) results of these earlier calculations are represented with small black-and-white maps, and the updated versions of the same (lambda- and linear regression) recalculations are represented with coloured maps.
The general configuration of relationships remained nearly the same as in the 1996 calculations. However...

★ In the results based on the sum total of the data, the relief of distribution is generally sharper and the areas of positive connections narrower than in those based on the 900 types of the published part of *Proverbia septentrionalia*.

★ In most calculations, Estonian parishes (i.e. smoothed areas corresponding to them) behave quite predictably towards the majority of foreign materials, but there are also some unexpected and hitherto unexplained outcomes (e.g. the surprisingly strong positive connections between the VOT and VEP and the Estonian islands and western Estonia in general).

The following research will eventually explain which of these noises are caused by the unevenness and fragmentarity of the source material itself (and are thus irreparable), and which can be ascribed to inadequate methods of calculation.

“*The golden reserve paradox*”

Matti Kuusi has noted the regularity that in a somewhat generalized form could be referred to as “the golden reserve paradox”. Kuusi argues that there are a number of extremely potent proverbs that, thanks to their content, the beauty of their images and/or other virtues, easily spread over linguistic and cultural borders. Such proverbs do not merely become known by many different peoples, but have generally become among the most popular ones in the repertoire of most of these peoples.

As the result, international proverb lore appears to be divided very sharply into the frequent and familiar / the unfrequent and unknown, and a paradoxical effect occurs when the sometimes globally known “golden reserve” items appear to be the utmost “own” and vernacular, and supersede items that are actually of local origin.

All of the empirical data available to me confirms the existence of such a connection. The following series of cartograms aims to demonstrate this correlation between several materials of different geographic scope:

★ between *European Proverbs* (1997) by Gyula Paczolay and *Proverbia septentrionalia*;
★ between *Proverbia septentrionalia* and Estonian proverbs;
★ between proverbs of the island of Saaremaa and the Estonian sum total;
★ and last but not least – some ultimately conspicuous histograms demonstrating the same binding between the BF and non-BF “axes” on the updated data of the sum total of the published and as yet unpublished parts of *Proverbia septentrionalia*. 
As a matter of fact, the above-described “golden reserve” effects are merely the residual by-products of the so-called Zipf’s law or Zipf distribution.

The thing is that the distribution of the “power ranks” of the specimens of many natural populations (including words in natural text samples, and also the textual and geographic frequencies of proverbs and other folkloric specimens, etc.) tends to follow Zipf’s law:

- a great deal of small (rare, weak, poor, …) items,
- a small number of large (frequent, strong, rich, …) items,
- a moderate amount of middle-sized ones.

On the logarithmic scale the Zipfian regression fields become linear.
The following series of graphs aims to demonstrate the Zipfian distribution of the source materials of some “minor” BF peoples, as well as Estonian riddles and proverbs.
As stated above, statistics is by no means an omnipotent tool with which to study folkloric, ethnic and linguistic relationships. Statistics works with large numbers and can give us good general insights into our topics of research. In order to move forward, however, the observed statistical laws and regularities must be explained against the huge background of various historical, linguistic and other direct, non-quantitative data. As regards specific case studies, something derived from the notorious much-criticized and allegedly obsolete and conclusively abandoned Finnish method could perhaps provide a reasonable alternative. The problem, however, is that the Finnish method also assumes that one use and compare large volumes of textual and other data, so the Zipfian curse put on folkloric source data reduces the amount of items accessible to the Finnish method to the minimum.

Analyses of the proverbs “The field has eyes, the forest has ears” and “The walls have ears” by Kazys Grigas

One of the examples Grigas analyzes in his books Lietuvių patarlės: Lyginamasis tyrinėjimas (1976) and Литовские пословицы: Сравнительное исследование (1987) is the extremely well-known proverb “The field has eyes, the forest has ears”, and the frequently attached “The walls have ears”, which in Paczolay’s European chart hold the 18th and 22nd places respectively (1997: 120/4 and 142/5). Paczolay’s and also the Balto-Finnic proverbial material (Proverbia septentrionalia (1985) and preceding works), added after 1976, confirm the main conclusions drawn by Grigas.

