Acta Ethnographica Hungarica, 45 (3–4), pp. 401–419 (2000)

THE OLDEST FINNISH PROVERB POEMS IN RELATION TO THE MATTI KUUSI INTERNATIONAL DATABASE OF PROVERBS

Outi LAUHAKANGAS

Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 00171 Helsinki, Hallituskatu 1/Box 259, Finland

Abstract: The history of Finnish paremiology dates back to Henrik FLORINUS (1702), and culminated in the proverb anthology of Elias LÖNNROT. Just recently in *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* Vol. XV (the definitive academic publication of the "Old Finnish Runes") the late Professor Matti KUUSI did publish the old Finnish "proverb poems". KUUSI's lifework has been concentrated around paremiology. After many years of classifying international proverb lore, a detailed system of arrangement of the proverbs was created. The paper presents the Matti Kuusi system, exemplified by the above mentioned Finnish proverb texts.

Keywords: proverbs, proverb classification, (comparative) paremiology, Finnish folk poetry, Elias Lönnrot, Matti Kuusi, Finnish proverb, Finnish paremiology

I come from the middle of those elements, which seem to be the imagery of the Finnish folklore: rocky shores, solitude, somebody rowing across the lake, a diver bird gliding on water. I could almost sense the original fishing and hunting culture around me, when I began to read the facsimile of the oldest Finnish proverb collection of FLORINUS:

Kuha suuri / lahna lawia / katsoa katen silmäldä / miehen toisen karpasa (The zander fish is big, the bream fish is large, if you look at them with envy man's eyes in another man's boat).

1. ABOUT PROVERB COLLECTIONS PUBLISHED OR PLANNED TO BE PUBLISHED IN FINLAND BEFORE LÖNNROT

Our written history of paremiology (and also of folklore) began from the year 1702, when clergyman Henrik FLORINUS (c. 1633–1705) published 1525 proverb texts in a collection 'Wanhain Suomalaisten Tawaliset ja Suloiset SANANLASCUT' (The Common and Harmonious Proverbs of the Old Finnish People). The basic material had been collected even a half century earlier by the minister of Tammela chuch, Laurentius Petri TAMMELINUS.

I can understand how strong was the feeling of the intelligentsia who suddenly invented the Nature and the People during the latter half of the 18th century, when the Romantic period of Europe gave a push to it. The historian H. G. PORTHAN

1216-9803/2000/\$ 5.00 © 2000 Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

(1739–1804) was a Romantic even before Herder. He was also very systematic to collect folklore using clergymen from countryside as his assistants. The other hero of my story, Christfrid GANANDER (1741–1790), a clergyman from North-Finland was the contemporary of PORTHAN. He was fortunately not so academic or cultivated that he would have censored and selected anything. But that is why his huge Finnish dictionary could be published only in 1997. Until now it has been a facsimile of his manuscript.

Throughout the history of folklore collecting and the national project of the Finnish identity there has been disastrous interpreting, selecting, moralizing and painting in rosy colours. Matti KUUSI (1953) writes about the sad and amusing story of Jacob JUTEINI (1781–1855), a town clerk in Viipuri, who was quick enough to publish the Selected Finnish proverbs in 1818, the first collection after a hundred years break. He had spoiled at least half of his material with his editing and cultivating work. He used moralizing postscripts or changed the original popular word or parallel verse to his own (more easy-to-understand and accept). For example in the proverb '*Surma hepo suitsitta, karhu akka kahleitta*' (A horse without a bridle is mortal, an old woman without chains is a bear). The strong image of a bear was changed to a generalizing explanation that the wife's power makes you harm.

Before Juteini there could have been C. H. ASP (1779–1846), a lawyer, who collected proverbs in the beginning of the 19th century. But firstly, he was too thorough to get his collection ready, secondly, his collection was apparently not respectable enough to be published (remember GANANDER!) and thirdly, when the sixth and the last version was waiting five years for approval of the Academy of Turku, it burned in the disastrous fire of the Academic Library of Turku with almost all nationally important copies and the whole town in the year 1827. PORTHAN's manuscript burned, too.

Only two original printed copies of FLORINUS were saved from fire, but there were many handmade copies of it. The printed copies which were furnished with interleaves played an important role in the history of Finnish paremiology already before they were destroyed in the fire. For example PORTHAN owned one of the interleaved Florinuses and collected there proverbs, then this copy with PORTHAN's notes passed to JUTEINI, who made his additions and spoiled a lot of original texts. The chain continued when Elias LÖNNROT (1802–1884), the composer of the Kalevala, started to make his notes to an interleaved copy of JUTEINI's 'Selected Finnish proverbs'.

