



**ON THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIAN VERBAL ART:
A DARWINIAN PERSPECTIVE ON PROVERBS**

by

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Brett Cooke (2nd Version, augmented)

One does not dispute a proverb

Russian proverb

Introduction

Proverbs provide biopoetic inquiry with a rich middle ground between perspectives deriving from evolutionary psychology and chaos theory. Here, indeed, is a genre of both oral culture and written literature in which every speaker of a language plays a role. It is difficult to even imagine an exception to this universal rule--except for the still undecided case of the Australian Aborigines whose usage of proverbs is unclear [Grzybek 1964, 238]. This is implicit in B. J. Whiting's definition of this highly common form: "a short saying of a philosophic nature, of great antiquity, the product of the masses rather than of the classes, constantly applicable, and appealing because it bears a semblance of universal truth" [cited in Bryant 1945: 4] Whiting only errs in that whereas some proverbs are very old, they continue to be altered or composed entirely new every day as part of a truly living genre. As a whole and to a large extent in part, proverbs act as if they constitute a living being which continually adapts itself to changing conditions. Inasmuch as they constitute both an art form and an integral part of every language--save, possibly, for the aforementioned Aborigine--proverbs also constitute a wonderful example of how human culture complements biology by greatly accelerating or even obviating our genetic response to the challenges posed by natural selection. What interests us here is both how they help us in this regard and how they conduct a process of natural selection by vying for limited attention of the inevitably finite number of reciters and listeners. It may be that both issues are intimately related--as we shall see by viewing these short sayings as a) memes that act as if they had a will of their own, b) as survival mechanisms for the groups which foster them, and finally c) as a highly convenient testing ground for determining

how matters of form and theme work to determine which ideas will prevail in their memetic struggle for "survival of the fittest."

Proverbs as Memes

Could there be any basis for the common expression that an idea may take on a life of its own? In the now famous tenth chapter of *The Selfish Gene* (1976), Richard Dawkins speaks of memes pursuing their own replication by transmitting themselves from one mind to another, sometimes by way of the printed page. Now authors often speak of their characters taking over their fictions and, as it were, dictating the contours of the work. Alexander Pushkin, no doubt like many other poets, spoke of his verses writing themselves, but this seems to be a figure of speech for elusive states of his highly creative mind. In these and other cases the idea is clearly tied to a single individual, so that, if an idea or meme had sufficient physical basis to exert a will of its own, we could regard them as extensions of that single personality. Yet there is evidence of transpersonal ideas which seem to exert more control on individuals than the other way around. One is language which, as many contemporary philosophers of language remind us, possesses the capability of channeling our thoughts, making it difficult to envisage things for which we have no common words. Ideologies not only direct our thoughts, they may blind us to other ideas in the process, and impel us to act, sometimes in fashions contrary to our own individual benefit; this happens when men die for a cause other than their own genetic replication. Dawkins describes such overpowering constructs as mental parasites which have the ability to possess our minds and determine our behavior.

But can we predict which ideas are likely to enjoy such an existence, as opposed to the huge majority which will pass by our attention and be quite forgotten? My suggestion is that we may gain some insight into the distinction between viable and non-viable memes by looking at the proverb, another promising candidate for actual memetic reality.

Proverbs constitute a small but extremely widespread verbal genre which derive from both

language and ideology. Closely related to the particular properties of the languages from which they spring, proverbs may be viewed as more or less fixed sets of memes--the particles of which I imagine as being at about the scale of a computer byte--that have become hardened via a process of cultural selection whereby they achieve the status of "winged words"; these, in turn, may be used in discourse with an added degree of clout. This could only be possible if we somehow sensed that these spontaneously arising expressions reflect parts of an overarching natural philosophy that advises us to live in a manner generally conducive to our genetic health. This is to say that following the advice that traditional proverbs offer us much more often than not will contribute to our reproductive fitness. Human beings and proverbs, like many other aspects of culture, are co-evolved. We select them insofar as they help us select ourselves.