1. The predominant environmental elements that are claimed to own eyes or ears in the European area are forest, field, wall(s), and bush ~ bushes, whereas others are rarer or/and more local (cf the following table).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Grigas</th>
<th>Paczolay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>field</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wall(s) (in combination)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wall(s) (alone)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bush ~ bushes</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hedge</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain(s)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corner(s)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day, light</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fence</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road, path, street</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sees : hears</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The corpus of mainly 2-compound parallelist texts originating from Europe seems to stem from two typological cores: the 2-component “The field has eyes, the forest has ears” (or vice versa), and the single-component “The walls (also) have ears”. Both may originate from an ancient source, but Paczolay (1997), Matti Kuusi & Outi Lauhakangas (http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/cerp.html), groups M1c18 and J1n18 also provide abundant examples from outside Europe (often exceptional in form), where it is difficult to determine the time of origin and the relation to the European material.

3. The most rare ~ local forms that may be mentioned include, for instance:
   a) mainly West European forms with the components bush ~ bushes and hedge;
   b) Balto-Finnic forms with the components sea (has eyes): FIN, EST, VOT, LIV;
   c) purely Lithuanian adjectival forms (literally something like “eyed” : “eared”) – i.e. Grigas’ 1st version – see 1987: 110 ao.);
   d) mountain(s) -component forms that occur sporadically in some mountainous areas of Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal, Bulgaria, Slovakia);
   e) distinctly eastern forms, where the perceptive organs are replaced by the verb pair hears : sees (examples from the Eastern Slavs, the Udmurt (Votiak) and from most of the Balto-Finnic peoples (except for the Livonians).
It is a well-known fact that the Balto-Finnic and Baltic area is the contact and merger zone of western and eastern folklore tides.

I cannot determine whether it might be possible to read the traces of impact from different directions directly from the geographic distribution cartograms based on the Lithuanian material, but Grigas, at least, has not done so. The Estonian parallel material allows one to observe the impact directions to some extent. As a whole, the results of such observation are as expected, that is, in some occasions the empirical dissemination pictures may quite effectively be explained by the probable directions of loaning, whereas in others they remain completely cryptic.

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

Map 1: the basic European redaction \((\text{forest} + \text{field})\). This is completely unknown in the northern, north-eastern and eastern parts of Estonia.

The grammatical construction deviates from that in the Germanic languages: the nominative + \(\text{has} \sim \text{hat}\) is replaced by the allative + the usually ellipticized verb \(\text{is}\); this form is common in the Estonian and other Balto-Finnic redactions and corresponds to the dative of the Baltic languages.

Grigas has observed Germanic and Balto-Finnic forms together as the Third version, and the Latvian dative forms in them (e.g. “Mežam ausis, laukam acis”) separately as the Eighth version.

Map 2: The South Estonian forms of the main combination \((\text{forest} + \text{field})\). Characteristic features are:

1) in addition to the regular word \(\text{väli}\), there is the word \(\text{nurm}\), which in North Estonia means ‘meadow’, but in South Estonia ‘corn field’;

2) in addition to the regular allative form, in this proverb the comitative form (“The wood is \(\text{with}\) ears, the field with \(\text{ears}\)” etc.) occurs. This may be considered a Baltic impact – that is, the version that according to his data is only known in the Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian languages.

In addition to South Estonia, the \(\text{nurm}\)-stem elements also occur in the Votic and Livonian variants of the proverb.

Map 3: The combination \((\text{sea} + \text{forest})\), which is predominant on the northern coast of Estonia and in north-eastern and eastern areas. This is also the basic version in Finnish, and based on all the available data, is known only in the Balto-Finnic language area (FIN, EST, VOT, LIV), apparently except eastern KAR and VEP regions. Based on the dissemination chart, in Estonia it seems to be a loan from Finland.
Map 4: The combination forest + wall(s). The non-parallelistic “The wall(s) have ears” occurs in only a few North Estonian texts. Bipartite (forest + wall(s)) forms are known in several peripheral areas of Estonia, denoting that the form might be relatively old. Such a peripheral chart of dissemination may in itself be, e.g.: 1) a relic of something whose dissemination was once more common, but has now disappeared from the central region, or 2) be altogether imaginary, i.e. it illustrates foreign influences that have reached different Estonian peripheral areas (from Russia in the northeast, from Latvia in the Mulgi region, etc.), but none has made it to the central area or begun to merge.