2. THE OLDEST FINNISH PROVERB POEMS IN RELATION TO THE MATTI KUUSI INTERNATIONAL DATABASE OF PROVERBS

In the latest volume XV of the Old Finnish Folk Poems – its abbreviation hereafter: SKVR XV – (the last editorial work of Matti KUUSI and the first marathon work of Senni TIMONEN 1997) you can (among all) find the oldest proverb poems

402

from Henrik FLORINUS, the reconstructions of Christfrid GANANDER's proverb poems and also Elias LÖNNROT's proverb poems with their known and possible sources.

For this paper I have tried to translate some proverb poems from FLORINUS' collection and some poems reconstructed from GANANDER's dictionary. (I left LÖNN-ROT's poems aside, because their originality is not very certain.) By these examples I shall demonstrate the themes and classes we have in the Matti Kuusi international type system of proverbs (going to be published in the near future). In this way I can also offer Matti KUUSI's analytic touch to the Finnish heritage of proverb collecting.

In order to help you to approach the Matti Kuusi international type system of proverbs (which I shall introduce more profoundly elsewhere) I give you some basic information about it. The important elements of the database have been: KUUSI's personal card-index of proverbs (originally about 5000 cards), his paremiological library (now in the library of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki), his study of Ovambo proverbs with African parallels (1970), his first classification experiment in Proverbium 19 (1972), the project on the Baltic and North European comparisons (1963–1985), and five years of our teamwork on the new classification system and extensions to Chinese and other exotic collections.

In the latest version of the thematic classification (see in the Appendix) there are 13 main themes, under them 52 classes and under them 325 subgroups. The database contains 8286 proverb types (only Finnish texts available). Every type is named after its first "place" in the classification system. To develop a flexible classification without fixed places there are lots of cross-references between subgroups or single types (and should be even twice as much). From every proverb type there is a link to literary sources. About 350 books have been used at least once. Until now there are c. 34 000 literature references fed in a database file.

You can also find an analysis of distribution for every proverb type, where F means Balto-Finnic, E means European and / or American, A means Sub-Saharan Africa, I means Islamic (Arabic, Persian etc.), O means the Old Eastern cultures and P means Polynesian. The proverb types with the same idea or even the same form in at least three above mentioned main cultural areas constitute the file of c. 700 universal types. The Original English texts or translations of these types are available. To these types there are also (if possible) original proverb texts in the main European languages and translations from Oriental, Islamic and African parallels.

In the next selection of proverb poems from the SKVR XV I shall at first show the Finnish text and then my translation into English. The core of the proverb poem (the text in Italic) is then compared to the Matti Kuusi type system with its classification and type signs. I shall also comment on the distribution of these proverb ideas.

SKVR XV number: 17. Jumalal on onnen ohjat, Luojalla lykyn avaimet; ei caten cainalosa, vihansuovan sormen pääsä. (FLORINUS) God has the reins of luck, the Creator has the keys of the Fortune; they are not under the arm of an envy man, they are not on the fingertip of an evil-minded man.

The proverb poem 17 belongs to the main theme B, Faith and basic attitudes. There is a class B1, which deals with the relation between God and man. The core of this proverb poem is to be found in the subgroup *B1a: God Almighty, everyone's God.* This proverb idea is global.

> SKVR XV number: 150. [Hauki haudan pohjan] tjesi [Jumala meren syvyyden] tuuli hahden päiväyksen kokko linduin sataman. (GANANDER)

The pike knew the bottom of the deep-water God knew the depth of the sea The wind knew the day-trip of the boat the eagle knew the harbour of the birds.

The core of the proverb poem 150 is the first proverb type in another subgroup about God and man, *B1d: the omniscience of God, the ignorance of man.* Almost same proverb idea is to be found in South-Europe.

SKVR XV number: 53. Väännä köysi ruumenista; solme munaan solmu. (FLORINUS)

Twist a rope from chaff; tie a knot from an egg.

This proverb poem 53 belongs to the theme C, The basic observations and sociologic. The class name is C3, nothingness/emptiness yields/loses nothing. The proverb type is to be found in a subgroup called *C3e: from air, water or useless materials one gets no valuable or durable things.*

The proverb idea is European.

