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Socio-cultural Representation of Women in Proverbs

Case of Medea

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Master Degree in Applied linguistics

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Dedication

To my lovely mother the pulse of my heart whose affection, love, and encouragement make me able to finish this work

To my father whose grace is unending and whose love is unfailing

To my beloved sisters and brother "Souad, Meriem, Oumnia, Rania, and Mehdi" who stand by me when things look bleak

To my uncles, aunts, and my dearest cousins "Safa, Marwa, and Hadjer" the symbol of love and giving

To my soul mate and my best friend "Soumia"

To my humble partner "Yasmine BENTOUTI"

To all my friends who helped me and encouraged me all along the way

To all of them I dedicate this work

Nachida

I am dedicating this work to my beloved parents, sister and brothers who believe in me and support me along with my educational and even personal journey.

Without forgetting to thank my uncles, aunts and cousins for their great help.

I express special gratitude to my all my friends especially my two soul mates "Kaouther ZERKAOUI "and "Amira OUMOUNA" who are always supporting me with their pure hearts

I also dedicate this work to my partner "Nachida BABCHIKH" who is a respectful and amazing partner that I had the chance to work with.

Yasmine

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Abstract

The present research sheds light on women's image in the Medean proverbs. The overriding objective is to understand the portrayal of women in proverbs within a cultural and linguistic nexus. In order to answer the research questions, the researchers collected 62 proverbs and interviewed 16 participants. All of the collected data was analyzed sociolinguistically and contextually. The results showed that the context is an important factor that determines the negative or the positive image of women in proverbs. Yet, the social status of mothers, daughters, and sisters is highly respected whereas the relationships between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are depicted negatively. It was also revealed that Medeans value beauty, productivity, and marriage in their proverbs. Regarding the trust and ploy of women, they are depicted negatively in women-oriented proverbs.

Key words: proverbs, women, context, sociolinguistic, language, culture.

ملخص

تسلط هذه الأطروحة الضوء على صورة المرأة في الأمثال الشعبية لولاية المدية. هدفها الأسمى هو فهم صورة المرأة في هذه الأمثال ضمن ترابط ثقافي ولغوي. وقد جمعت الباحثتان 62 مثلًا وأجريتا 16 مقابلة للإجابة على أسئلة البحث. وتم تحليل جميع البيانات التي تم جمعها من الناحية الاجتماعية واللغوية والسياقية. و أظهرت النتائج أن السياق عامل مهم في تحديد الصورة السلبية أو الإيجابية للمرأة في الأمثال. ومع ذلك ، فإن الوضع الاجتماعي للأمهات والبنات والأخوات يحظى باحترام كبير في حين تُصور هذه الأمثال العلاقات بين زوجات الأبناء والحموات والأخوات بشكل سلبي. كما تبين أن مجتمع المدية يقدر بدرجة كبيرة الجمال والإنتاجية والزواج في أمثالهم الشعبية. و بالنسبة للثقة و مكر المرأة فإنهما يصورا بطريقة سلبية .

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأمثال، المرأة، السياق، اللغويات الاجتماعية، اللغة، الثقافة.

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ملخص III

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List of Arabic Phonetics Symbols

Arabic letter	Transcription
أ	[ʔ]
ب	[b]
ت	[t]
ث	[Ɵ]
ج	[ʒ]
ح	[h]
خ	[x]
د	[d]
ذ	[dh]
ر	[r]
ز	[z]
س	[s]
ش	[ʃ]
ط	[t]
ظ	[z]
ع	[ʕ]
غ	[ɣ]
ف	[f]
ق	[q]
ك	[k]
ل	[l]
م	[m]
ن	[n]
ه	[h]
و	[w]
ي	[j]

General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

Folklore is considered as the indispensible cultural legacy that mirrors people's lives. It is the memory of nations and its renewable repository that is employed to understand the individual's behaviour from its sense of value and personality to its relationship with the members of society. Perhaps one of the most prominent elements of folklore that circulate on people's tongues is proverbs. That is way they are classified as "the best indicators of attitudes and beliefs" (Kerschen, 1998, p.3).

Evidently, proverbs tackle different topics and various social relationships including the image of women in society. In fact, they contribute in the construction of women's identity in society by giving them certain images. This is prompted by Balogun (2010) who asserts that "the perception of women's personality, their strengths and weaknesses, their dignity, by the society and by themselves, is, among other things, the result of the way they are portrayed in proverbs" (p. 30).

Admittedly, proverbs are not only used to reflect but also to shape opinions. This will enable certain beliefs to pass on from generation to another. Thus, people will extract their beliefs from their proverbial background and apply them to contextual situations. Moreover, it can be said that the study of proverbs is a significant way to demonstrate the relationship between language and culture.

2. Statement of the Problem

The relationship between language and culture needs to be tackled from anthropological linguistic and sociolinguistic angles as there are various paths have not been discovered yet (Mišić Ilić, 2004, p. 4). This can be done through studying proverbs. There are more to know of the way, the reason, the social use, and the context in which proverbs are encountered (Abrahams, 1972, p.119). Besides, despite the number of works that have been assembled, the presence of women in proverbs needs to be investigated more in different countries (Baran, 2015, p. 316). Based on the aforementioned deficiencies, the need further exists to better understand how a woman's identity is constructed through Algerian proverbial language.

3. Significance of the Study

The current study may generate a better understanding of the anthropological heritage of Medean people. It may also help exploring the mindsets of preceding and current generations, and evaluating the development of women in the Medean society. In other words, it may enhance the comprehension of the social identity of women in Medea.

4. Objectives of the Study

This research pursues to achieve an understanding of the traditional norms that necessitate women-oriented proverbs. It also tries to account for how speakers of various genders, age, groups, and educational levels use proverbs on an everyday basis for negotiating women' status.

5. Research Questions

This research relies mainly on the following questions:

1. How do proverbs reflect women's image in the society of Medea?
2. How do people of Medea perceive the portrayal of women in proverbs?
3. What role do women-oriented proverbs play in the construction of women's identity?

6. Research Hypotheses

In order to answer the research questions, the following hypotheses were formed:

1. The image of women in the society of Medea is reflected in proverbs positively and negatively but according to the context.
2. Medeans perceive the portrayal of women in proverbs negatively.
3. Proverbs play great role in the construction of women's identity.

7. Research Methodology

In order to answer the questions and verify the hypotheses, this research adopted a qualitative approach. A semi-structured interview was selected as an instrument to investigate the participants' perception toward women's image in proverbs within linguistic and cultural lenses. The collected

proverbs cover a set of themes about women that determine their social status and role in the community. They were analyzed sociolinguistcally and contextually.

8. Structure of the Study

The current research consists of three chapters. The first chapter is the literature review and it covers the conceptual framework including definitions of culture, language, and proverbs. It also differentiates proverbs from other oral genres, and considers the social status of women in the Algerian society. The next section discusses women's presence in proverbs in different contexts to spot the research gap. It, finally, displays the theory of social constructionism to frame the current research.

The second chapter is the research methodology and it explains the research design, the sampling techniques and data collection instrument. It also provides some procedures to ensure the validity and credibility of the study and recapitulates the process of data analysis.

The last chapter analyzes the data of the study. It includes the representation of women in Medean proverbs in the first section. The second section discusses the results in relation to the theoretical background and previous studies.

Chapter One:
Literature Review

Chapter One: Literature Review

1.1. Introduction

1.2. Culture and Language

1.2.1. Culture

1.2.2. Language

1.3. Definition of Proverbs

1.4. Disassociation between Proverbs and other Speech Genres

1.4.1. Proverbs and Idioms

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1.9. Conclusion

1.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature concerning proverbs and the way how they contribute in the construction of women's identity. It starts by introducing key concepts that serve the scope of the research including culture and language. Besides, it defines the proverb in terms of its linguistic and behavioural features. Moreover, it carries with disassociating the proverb from other forms, namely idioms, sayings, aphorisms, and maxims. In addition, it provides a brief description of the social situation of women in Algeria. Furthermore, previous studies on the portrayal of women in proverbs are critically reviewed to identify the gap which this study seeks to fulfill. Likewise, social constructionism is discussed as a framework for conducting this research.

1.2. Culture and Language

The relationship between culture and language has received much attention from several anthropologists, folklorists, and sociolinguists (eg., Sapir, 1921 ; Kramsch & Widdowson, 1998 ; Risager, 2006; Wardhaugh, e2011). Sapir (1921/2004) asserts that "language does not exist apart from culture, that is, from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives." (pp. 170-171). Otherwise speaking, Sapir recognizes the close relationship between language and culture, concluding that it is not possible to understand or appreciate the one without knowledge of the other (Wardhaugh, 2010, p. 230). In the same vein, Mutunda (2017) mentions that "language performs various functions in the society and the society does the same" (p. 54). That is to say, the connection between culture and language is deeply ingrained in society. However, before going any further, it may be helpful to define these concepts.

1.2.1. Culture

There is no clear-cut definition of culture despite the amount of the persistent endeavours to define it (Mesthrie, 2001, p. 37). Yet another attempt is to be established in this research. Indeed, according to Duranti (1997) culture is a depiction of the world, a method for understanding reality by externalizing it in stories, legends, folktales, and proverbs (p. 33). This public stock of knowledge is transmitted

from one generation to another through verbal and non-verbal communication. Thus, people get acquainted with their own culture when they interact socially. They do not receive any cultural practice genetically but rather learn it from the social environment (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015, p.10). In this respect, culture is a reflection of the different aspects of life that people experience through social interaction.

1.2.2. Language

There are so many definitions of language. However, it is not easy to find a complete definition as each one stresses some aspects or another of language. Saussure (1916/2011) defines language as "a system of signs in which the only essential thing is the union of meanings and sound images (p.15). In other words, language is a link between concept or thought (mental image) and sound (acoustic image), and is a means for concept to be expressed as sound. The mental image and acoustic image cannot be separated.

Saussure also emphasizes the social aspect of language. According to him, language is "a social product of the speech faculty" (Saussure, 1916/2011, p. 9). Moreover, he believes that **"**language has no meaning; it only means something for someone, with regard to someone. Meanings are generated in usage" (Saussure 1916, as cited in Grzybek, 1992, p.35). It is, then, the pragmatic function that incorporates it. Basically, each word humans say refers to the interactive thoughts that are based on the accumulation of common experiences. Sapir (1921/2004) refers to language as "a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols" (p.15). From his point of view, language is human. Only humans possess language. In other terms, language is species specific and species uniform (Salim, 2001, p.1). Above all, language is a cultural, not a biologically inherited function (Verghese, 1989, p.9). Namely, individuals acquire their language from society.

As far as the link between language and culture is concerned, an overlap exists. Kramsch & Widdowson (1998) state that "language is a system of signs that is seen as having itself a cultural

value" (p. 3). Put differently, language distinguishes a person from another as it shows his/her social and cultural identity. Likewise, Keating **(**2009**)** suggests that language is "a system of tools for the constitution of social life and culture." (p.76). It means that language not only symbolizes culture but also helps to create a framework in which culture develops. In the same perspective, Dittmar (1976) epitomizes that "speech behaviour and social behaviour are in a state of constant interaction" (p. 238). This implies the fact that language mirrors or reflects cultural reality. Society, in turn, affects language, gives rise to words, influences their use, and provides context. Accordingly, Bruner (1996) posits that "culture shapes the minds of individuals" (p.3). On this view, it is culture that provides the tools for organizing and understanding the world in a communicable way. Hence, language and culture can be described as two sides of the same coin. The absence of the former deficits the latter and the absence of the latter deprives the former from its essence.

As a matter of fact, the constituent of language that best animates the ideals and convictions of a society is its proverbs. They portray richness, beauty, sharpness of language, and the social legacy of a country (Kurmanali et al., 2018, p. 99)**.** Given the importance of proverbs in culture and society, they must be defined in consideration to the scope of the study.

1.3. Definition of Proverbs

Defining a proverb is not an easy straightforward operation, it is rather difficult. Archer Taylor (1931), one of the pioneers of paremiology (proverbs study), confirmed the difficulty of such a task (Zumwalt, 1998, p. 103). Nevertheless, a variety of linguistic and functional definitions are to be explored because proverbs are not only structural items but also behavioural ones (Lau, Tokofsky, & Winick, 2004, p. 2).

Mieder (2004) describes a proverb as "a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorizable form and which is handed down from generation to generation" (p. 3). This description emphasizes on both linguistic and functional aspects of proverbs including concision (briefness), fixity (immutability), language, the

frequent use, and the reflection of the society's cultural view. Nonetheless, it happens for some proverbs to not always be metaphorical as in the case of the English proverb "honesty is the best policy". This example takes the literal direct form and it is still considered as a proverb. Over and above that is the truth that the proverb expresses.

Later on, Mieder (2007) reports that proverbs are not always true. They may sometimes convey wrong messages. He adds that "the truth value of each and every proverb very much depends on its use and function in particular situations" (p.17). In this regard, the appropriate interpretation of a proverb is related to its context.

Similarly, the American paremiologist Bartlett Jere Whiting (1994) associates linguistic, functional, and behavioural characteristics of a proverb in the following definition:

> A proverb is an expression which, owing its birth to the people, testifies to its origin in form and phrase. It expresses what is apparently a fundamental truth – that is, a truism, – in homely language, often adorned, however, with alliteration and rhyme. It is usually short, but need not be; it is usually true, but need not be. Some proverbs have both literal and figurative meaning, either of which makes perfect sense; but more often they have but one of the two. A proverb must be venerable; it must bear the sign of antiquity, and since such signs may be counterfeited by a clever literary man, it should be attested in different places at different times. (p. 80)

He argues that people create and use these short poetic expressions repeatedly to voice their true life experiences either literally or figuratively. So size, style, and meaning are among the linguistic features, but the reflections of real life as well as traditionality are the behavioural and functional ones. However, traditionality is still disputable, the proof is the existence of newly born and widely used proverbs like, "garbage in, garbage out'', "different strokes for different folks'' that have no antiquity and match the contexts of the modern world (Mieder, 2004).