Map 5: Combinations of forest + ilm constitute the genuine South Estonian local version. The Estonian ilm originates from the ancient Finno-Ugric stem, which has counterparts in all Balto-Finnic languages. In standard Estonian it mainly means ‘weather’, but particularly in the older Estonian, i.e. in the abundant folkloric and phraseological contexts also ‘world’, the equivalent of which in standard language is maailm. This ilm meant altogether a vague open outer sphere (cf. Finnish ilma, ‘air’), primarily the more distant, stranger, unknown part of the human world that is indifferent or hostile towards you, and about whom one couldn’t care less. In Estonian proverbs, ilm is the environment to whom one should not entrust secrets, the person who is more than ready to gossip about you, etc.

Map 6: The variants with bush and tree seem to be relatively rare and very western in Estonian texts (only two records from Saaremaa). Bush also appears in three Livonian texts, but is probably not a Latvian loan here (at least it is not found in Latvian printed sources). As mentioned by Grigas and Paczolay, the versions with bush mainly originate from Western and Southern Europe. It is impossible, based on the scarce material available, to say how the bush (põõsas) variant precisely reached Saaremaa.

Map 7: Estonian texts in which forest lacks a parallelistic pair, localize into two strange and separate clusters: the northwestern and the southern. While in North Estonia, forms with parallelistic compound sentence structure predominate, such as: “The forest has eyes, the forest has ears”, in South Estonia simple sentence forms like “The forest has (eyes and) ears” are more common. With my data, it is once again impossible to determine what is regular what is occasional, what is local, and what is borrowed (and from where) in these forms.
Some examples of proverb type articles from the draft manuscript of the follow-up part of “Proverbia septentrionalia”

Examples of “big” internationally known proverbs

150. IT IS BETTER TO HAVE A GOOD FRIEND THAN A LOUSY RELATIVE

RUS Близкий (ближний) сосед лучше дальней родни. D 779
LAT Labāk svešnieks, nekā rads. LV 1074
GER Frendle leut thun offf mehr denn die blutfreund. ?
SCN En sann vān är bättre än hundra fränder. ?
Matti Kuusi type system H6a 14

FIN Parempi hyvä ystävä ko kehno sukulainen. Parempi hyvä naapuri kuin veli toisessa kylässä. Parempi ventovieras kun huono sukulainen

KAR Parembi hyvū kuoma kuin huono sukulanike. Parembi hyvū tuuttava gu paha oma. Hyvū – da
viersh, paha – da oma
KS 7677, 7742, OKP 1963, 85 (58) – 6 var.

EST Parem hea võõras kui sitt sugulane. Parem hia söber kui halb sugulane. Parem on hea võeras kui paha oma. Hea naaber on enam kui õde ja vend. Söber om paremb kui sõsar
EV 1129, 1130, 1134, 7125, 11039 – 12 var.

VOT üvä naapuri on paröp töiss omma
VV 334 – 2 var.

VEP hüvä da veras, paha da ižeiž/ eražži verhad rahvaz parembad mi ižeen rahvaz
VeV 295, 1262, 1428 – 10 var.

LIV pařmistiz vōrōn ābku su’ggōn
LV 1074 – 1 var.
Cf. EV 794

187. THE MORNING IS WISER THAN THE EVENING

RUS Утро вечера мудренее. Žuk. 472, D 118 Утро вечера мудренее – трава соломы зеленее. D 182 Утро вечера мудренее, жена мужа удалее. D 374
LAT Rīts gudrāks nekā vakars. EKS 129
GER Guter rath kommt über Nacht. ? Der Morgen ist weiser als der Abend
SCN Ein veit meir i morgon enn ein veit i dag. ?
Matti Kuusi type system T1h 19

FIN Aamu iltaa viisaampi. Aamu on iltaa ilta on aamua viisaampi. Aamu on iltaa wiekampi

KAR Huondez on ildoa muidroimbi. Uamu on ildua viisahembi
KS 1180, 11841 – 3 var.

EST Homnik on targem kui ūhtu
EV 1443 – 25 var.

VOT oomnikko muudrap ūhtogoa
VV 362 – 1 var.

VEP homendez mudreniemb ehtad
VeV 306 – 1 var.

LIV ūmōg um ju kovāl āb ku ȕ’dōg
LV 984 – 1 var.
Cf. EV 14532
346. WHO IS ONCE BORN MUST DIE

RUS Духу смертей не бывать, а одной не миновать; По дважды не мрут, а одна не миновать. Рук. 153, D 78
LAT Двух смертей не бывать, а одной не миновать. EKV 228
GER Zwei Tote kann niemand sterben.  