SKVR XV number: 48. Suuni itki sydämen nauroi, cosca cuoli cumpanini, vaipui vaippani alainen. (FLORINUS) *My mouth cried while my heart was laughing,* as my spouse died, as my companion in bed passed away.

The core of the proverb poem 48 is under the same main theme as the former proverb type, but now the class is C5, signals and their meaning/interpretation. More exactly this type deals with *misleading signals*, C5e.

The proverb type is also familiar in Russia.

SKVR XV number: 11 Ei salli savinen peldo, eikä sonnatoin suvaitze, sucan vartta valkiata, kengän cuortti corciat. !!coriata kyndäjätä!! (FLORINUS)

The clayey field does not allow, the mucky field does not permit, any white stocking leg, any high style shoe. *!! a dressed up ploughman !!*

SKVR XV number: 23 Laisca lapsille parembi; ruma työhön rohkiambi, caunis catzo carvansa; ruma työn teke. (FLORINUS)

A lazy wife is better in giving birth; an ugly woman is more vigorous to work, *a fair one takes care of her exterior; an ugly one does her work.*

Both of these proverb poems 11 and 23 of FLORINUS belong to the same subgroup, which is in the class C6, the relation of appearance to internal values. The group name is C6d: *fitness for work, nutritive value, etc. is more important than appearance.* Almost the whole group is a collection of variants of this same proverb type.

The proverb idea is at least European and Oriental.

SKVR XV number: 33 Murhe saatta mustan carvan; pahat päivät parran pitkän, halu harman hapenan. (FLORINUS)

Sorrow turns you dark haired; the bad days make the beard grow long, *desire brings you gray hair.*

This proverb is situated in the Matti Kuusi system under a heterogeneous theme The World and Human Life. It is about the comparison of joy and grief, D2. The proverb type belongs to the subgroup *D2a: joy and laughter is better than sorrow and tears*.

If we accept to this type also those proverbs, which tell that sorrow takes your appetite away or makes your bones thin, we can say that this proverb type is European and Oriental.

There were five proverb poems from FLORINUS and GANANDER, which dealt with the main theme Social Life. They were about kinship, the emotional relationship between children and parents, about a child as an elder, about ranking the son before the daughter, about the right moment to make an offer of marriage.

The proverb poem 13 is also about marriage although it is to be found under the main class group solidarity:

SKVR XV number: 13 Etzei Suomet sorkeinda, maat valitzi valkeinda; jo naidut parhat pijcat, etzitellyt ehkiämmäti; täydyi naida tähteitä; tulisossa sormijn, käten kählöi käändyi, !!käten kähmöi käändyi, !!käten kähmöi käändyi!! onehin olille joudui. (FLORINUS)

He looked for the prettiest maid throughout the Finland, he screened the maidens through lands to find the blondest; the best maids were already married, the fairest ones had already been found; he had to marry the leftovers; *he got a smudged woman on his fingers,* a sluggard turned to his hands, the poor one landed on the straws.

The subgroup *H3f* includes proverb types, which tell, that 'what is owned by another person seems to be more tempting than one's own'

406

Here are some examples of the same proverb idea:

He aimed at a princess and married a bazaar woman (translated from Burmese) I wanted to catch a fish and I caught a snag (translated from Malayan) The person who is choosy will grasp refuse (translated from Japanese)

There is a proverb poem about promises and keeping one's promises. The Matti Kuusi international type system of proverbs tells that this proverb is quite uniquely Finnish. That is why I want to finish my article with this proverb poem.

> SKVR XV number: 57 Älä usco uron valoja, mjehen värän vanneloita, pettä uro valans, syö coira cahlens. (FLORINUS)

Do not believe the man who swears an oath, Do not believe the false man's swearings, *the man will break his oath, the dog will eat its chains.*

APPENDIX

THE MATTI KUUSI INTERNATIONAL TYPE SYSTEM OF PROVERBS CLASSIFICATION

A THE PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE OF NATURE

- A1 NATURAL ELEMENTS
- A1a water and fire as natural elements
- A1b earth and sea as natural elements
- A1c types of soil and flora as natural elements
- A1d cultivated plants
- A1e cold warm
- A2 ANIMALS, HUMAN BEING : ANIMAL
- A2a position of man, domestic and wild animals
- A2b animals as sign of weather and harvest