Moreover, Archer Taylor (1994) defines a proverb as "wise; it belongs to many people; it is ingenious in form and idea; and it was first invented by an individual and applied by him to a

particular situation" (p. 3). Reviewing this definition, Taylor disregards the structural facets of proverbs and settles only for mentioning that they are witty in form without explaining how. Despite that, he alludes to the behavioural qualities of proverbs by asserting on their communal and collective nature. A proverb, for him, is created and used by one single person in a specific context but through time it becomes the whole society's property. Regarding wisdom, it is lopsided since proverbs are not constantly wise. The experience of some users cannot always be the same as other users especially in this modern age.

Finnegan (2012) also stresses on the various features of proverbs. She claims that a proverb's linguistic form differentiates it from other utterances. It is meant to be concise with relative fixity and poetic nature in style or meaning. While the aforementioned traits are similar to that of Whiting, the behavioural ones are different. Finnegan (2012) suggests popular acceptance as a determinant of the proverb's significance. It involves the extent to which people accord, value, and use a proverb frequently. Another crucial determinant is local attitude to proverbs. The way in which a particular "attractive saying" is evaluated locally decides whether it is really a proverb or not. One more determinant is context. The frame that surrounds any proverb distinguishes it from other idiomatic forms (pp. 383-384).

By the same token, Norrick (1985) defines proverbs as "self-contained, pithy, traditional expressions with didactic content and fixed, poetic form" (p. 31). Once more there is an emphasis on proverbs' linguistic and behavioural properties in Norrick's definition. Proverbs are self-contained because their grammatical units cannot be replaced by other units. For example, the sentence "curiosity killed the cat" cannot be replaced by another phrase (Abdul Jabbar, 2008, p.117). Furthermore, they are pithy since they are full of substance and meaning. In this regard, Norrick (1985) expresses that "proverbs are pregnant in meaning" (p. 36). Moreover, proverbs are traditional by virtue of their being items of folklore. The latter is recurring, authorless, sourceless, non-literary, and non-learned (Norrick, 1985, pp. 39-40). What is more is the didactic function of proverbs. They tell people what to do or not

to do, such as “better safe than sorry” and “haste makes waste”. Besides, proverbs have fixedness of form. In other terms, there is a limitation on their variation. Nonetheless, fixedness in proverbs does not require total frozenness. There are some structural and lexical alterations in standard and stored proverbial expressions (Norrick, 1985, p.46). The last property of proverbs entails their external and internal poetic features. A proverb can be identified by its prosodic and figurative patterns. The prosody of naming something close before naming something far indicates proverbial presence, as in the proverb “a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush”. Likewise, the proverb “it never rains but it pours” may be uttered figuratively with reference to an actual rain or to a person experiencing a series of problems (Norrick, 1985, p.48).

As a conclusion, a proverb is generally a fixed, concise, metaphorical, and anonymous statement that has been accepted by the same members of society and it is used to instruct people. It has a number of linguistic, structural, behavioural and functional features which disassociate it from other speech genres.

1.4. Disassociation between Proverbs and other Speech Genres

The adjacent relation of proverbs with other literary forms leaves the door open for discussion (Finnegan, 2012, p. 382). Henceforth, knowing how to differentiate between a proverb, on the one hand, and idioms, sayings, aphorisms, and maxims, on the other hand, is very crucial.

1.4.1. Proverbs and Idioms

Proverbs are popular sayings, expressing some general truth or superstition (Baldick, 2001, p. 208). Idioms in contrast are generally grammatical constructions whose meaning is unpredictable from the usual meaning of their component elements (Dabaghi, Pishbin, & Niknasab, 2010, p. 809)**.** The English idiom “it is raining cats and dogs” is figuratively constructed. It signifies something different from what is apparent. It is used to describe particularly heavy rain and is not necessarily related to the raining animals’ phenomenon.

1.4.2. Proverbs and Sayings

Casas and Campoy (1995) agree that proverbs and sayings are distinct in a number of ways. The first way is their degree of frozenness. Proverbs are frozen statements that resist change in their forms. The fixed form of proverbs disallows people from any deliberate reconstruction of their syntactic structure. Nonetheless, sayings are structurally changeable. The second way is their force. Proverbs are memorable unlike sayings. The third way is their scope. Proverbs reflect truth and are less situationally bound sentences than sayings. The last way is their opaque nature. Sayings are more opaque expressions dissimilar to proverbs (compare "boys will be boys" (proverb) with "to kick the bucket" (saying)) (Casas and Campoy 1995, p. 46).

1.4.3. Proverbs and Aphorisms

Aphorisms are expressive statements that reflect human realities (Gracian, 2018, p. 14). They normally appear as definitions or redefinitions such as, "all stones are broken stones". Along with that, they are often highly dependent on the order of their words, and this is what set them apart from proverbs. Aphorisms are faintly unconnected to the context. "They state or define their own situation, and then re-define it" contrary to proverbs that rely on outside situation (Richardson, 2010, pp. 5-6).

1.4.4. Proverbs and Maxims

Gracian (2018) identifies maxims as didactic expressions that are presented in the imperative mood (p. 14). They are usually uttered by known authors, but if they are anonymous they would rather be proverbs (p. 17). They are also connected with formal speech contrary to proverbs that approach popular and informal speech (Gándara, 2004, p. 348).

Generally speaking, all of these forms share a major element. All of them are influenced to some extent by the notion of context. As a result, reading proverbs in context is a stimulating issue that should be tackled in the coming section.

1.5. The Contextual Use of Proverbs

Language and context are equally important to understand the intended meaning of a text. Malinowski (1948) says that "the text, of course, is extremely important, but without the context it remains lifeless"(p. 82). In an attempt to study oral folklore, Malinowski develops two terms including the context of culture and the context of situation.

Initially, the context of culture is the largest scope for analyzing oral folklore (Ben-Amos, 1993, p. 216). Malinowski (1935) proposes that a number of linguistic materials, people's behaviors and interests as well as "moral and aesthetic values" connect the parts of the language together to form what is called the context of culture (p. 22). More elaborately, Ben-Amos (1993) associates the context of culture with "the ideology, historical knowledge, modes of thought, value system, aesthetic principles, and principles of behaviour" (p. 213). Accordingly, knowing in which culture the text belongs is important in understanding its meaning because cultures differ and one proverb can be used in several cultures but in different ways.

On the contrary, the situation is the narrowest context for speaking folklore. The entirety of situation needs the correlation of a variety of components. For instance, speakers' age, status, and gender are of crucial importance in the process of communication. Besides, code, style, time and place of performance convey meanings (Ben-Amos, 1993, pp. 216-218). Therefore, the context of situation is critical for meaning perception to the extent that an isolated statement is just an illusion representing nothing. In other words the "utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation" (Malinowski, 1923, p. 307).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1973) also notes that "proverb meaning ultimately emerges from a proverb's use in a specific context". She mentions the term "proverb performance meaning" that covers the "proverbial meaning" and the "situational meaning". The former refers to the base meaning or the proverb's meaning itself. The latter implies the way how participants evaluate the situation and the

message that they want to convey (pp.119-120). Employing all these elements helps in grasping the right meaning of a proverb.

Additionally, Honeck (1997) asserts that there are different types and levels of meanings invoked by proverbs. For example, proverbial expressions' functions can be illocutionary (e.g., persuading, explaining, scolding) societal (i.e., education, norm maintenance, entertainment), and illustrative (i.e., embodying topics analogically) (p. 96).

In brief, the multitudinous criteria of proverbs have an implicit impact on social communication. If the proverb is not used with its appropriate function and meaning in a suitable setting it would distract meaning; consequently, cause misunderstanding in conversations. Meaning, as Keating (2009) proclaims, "Is a moment-by-moment achievement which links past and present and forms a context for the future" (p.2).

After discussing the meaning, the function of proverbs, and their use in context, it is worthwhile to examine how women are seen in the Medean society. This in turn contributes to the understanding of their portrayal in proverbs.

1.6. The Social Status of Women in Algeria

The social status of women in Algeria is distinct because the way how a woman is portrayed today goes back to the influence of different periods. Before 1830, "Algeria has two societies within one, that of men and that of women". It is clear that females were culturally separated from males. They could visit one another at home or met at the fountain or at baths whilst men were always outside at work, in coffee shops or in other male preserves (Heggoy, 1974, pp. 449- 450).

During the Algerian revolution with the French colonialism, society's view to the Algerian women was different. They stood hand in hand with men to dislodge the enemy. They fought, "cooked, cleaned, and provided shelter for the moudjahidine" (Flood, 2016, p.3). Nevertheless after gaining

independence, women were still disenfranchised due to the restriction, conservation, and patriarchy of the Algerian society at that time (Leonhardt, 2013, p. 44).

The 1990s was also a challenging period for Algerian women. In spite of the discomfort that prevailed "many women remained strong and found ways to resist and protest the violent actions of the FIS". Still they were "unnoticed by the government and the male population" (Rohloff, 2012, p. 22).

At the beginning of the 21st century, most women have broken away from a traditional way of life. They still guard the cultural values but in less conservative ways. "Several taboos started to disappear and mentalities, though slowly, were surely changing especially towards women working outside the home and the type of work they were doing" (Salhi, 2010, p.122). The cultural image of women in society, then, has changed dramatically. Indeed, women become more educated and their participation in the labor force has increased steadily (Rohloff, 2012, p.24).

In the following point, the researchers review the different studies on the representation of women in proverbs.

1.7. The Representation of Women in Proverbs

This section attempts to analyze previous studies undertaken on the depiction of women in proverbs. Kerschen (1998), as a case in point, examined American proverbs where he dealt with already collected proverbs about women. He concluded that a small proportion of these proverbs have pictured women positively. The greater part of them express sarcastic and hurtful humorousness, for they depict a woman as talkative, shrewish, dim-witted, and a man's property (p. 6). Although he sequentially organized his analysis into categories comprising of social status, age, and family relationships, he failed in displaying two notions. One includes the absence of the relationship between language and culture. Even though there is a reference in the book about the effect of language on culture, Kerschen did not explain it thoroughly. Another one is the lack of context, Kerschen studied these proverbs isolated from their real context. This very fact highlights the inappropriateness of studying proverbs in isolation as discussed earlier.

Likewise, Kochman-Haładyj (2014) scrutinized how women are depicted positively in English and Polish proverbs. She found that categories like wives, mothers-in-law, and widows are perceived negatively whilst mothers and grandmothers have positive connotations. Besides, the study revealed that Polish language, unlike English, sticks more to the traditional situation of women in proverbs. Apart from this, the researcher disregarded one significant component in the study of proverbs that is the context. The proverbs concerned are displaced from their real setting.

Schipper (2010) is another researcher interested in women's depiction in proverbs. She explored different perceptions of gender from various places in the world. Her discussion on the topic embraced a thorough illustration of negative and positive characteristics in proverbs. These proverbs incorporate all the components of a woman's body, the diverse stages of her life, the principles of her life, and the capacities she possesses. Schipper relied on the local collection of these proverbs. She disputed them in every where she went, and with every person she met around the world. However, a question arose here that is how people can understand proverbs from foreign cultures. Her answer opted for the cross-cultural comprehension. Gender-related proverbs between cultures are in some way intelligible because they share some qualities and experiences. Although this research covered a multitude of proverbs, it overlooked at the main concern of the current research that is the relationship between culture and language.

Lomotey (2019) investigated further in this topic in Spanish. Her study incorporated the relevance of traditional androcentric proverbs by reflecting their hidden ideologies. She deduced that direct sexist proverbs are infrequent in modern times. Notwithstanding, androcentrism and sexism are still apparent in a few modern Spanish proverbs. The reason lies behind the fact that the old sexist proverbs have been adapted to new forms where they cover their traditional features. This researcher showed how the sexist view is constructed through social and psychological details of proverbs since she perceived the topic from a different angle. All of this was carried out using both the qualitative and quantitative methods to provide deep understanding of gender ideologies in peninsular Spanish proverbs.

Regardless of these achievements, the study lacks a vivid analysis using interviews to probe people's perceptions along with the focus on the contextual features of the proverbs.

Furthermore, Buja (2018) looked at the image of women in proverbs from a comparative point of view. She compared the conventional principles and roles that women experience in Korean and Romanian cultures. She also pursued to clarify their positive and negative traits in both languages. Despite that, Buja neglected the relationship between language and culture and revealed only men's attitudes towards women.

In a similar vein, Shaimardanovaa, et al. (2016) dealt with the representation of women in English and Russian proverbs. The study discloses males'androcentrism that construct women's negative image. It categorized the presence of women in proverbs into several semantic groups involving their behaviors, appearance, age, personal characteristics, and marital relationships. The findings revealed that most female representations are displayed negatively in both cultures. This survey also provided an ethnocultural originality of a global linguistic picture, and ultimately set for each language some common and different national and cultural features. In spite of that, it approached the current topic from a limited scope that is gender equality.

M. Gasanova, Magomedova, and Gasanova (2016) ran out a linguocultruological analysis of women's image in the proverbs and sayings of the Dagestan languages. The depiction of women is ranged into four groups: age, social status, personal qualities, and appearance. It was revealed that the Dagestan proverbial language favors and disfavors females due to their cryptic nature and its divergent understanding in the national linguistic view. Although the study pointed to one factor behind the diversity of women's image in proverbs it is still deficient as it missed some reliable data. One of them includes the immediate situation where a women-oriented proverb is used. Another implies the interactive opinion of Dagestan people toward women in proverbs.