Matti Kuusi type system G8d 20

FIN Kerran syntyy, kerran kuolee, ei kahta kertaa kumpaakaan. Kerra kuollaa eik kahisse Salon seutu 1912, Tyrö 1894 – 2 var.
KAR Kahtu surmoa ei ole KS 2444 – 1 var.
EST Ei või kahte surma surra. Katte surma koole_ei kiäki, ütest müüda ka päse_ei EV 2955 – 9 var.
VOT kaht surmaa bõlõ, a üht ed vältä VV 521 – 3 var.
VEP kahtod surmad ii lin´ne, a ühtespäi ii päzda VeV 1422 – 1 var.

423. EASIER SAID THAN DONE

RUS Говорить легко, делать – трудно; Все скоро сказывается, да не все скоро делается. П 331, D 410
LAT Viegli runāt, bet ne darīt. EKL 103
GER Es ist leichter tadeln, als besser machen.  
SCN Prata är lätt, men göra är värre.  

Matti Kuusi type system J1h 22

KAR Kebie shanuo, jügie loadie KVM 133 – 2 var.
EST Kerge ütelda, rasse tetä EV 3606 – 4 var.
VOT juõlla on kerkiäp kui tehâ VV 115 – 2 var.
VEP teravas sanutud, da ei teravas tehtud VeV 1503 – 1 var.

Cf. EV 3596

895. HEAR MUCH, SEE MUCH, BUT DON’T SAY EVEN A HALF

RUS Слушай больше, а говори меньше. Д 407
LAT Vairāk klausies, mazāk runā. Dzirdi daudz, runā maz. EKL 176/7
GER Höre viel und rede wenig.  
SCN Tala litet, hör mycket.  

Matti Kuusi type system J1b 20

KAR Midä muiz kuulou, kai pidäz itsel KS 4133 – 1 var.
EST Nää palju, kuule palju, ära palju pajada. Palju kuuled, pisut räägi. Silm võib paelu näha, körv
vöib paelu kuulda, aga suu ei pia paelu reakima. Ärä räägi keiki, mis sa kuuled EV 7667, 9954, 10486 – 27 var.

VOT väähe läkkä, rohkeap kuuntele VV 276 – 1 var.

VEP enamb kulé, a vähämb basi VeV 650 – 1 var.

LIV küld pärin, rõkand veitõ LV 328 – 1 var.

Cf. EV 7667, 11722, KS 12993, Jak. 1,19

1267. DON’T GIVE ADVICE TO THOSE WHO ARE WISER

RUS Ученого учить, что мертвого лечить; Мертвого не вылечишь, дурака не выучишь. Rybn. 134, Vol. 197 (462)

LAT ?? Gudro nevajag mācīt. LV 311

GER Wer Gelehrte will lehren und Ketzer bekehren, macht sich unnütze Mühe.  

SCN Inte lärä på lärt folk.  

Matti Kuusi type system M3e 17


KAR Ala openda, mida itshe ed t’eda.. Opastettuop opastua, kuol’iedu elävyttä (om mahdotonta) SAP 22(631). Soutjärvi 1943 – 4 var.

EST Mine surnut arstima või tarka õpetama EV 10777 – 7 var.

VOT mitä ted’deee kaa pajattaa, parap ôn kuullutta parattaa VV 222 – 1 var.

VEP openuzid opeta da koliid spraviteita VeV 1018 – 1 var.

LIV mis sa kovaltõ opatód LV 311 – 1 var.

1312. A FRIEND IN NEED IS A FRIEND INDEED

RUS Истинный друг познается в нужде; Друзья познаются в беде. Rybn. 84, Žuk. 138

LAT Draugu pazīst tikai nelaimē. LV 44; Istos draugus mācāmies pazīt tikai bēdas. Draugus vislabāk pazīst bēdās. EKL 207

GER Den Freund erkennt man in der Not.  

SCN Vänner i nöd är rara villebråd.  

Matti Kuusi type system H6b 24


KAR Hädässä ystävä tunnetaan Sortavalta 1957 – 1 var.

EST Tööst sõpra tuntakse hāda sees. Tääeline sebra jääb sebraks ka hädäajal. Ärä usu sõpra, enne kui sa ei ole teda hādān ärā kaenu EV 1778, 11050, 12961 – 8 var.