A3 WEATHER, CALENDAR

- A3a points of the compass, wind, rain, changing weather
- A3b morning : evening, night : day, darkness : light
- A3c spring : autumn, summer : winter, year and harvest

- A3d months
- A3e omens, sayings and advice about holidays, red-letter days
- A3f personifications of red-letter days

B FAITH AND BASIC ATTITUDES

B1 GOD : MAN AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

- B1a God Almighty, everyone's God
- B1b the goodness and generosity of God, blessing, turning to God
- B1c God disciplines and cures
- B1d the omniscience of God, the ignorance of man
- B1e obedience to God, man the believer
- B1f man's scepticism before God
- B1g priest and church

B2 FATALISM

- B2a the inevitability of destiny
- B2b fatalism, acceptance of circumstances
- B2c changing luck, the capriciousness or unexpectedness of luck
- B2d bad luck
- B2e good luck and the madman's luck
- B2f chance encounters/reunions
- B2g belief in omens

C THE BASIC OBSERVATIONS AND SOCIO-LOGIC

- C1 DURABILITY OF X' s NATURE / DURABILITY OF IDENTITY
- C1a X' s basic nature/character will be unchanged; characteristics will not change
- C1b X is always X, even if...
- C1c no need to teach X things belonging to its character; hopeless to teach t-s not b. to X' s character
- C1d X will preserve X's habits and customs

C2 X YIELDS/REQUIRES/BELONGS TO X

- C2a X-quantity, -size or -shape will produce a corresponding X
- C2b X-sowing or -material will correspond to X-yields
- C2c X-action or -work will lead to X-result, -wage, -punishment or -consequence
- C2d X needs a corresponding X-element/-tool
- C2e X and Y belong together / apart
- C2f you need X to eliminate X

- C3 NOTHINGNESS/EMPTINESS YIELDS/LOSES NOTHING
- C3a you get nothing from nothing
- C3b you get nothing from dreams, hopes, fantasies, or wishing 'if only"
- C3c concrete, close at hand and certain is better than distant, uncertain or future
- C3d yesterday's/gone/used/eaten/broken = 0 (nothing)
- C3e from air, water or useless materials one gets no valuable or durable things
- C3f the effect of concrete things > the effect of words, thanks, music, prayers or curses
- C3g observing neither harms nor benefits
- C3h the empty, the poor or the dead have nothing to lose cannot be afraid of loss
- C4 LITTLE : BIG / A LITTLE : A LOT
- C4a a small thing or one single thing cannot become great; the individual is insignificant to the whole
- C4b the small can equal the big or harm the big; the small can cause a lot of damage
- C4c from a little comes much; from a small beginning or trifle comes great damage
- C4d one thing sets many or all in motion, gets them into trouble
- C4e a minor origin or cause may result in a large effect or reaction
- C4f because of a minor thing one loses or misjudges a big thing
- C4g an insignificant X cannot result in a great Y
- C4h without suitable tools or sufficient input, it is impossible to affect something large
- C4i small object : instrument or process too large

C5 SIGNALS & THEIR MEANING/INTERPRETATION

- C5a a (big) event (always) leaves a trace, a sign will reveal its cause and meaning
- C5b recognizing Y by X
- C5c generalizing presumptions or suspicions; once... always / one...all
- C5d trials test authentic and unauthentic abilities (performance as a signal)
- C5e misleading signals

C6 APPEARANCE : INTERNAL VALUES

- C6a clothes, appearance and looks as criteria for ranking, status
- C6b external or internal the deceptiveness of beauty
- C6c everything is not as it appears; the deceptiveness of identifying marks
- C6d fitness for work, nutritive value, etc. > appearance (black : white)
- C6e apparent from front the reality hidden behind
- C6f size as secondary (small is better than big, thin better than fat)

Outi LAUHAKANGAS

D THE WORLD AND HUMAN LIFE

D1 PLURALITY OF THE WORLD AND HUMAN LIFE

- D1a general statements about the world
- D1b general statements about human life and its troubles
- D1c natural differences between phenomena / individuals
- D1d eternal antipodes contrasts and similarity of parts

D2 JOY : GRIEF / LAUGHTER : CRYING / PLEASURE : AGONY

- D2a joy and laughter > sorrow and tears
- D2b the alternation and proximity of joy and sorrow
- D2c unnecessary, vain or excess laughing and crying
- D2d grief and its value