Correspondingly in Japan, Storm (1992) analyzed the image of women in the Japanese proverbs. He dealt with old and new proverbs to observe people's negative or positive attitudes on women by means

of undertaking a questionnaire survey. The purpose of this latter was to see if Japanese women are viewed distinctively from other women, and to note if gender and age affect the way how people see females in such proverbs. The study revealed that participants' opinions are almost the same, though they have different ages and sexes. The general picture of women in Japan is negative, but that cannot deny the fact that it is moving toward change. Since proverbs demonstrate the values and beliefs of a society, they are more susceptible to change through time. Still, the value of this research is limited; it neglected the links between language and culture. It also explored those Japanese proverbs in isolation separating them from their real context.

Jayarvardena (2015) focused on how proverbs empower or disempower females in French and Sinhala. After her analysis, she categorized the representation of women in proverbs in three categories. The two cultures concentrate on traditional roles of women, personal traits, and their comparison with males and animals. She concluded that the majority of these proverbs depict women negatively in both languages. The study, however, did not tackle the how and the why they are seen that way. The researcher took no notice to the relation between speech and cultural basics and the contextual presence of these proverbs.

The representation of women in the Algerian context is also present. Mokhtar (2004) explored the women-oriented proverbs in the region of M'sila. She collected proverbs and classified them according to the age and stages of women's life. The study reported that these proverbs form prejudgments and stereotypical opinions about women in M'sila. It also indicated that their negative portrayal in proverbs overwhelms their positive one. Still and all, the researcher failed to acknowledge the connection between language and culture.

Equivalently, Halitim (2010) analyzed the portrait of women in Algerian proverbs. He explained the intertextuality between such proverbs and specific religious and cultural backgrounds. Nevertheless, most of these proverbs were collected from folkloristic books deprived from their actual use. The study

also relied on just two interviews that are considered as limited for the understanding of women's picture in Algeria.

In the same way, Ben Omar and Hamisi (2018) discussed the presence of women in proverbs in the region of Oued Souf. They explained the way how female-related proverbs are framed under certain religious values and social norms. While this study related these proverbs to Quran, Hadith, and social life, it neglected the linguistic aspects of proverbs.

Younes (2018) also conducted a sociological analysis of women's picture in the Algerian proverbs. The study clarified the duality of these proverbs. This was a result of the positive and negative outlook that society holds towards women. Yet, the study is still limited as it deprived proverbs from their actual setting.

In brief, much work has been written about the way women speak and the way women are spoken to in a conversation. Besides, most researches approached the depiction of women in proverbs from a gender equality point of view. A small number of surveys were conducted regarding the relationship between language and culture in this field. Alternatively, their relationship was always studied from a traditional angle, but addressing it from point of view of female-related proverb is recent and new. Aside from that, the prior studies analyzed women's proverbs apart from their context whilst they need to be studied within it.

Methodologically speaking, the previously mentioned researches evaluated only these proverbs without including interviews with people to consider their cultural perception of women's portrait. But if it happened, most of participants were usually old and uneducated. Apparently, they limited the use of proverbs for the elderly alone. On the top of that, few similar studies have been done in the Algerian context, specifically in the region of Medea. Evidently, the small body of literature and all these limitations bring to light a knowledge gap.

One last point before turning to the methodological chapter, social constructionism is to be discussed as a theoretical framework on which such a project can anchor on.

1.8. Social Constructionism

Social constructionism is adopted as a theoretical framework as it has a direct bearing to the current topic. It deals with the manners how knowledge is established in social and cultural lore (Galbin, 2014, p. 89).

Rogers and Pilgrim (2005) enunciate that "reality is not self-evident, stable and waiting to be discovered but is a product of human activity" (p.15). The members of society interact with each other to construct their realities (Eldly, 2001). This can be realized through their acceptance and frequent use of a specific social knowledge that functions as a common sense. Henceforth, all knowledge people construct depends highly on language, culture as well as social and contextual processes of that particular society (Franklin, 1995, p. 397).

In this respect, language is of great importance to the construction of social knowledge. In a point of fact, the way people perceive the world is received from society over a wide span of time**.** People are naturally introduced to a reality where they use already-existed concepts. These ideas are developed in parallel with language development. In other words, the manner in which individuals think, the very classifications and ideas that give a structure of significance to them, are given by the language that they use (Lit & Shek, 2002, p. 110).

Interestingly, this can be applied on proverbs where their meaning is constructed due to the influence of cultural and social backgrounds. . In the process of developing language through social interaction, the knowledge expressed by proverbs constructs some particular realities. The same is true in the case of women in proverbs. A socio-cultural image of women is constructed whenever proverbial expressions are used by people. For instance, in the proverb "women are evil" there is no indication to women's evilness, but "a social construct meaning is formulated to relegate women" (Chikwelu, 2019, p.15).

1.8.1. Community of Practice

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) relate the concept of community of practice with social constructionism to clarify the relationship between speech and the social construct. They go on to advocate that:

> A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, value, power relations – in short, practice in the course of their joint activity around that endeavour. A community of practice is different as a social constructs from the traditional notion of community, primary because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages. (p. 464)

In light of this definition, community of practice refers to the convergence of the same members of society under some principles and tasks. As long as they get involved and provide contribute to the community, they get to know themselves and allow for their identity to be constructed (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1999, p. 186). In this sense, Litosseliti (2013) claims that "identity formation is an active process of affiliation as well as differentiation and resistance – but also involves attribution of identities by others" (p. 60). Thus, both individual and society play a serious part in the construction of identity.

In order to implement this on gender, there is a need to know that gender encloses both sexes, but the concern of this research is directed only toward female. Litosseliti (2013) considers gender as a cultural or social construct (p.10). It can be realized in interactional form (Wodak, 1997, p. 13). This denotes that its execution is via lingual connections as illustrated by Lazar (2005) in his term discursive accomplishment. Accomplishment designates people's linguistic actions as the producer of female's identity in specific cultural settings (p, 12).

1.9. Conclusion

The discussion of earlier literature is approached from a socio-cultural perspective. The theoretical part began with some definitions about culture, language, and proverbs. Then, it shed light on the various oral forms and the contextual use of these proverbs. This guided the researchers to have a clear idea of what proverbs are. Ultimately, one should retain that proverbs are recalled and understood in their immediate actual use. Moreover, the literature reviewed has also shown the social place of women in the Algerian society. Besides, the existing studies paved the way and helped to prepare material for the next chapter. Finally, the last part presented the theoretical framework upon which this research is grounded. For the upcoming chapter, the researchers tackle the practical part.

Chapter Two:

Research Methodology

Chapter Two: Research Methodology

2.1. Introduction

2.2. Research Design

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2.1. Introduction

This chapter is organized in order to answer the research questions, fill the knowledge gap, and exhibit the reasons for choosing particular methods over others. Otherwise speaking, it supplies the reader with information about the research design and the sample population. It also presents the data collection methods including proverbs collection and semi-structured interviews as well as some considerable steps to assure the authenticity of these instruments. Finally, it tackles the pilot test and member checking as measures to ensure the credibility of the study and introduces briefly the levels of data analysis.

2.2. Research Design

The current research adopted the qualitative research method. Lune and Berg (2017) suggest that qualitative research promotes the understanding of people's social lives. This can be done through examining multiple viewpoints and explaining how people construct their identities (Nueman, 2014, p. 110).

In this study, the researchers opted for an explorative and descriptive approach. This method is used when little is known about a certain phenomenon. It aims at approaching the full nature of a phenomenon from different angles. It allows researchers to observe, elucidate, and classify the various details of a specific phenomenon as it occurs in its natural social context (Neuman, 2006). As a case in point, the researchers observed and described how Medean female-oriented proverbs are used to portray women in Medea.

2.3. Sampling

The present study employed a non-probability sampling. This type of sampling is widely used by qualitative researchers. It refers to the gradual process of collecting cases, events, and actions that increase the understanding of a phenomenon in a particular social setting. It is "non-random" since researchers neither determine the sample size in advance nor have sufficient knowledge about the

population from which the sample is taken (Neuman, 2006, p, 141). Therefore, two types of non-probability sampling were adopted, including: maximal variation sampling and snowball sampling.

According to Creswell (2012), maximal variation sampling is utilized to select participants with different characteristics such as age, gender, etc. In this study, the researchers chose cases according to age, gender, educational level, and marital status. Snowball sampling, in contrast, occurs during the data collection stage as the researchers ask participants to recommend other cases based on the relationship between them (Neuman, 2014, p. 169). The same happened in this research, recruiting participants started with few cases and spread with the recommendation of other cases. In the very first interviews, the researchers asked the participants to suggest any person who uses proverbs and is interested in being interviewed, and they proposed some of their relatives.

This study employed 16 participants with an equal variation of gender and educational level. They were chosen selectively taking into account their cultural knowledge of proverbs. The number chosen depends on the nature of qualitative research since it seeks to provide a deep meaning of a phenomenon rather than generalizing the findings (Dworkin, 2012, p. 1319). This capacity of providing an in-depth picture reduces with the addition of each new individual or site, besides the bigger number of cases can result in superficial perspectives (Creswell, 2012, p. 209). The same was applied on this study; the researchers were much more concerned about understanding people's perspectives on the cultural representation of women in Medean proverbs instead of generalizing their attitudes toward women. Further, the researchers stopped interviewing participants when data reached saturation. Fossey et al., (2002) argue that qualitative sampling continues until no new information occurs, and it becomes redundant (p.726). In this study, the researchers noted down all important data and skipped trivial or reoccurring one. Hence, the data collection process stopped at the interview number 16.

2.3.1. Informants' Profile

The informants involved in this research were 16 persons, 8 women and 8 men. They were natives of Medea (the capital city of Medea province). They were selected systematically with regard to factors such as age, gender, educational level, and cultural knowledge of proverbs. They were 4 educated men and women below 30 years of age, in addition to 4 uneducated man and women above 30. The following table illustrates the division of the participants' number.

Table 2.1: Categories of Sampled Research Participants

Gender	**Below 30**	**Above 30**
	Educated	**Uneducated**
Female	4	4
Male	4	4
Total Number	8	8
	16	

2.4. Data Collection Instruments

The choice of data collection instruments is highly dependent on the research design (Burns & Grove, 2001, pp. 460-461). Thus, the researchers selected interviews and fieldwork observation as instruments to collect proverbs in their immediate context. Nonetheless, the use of fieldwork observation proved impossible because of the Corona virus (COVID-19) pandemic.

2.4.1. Proverbs Collection

In qualitative research, the significance of a social activity or an event relies on the setting. The meaning is misrepresented if it is dislocated from context (Neuman, 2014). Unseth (2008) claims that "asking people to simply list long lists of proverbs in their language will only elicit a fraction of the

proverbs in their language" (p. 400). Therefore, people can remember proverbs only through evoking contexts (Herzfeld, 1990). For the above mentioned reasons, the researchers endeavoured to collect female-oriented proverbs in their actual context. However, it was nearly impossible to meet people and collect data because of the health crisis. Thus, only 62 proverbs were collected in context via interviews, and the remaining three were used in the interviews.

2.4.2. Semi- Structured Interviews

Interviews are effective qualitative methods of gathering data.They are used to understand how participants relate certain meanings to phenomena or events (Lune & Berg, 2017, p.70). There are two main types of qualitative interviews: unstructured and semi-structured (Carey, 2009).

The current research used semi-structured interviews. This kind of interviews is conducted with a fairly open framework which allows participants' thoughts, feelings, and beliefs about a particular topic to be brought up flexibly. It makes use of dialogues, guided by an interview protocol and supplemented by preplanned questions, spontaneous questions, probes, and comments (Jonckheere & Vaughn 2019; Carey, 2009). Based on this premise, the researchers used semi-structure interviews to fathom out how proverbs represent women in Medea.

Qualitative researchers use different types of questions in their interviews. Nevertheless, they often begin with icebreaker questions which aim at gathering data about informants' personal lives, interests or careers (Brennen, 2017). In this study, the semi-structured interviews started with icebreaker questions then shifted to more complex and sensitive ones. Moreover, the organization of the questions was consecutive from the early stages of a woman's life arriving to the last stages of her life. The participants were introduced to simple questions such as defining proverbs and guessing any proverb about women to warm up and prepare the interviewees to the next questions. In the middle of the interview, the researchers inserted some proverbs to add humour to the interview and break seriousness. As the interview advanced, the interviewers used more complex and sensitive questions (Berg, 2000, p.79). Concerning proverbs, they were collected during the interview. The researchers

brought the actual context by asking several mind stimulating questions. Accordingly, participants were able to recall a significant number of female-related proverbs.

Moreover, the duration of the interviews lasted between 45 minutes and one hour and a half. The reason is that participants expressed their perspectives and experience in-depth. All interviews were conducted in settings where participants felt comfortable and relaxed even though they varied from face-to-face to online interviews. The use of online interviews lies behind the fact that it was impossible to meet some participants due to the health crisis. Hence, they were conducted through video conferencing calls which allowed the interviewers to observe and record the real performance of participants. All interviews were conducted in the Algerian dialect. This increased the share of information as well as the recall of the proverbs (Feldman et al., 2003, p. 54).