First of all, we need to note that, while just about any utterance has the potential to become a proverb, those few that manage to be accepted as such may well live a life of their own, most times, in fact, a long one. Out of the innumerable sum of statements that an entire population makes over the course of its history, proverbs constitute the extremely limited group of expressions which have won sufficient privileged valuation that they continue to enjoy a competitive advantage over everyday phrases. Indeed, they persist despite our preference for original statements in normal discourse. Although a few adages die out, probably by failing to adapt to changing human environments, others are so configured as to find themselves a renewed utility in new times and climes. One reason is that the adaptive aphorisms are usually figurative, hence, available for use in many different contexts. For example, Andrew Guershon compared Vladimir Dal's collection of Russian proverbs of 1907 with those from two centuries earlier and noted that extremely few had gone out of circulation [1941: 22]. As he put it, "A good proverb does not disappear so easily, and as long as it can hold its ground somehow, it lives" [1941: 46]. Proverb speakers themselves are aware of the durability and flexibility of these sayings:

- п182 Пословица - всем делам поперечница.
A good maxim is never out of season.
с263 Старая пословица не мимо молвится.
Old saws speak truth.¹

It almost seems that proverbs have the capability of fighting for their own retention in our speech patterns. There are yet more dramatic examples of paremiological longevity. "Haste makes waste" derives not from Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*; rather, it was first recorded as an oral saying in 1546 [Apperson 1993:288]. Some Russian bywords date all the way back to the earliest recorded statements in the language, probably relating to 8th and 9th centuries [Guershooon 1941: 22]. The English weather aphorism, "Red sky in morning, sailors take warning..."--albeit a maxim intended to be taken literally--can be traced to Matthew 16:2-3 [Barrick 1987: 432]. "Time is money" goes back yet further, to Theophrastus of the 3rd century B.C. [Norrick 1985: 40]. Peter Grzybek tells us that Sumerian maxims collected on cuneiform tablets in the 2nd millennium B.C. bear a close resemblance to our own [1994: 235]. Proverbs may also be widespread. "Silence is golden" is either translated or has its equivalents in 38 European languages; "Strike while the iron is hot" persists in 47 European languages, as well as in Chinese [Paczolay 1996: 287, 286]. But, as the famed Russian folklorist Buslaev argues, but this may be the result not so much of cultural transmission as that of the same human needs being met in the same way [cited in Guershooon 1941: 17n]. Whether translated or separately composed, the proverb depends on universals of their reception.

A number of considerations readily recommend a memetic context for proverbs. First there is Dawkins' postulated universal law of replication. Things, especially organisms, which can replicate themselves will tend to do so. Given the realities of extinction, including personal death, limited resources and genetic and mineral heritability, natural selection favors those that do so successfully [Dawkins 1987]. Thanks to these

¹ Unless noted otherwise, all references to Russian proverbs in their original language derive from Mertvago 1995 and will be cited per his reference system, usually using his translations.

positive feedback loops, such phenomena constitute self-organizing systems and enjoy an obvious competitive advantage over the random and disorganized which are unable to conserve whatever gains they make. Proverbs are expressed thoughts that have the ability to attract our attention, attach themselves to our memory and then to prompt us to repeat them, more or less with the same narrow range of words. Per Dawkins' notion of the extended phenotype, they get us to disseminate them to other potential speakers [1983]. To a large extent, this is because they are themselves highly organized telegraphic utterances, often characterized by such verbal symmetries as rhythm, rhyme, repetition, syntactic balance, metaphor and antithesis. Secondly, they evince a distinct tendency to concern themselves with the very same matters that we must attend to if we are to pursue our genetic futures with success. As Aaron Lynch suggests, ideas which are "vivid and gripping" stimulate repeated airings, which helps to promote the same thing happening with other people [1996: 34]. In this they share, by imitation, many features with the modern art of the political and advertising slogan, which uses similar poetic devices and universal themes to "click" and thereby get themselves repeated, over and over again, in the same way. In addition, proverbs constitute an artistic genre. They share many features with other forms of art. We should think of them as brief--usually one or two line--lyrics of "people's poetry" [Guershoon 1941: 57]. At least in small measure, they share in the "mental life" we expect of all artworks in that they stimulate many more thoughts. It is fair to say that most of the conclusions we draw from proverbs we may apply to other arts