D3 DYNAMICS OF NEEDS

- D3a distress, need and hunger activate; lead to ideas, innovations or crimes
- D3b love and hunger mobilize; beauty and source of food attract
- D3c love as strong, daring, blinding, heedless and inventive
- D3d shortage of X directs and affects dreams, desires, fancies or lust
- D3e hunger or shortage lowers one's standards, makes one passive
- D3f hunger depresses, sleeplessness lowers capacity of work; the one who is full & well-rested is carefree
- D3g the eyes are greedy, the fingers itch, guard or attendant steals, the greedy person keeps his catch
- D3h insatiable greed leads to disappointment
- D3i moderation is best > overeating is bad for your health
- D3j regulating one's food consumption with the future in mind
- D4 FOOD, EATING
- D4a the importance of food for human beings and animals
- D4b appetite and hunger
- D4c foodstuffs and dishes
- D4d eating habits and norms

D5 SPIRITS AND INTOXICATION / DEPENDENCES, DRINKING HABITS

- D5a appreciation of alcohol, drinking habits or norms
- D5b craving for drink or cigarettes
- D5c drunkenness : madness
- D5d intoxication and state of mind
- D5e financial and social costs of drinking
- D5f financial and social costs of gambling

E SENSE OF PROPORTION

E1 RELATIVITY OF RANKING / THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF DIFFERING THINGS

- E1a the incompleteness/uncertainty/relativity of everything
- E1b the esteemed also have their faults and imperfection (which must be endured)
- E1c an intelligent person can make mistakes, an able man can fail
- E1d minor, inferior, late etc. is better than nothing
- E1e the value of X increases through lack of Y
- E1f insignificant and despised things share basic features in common with the rest of us
- E1g the same origins / values / basic rights shared by human beings and nature
- E1h apparently opposite beings have basic features in common
- E1i 'coincidentia oppositorum'; the fusion of opposites
- E1j the wisdom of the 'middle road', avoidance of exaggerations and extremes, compromise is best
- E1k things look different when seen from different perspectives, paradoxes concerning luck in misfortune
- E11 internal contradictions among essential nature, action or situation

F CONCEPTS OF MORALITY

- F1 GOOD AND EVIL SUCCESS
- F1a ethical criteria of good and evil
- F1b honesty will be rewarded > evil, sin or deceit will be put to shame, will be punished
- F1c do not supply evil with power or instruments, try to get rid of evil
- F1d evil will succeed; hold its own > the decent person will suffer
- F1e X commits the deed Y is punished for it or benefits from it
- F1f virtue brings unhappiness

F2 PRIDE : HUMILITY, BOASTING : LOSS OF HONOR

- F2a self-esteem, pursuit of honour loss of honour
- F2b the honourable thing is humble, the worthless thing full of pride
- F2c egotism, self-conceit and empty boasting
- F2d pride goes before a fall

G SOCIAL LIFE

G1 KINSHIP

G1a family solidarity – lack of family solidarity

Outi LAUHAKANGAS	
------------------	--

- G1b the value of a mother, being orphaned
- G1c joining a family, keeping one's position in the family; daughter-/brother-/mother-/father-...in-law
- G2 DEVELOPMENT A PERSON'S BACKGROUND
- G2a an individual matures under certain conditions; a child is raised to be like its parents
- G2b a descendant or child can develop differently from her/his parents
- G2c the mutual dependence of generations

G3 CHILD : PARENTS / UPBRINGING

- G3a qualities of the child and childhood
- G3b the emotional relationship between children and parents
- G3c raising the child : with punishment or advice?
- G3d cost and trouble of maintaining children and its reciprocity, the difficulties of motherhood
- G3e childlessness : many children
- G4 MAN : WOMAN / RANKING & POSITION OF BOTH SEXES
- G4a woman and man ranking (boy > girl)
- G4b the woman's lot in life, things associated with women, with men
- G4c women's unreliability, talkativeness and evil
- G5 MARRIAGE
- G5a two together > solitude or isolation
- G5b marrying at a young age, marrying off one's daughter
- G5c marrying late in life spinster, bachelor and widow
- G5d is it better to be married or unmarried?
- G5e the right moment to make an offer of marriage, norms, criteria for choosing spouse (mostly by men)
- G5f woman and man life together, solidarity, lack of solidarity
- G5g the problems of polygamy
- G5h woman and man power relations