2.4.2.1. The Interview Protocol

Although audio taping the interviews offers a detailed recording, still the interviewers need to take some important notes, and have ready-made questions to be asked. An interview protocol is used in this case. It is a form designed by the researchers that contains instructions for the process of the interview, the questions to be asked, and space to take notes of responses from the interviewees (Creswell, 2012, p. 225). Leaving space between the questions allows the interviewers to take notes because sometimes respondents do not give immediate answers (Creswell, 2007, p.133). The very same happened during the interviews of this research. The interviewers asked a question about the problems that a woman can create within the family, particularly between the husband and his brothers. However, the answer was directed to the next question that talks about the relationship between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law.

2.4.2.2. Ethical Considerations

This research was conducted with a careful concern about the confidentiality, rights, and anonymity of the participants. The first step taken was obtaining informed consent through a verbal agreement or a written statement. Few numbers of participants signed the consent form whereas most of them

provided voluntary oral consent due to friendship and family relations between the researchers and the participants. The second step of confidentiality done by researchers was informing the participants about the aim and the main topics of the study. They were ensured about their voluntary participation and they could quit at any time and for any reason if they felt uncomfortable. They were also informed that they would be audio-recorded, and these records would be destroyed immediately after the transcription. Despite that, one male participant refused to be recorded; thus, the interview was not conducted. Further, pseudonyms were given to participants to guarantee their anonymity. They are composed of the first letter of their names, their age, their gender and their education. For instance, one of the participants was given this pseudonym "N49FUN". The letter "N" stands for the first letter of her name, 49 is her age, the letter "F" refers to the gender and "UN" indicates her educational level.

2.4.2.3. Transcription and Translation

The process of transcription and translation was simultaneous in this research due to the language of the interview. The researchers translated and transcribed each of the 16 interviews at the same time. Though it was really tiring and time-consuming, they could develop an intimate familiarity and an understanding of the data. Besides, every effort was taken to treat the content in a confidential manner. Wellarda and McKennab (2001) recommend the practice of repeated effective listening to transcripts (p. 185). Thus, the researchers listened several times to each interview before starting the transcription to sit aside all pre-judgments.

The process of transcription will be insufficient, if it includes only the textual elements. The contextual clues are also of importance to the validity of the interview transcript (Wellarda & McKennab, 2001, p. 183). Silence, for example, hides various deep meanings (Poland and Pederson, 1998, p. 294). For Wellarda & McKennab, silence may implicate "resisting a response, waiting for further expansion on the question, waiting for something to occur, or 'self-censorship'" (p. 184). For that reason silence has to be part of the analysis and interpretation of the interview. In addition, facial

expressions, gestures, laughs or sighs, tone of speech, and length of pauses are also significant and they are maintained through field notes (Sandalowski, 1994, pp. 311-312).

Additionally, as far as the translation of proverbs is concerned, it was complicated because finding an equivalent of a proverb in another language is difficult and sometimes even impossible (Maria, 2012, p. 281). This goes back to the existence of various cultural differences between the Algerian dialect and English. Many of the concerned proverbs lost their cultural and linguistic meanings to the extent that they look like plain statements instead of proverbs to the readers. However, in addition to the researchers' careful translation, they asked the help from two experienced teachers of translation, and they provided a reasonable translation. (See appendix 04)

2.5. Validity and Credibility

Creswell (2012) suggests assuring credibility in conducting qualitative research as a crucial step to avoid being biased (p.259). In so doing, the researchers used the pilot test to check the credibility of the current research.

2.5.1. The Pilot Test

A pilot test examines the research instruments such as questionnaires and interviews (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001, p.1). It is also used to assess cost, feasibility, methodology, and data analysis of a specific research. Likewise, it can be used to review the research design, develop data collection and analysis plans, and gain experience with participants (Beebe, 2007, p. 213). The pilot study of the current research was the first step of the practical application.

Table 2.2: Categories of Pilot Test Participants

N°	Gender	Age	Educational level
1	Female	49	Uneducated
2	Female	49	Uneducated

3	Female	90	Uneducated
4	Female	55	Educated
5	Male	45	Uneducated
6	Male	30	Educated
7	Male	23	Educated

After piloting the interview, the researchers made some adjustments in the interview protocol. For instance, the question that said how female-related proverbs can influence a husband's decision about his wife was difficult and too vague for the participants, their answers were pointless. As a result, it was omitted and inserted within another question. Furthermore, the researchers learned how to deal with the participants by remaining impartial and allowing the participants to express their opinions. They also learned how to control the process of interviewing and framing the interviewees to the scope of the study.

2.5.2. Member Checking

The findings of the study have to be accurate and valid. This is achieved through involving member checking. It occurs when the researchers ask a number of participants in the study to confirm whether the themes reflect their experiences. After that the thematic discussion can be modified in the light of the participants' responses (Creswell, 2012, p. 260). The researchers, then, met with four participants and asked them whether the themes are realistic, fair and representative.

2.5. Data Analysis

The process of analysis in this study started in parallel with the translation and transcription of the data. As the researchers jot down important repetitive ideas during and after each interview, they could be able to have a list of important themes emerging in the data. They had also developed a categorized

corpus of proverbs with their translation. Concerning the transcribed interviews, they were coded into general categories and after that they were classified into themes. As a last step before presenting the results, numerous extractions are selected from the interviews to illustrate the finding of the study.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the methodological steps of data collection in this research. It explained the research design as well as the sampling adopted in this study. Further, a detailed exposition of the instruments used to collect data was given. At a more specific level, it clarified the exact procedures of proverbs collection and the semi-structured interview including the interview protocol, the translation and the transcription, and ethical considerations. Last but not least, a special attention was given to the validity of the research to preserve the rights of participants. In drawing things to a close, a brief commentary on the data analysis was allocated.

Chapter Three: Discussion and Findings

Chapter Three: Discussion and Findings

3.1.Introduction

3.2.The Representation of Women in Proverbs of Medea

3.2.1. Daughters and Sisters

3.2.2. Daughters and Mothers

3.2.3. Mothers

3.2.4. Daughters and Fathers

3.2.5. Women and Beauty

3.2.6. Women and Productivity

3.2.7. Women and Love

3.2.8. Women and Marriage

3.2.9. Cousin Marriage

3.2.10. Polygamy

3.2.11. Daughters-in-law and Mothers-in-law

3.2.12. Daughters-in-law and Sisters-in-law

3.2.13. Women and Trust

3.2.14. Women and Ploy

3.3. Discussion

3.4. Conclusion

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, findings of the study are discussed in line with the theoretical underpinnings. It is divided into two sections. Section one examines the representation of women in proverbs, while the second section answers the research questions and relates the findings to the literature.

3.2. The Representation of Women in Proverbs of Medea

This section focuses on a thematic analysis of the findings. Each theme is analyzed through specific proverbs and views of the participants in relation to their gender, age, education, and verbal and non-verbal language.

3.2.1. Daughters and Sisters

The role of daughters and sisters in the society of Medea is of great importance. All participants answered with an affectionate tone when asked about the role of girls in the interviews. B67MED expressed his sorrow by the proverb ***/labnat ʕmart ʔal dar*** **/** (a household devoid of girls is an empty nest). He said:

> When we had lunch today, my wife and I couldn't eat. We have 5 sons but each of them is busy with his business. My wife said that if we have one daughter, she will prepare for us lunch and we will eat together talking and laughing better than eating alone. I replied we lack tenderness and love in this house *(sigh)* ***/labnat ʕmart ʔal dar*** **/** (a household devoid of girls is an empty nest).

The sigh of the participant shows his sadness about not having a daughter and admitting the important role that a daughter has at the house more than a son. The form of the proverb and its sociolinguistic context indicate that girls are the pillars of the whole house. They are the source of joy, affection, and happiness in any family. N49FUN also stressed about their role illustrating by the following:

> They said ***/dar bla tafla kil bit bla sqaf/*** (a house without a woman is like a boat without a rudder). When my daughter got married and left the house.

> We felt her big *(stress on big)* absence, as the lamps that light up the house. Darkness prevailed over the house ***/dar bla mra dalma/*** (a house without a woman is like a body without soul or spirit). She was talkative and funny and every time made us laugh, but when she left humour was gone with her.

The stress on the word "big" emphasizes daughters' role. Besides, the word /***dalma***/ in this proverb means darkness, so there is an analogy between the absence of the daughter and the absence of light at the house. In the first proverb, the importance of girls in the family is compared to the roof that covers the house, thus, they have an essential part in their families. A23FED also supported that by what our Prophet Mohammed peace be upon him said "daughters are the companionable, the precious one ***/ʔal muʔnisaat ʔal ɣalijat/***".

Girls' role is compared to the role of mothers especially if they are sisters. S33FUN drew attention to the responsibilities of the eldest sister towards her young siblings. She mentioned that she is trying hard to teach her young sisters and provide them with everything they need just to study and be educated. She stated:

> Daughter is tender, kind, and soft-hearted toward her family. She feels it, she is empathic. Furthermore, as I said she has a significant role as our ancestors said ***/lxiir mra weʃʃar mra/*** (The good is a woman and the bad is a woman). For instance, if the eldest daughter grows up poorly, what can you expect from her, how could her young siblings grow well? For sure they will look like her. This means that she has a great role in upbringing together with her parents.

The intensive tone indicates her strong opinion and the huge role she possesses in her family. The use of this proverb ***/lxiir mra weʃʃar mra/*** in this context points out the value and influence of the eldest sister in the house. If she is a good person, her siblings will be good, so ***lxiir mra*** (the good is a woman), but if she is bad the siblings will be bad, so /***weʃʃar mra/*** (the bad is a woman).

Participants showed their total agreement concerning the role that daughters play in taking care of their parents. N57FUN narrated her story about her father.

> My sisters and I took care of my father when he was bedridden. Each two to three days one of us went to him and nursed him for a whole year. On the day of his death, my sister and I were sitting near him we had witnessed his death. The same is applied to my stepmother; her daughters are taking care of her since February /***ʔali ma*** *(silence).....* /***ʔali maʕanduʃ labnat maʕarfu ḥad bah mat***/(Daughterless parents, are lonely parents).

This proverb indicates that the one who does not have daughters ***/ʔali maʕanduʃ labnat/***, the circumstances of his/her death will remain unknown ***/maʕarfu ḥad bah mat/***. Thus, when one gets sick his/her family mainly daughters will nurse and look after him/her. The silence in her speech indicates she could not recall the proverb directly, after a few seconds she was able to remember it. The same experience was told by S70FUN:

> When my husband was bedridden, my daughters took care of him. They used to take him to the spa ***/hamam/*** at 4 am. They showered him and went back at 5 or 5.30 am. *(Sigh)* ***/ʔal lham ki jantan jarfduh malih/*** (Blood is thicker than water). Even in my situation, I had an accident 4 years ago. All my 5 daughters took care of me.

The proud tone, her facial expression, and the sigh signal the importance of her daughters in her life. This is confirmed by the use of the proverb ***/ʔal lham ki jantan jarfduh malih/.*** The first part ***/ʔal lham ki jantan/*** means when a one gets sick, is completed by the second part ***/jarfduh malih/***that means his family is expected to take care of him/her. In the above context, daughters are meant to do so.

3.2.2. Daughters and Mothers

According to the results of the interviews, mothers and daughters share a special relationship, and daughters' traits are typically like their mothers. K24FED expressed this fact by:

> Look *(serious tone)* I blindly believe that girl inherits most of her traits from her mother. It is scientifically proven that girl inherits 90% from her mother and 10% from her father. I spend most of my time with my mother and I see and stay with her more than I do with my father. I share with her my secrets and I even tell her stuff that I cannot share with my father as the proverb said ***/sar ʔumha ʔal bant/*** (Daughters are their mothers' secrets box).

The serious tone of the participant reveals how much she believes in this relationship as she supported this concept scientifically. This suggests the influence of education on her. She also made mention of the proverb ***/sar ʔumha ʔal bant/*** meaning that both mothers and daughters share their secrets with each others. S31FED narrated a story of one proverb as follows:

> Once upon a time there was a rich family. The father asked his daughter and wife to never work or learn anything to earn money. He said to his daughter: "we are rich, I'm working and I would inherit you a lot of money to the extent that it would suffice you to the rest of your life". Nevertheless, her mother was smart whenever her father is out, she taught her handcrafts. When he went bankrupt she started working the craft she had learned and she said ***/ʔali tahuli baba rahli w ʔali tathuli jama bqali/*** (Mothers' offers are permanent, but fathers' offers are temporary)

The cultural context of the proverb shows clearly the importance of mothers in their daughters' life. They always think of the future of their daughters. This is boosted by the seriousness and facial expression of the speaker.

When interviewees were asked about the thing they rely on when they want to ask the hand of a girl, K61FUN's answer was like that:

> ***/ʔaqlab elqadra ʕla fumha tuxradz ʔal tafla lumha/*** (Like mother, like daughter). I look at the characteristics of her mother if her mother is a good person she will be good but if the mother is bad, her daughter will be bad. They also said ***/ʔal ʔunϴa ma tatʕada triq ʔumha/*** (A girl/daughter is never too different from her mother).

The context of engagement triggers directly the mind of the participant. As soon as she was asked she answered directly and confidently with the first proverb. Her seriousness and sureness exhibit her social belief about daughters and mothers.

3.2.3. Daughters and Fathers

According to the results of the interviews, the behaviours and the general picture that daughters have in society are not only formed by their mothers' upbringing, but also through their fathers 'upbringing. This can be demonstrated in the proverb ***/ʔali mrabja ʕla jadin ʔlrdʒal ma jɣurha la zin wela mal/*** (Wealth and beauty shall not lure a woman reared by a father). B67MED said that if daughters are raised correctly, people will say ***/Allah yarham ali rabawak/*** (Allah bless those who raised you). Thus, daughters are the fruit of their fathers' rearing.