VEP hādas tovarišt’ tundub VeV 330 – 4 var.
1400. DON’T TELL EVERYTHING YOU KNOW

RUS Знай больше, а говори меньше! Много знай, да мало бай!. D 423, D 407
LAT Zini dauzdz, runā maz. LV 915
GER Sage nicht alles was du weisst; glaube nicht alles was du kannst.  
SCN Säg inte allt vad du vet, men vet allt vad du säger.  

Matti Kuusi type system J1b 17

FIN Ee kaekkee saa sanno mitä tietää. Mitäs itte tietää, jos kaikki tieloh juttelee. Ei toisille kaikkia sanota, että itekki jottain tiiretään  

KAR Äijän tiijän da sano en, äijän maltan da pakise en. Tiijä äijjä, pagize vähä  
KS 11163, KVM 135 – 2 var.

EST Teu pulju, aga kõnele väähe  
EV 11722 – 15 var.

VOT tää rõhkaap, a pajat vähepi  
VV 630 – 2 var.

VEP vähemb pagižé, enamb teda/ äijän teda, vähän basi  
VeV 1051, 1487 – 2 var.

LIV tiera pågiž, rökänd veittõ  
LV 915 – 4 var.

Cf. LV 455. EV 7667. Prov. 12,23

1433. HEALTH IS MORE PRECIOUS THAN GOLD

RUS Здоровье всего дороже ~ Здоровье дороже богатства. D 397
LAT Veselība ir pārāka par bagātība. LV 933 Veselība dārgāka par zeltu. Veselība ir dārgāka par daudu. EKL 313/314
GER Gesundheit ist besser als Reichtum.  
SCN Hälsoan framför allt.  

Matti Kuusi type system G7a 10

FIN Terveys kultaa kalliimpi. Terveys on kullaa väärteine  

KAR Tervehys on kallehembi kuldua. Tervehys on kuldua dai hobjia kallehemb. Tervehyttä parembua ni midä ei ole. Tervehysh on ilmalda parash  
KS 11311, 11314, KSA 962 – 17 var.

EST Tervis on inimesele kõige kallimb varandus. Tervis on kallim kui vara. Tervis om kallip kui kuld  
EV 11979, 11980 – 8 var.

VOT tervüz on kallõõp kullass i õppaass/ tervüüs kõlkkõa parapi  
VV 566, 567 – 3 var.

VEP tervhuz’ om kaikid kal’hemb/ tervhuz’ om kuudad paramb/ zdorovd´ om paremb bohacvad  
VeV 1505, 1507 – 8 var.

LIV tieraat um sür riküz  
LV 933 – 1 var.
Examples of “small” Finnish-Karelian types without any counterparts from outside

815. LOAMY SOIL IS NOT WORTH PLOUGHING
Matti Kuusi type system C6d 13
FIN Ei salli savinen pelto, koreata kuokkijata. Ei siedä sunnuntaisaappaata pellolla traksia. Eipä kärsi kivinen pelto koreata kyntäjätä
KAR Ei salli savine peldo koreieda kyndäjiä. Ei suvai savine pelto koreata kyntäjätä, miestä verkkaista vaolla, pitkiä hameita, sukan vartta valkeata
KS 9767 – 13 var.

1796. ONE WOMAN’S WARP, NINE WOMEN’S CLOTH
Matti Kuusi type system H4a
FIN Toisin toimet, toisin loimet, toisin kangaan kuteet
K 366. Viipurin pit. 1922 – 2 var.
KAR Toisin on toimet, toisin loimet, toisin kankahan kütet; toisin toiseshsha taloshsha muiten muishsha vanhemmishsha
Viena 1894 – 5 var.

2093. BETTER TO HAVE A CHILD ON THE FLOOR THAN AN OLD WIFE ON THE OVEN
Matti Kuusi type system G5e
FIN Paremp on laps lattijalla kun akka uunilla. (= jos vanha mies naipi nuoren vaimon. Vanha vaimo olisi päinvastoin uunilla). Parrein lapsi lattialla, ku akka loukosa
KAR Parembi on lapsi kätkyes gu akku pätshil. Parembi on laps lat’ieli kui akku pätshil
KS 7681 – 10 var.
Cf. VV 246

2264. THE BEGINNING IS IN YOUR HAND, THE END IN GOD’S HAND
Matti Kuusi type system B1a
FIN Alku keäshshä, loppu jumalashsha. Siitää alku olkoon, Luoja lopun tietköön
KAR Algu käis, lopu Jumalas
KS 195, cf. KS 12 – 14 var.