G6 YOUTH : OLD AGE

- G6a comparing young and old
- G6b does old age will bring wisdom or not?
- G6c if (not) X when young, then (not) Y when old
- G6d the elderly as conservative, incapable of development
- G6e the troubles of old age
- G6f the treatment of the elderly
- G7 HEALTH : ILLNESS
- G7a the value of health
- G7b health, medical care, medical treatment

- G7c physicians
- G7d falling ill and recovery
- G7e lingering between life and death
- G8 DEATH / THE DEAD
- G8a death makes no distinctions
- G8b death is unforeseeable, always near
- G8c death is inevitable, irreversible
- G8d cause and manner of death
- G8e beliefs concerning the dead, cult of the dead, funeral habits
- G8f the dead are absent
- G8g life from death

H SOCIAL INTERACTION

H1 SELF : OTHERS (KNOWLEDGE OF ONESELF) / INDIVIDUAL : COLLECTIVE

- H1a self-knowledge : knowledge of the other
- H1b lack of self-knowledge goes with criticism of others
- H1c world, events and other people considered from our own point of view; to be just like we are
- H1d one's own perception, mind, will and feeling > perception, ... advice and orders of others
- H1e conforming or assimilating to the company one keeps
- H1f ethnocentrism; being attracted to people like oneself; dislike of those who are different
- H1g norms and social pressure, conforming to one's community or group
- H2 MANAGING ON ONE'S OWN : TRUSTING OTHER PEOPLE / STRANGERS
- H2a solitude and autocracy are the best > cooperation, working together, coownership will impoverish
- H2b ownership and self-sufficiency > dependence on others
- H2c one's own profit and own troubles come first
- H2d admiring and praising one's own > admiring and praising that of a stranger
- H2e one's own need and work are the best motivators
- H2f the debtor must pay, will be in trouble
- H2g the lender or guarantor will be in trouble
- H3 GROUP SOLIDARITY
- H3a solidarity to one's own people
- H3b one/few are powerless or unable to compete; insecurity of one/few

414		Outi LAUHAKANGAS
	H3c H3d	common profits, joy, sorrow and dangers in a community those persons close to self or in same household should not be hurt; prohibition on insest
]	H3e	a stranger's gifts or assistance should not be given priority over those of- fered by one's own home
]	H3f	what is owned by another person seems to be more tempting than one's own
]	H3g	one should mind one's own business; should not interfere in other peo- ple's business
	H3h H3i	an individual is insignificant from the viewpoint of the community rejection of outsiders and vagabonds, exclusion from the community
	H4 H4a	NEAR : FAR / AT HOME : IN UNFAMILIAR CONDITIONS everybody has a home or home district, which one misses and where one is happy
]	H4b	own home or home district is the best, the dearest, the safest and familiar > strange
]	H4c	everybody is most esteemed at home
]	H4d	strange or distant is more valued than familiar – but strange will be a dis- appointment
]	H4e	objections to staying at home
]	H5	ME / US / OWN ADVANTAGE : OTHERS / HOSPITALITY TOWARDS GUESTS
]	H5a	egoism is normal; the interests of others are insignificant, doubtful and suspicious
	H5b	warnings about generosity; people's ingratitude
	H5c	the value of generosity, empathy
	H5d	reciprocity, the way one treats other people predicts one's own treatment
	H5e	hospitality and its limits
	H5f	uninvited guests and unsolicited aid
	H5g	politeness
	H5h	gratitude and ingratitude
]	H6	FRIEND : ENEMY / GOOD OR BAD NEIGHBOUR
]	H6a	the value of a friend – significance of an enemy
]	H6b	a friend's unreliability, the rarity of a real friend, marks of a real friend
]	H6c	the reciprocity of friendship, fragile friendship
]	H6d	the value, risks and norms of neighborliness
]	H7	AGGRESSION & PEACEABLENESS
	H7a	a disagreement or dispute between two / among many : third party
	H7b	an aggressive or provocative person will be the object of aggression
	H7c	envy and malicious pleasure

- H7d the aggression of one's close circle of acquaintance will be soon over, is harmless
- H7e attitude towards a 'barking dog'
- H7f attitude toward threats
- H7g self-control, patience and masking one's aggression
- H7h readiness to conciliate, compromise pays
- H7i a seeming or ostensible reason for aggression, substitute object, scapegoat
- H7j fighting and militancy > desire for peace
- H7k peace and agreement > war, hatred and conflict
- H71 hatred will make you mindless, war is blind and destructive
- H7m unwillingness to forgive, revenge being appeased, conciliated