Daughters are also expected to protect their fathers' names. N49FUN confirmed that by ***/ ma jgulu mart man hata jgulu bant man/*** (A woman is seen through her father's name, not her husband's last name). By extension, the meanings behind /***bant man/*** and ***/ mart man/*** refer to the responsibility that a married girl has in keeping her father's name clean before her husband's name. She narrated this story with a serious tone that indicates the value of the family's honour in society.

> Once my married daughter looked out from the window, just looking for her son, one of our neighbours gazed at her. Her reaction was like "Oh my God, what will neighbours say? Ah the wife of M32M (her husband's pseudonym) is looking at another man from the window." She was afraid of her husband and afraid about her husband's name. At that moment I told her "listen to me, ***/ ma jgulu mart man hata jgulu bant man/*** (A woman is seen through father's name, not her husband's last name). So, be worried about your father's name, value, and respect before that of your husband."

The socio-cultural background that people form in their minds about protecting the name of the father explains the use of this proverb in this context.

3.2.4. Mothers

Mothers are depicted as life in all interviews. N49FUN expressed her opinion by saying:

> ***/ʔal umo madrasa idha aʕdadtaha aʕdadta ʃaʕban tajiba ʔal aʕraqi/*** (You educate a man you educate a man. You educate a woman; you educate a generation) *(sad and nostalgic tone).* Mother is everything and life without her is difficult. I have lived with my step mother, and she is a good woman honestly, but life can never be compared with *(stress on words)* the one I have lived with my mother. Let's me tell you a story. One day, there was a woman who used to make a traditional bread ***/matluʕ /*** for her son. This bread was unique because she used to leave chicken walking on it to make it tattooed. When she died, her son got married. His wife's bread is totally different from that of his mother so he used to say ***/ mali matat ʔal marhuma ma klit ksira marguma/*** (Since my mother's death I haven't eaten bread like hers). By this proverb, he expresses his love to his mother. *(Sigh)* They also say about the women who has a lot of children and whatever she cooks they eat ***/ʔali daruha jdijatha jakluha wlidatha/*** (Whatever a mother gives from her hand, tastes sweet)

The nostalgic and affectionate tones reveal how mother's existence is essential. Besides, one can say the picture of mothers in the two proverbs is beautified, meaning that mothers are valuable in the society of Medea. In addition to that, K25MED demonstrated his view about the place of his mother in his life:

> Ahhh, I was everything for my mother and she was everything for me. Our relationship was really really strong *(affectionate tone)* till now I don't have any strong relation with anyone like her. She was everything for me. I cannot describe her love they say ***/ jtim ʔal babat jatwasad ʔal rukba w jtim ʔal yamat jatwasad ʔal ʕatba/*** (A fatherless child is half an orphan, a motherless one a whole orphan). Her death tore me apart. I lost everything when she died. She was the one whom I shared my secrets (nostalgic tone) they say ***/ man ɣir baba w jama ʔal nas kadhaba/*** (There is no greater love than that of a mother or a father).

His tone and facial expression explains his sadness. Adding to this, the context clarifies the meaning of the proverbs. ***/ jtim ʔal babat jatwasad ʔal rukba/*** means that the fatherless child will have to take the responsibility after his father. He will find people who help him, he will not be alone. However, ***/ jtim ʔal yamat jatwasad ʔal ʕatba/*** the motherless son will always be alone**.** Regarding ***/ man ɣir baba w jama ʔal nas kadhaba/***, the idea that no one else in the world is worthy to trust except parents is socially constructed. Based on the common experience of people, this proverb is constructed.

H52MUN voiced his experience when he was asked about the sacrifices a mother gives as the following:

> Participant: *(Sigh)*My mother, what I have to say about her (sigh)!! Mother is irreplaceable. She is life, without her a person will not exist. She sacrifices her life for her children. Our ancestors said ***/ mali zad ʕandi wlidi ma klit ʕalf wafi w maʃrabt maja safj/*** (One child, eternal anxieties for a mother). When the child is young, he disturbs his mother. For example, when she is eating he may throw something in food or throw the whole plate in ground. Even when he/she grows up, the mother keeps thinking of him/ her.
>
> Researcher: What about the mother who has many boys?
>
> Participant: My sister has 4 boys, now they are men all of them are married. I went to check on her yesterday, and I found her sitting alone. I said "why are you sitting alone? Where are your sons, your daughters-in-law?" She said "some left and some others are in their rooms. She nodded her head and said ***/jamat lawlad daha ʔal wad/*** (Boys' mother is forsaken). You see they are not like girls. My mother also used to say ***/wladt ϴnaʃ w qʕadt blaʃ/*** (A mother can provide in the needs of twelve children, but not the other way round).

The same affectionate tone prevails over his speech. The appropriate context stimulates all the prior three proverbs that are all about the sacrifices of mothers for their children. Accordingly, the idea that boys are not so close to their mothers is regulated upon the experience of people.

3.2.5. Women and Beauty

The findings of the study reveal that women's beauty is valued in the society of Medea. When asked about the way how beauty of women is perceived in this society, most informants expressed their opinions sarcastically and sorrowfully. All of their answers were about being blonde with blue or green eyes as well as being shy. They explained more by this proverb ***/quli lʃams tuli wela ntul fi blastak/*** (As beautiful as the sun). There is a comparison between the sun and the beautiful girl. As she is blonde, she shines exactly as the sun does. One of the participants narrated her experience as the following:

> Researcher: How does the society of Medea perceive the beauty women?
> Participant: *(Laugh) (sigh) (nodding her head)* Beauty in Medea includes being blonde, having green or blue eyes, and most importantly being shy. Shyness ***/ʔal huʃma/*** (*stress on shyness)* is so important for people. You know when the blonde girl gets shy, her cheeks become rose, that is what they want *(both laugh).* Exactly as your rosy cheeks (that of the researcher)
> Researcher: And also yours, they are red, not rosy *(both laugh.* But why do people prefer the blonde?
> Participant: For showing off. When a man gets married with the blonde is for the sake of satisfying the society. It is all about the society.
>
> S31FED

The verbal and non-verbal language of the participant designates that she has an experience in this case. The laugh, the sigh, and the nod voice her sadness. Her rosy cheeks also affirm that she was married for her beauty. Besides, satisfaction of society is also significant in line of the notion that knowledge is socially constructed.

Other participants claimed that brown/dark skinned women have fewer chances in marriage comparing to the blondes. C42MED said that there were two girls living in his neighbourhood. They were friends but like sisters, one of them is blonde and one of them is brown skinned. Nearly every day people come to ask for the blonde's hand, but it is rare that someone asks for the brown skinned

girl's hand. He inserted this proverb ***/ʔal xumrija ma tatzawadʒ w ʔal samra ma tatzawadʒ/*** (brown/dark skinned women have fewer chances in getting married). ***/ʔal xumrija/*** and ***/ʔal samra/*** are brown and dark skinned women whose chances in marriage are less compared to the blonde women. He added that this cannot be taken as an example, there are some girls who are brown/dark skinned but they have got married. So, this proverb is not for generalization but for certain cases only.

Despite that, they praise them in this proverb ***/ʔal Kahla fahla fi ʔal qalb tahla/*** (Beauty is skin deep). This means that ***/ʔal Kahla/*** or the dark skinned woman can also be beautiful but with her productivity and morals and this is described in ***/fahla/.*** Such a proverb points out that there is still part of this society that gives significance to brown/dark skinned girls. A23FED told the story of the man who married a dark skinned girl. She said that once, there was a man who fell in love with a dark skinned girl and married her. His mother, then, blamed him why did you choose a dark skinned girl? His answer was /***ʔal Kahla fahla fi ʔal qalb tahla/*** (Beauty is skin deep).

When asking about their opinion concerning the beauty of women, all participants emphasized on the inner beauty as they said in this proverb ***/ la yaʕadʒbak nwar ʔal dafla fi ʔal wad dajar dlajal w la yaʕadʒbak zin ʔal tafla hata tchuʃ ʔal fʕayal/***(Beauty is as beauty does). The oleander ***/ʔal dafla/*** is a tree that produces flowers, and one may see and admire the amount of its white, pink or red five-lobed flowers. However, the truth is that these flowers are bitter and toxic. The same as the beautiful girl***;*** thus, do not ever judge a woman by her physical appearance ***/la yaʕadʒbak zin ʔal tafla hata tchuʃ ʔal fʕayal/***. If her soul, morals, and education are not good, she will be never seen beautiful. The values and actions are what determine the beauty of a girl. S33FED narrated her experience

> My uncle's wife is a blonde woman with green eyes and fair hair, but unfortunately, she lacks the inner beauty. She possesses no morals, no values, no productivity, she is useless. Nobody in the family likes her; they prefer my second uncle's wife because she is a very good person though her beauty is plain and unattractive. Can you see? ***/ʔal zin la zin lafʕal/*** (Beauty is as beauty does). My grandma used to say if you want to know that a woman is beautiful put something in her way, put at least a flip-flop

in the way she is walking if she removes it aside she is beautiful but if she does not she is not.

The context of the proverb indicates the importance of actions and values to the picture of women in society. The facial expression that the participant showed while saying the proverb reveals her strong opinion and belief of the proverb.

H52MUN talked about the fake beauty. The real beauty is without makeup and cosmetics. They do not hide the bad actions as in this proverb ***/kuhlak batal w swakak batal belhram ma tahlay fi xatar/*** (And she powders, and puts on a blush, and still they won't look). He said that what is the purpose of decorating the self physically, but the inside is still ugly. For him this is useless and he mentioned this proverb ***/jaʔal mʃabah mel bara waʃ hwalak mel daxal/*** (He who is physically beautiful, how is your inner?). It means that the external beauty /***mʃabah mel bara/*** never reflects the internal one ***/waʃ hwalak mel daxal/***.

3.2.6. Women and Productivity

A number of proverbs were collected to manifest the discourse of women's productivity in the society of Medea. Productivity and domestic work are indispensable as N57FUN said:

> ***/ʔal mra zinha fi jadiha/*** (A woman's beauty is in her hands). I don't mean only house chore like childcare, cleaning, sweeping, washing, cookery, crafts, needlework, knitting, but also her work or studies. If she does not do all these things and her face is beautiful what shall I do with her? She is useless. They say ***/sadʒja nadʒja man blasatha ma tnudaʃ/*** (A lazy girl and a warm bed are hard to separate). The same as my brother's wife she is extremely lazy and unproductive. When they used to go to the public bath ***/hamam/***, my stepmother used to say/ ***banti w ʃtaratha dʒat man ʔal hamam w nafdat ʃkaratha/*** (My daughter and her cleverness, she takes shower then flicks off dust). She thought that maybe when she told her this proverb, she would understand and be active and productive. She had never understood unfortunately. Always after ***/hamam/*** she went to sleep *(Laugh)*

The number of proverbs she mentioned and her serious tone allude to the significance of productivity and house chores for women in Medea. This is also asserted by N49FUN in the story she narrated

> My aunty once went to ask for the hand of a girl to her son. She went and sat and they started talking about marriage and daughters-in-law and their productivity. The mother of the girl, then, said /***chbab w yamazinu w dayar hak/*** (Good and beautiful but the hands are like that) and she crossed her hands together. It means that although her daughter is beautiful but she is as they said ***/twila w ʕrida w fi ʔal jadin mrida/*** (Long thread, lazy girl). *(Laugh)*

The gesture that the girl's mother did in /***chbab w yamazinu w dayar hak/*** (Good and beautiful but the hands are like that) set forth the laziness of the girl, and explained more in / ***fi ʔal jadin mrida/.*** On that account, the knowledge people have about the productivity of women has a cultural basis.

3.2.7. Women and Love

This theme emerged in relation to the pain that a woman can cause to a man when she leaves him. O29MUN explained his story as the following:

> *(Sigh)*When a man truly loves a woman, he will never forget her. Why lying! I am also a human being. I have a heart. I'm not a stone. Don't ever think that we men are deceitful and stone-hearted. It has been a long time I think 8 years, but I couldn't forget her. They say ***/kijat ʔal nsa ma tatansa/*** (If you give your heart to a woman, she will kill you)

The context, the tone, and the sigh denote the pain and the bitterness that the woman caused him. The proverb ***/kijat ʔal nsa ma tatansa/*** illustrates how a woman can influence a man even in the long-term.

3.2.8. Women and Marriage

The results show that marriage is of a great importance in the society of Medea. Most participants agreed about the appropriate age of marriage that is between 17 and 23 years. A23FED expressed her

experience by saying that people told her that she is 23 years, she must be married by now ***/ntadʒatek rahom bwladhom/*** (the ones who are at your age are married and have children). H52MUN upholded his opinion as follows:

> Marriage is according to the age, yeah, ah *(confident tone).* They say ***/ darstak lakan wadʒʕatak nahiha w bantak la kabrat ʔaʕtiha/*** (Marry your son when you will, your daughter when you can). It is preferably to marry at the age of 19 to 22. This is the appropriate age for her. If a good guy asks for her hand, why not. Our Prophet "Mohammed" peace be upon him said ***/ida dʒaʔakom man tardawna dinahu wa xuluqahu fazawidʒuh/ (***When someone whose religion and character you are pleased with proposes to (someone under the care) of one of you, then marry to him).

The participant showed his total agreement about the age of marriage where he supported it by the use of the proverb and the Hadith. K25MED exposed the same opinion:

> Look the perfect age of marriage in Medea is between 18 and 22. The one who is above 22 years is old. They think that dealing with the young girl is much easier. They can mold her the way they want but the old one who is above 22, 23 is stubborn and unruly. There are some parents who fear people's tittle-tattle about their daughters so they marry them. What matters for them is to marry their daughters as if they are going to save them from danger. They think that they are saving and protecting their daughters. ***/ʔal ʕataq slakha ʔal zwadʒ /*** (Marriage is the sanctuary of the unmarried women).