2266. TIMID PERCH, WET ASS (= SLIPPERY FISH)
Matti Kuusi type system A2a
FIN Ahven arka, märkä perse. (= liukas kala ko on)
SL 86. Vuoksenranta 1934 – 4 var.
KAR Ahven arka, perse märkä kesät kuivilla kutou, syksyt syvillä veillä.. Ahven arka, perse märgä
KS 27. Akonlahti 1936 – 6 var.

2267. YOU’LL BE IN TIME FOR THE PERCH’S SPAWNING
Matti Kuusi type system T1g
FIN Kyllä ahvenen kutuun ehtii. Kolmesta ei miestä jätetä: ahvenen kudusta, akkojen kylvystä ja tetren kiimasta. Tikan kylvyyn, kiiskin ktuun ja Ristiinan kirkkoon ehtii aina
2270. THERE'S TIME AND OTHERS (= MORE) COME FROM MUOLAA (= REGION)
Matt Kuusi type system T1g
FIN Aikaa on kyl ja toista Muolaast tuloo. Aikaa on ja Ahdan mylly toista jauhaa. On aikaa ja Naantalista lisää
KAR On miul aigua, toista tuloo. On aigua, tostu Matkaselläl tuloo
KS 68 – 3 var.

2275. A WOMAN'S MIND AND A DOG'S FART HAVE THE SAME VALUE
Matt Kuusi type system G4a
FIN Naisem miel' – koiram pier'. Akkain miel' ja koiran pier' ne ovat yhden arvoset
SL 279. Liperi 1914, Karkku 1937 – 3 var.
KAR Akkoin mieli on koiran pieruo kolmie nuaklua kepiemi
KS 150 – 1 var.

2277. WHEN MATTERS ARE DRAWN OUT, THEY BECOME TWISTED (= COMPLICATED)
Matt Kuusi type system T1e 14
FIN Kun asia pitkistyy, niin se mutkistuu. Mikä pitkistyy, se lökistyy
SL 477, 9305, 9306. Pieksämäki 1886, Ilomantsi 1886 – 81 var.
KAR Miz azie pitkistyy, se i mutkistuu. Miz azie vitkistyy, se i mutkistuu. Mi d’ielo pitkistyy, dai mutkistuu

2278. THE MATTER NEEDS EXPLAINING AND DANCING NEEDS SINGING
Matt Kuusi type system C2d
FIN Assii kaipaa ymmärrystä ja tanssi rallatusta. Assii vaatii arvelusta, tanssiminen rallatusta
KAR Azie vuad’ii sellityksen, tanssi rallatuksen. Azie vuad’ii arvelusta, tanssimiñe rallatusta
KS 272 – 3 var.

2280. HE WHO TAKES A STEP DOES NOT WANT TO CHANGE PLACES WITH THE SITTER
Matt Kuusi type system M7c 16
FIN Ei astuja istujaan ihteesä vaihak. Ei liikkua vaihda itseään liikkumattomaan
KAR Ei astuja istujaan ittshiedäh vaiha
KS 281 – 4 var.

2286. LIFE IS ROWING ALONG THE WATER AND EATING ALONG WHAT IS GIVEN
Matt Kuusi type system B2b 11
FIN Eläminen on että (= eteenpäin) myöten soutaminen on vettä myöten syöminen on saamista myöten. Eletään evästä myöten, soudetaan vettä myöten
2287. FOOD FROM THE MOTHER BY CRYING, FROM STRANGERS BY COAXING
Matti Kuusi type system K1g
FIN Itkien emolta ruoka, maanitellen vierahalta. Lapsi itkien emältä kysyen kylän akoihta maanitellen vierahalta (ruoan saapi)
KAR Itkien emolta ruokaa, maanitellen vierahalta. Itkien omas muamos, maanitellen vierahas
KS 565, 6892 – 8 var.

2289. THEY ARE DIFFERENT MEN WHO WASH CORPSES, AND DIFFERENT MEN
WHO BURY THEM
Matti Kuusi type system D1c 25
FIN Ne o eri miehek ku ruumei pesse. Toiset taas kun hautaa. Ne on eri miehet, jotka ruumiita pesee ja eri miehet, jotka veisaa
KAR Eri muzikat ne pogoiniekkoi pesää da eri muzikkaset niilöi hauvatah
KS 615 – 1 var.