J COMMUNICATION

- J1 COMMUNICATION
- J1a the power of the word; good and bad words
- J1b taciturnity, reflection, consideration of every word
- J1c the madman's talkativeness
- J1d openheartedness, the need to talk, concealment
- J1e the rapid spread and exaggeration of messages and rumours
- J1f the irrevocability of words and its effects
- J1g silence or secrecy pays > talk is risky
- J1h actions > words
- J1i promises and keeping one's promises
- J1j lying, pretence, making excuses
- J1k the truth and those who tell the truth
- J11 asking and answering, brief retorts
- J1m slander, backbiting, defamation and gossip
- J1n the significance of listening caution and the prudence of listening
- J10 talk is free; not every word need be taken seriously it's just talk
- J1p tolerance of jokes and criticism
- J1q books, the printed word

K SOCIAL POSITION

- K1 POWER, RULER : SUBJECT / SUPERIOR : INFERIOR
- K1a the ruler's position, the ethics of exercising power
- K1b leader condition and quality of a country, subjects, a house or community dependent on her/him
- K1c two chiefs or masters cannot rule together
- K1d the necessity of government and discipline

Outi LAUHAKANGAS

- K1e strategies for the treatment of subordinates or employees; persuasion pays
- K1f an inferior in the shadow of its superior
- K1g norms and strategies for subordination or subjection
- K1h peasants' freedom; the self-esteem of a hired-man
- K1i maliciousness, boasting, despicablity of new rich or upstarts
- K1j wrong and right social order; status and status symbols
- K1k exploitation, deprivation and hatred towards masters / gentry
- K11 the privilege of the strong
- K1m symbiosis between a superior and an inferior
- K2 WEALTH: POVERTY / MONEY
- K2a with money everything can be obtained food, things, power and access anywhere
- K2b a rich man has helpers and friends > a poor man does not
- K2c the rich in demand as marriage partners > shortage destroys a family's harmony
- K2d money is the precondition for trade, business and the granting of credit
- K2e money carries more weight than morality laws do not touch the rich, bribery / corruption
- K2f money piles up and the rich get richer
- K2g money circulates; people grow richer and poorer
- K2h money provides safety, self-esteem and a voice > the poor must be silent and humble
- K2i the poor are at a dead end, helpless, without bread, homeless; go begging
- K2j contradictions between the rich and the poor, difference in living conditions and attitudes
- K2k the relativity of wealth and poverty; the rich have worries, the poor are sometimes happy

L AGREEMENTS AND NORMS

- L1 LAW AND JUSTICE
- L1a the value and nature of law
- L1b general guidelines used by judges
- L1c natural law, norms of conduct and ownership
- L1d the identification and treatment of a thief or another criminal
- L1e crime and guilt will be revealed and lead to punishment
- L2 BUSINESS / BUYING & SELLING
- L2a the nature of business and bargaining
- L2b normative rules of business and bargaining
- L2c price : quantity / quality
- L2d seller : buyer

M COPING AND LEARNING

- M1 PRECAUTION : INCAUTIOUSNESS
- M1a precaution is better than incautiousness
- M1b dangerous situations should be anticipated
- M1c watchfulness and alertness
- M1d dangerous places should be recognized in time
- M1e one should be on the alert, although a phenomenon seems harmless or safe
- M1f one should not depend too much on a single thing or means
- M2 MOBILITY, TRAVEL
- M2a choosing one's route, the dangers of a journey
- M2b going or walking in front / behind
- M2c equipping oneself for a journey

M3 WISDOM / INTELLIGENCE : STUPIDITY

- M3a the value of wisdom, knowledge, intelligence and reason
- M3b a wise suspects > the trusting or credulous will be cheated
- M3c a stupid neither understands nor sees
- M3d a stupid acts in the wrong way and to her/his own disadvantage
- M3e unnecessary or comical activity; asking or searching for obvious and selfevident things
- M3f treatment of a madman and the attitude taken towards her/his advice
- M4 COURAGE : COWARDICE, COMPLIANCE
- M4a courage, risk-taking and fearlessness are preconditions for attaining yields or one's goal
- M4b courage in holding one's own : bravery in defending somebody or something
- M4c fearfulness paralyses or distorts perception
- M4d giving in, adapting or fleeing defends one from danger