The proverb ***/ʔal ʕataq slakha ʔal zwadʒ /,*** in this context, is socially constructed. The salvation of unmarried daughter is marriage.

Further, one of the most important procedures of marriage here in Medea is the family name. M31MUN explained his point of view as the following:

> I have a friend whose mother pushed him to get married with the so-and-so' daughter ***/bnt flan/.*** He went to propose the girl, but when they knew his situation they rejected him. She got later married to a guy who is rich

> and from a well-known family. They say ***/ ma jgulu mart man hata jgulu bant man/*** (A woman is seen through her father's name, not her husband's last name). Family name is so crucial to marriage. This just for the sake of society, they want to show off and satisfy the society.

The context in this situation imposes the use of the proverb ***/ ma jgulu mart man hata jgulu bant man/*** to talk about the importance of family name in marriage. The same can be applied here. This idea is socially based as people want to show off.

When asked about the problems that occur between couples, K61FUN said:

> Problems between couples are inevitable, they say ***/ʔal zwadʒ zawadʒtak w saʕd manadmanlakʃ/*** (I can guarantee you marriage, but happiness I cannot). We saw the man we asked about him and we marry her. We don't guarantee him; Allah is the one who guarantees not *me.* That is way they say the same as the mother lives her daughter lives ***/ zhar labnat ʕla ʔal lamat/*** (Daughters carry the same fortune as their mothers on their palm**).** People think when they marry their daughter they have less responsibilities but no no *(serious sad tone)* ***/ham lbanat lal mamat/*** (Once a daughter, always a daughter).No matter where daughters go or how old they are their mothers keep thinking about them until death.

The sociolinguistic context here requires the use of three proverbs that are different in meaning. Concerning the tone and the facial expression of the informant, they justify the fact that she is convinced with her answer. Moreover, when participants were asked to describe their marital relationship, B67FED used this proverb***/ ʃad fi sahbak ʔal ʕura xir majdʒi ʕar manu***/ (Better hold on the bad than hold on the worst). It may be that the proverb was intended as a joke *(note that both laugh)*. It is possible that the participant did not want to discuss his intimate marital relation with the researcher. Alternatively, this proverb might be read to understand that the older, married man wants to indicate his superior knowledge, experience, and insight that marriage has brought him. This example shows that a proverb can be used for different purposes and is subject to different

interpretations depending on the sociolinguistic context and the relations between the speaker and the listener.

Finally, informants show the agreement about the role of the wife at the house as one said ***/Dar bla mra dalma/*** (A house without a woman is like a body without soul or spirit). Men can rely on themselves, but they need women in their life. They also suggested this proverb ***/ʔal radʒal bla mra ki ʔal mal bla raʕi/*** (A man without a woman is like a field without a fence). These proverbs are based on the common social experience of people.

3.2.9. Cousin Marriage

Cousin marriage was rejected by all participants with very strong, serious, and confident tone. They provided evidence from different perspectives. O28MUN expressed his refusal by giving the following example:

> The pharaohs disappeared because of the family marriage. They used to marry cousins and their children always born sick so gradually their descendants disappeared. That is way they said ***/damak huwa hamak/*** (Problems thrive on kinship).Scientifically speaking, cousin marriage results in sick children with disabilities even Our Prophet Mohammed peace be upon him said ***/taxayaru linutafikum fa ina lʕirqa dasas/*** (Carefully Choose your partner, what is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh). It can lead to genetic diseases in their children or their grandchildren. So, it is preferable to avoid it.

The context of the proverb shows clearly what cousin marriage can bring forth. S70FUN also rejected this marriage by presenting a social factor:

> I don't like it, the worst ever *(serious tone) (facial expression).* Several problems will occur. My daughter is married to my nephew (my sister's son). A lot of problems and tensions occur between the families. Even when I see them disdaining her or treating her badly I cannot talk, I cannot get in dispute with my sister, my brother-in-law and my nephew. Even when the couple fights it becomes like a stadium. There will be no secrets,

> all the family interfere in every aspect of their life. I prefer strangers as they said ***/ʔal barani waʃ ja manu fdal/*** (Benevolence comes from strangers) everything comes from the strangers is acceptable. My other daughters are married with outsiders and we have not witnessed serious problems, they solve their problems with their husbands without our intervention.

Her verbal language (the worst ever) and non-verbal language (tone and the facial expression) point out that she has experienced this marriage. ***/ʔal barani waʃ ja manu fdal/*** (Benevolence comes from strangers) speaks about the preference of strangers over family for marriage. K24FED also gave her opinion about this marriage inserting the following:

> Getting married with stranger is interesting and funny. I will meet new people and new mentalities; I will experience new lifestyle, but not marrying a cousin oh! I am allergic to this issue. Some people think that this marriage would make family members cooperate with each other. On contrast, they will talk about each other flaws as they said ***/ʔal ʔqarib ʕaqarib/ (***Some relatives are like fire, the sooner they're out the better).

The expression "oh! I am allergic to this issue" refers to her strong refusal of this marriage. This is asserted by the proverb ***/ʔal ʔqarib ʕaqarib/***; families are the ones that create problems. Besides, her response appears to have been determined by her age and education. B67MED also verbalized his perspective by this story:

> They say about marriage cousin ***/ Win ʔal dam win ʔal ham/*** (Problems thrive on kinship). Once in old times, there was an old man who worked in the slaughterhouse. He used to carry the slaughtered sheep or cow from the slaughterhouse to the butcher. In his way through the public market he used to shout and cry "Be be careful from the blood, be careful from the blood". People think it's the blood of the animal but he was referring to the family, he meant that avoid your family because they are the source of the problems". Ah ah I remembered this ***/ ʕulat ʔal fula man dʒanbha/*** (Sickness of the beans is from its side). The small thing that grows in the side of the beans is what leads it to be rotten. Moreover, it is preferable to

> expand marriage as our Prophet "Mohammed" peace be upon him said: ***/tanasalu takaϴaru saʔubahi bikum ʔal ʔumam/*** (Marry, for I will boast of your great numbers). Thus, we should marry from different families so it becomes a whole big family.

/ Win ʔal dam win ʔal ham/ (Problems thrive on kinship) and ***/ ʕulat ʔal fula man dʒanbha/*** (Sickness of the beans is from its side) refer to the same scope, both of them emphasize on the intimidation from cousin marriage.

However, K25MED told the experience he witnessed in Medea with so intensive tone that he showed his refusal to such marriage:

> Here in Medea, a lot of daughters marry their cousins, they follow the proverb ***/zitna fi bitna w smidna fi dqiqna/*** (water your family tree so as to reap its fruits). They say I give my daughters to my nephew better than give her to someone I don't know, even if problems occur it is okay he is my nephew, risks are less. Our ancestors said / ***xirak ma taʕtihaʃ lɣirak/*** (Do not wed your offsprings to strangers). I know a family here in Medea, they marry only their cousins. Last year one son married his cousin and this year the second son married her sister, and even their sister is married to her cousin imagine that!!

Although there is no hint that ***/zitna fi bitna w smidna fi dqiqna/*** and / ***xirak ma taʕtihaʃ lɣirak/*** are used to talk about cousin marriage, they could be used in this context and convey a true meaning.

3.2.10. Polygamy

The best solution to deal with stubborn women is to get married for the second time. This was stated by the majority of candidates.

> Look, beating a woman is not a solution, for me the best solution when dealing with unruly stubborn wife is to get married second time. As they said ***/ʔadrab ʔal nsa bʔal nsa maʃi bʔal ʕsa***/ (Punish your wife with a rival rather than using a whip). This definitely would let her change her behaviours and obey her husband.
>
> T26MED

This participant is totally convinced by this proverb as he spoke with a serious and confident tone. However, some participants preferred talking and communication over polygamy. A23FED said:

> Polygamy is not necessary to be the solution and married couple can solve the problem with having a serious talk. The husband has to know how to deal with his wife. I think bringing co-wife to the house will cause him more problems as they said ***/ ma daxalʃ ʔal mra ʕla ʔal mra/*** (Don't cook two big bones in the same kettle).

The proverb ***/ ma daxalʃ ʔal mra ʕla ʔal mra/*** indicates the amount of problems that will happen if the husband marry again.

3.2.11. Daughters-in-law and Mothers-in-law

The relationship between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law is culturally engraved as bad. Mothers think that the daughters-in-law come just to take the son and the daughters-in-law always think that mothers-in-law are devious. When asked about this relationship, O29MUN's answer was like that:

> Ah ah ahhhh, this is the easiest question ever. The answer of this question is reality. What our ancestors said? What? ***/ ki tatfaham ʔal ʕdʒuza w ʔal kana jadxul blis lal dʒana/*** (Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, dog and cat never eat from the same plate). Satan will never win heaven; thus, they will never never agree. Don't ever talk about it. It is always bad due to their opposite personalities .The only aim of the mother-in-law is to make the bride suffers because she thinks that the daughter -in -law steals her son from her. They also said ***/ʔal kana ma tarda bal hana w ʔal hana ma tarda bal kana/*** (Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are a tempest and a hailstorm). They will never be satisfied with each other.

The participant's reaction "Ah ah ah, this is the easiest question ever. The answer of this question is reality." expresses his very strong and serious belief about the concerned relationship. He boosted his opinion through the proverb***/ ki tatfaham ʔal ʕdʒuza w ʔal kana jadxul blis lal dʒana/.*** The common sense that Satan will not enter heaven is compared to the impossible agreement between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. S33FUN also unfolded her experience by saying:

> I just respect her, she is the mother of my husband she brought him up, took care of him and I have a son I will do the same with my son. I treat her depends on the abilities of her mind. My brother-in-law's wife asked me why our mother-in-law likes to come to your house. How do you treat her? I said that if she wants to eat I give her food if she wants to take a bath I prepare it to her; if she wants to talk I talk to her. As I treat her, I'll be treated by my daughter-in-law in the future. ***/dardʒa bdardʒa kima diri lʕdʒuztak dirlak kantak /*** (Daughters-in-law become mothers-in-law). They say also ***/ʔal danja dawara w ʔal bayla ʕaθara w xzana waʃ txabilak/*** (What comes around comes around).

Her seriousness indicates that she truly believes in the above proverbs 'message. The context here signifies the meaning of the proverbs especially the second one ***/ʔal danja dawara w ʔal bayla ʕaθara w xzana waʃ txabilak/***. It means the same way a daughter-in-law treats her mother-in-law she will be treated later. Although there is no indication that it talks about mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. The speaker and the receiver could grasp the meaning. This participant was also asked about those mothers-in-law who keep looking for the perfect girl. Her answer opted for the following:

> ***/ʔali jxajar w jaxtar jtih fi ʔal ʃmata w ʔal ʕar/*** (If you take too long to choose, you will end up with the leftovers) or as my grandmother said ***/ namʃi w natrajah hata tuht ʕla dʒurh mqajah/*** (I looked attentively but I found festering wound). *(Laugh)*This is applied to my grandmother. She spent years looking for a pretty perfect girl for her son, but when she brought her current daughter-in-law she got sick. The woman is a catastrophe; she is so lazy and useless though she's beautiful. So this is what happens to those who keep choosing and looking for perfection.

There is no signal that these proverbs are talking about the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law, but the meaning is detected through the context. Furthermore, B67MED explained this relation with a serious tone indicates the correctness of the proverbs in this context:

> Sometimes, one of them either mother-in-law or daughter-in-law does not want problems and disputes, so she keeps silent over so many things in the

house. Our ancestors said ***/ʔila ʃaft zudʒ matfahmin ʔaʕraf bali ʔal dark ʕla wahad/*** *(*In a happy relationship, there's always someone who is more burdened). There must be one who carries the burden more than the other. However, in other cases, it depends on how the daughter-in-law was raised if she saw her mother treated her mother-in-law (that's her grandmother) well the daughter will treat her mother-in-law well but if her mother treated her grandmother badly she will treat her mother-in-law badly ***/ʔal ʔunΘa ma tatʕada triq ʔumha/*** (A girl is never too different from her mother)

3.2.12. Daughters-in-law and Sisters-in-law

The findings of the study expose that the relation between daughter-in-law and sister-in-law is culturally based on jealousy. When asked about this relationship O28MED answers:

> As they said ***/ʔal lusa susa/*** (A bitter almond is sister-in-law). Sister-in-law and daughter-in-law share the same vision about each other and *(warning tone)* you may find a big spark between them more than with the mother-in-law. Actually, if sister-in-law is married that means few troubles, but if not more and more problems only because of jealousy *(stress on jealousy).* Both of them should be careful and alert.

The tone and the facial expression of the participant show how much he believes in his opinion. Even when he said ***/ʔal lusa susa/*** there is kind of warning from sister in law that woman should stay awake and careful.

3.2.13. Women and Trust

Participants' views about this theme vary from acceptance to refusal. On the one hand, S33FED answered with a serious tone:

> No no no, of course I won't trust them. Be careful never ever believe a woman. I used to have some friends we were like sisters, but as soon as I got better than them I got a job and got married they became enemies not friends. They said ***/ balak tansa w taman ʔal nsa/*** (Never trust a woman's word).