But proverbs are quite distinct from slogans as well as most artistic memes. As I discussed in my essay on "Pushkin and the Memetics of Reputation," (Cooke 1993) modern art is characterized by the claim, where legal or not, of intellectual property. Slogans, after all, can be claimed as registered trademarks. This creates a symbiosis between one's genes and memes--and with dramatic results. As soon as an artist realizes that he (used here and elsewhere in the neutral sense) can personally profit from his ideas,

the likely consequence is an ever waxing tendency for developing a highly individual style in one's composition. This quickly brings about a noticeable acceleration of stylistic and thematic change, of art history itself--as we may witness in the six exciting centuries which have transpired since the beginnings of the Renaissance and the first common claims of authorship.

Proverbs, on the other hand, do not belong to any individual. True, some were first coined by a given personage, such as Alexander Pope's "A little learning is a dangerous thing" or the pugilist James J. Corbett's--who else but the man who first defeat the great John L. Sullivan?--"The bigger they come, the harder they fall" [Bryant 1945: 14, 15]. Nevertheless, such statements have long since become the common heritage of people everywhere who speak the same language. If anything, many literary and Biblical quotations which are the source of modern proverbs are themselves based on earlier sayings which were current at the time they were first written down. The real authors of traditional proverbs, if we can even imagine who they may be, apparently felt no need to establish personal careers by fashioning ever more innovative witticisms. If these people felt any ambition, it is likely that this was limited to distinguishing themselves largely by better expressing shared ideals, in effect, by conforming. As Guershoon notes of the Russian lexicon, there are no examples of individualistic display, such as boasting or praising oneself. Proverbs rather warn against the same.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| x8 | Хвались да не поперехнись
Boast, but don't choke on it. |
| x11 | Хвастливое слово гнило.
Rotten is the boastful word. |

After all, an utterance only becomes a proverb when other people recite it for their own purposes. Indeed, proverbs are distinctly impersonal, with a marked tendency for making general pronouncements. If they did not somehow speak for a whole social group, they would not have been accepted as such. So, only at the very outset may a would-be proverb rely on the reputation of its inventor. Rather, memetic contenders for proverbial

status must vie on their own by jousting with each other; they do this largely by being accessible to a maximally large body of their replicators--i.e., human beings speaking the same tongue. Hence, they normally exhibit mass appeal by conforming to generic expectations and expressing common assumptions.

Interestingly, proverb canonization is a largely unconscious process. We are hardly aware of their transmission. Rarely do we ask to have a new one in our own language explained to us. The process of acquisition is similar in nature to that of our native language. This does not mean that we truly understand new proverbs or words, but we often assume that we do; how often is it that we make recourse to *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*, really? Yankah Kwesi says that proverb informants often find it difficult to say precisely what a proverb means; perhaps they are not meant to be explained [1994: 134]. In effect, proverbs *are* a natural part of our language. The famed paremiologist G. L. Permiakov estimates that every adult Russian possesses an active vocabulary of more than 800 proverbs (пословицы), proverbial expressions (поговорки), literary quotations and cliches, all of which must be in common usage if he is to be understood (1989: 91-92). Because of this requirement for mass appeal, combined with the absence of any claims of intellectual property, proverbs are conservative by nature. Impersonal by their very nature, hence, point of view, they speak for all of us. Not only do we retain ancient sayings, this, as opposed to most forms of oral literature, is a genre which has resisted that same modernization that has killed off so much folklore, perhaps because it makes such small demands on our active memory. WE continue to acquire new proverbs, quite possibly at an accelerating rate, due to the ongoing changes in our interpersonal environment. They have also mutated, often as a result of intentional exploitation, into such modern forms as advertising copy, political slogans and graffiti [Mieder and Mieder 1981; Nierenberg 1994].