M5 SKILL / TOOLS / MATERIAL

- M5a skill, professional skill and skilled or unskilled worker
- M5b the value and quality of tools, instruments and weapons
- M5c quality and ways of handling materials
- M5d a person is helpless or powerless without proper or appropriate tools and equipment

M6 OWN INITIATIVE / ENTERPRISE / RESPONSIBILITY

M6a one's own desire to act and to manage; unscrupulousness, each answers for her/his own actions

Outi	LAUHAKANGA	S
Outi	LAUHAKANGA	

- M6b the effectiveness of one's own activity > influence of one's materials, conditions, tools
- M6c enterprise, perseverance and toughness > shortsightedness, giving up easily, the easy way
- M6d concentration and determination; independence or absoluteness of one's stand
- M6e one's own activity or way of life determines one's reputation or treatment
- M7 WORK, LABOUR, DILIGENCE : SUCCESS, INACTIVITY / LAZINESS : SHORTAGE
- M7a diligence, efforts will be rewarded > lazy, idle will be left without food
- M7b the unity of interests between performer or supplier and consumer or user of products and fruits
- M7c the one who sets out will make a living, find food > the one who sits or lolls about becomes poor
- M7d the lazy man's use of time
- M7e there will always be more than enough work and sleep
- M7f work kept separate from play and rest
- M7g festivals and feasts : workdays
- M7h work as the purpose of life > idleness and inactivity spoils life, corrupts
- M7i idleness : working for another's benefit, giving (the dirty) work to another, justifying idleness
- M8 THRIFT / STINGINESS
- M8a careful economy, thrift, peasant ascetics
- M8b a stingy saver gets rich a spendthrift becomes poor
- M8c despicability of a miser; the paradoxical unprofitability of thrift
- M9 EXPERIENCE / PRACTICE : LEARNING
- M9a lessons learned from experience, life and travel
- M9b the value and nature of learnedness
- M9c compulsory instruction does not pay
- M9d practical work and exercise train masters
- M9e learning from mistakes and accidents

T TIME AND SENSE OF TIME

- T1 TIMING / RIGHT MOMENT, BAD MOMENT / USE OF TIME
- T1a an early or swift start pays off, prevents future damage
- T1b every act, task, or material has its proper timing
- T1c one has to make immediate use of every opportunity
- T1d a well-timed beginning, finish, support or aid will pay off
- T1e an overdue, late start, aid or advice will get X into trouble / is worthless

- T1f a premature start, acting too soon will result in a loss
- T1g there is time enough, things can be put off
- T1h it is worth waiting for a better moment; advice will come, a solution will be found
- T1i the slow will defeat the fast
- T1j quality and work well done require time
- T1k hurry is unnecessary; hurry spoils things, work is bungled
- T2 ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHANGE / MODERNITY
- T2a time, customs and the world will change; new things will become old and worn out
- T2b novelty value : new things become old and worn out
- T2c newness may only be apparent
- T3 ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE PRESENT / FUTURE, ADJUSTMENTS
- T3a unpredictable future
- T3b adaptability in present difficulties
- T3c trusting in the future, preparing for the future, dreaming, optimism or pessimism
- T4 STARTING : FINISHING, BEGINNING : END
- T4a starting out is difficult but necessary
- T4b the beginning is decisive, the first is the most valuable
- T4c the result is decisive
- T4d interdependence between the beginning and the end
- T4e the end or continuation is expected after the beginning

LITERATURE

FLORINUS, Henrik

1987 [1702]: Sananlaskut [Proverbs]. (SKS:n Toimituksia 459.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

GANANDER, Christfrid

1997: Nytt Finskt Lexicon. [A new Finnish dictionary. From the manuscript and facsimile copied by Liisa Nuutinen.] (SKS:n Toimituksia 676. Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskuksen julkaisuja 95.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

JUTEINI, Jacob

1818: Walittuja Suomalaisten Sanan laskuja. [Selected proverbs of Finnish people]. Wiipuri. KUUSI, Matti

- 1970: Ovambo Proverbs with African Parallels. (FF Communications 208.) Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.
 - 1985: Proverbia septentrionalia. (FF Communications 236.) Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

1990 [1953]: Vanhan Kansan Sananlaskuviisaus [The proverbial wisdom of the ancients.] Porvoo: WSOY.

SKVR XV

1997: Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot [Ancient poems of the Finnish people] 15. (eds) KUUSI, Matti and TIMONEN, Senni. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.