The word “no” and the warning tone she used when she said the proverb ***/ balak tansa w taman ʔal nsa/*** refer to the bad experience she lived concerning the trust in women. This is also supported by O29MUN, who clarified by

> ***/ suq ʔal nsa mahu suq/*** (Where a woman rules, streams run uphill). You know why? They say two markets you should never get into: the market of women and that of children, why? For example I sell you a phone right now, I give 10 000 DA and you agree and buy it. After you go to somewhere else and you talk to another woman you say look my new phone I bought it for 10 000 DA. She will say “you were cheated I bought the same one for 5000 DA”. You then come back and you asked for your money. Did you get me? *(Laugh).*

Thus, the idea that women are untrustworthy depends on the whole community’s experience. On the other hand, some participants assured their trust in women if they know her before with averring caution and carefulness. H52MUN recounted his experience as the following:

> Participant: *(Confident tone)* Based on what I have lived, I can trust women.
> Researcher: Can you tell me an anecdote you experienced about the trust in women?
> Participant: I have dealt with women as a merchandiser in business several times. Women are worth to trust than man. I remember a woman used to come and buy so many things for 30000 to 40000 DA and promised me to bring money as soon as she was paid. It was like that; as soon as she was paid she brought me my money each time. While some men are in debt of 300 to 400 DA but they do not pay it. No no, in this thing I give my word to women.

3.2.14. Women and Ploy

Throughout this theme women are depicted as devious and troublemakers. O29MUN pointed out:

> ***/ʔidha halfat fik ʔal mra bat qaʕad w ʔidha half fik ʔal radʒal bat raqad/*** (Beware of an angry woman more than of an angry man). Who was the reason that made our Father Adam to be cast out of heaven? A woman. So

there is nothing to add. *(Laugh)* Do not mess with women the result is you will stay awake the whole night.

The serious and confident tone of the participant indicates his he is convinced about the ploy of women. He affirmed this religiously and culturally by mentioning the story of Eve and Adam as well as /***ʔidha halfat fik ʔal mra bat qaʕad w ʔidha half fik ʔal radʒal bat raqad/.*** T26MED is another participant who confirmed the above view:

They say ***/ʔal rdʒal thud ʔal dʒbal w ʔal nsa thud ʔal rdʒal/*** (A bad woman will ruin any man) (*laugh)*. Hitler controlled many countries in the world. Yet because of a woman everything was destroyed.

The laugh reveals that he was totally convinced that women are tricky and devious. His tone was like advising to be cautious of women. Furthermore, when they were asked if women are the source of problems, C42MED responded as the following:

Yes (confident tone) ***/ʔal xir mra w ʔal ʃar mra/*** (The good is a woman and the evil is a woman). She can be silent, but because she is impulsive and reckless she doesn't think of the results. It is in her nature. Women think just on the short term while men think on the long term. They say ***/ kul blija sbabha wlija/*** **(**Where there's a woman, there's trouble). Yet, there is no generalization.

The facial expression of the speaker suggests his beliefs about the nature of women in addition to the proverbs he mentioned. H52MUN supported this by a story:

Women's bad image is taken from Surat Yusuf: ***/innahu min kajdikunna inna kaydakunna ʕazim/*** **(**Behold! It is a snare of you women! truly, mighty is your snare). As it said In Quran /***inna kajda ʔal ʃajtani kana daʕifa/*** (Ever feeble indeed is the plot of Satan), meaning that she is more cunning than Satan. The word ***/kajdakunna/*** occurs indefinite, and indefiniteness indicates generality so she can ruin a whole country. Let's me tell you a story "once upon a time, there was a prayerful, God-fearing old man. Satan and an old woman challenged who has the capability to keep him out of Islam, she said "I can do it" and Satan said "you can do

nothing I'm more powerful than you". She said "okay show us what you can do!!" Every time that man was worshiping Allah, Satan whispered to him, gradually set him apart from Islam, the man went in the wrong way: no praying, prostituting ...etc. Satan then went to the old lady and said "Look at what I have done, what do you think?" she replied "Wait to see what I am going to do and we decide". The old lady went to a house and took with her a man's shoes and a wood spoon. She knocked at the door; the lady opened "who are you?" " I am a God guest" " The lady said okay come in" they talked and gossiped and the old woman said to the lady " Aren't you going to give me lunch" the woman: " let's wait for my husband and we eat together" " the old lady said let's not wait I am a little bit busy I have to go". The woman than prepared lunch and give it to her, she put two tablespoons for eating but the old lady put the spoon she brought on the other side of the table and started eating once with the spoon that the woman gave her and once with the spoon she brought and putting it on the other side of the table. The woman got confused and asked her the reason she was eating with two table spoons and from two sides of the plate. The answer of the old lady was that it had not been so long for the death of her son, so in order to remember him she always ate with his spoon. They continued eating and the old lady said "please open the window it is hot in here". She opened for her the window meanwhile the door was knocked, she opened. The old lady asked her "who's knocking?" "My husband" said the woman. The old lady, meanwhile, put the man's shoes she brought on the floor. When he entered, his wife told him that they had a guest for lunch, and asked him to come in". The old woman asked the lady "Who is that?" she replied "My husband, I told you" the old lady said "What about the man who was sitting here he has just gone out from the window, look his shoes and the spoon by which he was eating". The husband then was shocked, what? Are you cheating me? He killed his wife directly and the wife's father killed him. Even their tribes started a war, blood and killing. The old lady then told Satan "What do you think? Who is the strongest now? You or Me? You had just whispered to a man, but I, I have caused a war a whole war between tribes" (laugh). Did you see that? (Laugh) Can you what can a women do?

> They said ***/la taman ʔal ʕdʒuza ʔidha tabat w salat w darat sabha rqiqa ʔali jaxadmu ʔal ʃitan fi ʕam taxadmu fi dqiqa/.*** (Don't believe old women if they repent and pray, what Satan does in a year they do it in a minute)

The context of the proverb ***/la taman ʔal ʕdʒuza ʔidha tabat w salat w darat sabha rqiqa ʔali jaxadmu ʔal ʃitan fi ʕam taxadmu fi dqiqa/*** justifies plainly the ploy of some women.The laugh in the quotation indicates the impact of the story on the both the interviewee and the interviewer.

3.3. Discussion

The use of language in positioning women in the society has been exemplified by the above section of the presentation of women in proverbs of Medea. The analysis of women-oriented proverbs from cultural and sociolinguistic perspectives gives insight to the research questions. In fact, the ways women are represented in the proverbs of Medea vary from positive to negative taking into consideration the context. The researchers could not reach a fixed categorization of negative and positive proverbs because it all depends on the context.

Moreover, participants perceive the portrayal of women in proverbs as negative more than positive. They ruin women's image, yet they are not for generalization, but for specific category. The influence of modern age on people is present. People are aware enough to know that not all women are alike. Besides, it depends on the addressee and the context. Furthermore, according to the findings, the role that these proverbs play on the construction of women's identity is based on the participants' age, gender, and educational level. On the one hand, some see that the influence is weak especially the negative proverbs because women today are aware and know what is beneficial for them and what is not beneficial. On the other hand, some informants let the positive proverbs influence their identity. So the influence of this proverbial language on the current cultural knowledge is decreasing due to the openness and awareness of people.

From social constructionism's point of view, all the themes that were presented in the previous section are socially constructed. The acceptance and frequent use of such proverbs function as a

common sense. Referring to the theory, people construct the portrayal of women depends on the proverbs, the culture about women, and the social and contextual processes of the Medean society. However, one should know that reality is relative; what is applied on some women cannot be applied to all women.

As can be seen from the analysis, the findings of the study pour in the findings of the existing literature. The positive picture of women in proverbs is mainly mothers as Kochman-Haładyj (2014) argued. Additionally, the presence of negativity of women-related proverbs is more than the presence of positivity as in Gasanova, Magomedova, and Gasanova, 2016; Jayarvardena, 2015; Shaimardanovaa, et al., 2016 surverys.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of the study in relation to the social, cultural, and contextual aspects of the proverbs. As can be seen from the preceding analysis, the picture of women in Medean proverbs depends on the context. Nevertheless, it has also come to the fore that mothers and daughters are given positive image in proverbs. This chapter also showed that beauty, productivity, and marriage of women are valued in proverbs. The data analysis in this chapter revealed that cousin marriage is undesirable while polygamy is accepted by most participants and rejected by few of them. What is highlighted in the data is that mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are presented negatively. It has been also disclosed that trust in women and their ploy vary from negative to positive and from one participant to another. Of note in this research is that women-oriented proverbs are context-dependent and that the same proverb may be used and interpreted differently by different speakers in different contexts. All of these results are culturally and socially constructed in the minds of informants. Moreover, proverbs are founded that they are less bound up with identity and cultural to the current generation.

General Conclusion

This study was set out to understand the presence of women in Medean proverbs. It was conducted in socio-cultural context for the sake of exploring the nexus between language and culture. It was motivated by the lack of research concerning women and proverbs in the region of Medea. Thus, the need further existed to better understand how a woman's identity is constructed through Medean proverbial language. Therefore, this study aimed to contribute to filling the gap in the literature by providing and analyzing data on how Medean proverbs are used. The implications of proverbs are fully understood through the social and cultural beliefs of Medeans. Accordingly, the study adopted the theoretical framework proposed by social constructionsim.

Data was collected by interviewing and gaining the views of 16 participants. It also included a corpus of 65 proverbs that were collected in the interview's context.

The keen contextual and sociolinguistic analysis of women-related proverbs has resulted a various social constructs about women's image. Firstly, findings in the study have revealed that the roles of daughters, sisters, and mothers are highly valued in proverbs. This can be also applied on the relationship between daughters and their mothers and their fathers.

Secondly, the findings of this study clearly showed that beauty, productivity, and marriage are substantially regarded in Medean society. It is a general belief that beautiful women are blonde, with blue eyes, but participants emphasized on the beauty of morals. In a similar line of thought, productivity was perceived as an all-important trait of women in proverbs of Medea. Marriage of girls, on the other line, is expected to be at the age of 20 and into a well-known family. Moreover, cousin marriage was rejected totally by all participants whereas polygamy was the first choice for some participants and the second choice for others.

Thirdly, it has been established in this study that mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are depicted negatively in Medea. Their relationships with the daughters-in-law are culturally firmed as full of jealousy and deceit. Furthermore, participants also explained that trust in women depends on their relationship with them. Concerning ploy, women were conceived as untrustworthy, devious, and

troublemakers. However, participants insisted that these traits are not for generalization, but for specific category of women.

The general conclusion, therefore, is that the picture of women in proverbs is socially constructed as negative. Yet the context is crucial in determining their positive or negative image. This would confirm the first and the second hypotheses. Besides, proverbs validity is decreasing through time; thus; the influence of our language on culture is minimizing with the new generation comparing to the old one. On the basis of this conclusion, one can draw the denial of the third hypothesis.

Limitations and Recommendations

A considerable number of proverbs were collected, but unfortunately not all of them could be presented because they were not used in context. Thus, it is recommended to use more women-oriented proverbs. Further, proverbs were collected and observed in interviews, so it is preferable to rely on fieldwork to collect them in their immediate actual context.

All research participants in the study were from Medea city. It is believed that if they were from rural area, the findings might offer a different perspective. Therefore, the researchers recommend conducting future studies about women in proverbs in rural areas.

The current study relied only on interviews as data collection method. It might be more valid if it had used other data collection tools. Thus, it is recommended to future research to use other triangulation methods such as fieldwork observation with interviews.

In regard to interviews, some of them were conducted online; consequently, there was a lack of physical interaction between the interviewers and the interviewees. Future interviews should be conducted face to face to detect the actual verbal and non-verbal languages of the participants.

Finally, future researchers can also conduct future studies on other genres of folklore such as tales in relation to proverbs for the sake of having different prescriptive about the status of women in the Medean society.

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Appendices

Appendix 01

Sample of Participants

N°	Pseudonym	Age	Gender	Position	Marital status	Date
1	N49FUN	49	Female	Uneducated	Married	23/07/2020
2	S33FED	33	Female	Educated	Married	25/07/2020
3	T26MED	26	Male	Educated	Single	25/07/2020
4	O28MUN	29	Male	Uneducated	Single	26/07/2020
5	A23FED	23	Female	Educated	Single	27/07/2020
6	C42MED	24	Male	Educated	Single	27/07/2020
7	K24FED	24	Female	Educated	Single	28/07/2020
8	K25MED	25	Male	Educated	Single	28/07/2020
9	N57FUN	57	Female	Uneducated	Married	29/07/2020
10	H52MUN	52	Male	Uneducated	Married	02/08/2020
11	K61FUN	61	Female	Uneducated	Married	03/08/2020
12	S31FED	31	Female	Educated	Married	04/08/2020
13	S70FUN	70	Female	Uneducated	Married	05/08/2020
14	B67MED	67	Male	Educated	Married	05/08/2020
15	O29MUN	29	Male	Uneducated	Single	06/08/2020
16	M31MUN	31	Male	Uneducated	Married	08/08/2020

Appendix 02

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEW

We Nachida Babchikh and Yasmin Bentouti hereby affirm that we will not reveal or in any manner disclose information obtained during the course of this study. Every effort will be taken to protect the identity of participants in this study.

DECLARATION

I.....hereby confirm that I am participating in this study totally on my own will and am aware that I can quit participating at any time I want. I give my consent for the use of the information I provide for scientific purposes. I give my consent for being audio-recorded.

This study is conducted for a thesis work titled Socio-cultural Representation of Women in Proverbs, Case of Medea by Nachida Babchikh and Yasmine Bentouti. The aim of the study is to explore the way how women are portrayed in proverbs in the region of Medea through the lenses of language and culture relationship.

Participation in the study is on a voluntary basis. Your answers will be kept strictly confidential and evaluated only by the researchers; the obtained data will be used for scientific purposes. We expect you to answer the interview's questions carefully and sincerely.

We will destroy the audio-tapes immediately after the process of transcription and data transcribed will be included in the treatise which will be stored in library shelves.

The interview does not contain any questions that may cause discomfort in the participants. However, during participation, for any reason, if you feel uncomfortable, you are free to quit.