For the most part, no one is in control of proverbs, either pretends or tries to be. Rather, because of their peculiar mnemonic properties, some adages are more likely to

exert control over us. Like an irritating advertising jingle, once heard, they are hard to extract from one's mind. As a form of extrasomatic cultural memory--a conscious counterpart to Jung's collective unconscious--they may even allow us to operate on a sort of automatic pilot; while mouthing familiar maxims, we do not have to even be aware of what we are saying or thinking. Margaret M. Bryant observes that most people are not aware of just how many proverbs they recite [1945: 21]. Indeed, that people often behave in accordance to their moralistic dictates suggests that they are, in fact, mental parasites. Whether or not they live a life of their own, proverbs, veritably, won't leave us alone.

Proverbs, like the memes they appear to be composed of, share some significant features with the genes they are ultimately, if impersonally, based on. If like memes they exist in order to complement biological adaptation, there is every reason to expect that in some respects they will resemble their genetic substrata. For one, they are largely fixed, albeit variant phrasings will frequently be encountered. This is to say that they are *particulate* in nature; one may mix them in with other statements, but they will not blend. As the Russians say, "Из песни слова ни выкинешь" ("You can't drop a word from a song") [И100] Nevertheless, most are *semantically* flexible so as to be applicable to virtually any human situation, much as we appear to possess a genetic heritage that allows us to readily learn whatever language we are born into. And new "mutations" may enter the general population in the same manner as genetic innovations, by being developed in small, satellite groups. Bryant envisages this process as beginning quite spontaneously with a given individual's single statement, which is taken up by his family, then spreading to the surrounding community and, once it achieves critical mass in terms of popular currency, invading the rest of the nation [1945: 15]. More than any other level of ideas, save vocabulary, proverbs resemble a viral epidemiology. The major distinction is that memes, unlike genes *so far*, can exploit books and other media as a form of cryogenetic storage--and this works for proverbs. If many previously oral proverbs have been preserved in the Bible and the works of Shakespeare, these texts have served to sustain

them for future generations, indeed, often giving them additional status as privileged statements as citations from such hallowed books.

Proverbs, almost uniquely, exemplify many of the features of art studied heretofore in biopoetics. Utilizing virtually every modern feature of poetics--a striking achievement for a population largely illiterate prior to the Soviet period--proverbs suit Ellen Dissanayake's concept of "making special." According to Shirley L. Arora, such devices as rhyme serve as "conspicuous signal[s] that a particular utterance is something more than a statement made by the speaker." [1991: 7] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests that "Neat symmetries and witty convergences of sound and meaning, tight formulations of logical relations, highly patterned repetitions, structural balance, and familiar metaphors encapsulate general principles and contribute to the feeling that anything that sounds so right must be true" [1981: 111]. Certainly, as Alan Dundes remarks regarding rhymed proverbs, these features make them much easier to retain in one's memory [1984: 40]. Can, for example, native speakers of English recall where and when they first heard "Haste makes waste" or "An apple a day keeps the doctor away"? It is as if we have always known these proverbs. Telegraphic form, recourse to striking tropes, exaggerated or even outrageous statements, and a dense rhetorical structure, such as we often find in proverbs, all serve to make the aphoristic remark stand out so much as to gain argumentative privilege. Proverbs are typically used to win arguments, as we may see in African courts, where they are a necessary device, and, come to think of it, in our own, if only because it is so difficult to resist using them [Grzybek 1994: 232].