2290. A BREAK IN THE FAMILY MEANS A SPLITTING UP OF THE BELONGINGS
Matti Kuusi type system L1b
FIN Ero perreessa ja jako talonväkeen. Ero pereen, jako tavarata
KAR Ero pereheh, jako tavarah
KS 616 – 3 var.

2293. THE SKIRT IS BROKEN (AND) THE SHIRT BROKEN, THE LEATHER UNDER THE
SHIRT BROKEN
Matti Kuusi type system K2i
FIN Hame on rikki paita rikki, paidan alta kääki rikki. Körtti rikki särkki rikki särkin alta paljon rikki
SL 829. Virolahti 1851, Sysmää 1937 – 6 var.
KAR Hame rikki, paita rikki, paijan alla nahka rikki
KS 733 – 1 var.

2294. YOU’LL RUN OUT OF TEETH BEFORE YOU RUN OUT OF BREAD
Matti Kuusi type system M7a
FIN Ennen hampuat loppuut ko leipä
SL 833. Rautu 1937 – 5 var.
KAR Hambahat loppuu, a leiby jää. Leivät ei lopu, ga hambahat loppuu
KS 738, 4805 – 7 var.

2296. THERE IS TIME TO LIFT YOUR HAT WHEN YOU COME UPON A STRANGER
Matti Kuusi type system T1k
FIN Kerkii hä sen hatun nostua ku vieras vastaa tulloo
2297. RARELY ARE TWO GOOD SPIKES PUT TOGETHER UNLESS NEXT TO THE GATE (= RARE IF WIFE AND HUSBAND ARE BOTH GOOD)
Matti Kuusi type system G5f
FIN Harvoin kahta hyvää seiväistäkään yhteen pannaan - muutakuin veräjäpieleen. (= harvoin mies ja vaimo molemmat hyviä ovat)
SL 2754. Parkano 1948 – 1 var.
KAR Ei aidah panna kahtu hyviä seivästy rinnakkai. Ei aidah kahtu seivästy yhten jyttyty panna. Ei kahtu seiväst yhtemmostu pystetä (aitaan)
KS 34, KSA 243 – 13 var.

2298. A PIKE SPAWNS DURING THE FROST (= CONSOLATORY REMARK)
Matti Kuusi type system A2b
FIN Hauki hallalla kutou (= näin lohduttaudutaan hallan aikana, jolloin ei edes kalasta toivoa)
SL 932. Petsamo 1932 – 3 var.
KAR Haugi hallal kudoo, piäkala koval siäl
KS 778 – 10 var.

2300. THE HORSE CODDLES ITS YOUNG, THE WIFE HER STOMACH’S FOLK (= CHILDREN)
Matti Kuusi type system G3b 20
FIN Hepo hellii varsaansa vaimo vatsansa väkeä. Hepo hellä varsoosa, äit huono poikoosa
KAR Hepo on hellä varsalle, ukko hellä akalle.. Hepo hellä varsastaa, vaimo vatshastaa

2306. HEARTS IS EASY TO SAY, BUT THE DEVIL HAS TO PUT IT DOWN (= CARD GAME)
Matti Kuusi type system J1h
FIN Hertta on helppo sanoo mut se on piru pistettävä
KAR Hertta on helppo sanuo, vai piru on pistiä
KS 933 – 1 var.

2307. LOVELY EYES MAKE PRETTY CHILDREN
Matti Kuusi type system C2a
FIN Herttaset silmät tekee kauniit lapset. Iloiset silmät ja vanhurskas nenänvarsi tekee kauniita lapsia ja hyviä
KAR Herttaset silmät tegöö kauniita lapsii
KS 934 – 1 var.
Curriculum vitae

Arvo Krikmann received his PhD degree in 1997 (dissertation “Insights in the minor forms of folklore”, Tartu University). He is a senior researcher at the Estonian Literary Museum, member of Estonian Academy of Sciences, member of the Academia Scientiarum et Artium Europaea and associate member of the Foklore Fellows. He is also the editorial consultant of the yearbook Proverbium (Vermont). He has received national Science Award (1998), 3rd Class Order of the White Star (1998), Baltic Assembly prize for science 2004. He has taught courses on minor forms of folklore and folk humour. He has published about 120 works on folklore (paremiology, other minor genres of folklore, problems of geographic distribution, folk humour), theory of figurative language, humour theory.