We would like to thank you for your contribution to this study. For Further information about the study contact information of the researchers is given below:

Tel: 0558525350 Email: nachidanina98@yahoo.com

Tel: 0782983727 Email: yassobent@gmail.com

SIGNATURE OF PARTICIPANT DATE

Appendix 03

Interview Protocol

Project: Socio-cultural Representation of Women in Proverbs

Date: ..... **Place**: .....

Time of Interview:.....

Interviewer:..... **Interviewee**:.....

Position of Interviewee: .....

Gender: ..... **Age:**.....

This study represents the way how women are depicted in Medean proverbs from a sociolinguistic perspective. We will interview participants from both genders where we will collect women-oriented proverbs in their actual context. We will destroy the audio-tapes immediately after the process of transcription and data transcribed will be included in the treatise which will be stored in library shelves.

Questions:

1. What is a proverb for you?
2. What do people want the one who is told a proverb to do?
3. Can you think of proverbs related to women?
4. Which role does your daughter (you) have in the construction of your family?
5. Do you think that daughters inherit characters from their mothers?
6. Why should not we look for the characters inherited from fathers?
7. In the society of Medea, how do people perceive the beauty of women?
8. What impact do you think the above-mentioned proverbs have on women growing up, in terms of their identity construction?
9. What do you think of girls' marriage in Medea?

10. How do you perceive family marriage?

11. What do these proverbs mean to you? ***/kan mhani hata ʃra maʕza/*** Better to dwell in a corner of a housetop, than in a house shared with a contentious woman. ***/xanfusa tlahini xir men ɣzala tʃajabni/*** Better to have a deep sleep next to an ugly wife, than be half-sleep next to a beautiful one, and ***/ Kan sbaʕ ki tzawadʒ rdʒaʕ dbaʕ/*** No lion roars as loud once there's a lioness in the need

12. How would you describe your marriage?

13. What do married couples argue about most?

14. In your point of view, how can you describe the relation between daughter in law and mother in law in Medea?

15. According to the traditions in our society, women are devious and untrustworthy, and troublemaker, can you trust them in serious issues?

16. What do you think of proverbs like ***/ʔal rdʒal thud ʔal dʒbal w ʔal nsa thud ʔal rdʒal/*** a bad woman will ruin any man?

17. How can such proverbs ruin women's picture?

18. How can you describe your mother's role in your life?

19. Do you have any other information in relation to what we have been talking about?

Appendix 04

Proverbs Corpus

1. */labnat ʕmart ʔal dar /*

لبنات عمارة الدار

A household devoid of girls is an empty nest.

2. */ʔal dar bla tafla ki ʔal sqaf bla bit/*

الدار بلا طفلة كي السقف بلا بيت

A house without a woman is like a boat without a rudder

3. /Dar bla mra dalma/

دار بلا مرا ظلمة

A house without a woman is like a body without soul or spirit

4. /ʔal xir mra w ʔal ʃar mra/

الخير مرا و الشر مرا

The good is a woman and the evil is a woman

5. */ʔali maʕanduʃ labnat maʕarfu ḥad bah mat/*

اللي ما عندوش لبنات ما عرفو حد باه مات

Daughterless parents are lonely parents.

6. */ʔal lham ki jantan jarfduh malih/*

اللحم كي ينتن يرفدوه ماليه

Blood is thicker than water.

7. */sar ʔumha ʔal bant/*

سر امها البنت

Daughters are their mothers' secrets box.

8. */ʔali tahuli baba rahli w ʔali tathuli jama bqali /*

اللي طاهولي بابا راحلي و اللي طاتهولي يما بقالي

Mothers’ offers are permanent, but fathers’ offers are temporary

9. */ʔaqlab elqadra ʕla fumha tuxradz ʔal tafla lumha/*

اقلب القدرة على فمها تخرج الطفلة لامها

Like mother, like daughter.

10. */ʔal ʔunϴa ma tatʕada triq ʔumha/*

الانثى ما تتعدى طريق امها

A female is never too different from her mother.

11. */ʔali mrabja ʕla jadin ʔlrdʒal ma jɣurha la zin la mal/*

اللي مربية على يدين الرجال ما يغرها ر لا زين و لا مال

Wealth and beauty shall not lure a woman reared by a father.

12. */ ma jgulu mart man hata jgulu bant man/*

ما يقولو مرت من حتي يقولو بنت من

A woman is seen through her father’s name, not her husband's last name

13. */ mali matat ʔal marhuma ma klit ksira marguma/*

ملي ماتت المرحومة ما كليت كسيرة مرقومة

Since my mother's death I haven’t eaten bread like hers

14. */ʔali daruha jdijatha jakluha wlidatha/*

اللي داروها يدياتها ياكلوها وليدتها

Whatever a mother gives from her hand, tastes sweet

15. /jtim ʔal babat jatwasad ʔal rukba w jtim ʔal yamat jatwasad ʔal ʕatba/

يتيم البابات يتوسد الركبة و يتيم اليمات يتوسد العتبة

A fatherless child is half an orphan, a motherless one a whole orphan.

16. / man ɣir baba w jama ʔal nas kadhaba/

من غير بابا و يما الناس كذابة

There is no greater love than that of a mother or a father

17. */mali zad ʕandi wlidi ma klit ʕalf wafi w maʃrabt maja safja /*

ملي زاد عندي وليدي ما كليت علف وافي و ما شربت مايا صافية

One child, eternal anxieties for a mother

18. */ jamat lawlad daha ʔal wad/*

يمات لولاد داها الواد

Boys' mother is forsaken

19. / wladt ϴnaʃ w qʕadt blaʃ/

ولدت 12 و قعدت بلاش

A mother can provide in the needs of twelve children, but not the other way round

20. /quli lʃams tuli wela ntul fi blastak/

قولي للشمس طلي و لا نطل في بلاصتك

As beautiful as the sun.

21. /ʔal xumrija ma tatzawadʒ w ʔal samra ma tatzawadʒ/

الخمرية ما تتزوجش و السمرا ما تتزوجش

Brown/dark skinned women have fewer chances in getting married.

22. /ʔal Kahla fahla fi ʔal qalb tahla/

الكحلة فحلة في القلب تحلى

Beauty is skin deep

23. */la yaʕadʒbak nwar ʔal dafla fi ʔal wad dajar dlajal w la yaʕadʒbak zin ʔal tafla hata tchuʃ ʔal fʕayal/*

لا يعجبك نوار الدفلة في الواد داير ظلايل ولا يعجبك زين الطفلة حتى تشوف الفعايل

Beauty is as beauty does.

24. */ʔal zin la zin lafʕal*

الزين لا زين لفعال

Beauty is as beauty does.

25. */kuhlak batal w swakak batal belhram ma tahlay fi xatar/*

كحلك باطل و سواكك باطل بالحرام ما تحلاي في خاطر

And she powders, and puts on a blush, and still they won't look

26. */jal mʃabah mel bara waʃ hwalak mel daxal/*

يا المشبح مالبرا واش حوالك من الداخل

He who is physically beautiful, how is your inner?

27. /ʔal mra zinha fi jadiha/

المرا زينها في يديها

A woman's beauty is in her hands

28. /sadʒja nadʒja man blasatha ma tnudaʃ/

ساجية ناجية من بلاصتها ما تنوضش

A lazy girl and a warm bed are hard to separate.

29. */ banti w ʃtaratha dʒat man ʔal hamam w nafdat ʃkaratha/*

بنتي و شطارتها جات من الحمام و نفضت شكارتها

My daughter and her cleverness, she takes shower then flicks off dust (despite the tiring work, she never keeps her house dirty).

30. / twila w ʕrida w fi ʔal jadin mrida/

طويلة وعريضة و في اليدين مريضة

Long thread, lazy girl.

31. */ kijat ʔal nsa ma tatansa/*

كية النسا ما تتنسى

If you give your heart to a woman, she will kill you

32. */darstak lukan wadʒʕatak nahiha w bantak la kabrat ʔaʕtiha/*

ضرستك لكان وجعاتك نحيها و بنتك لكبرت اعطيها

Marry your son when you will, your daughter when you can

33. /ʔal ʕataq slakha ʔal zwadʒ /

العاتق سلاكها الزواج

Marriage is the sanctuary of the unmarried women.

34. */ʔal zwadʒ zawadʒtak w saʕd manadmanlakʃ/*

الزواج زوجتك و السعد مانضمنلكش

I can guarantee you marriage, but happiness I cannot.

35. */ zhar labnat ʕla lumat/*

زهر لبنات على لمات

Daughters carry the same fortune as their mothers on their palm**.**

36. */ham lbanat lal mamat/*

هم لبنات للممات

Once a daughter, always a daughter

37. / ʃad fi sahbak ʔal ʕura xir majdʒi ʕar manu/

شد في صاحبك العرة خير ما يجي عر منو

Better hold on the bad than hold on the worst.

38. /ʔal radʒal bla mra ki ʔal mal bla raʕi/

الراجل بلا مرا كي المال بلا راعي

A man without a woman is like a field without a fence

39. */damak huwa hamak/*

دمك هو همك

Problems thrive on kinship

40. / ʔal barani waʃ dʒa manu fdal/

البراني واش جا منو فضل

Benevolence comes from strangers

41. /ʔal ʔqarib ʕaqarib/

الأقارب عقارب

Some relatives are like fire, the sooner they're out the better.

42. / Win ʔal dam win ʔal ham/

وين الدم وين الهم

Problems thrive on kinship.

43. / ʕulat ʔal fula man dʒanbha/

علة الفولة من جنبها

Sickness of the beans is from its side

44. /zitna fi bitna w smidna fi dqiqna/

زيتنا في بيتنا و سميدنا في دقيقنا

Water your family tree so as to reap its fruits

45. / xirak ma taʕtihaʃ lɣirak/

خيرك ما تعطيهش لغيرك

Do not wed your offsprings to strangers

46. /ʔadrab ʔal nsa bʔal nsa maʃi bʔal ʕsa/

اضرب النسا بالنسا ماشي بالعصا

Punish your wife with a rival rather than using a whip

47. */ ma daxalʃ ʔal mra ʕla ʔal mra/*

ما دخلش المرا على المرا

Don’t cook two big bones in the same kettle

48. / ki tatfaham ʔal ʕdʒuza w ʔal kana jadxul blis lal dʒana/

كي تتفاهم العجوز و الكنة يدخل بليس للجنة

Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, dog and cat never eat from the same plate

49. /ʔal kana ma tarda bal hana w ʔal hana ma tarda bal kana/

الكنة ما ترضى بالحنة و الحنة ما ترضى بالكنة

Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are a tempest and a hailstorm

50. /dardʒa bdardʒa kima diri lʕdʒuztak dirlak kantak /

درجة بدرجة كيما ديري لعجوزتك ديرلك كنتك

Daughters-in-law become mothers-in-law

51. /ʔal danja dawara w ʔal baɣla ʕaϴara w xzana waʃ txabilak/

الدنيا دوارة و البغلة عثارة و الخزانة واش تخبيلك

What comes around comes around

52. */ʔali jxajar w jaxtar jtih fi ʔal ʃmata w ʔal ʕar/*

اللي يخير و يختار يطيح في الشماتة و العار

If you take too long to choose, you will end up with the leftovers

53. / namʃi w natrajah hata tuht ʕla dʒurh mqajah/

نمشي و نتريح حتى طحت على جرح مقيح

I looked attentively but I found festering wound (it is about the mother-in-law who keeps looking for the perfect wife for her son, but she finally finds the worst ever)

54. /ʔila ʃaft zudʒ matfahmin ʔaʕraf bali ʔal dark ʕla wahad/

إلا شفت زوج متفاهمين اعرف بلي الدرك على واحد

In a happy relationship, there's always someone who is more burdened.

55. /ʔal lusa susa/

اللوسة سوسة

A bitter almond is sister-in-law.

56. / balak tansa w taman ʔal nsa/

بالك تنسى و تامن النسا

Never trust a woman's word.

57. / suq ʔal nsa mahu suq/

سوق النساء ماهو سوق

Where a woman rules, streams run uphill

58. /ʔidha halfat fik ʔal mra bat qaʕad w ʔidha half fik ʔal radʒal bat raqad/

اذا حلفت فيك المرا بات قاعد و اذا حلف فيك الراجل بات راقد

Beware of an angry woman, more than of an angry man

59. /ʔal rdʒal thud ʔal dʒbal w ʔal nsa thud ʔal rdʒal/

الرجال تهد الجبال و النسا تهد الرجال

A bad woman will ruin any man

60. / kul blija sbabha wlija/

كل بلية سبابها ولية

Where there's a woman, there's trouble

61. */la taman ʔal ʕdʒuza ʔidha tabat w salat w darat sabha rqiqa ʔali jaxadmu ʔal ʃitan fi ʕam taxadmu fi dqiqa* /

لا تأمن العجوزة اذا تابت و صلات و دارت سبحة رقيقة اللي يخدمو الشيطان في عام تخدمو في دقيقة

Don’t believe old women if they repent and pray, what Satan does in a year they do it in a minute

62. */kan mhani hata ʃra maʕza/*

كان مهني حتى شرى معزى

Better to dwell in a corner of a housetop, than in a house shared with a contentious woman.

63. /*xanfusa tlahini xir men ɣzala tʃajabni*/

خنفوسة تلهيني خير من غزالة تشيبني

Better to have a deep sleep next to an ugly wife, than be half-sleep next to a beautiful one.

64. /Kan sbaʕ ki tzawadʒ rdʒaʕ dbaʕ/

كان سبع كي تزوج رجع ضبع

No lion roars as loud once there's a lioness in the need.