Being part of a self-organizing culture, especially due to the lack of authorial controls, proverbs exhibit precepts of so-called "chaos theory." Because they must continually adapt themselves to, or, at least be, accepted in changing conditions by serving human needs for insight and proverbial advice, they offer solid evidence for Frederick Turner's hypothesis that our sense of beauty largely correlates with the true patterns of the universe [1991]. Combining a strong tendency for non-fictionality with ease of use and

transmission, proverbs are a genre highly inclined to make self-correcting views of our surroundings. We might better compare them with scientific equations. They have often been subjected to objective scrutiny, especially traditional sayings about health and weather, and have been found to be accurate much more often than not. Ting Nai-tung finds it hardly surprising that 85% of Chinese weather proverbs have been substantiated, given that they are based on generations of careful observation. There is then little wonder that rural Chinese, like many farmers the world over, prefer their local traditions to modern weathermen [1987: 651-2, 649]. In addition, mouthing various aphorisms provides the speaker with at least a sense of control over the uncontrollable and, following Ellen Dissanayake's apt observation, a greater degree of self-control, which should yield some adaptive benefit [1992]. Russian proverbs, for example, often note the alternation of sadness and happiness; this gives one hope that, at least, happier days are ahead:

- н541 Ни печаль без утешения, ни радость без наказания.
No sorrow without consolation, nor happiness without a price.
- н543 Ни радость вечна, ни печаль бесконечна.
Neither gladness nor sadness lasts forever.
- с85 Сегодня в цветах, а завтра в слезах.
Flowers today, tears tomorrow.
- с94 Сей слезами, радостью пожнёшь.
Sow in tears, reap in joy.
- с328 Счастье с несчастьем двор обо двор живут.
Fortune and misfortune are next-door neighbors.

Much in the mode of the folktales scanned by Kathryn Coe, proverbs help exert the control of past--often ancient--generations over the new, always with the same aims of maximizing adaptive behavior. The great majority counsel listeners to play it safe, to follow customs, to behave in a moral and cooperative fashion, to hold one's tongue, above all else, to conform. But as we noted, this natural pedagogy takes place in a perfectly effortless, even enjoyable fashion. One wonders if this process is even noticed. Proverbs are too advanced to be part of the mother-infant discourse scanned by Ellen Dissanayake; in fact, they are quite biased to a male point of view. Nevertheless, parents quite willingly

replay these statements to children, including toddlers. Here their musical qualities are particularly relevant. They can be seen as to constitute a veritable verbal manual of social traditions and rules which as a consequence may remain unwritten. They also provide training in a number of essential cognitive faculties. A number of them exploit what Nancy Easterlin sees as our natural predilection for narrative--some briefly encapsulate entire stories:

- 6445 Был такой что торопился да скоро умер.
There once was one who hurried who died anon.
- д52 Далеко шёл, а добра не нашёл.
He went far and found no good.
- o119 От волка бежал, да на медведя напал.
He ran from a wolf and ran into a bear.
- х7 Хвалился чёрт всем миром овладеть, а Бог ему и над свиней не дал
власти.
The devil bragged he would rule the world, but God didn't even grant
him rule over swine.

Following Easterlin's observation that artistic fictions typically entail such prelogical, therefore, innate, functions as narrativity and binarization, proverbs can also be found to include other mental functions of a similar nature: these include the various poetic devices which involve verbal symmetries, therefore, forms of organizing observed environments, metaphor, parallelism and antithesis--readily recognized as forms of the binarization so characteristic of proverbs--personification, paradox, and, certainly not least, humor [1997]. Proverbs, for example, are used to test for schizophrenia, given that those so afflicted typically grasp metaphors only in literal form [Dundes 1981: 44]. Paul D. Goodwin and Joseph W. Wenzel find in proverbs a "*socio-logic*" quite acceptable to their modern evaluation as a form of practical reasoning. They note how proverbs anticipate many modern forms of formal thought as "judging by appearances, attention to causality, use of parallels, working by analogy, generalization, including warnings against over-hasty generalization and classification, lacking only for only formal validity; they observe that proverbs "serve the common run of humanity in the same way that a textbook on logic or

argumentation serves the formally educated" [1981: 144-5, 158, 157]. But proverbs are not formal logic. Indeed, they remind us that art serves us as an alternate form of cognition, one that, as we have already seen, can be quite effective, when compared with modern science. By the same token, proverbs offer the modern researcher an additional and quite inexpensive window into what Koen DePryck terms an archaeology of the mind, since they preserve so much of not only of ancient thought--Aristotle called them the "wrecks and ruins of ancient philosophy"--but also of deep-set cognitive proclivities [cited in Bryant 1945: 4]. As veritable one line poems in most cases, these proverbs conform to Frederick Turner and Ernst Poppel's account of the universal "three-second line" reflecting properties of our short-memory [1989].²

As is true with modern poetry, the various elements of verse found in proverbs do not frustrate productive thought, they both direct and stimulate it, only this happens in more of an interpersonal context. In fact, adages serve to bring many faculties rapidly and quite synchronously into play, as if characteristic of all artistic cognition. This reminds us of Turner's statement that artistic genres work in the fashion of computer "turbos" by speedily putting into action a complex set of mental functions. So, not only do they provide us with another form of extrasomatic memory of a society's collective past experiences, they also provide us with a set of ready-made heuristics. This makes for much greater efficiency in making essential decisions. Each proverb, however, brief not only brings to the surface many related considerations, it puts us in the mode of considering how many different situations it may be applied to, and how they might be compared, not to speak of whatever we should be doing in response.

Since they constitute an essential part of a region's dialect, proverbs serve as ethnic markers. "The sky's the limit" is not English but, rather, distinctly American. Such statements allow a speaker to establish a common bond of empathy with his compatriots,

² It should be noted that many Russian proverbs have internal rhyme; this might allow us to scan them as two hemi-stichs. The same could be said of "An apple a day keeps the doctor away."

acknowledging what they agree to be "cricket," and often allowing him "to get to first base." Indeed, proverbs often advise against association with strangers and aliens; this suits Aaron Lynch's model of memes which isolate a host population from alien memes--- or ideas. [1996: 5]

ч108 Чтобы узнать человека, надо семь пуд соли с ним съесть.
In order to recognize a person, you need to eat a bushel of salt with him.

Notably, proverbs tend to be xenophobic. Furthermore, they insist not only on moral comportment but also on honesty, helping to establish faith in the words of the speaker, an essential relationship in Eric S. Rabkin's view for social organization [1983]. Everywhere they counsel listeners to avoid the common causes of intrasocial violence, potentially serving models to be proposed by Gary Cox [1993] and Wayne Allen [1996]. Although they commonly resort to glaring stereotypes, they advocate what a sociobiologist recognizes to be reciprocal altruism. Lastly, these brief lyrics provide a nearly ideal example of Alexander J. Argyros' dictum that art is a society's means of selecting its future [1991]. Of course, proverbs commonly do this by reminding us of our past.

Г204 Глупая речь не пословица
Gibberish does not a proverb make

Proverbs as Survival Mechanisms

Proverbs are a true human universal. Not all societies use them to the same degree and in precisely the same way, but they are sufficiently similar on a world-wide scale that paremiologists are trying to agree on an international definition and characteristic structure. As we shall see somewhat later, this quality makes them conducive to cross-cultural research, often in a quantitative manner, since it is quite easy to come up with large data samples for different populations. Alan Dundes compares proverbs to riddles, another universal genre with similar pedagogical and epistemological virtues [1981]. While we may not all agree in finding proverbs beautiful, they unquestionably elicit

interest--an important indication of their underlying biological utility. Notably, they were collected as far back as ancient Sumer in what probably constitutes one of the earliest cases of literary criticism [Taylor 1987: 6]. Closer to our own time, they attracted the attention of medieval scholars who collected and therefore pondered the "crossings" of such proverbs as "Look before you leap" and "He who hesitates is lost." And they are consistently accorded a significant degree of rhetorical value. Everywhere they serve as trump cards in discourse. And this, quite evidently, is due to their often having a basis in observed reality. Quite literally, they enjoy this privileged status because people commonly accept them to be the truth. Aristotle stated that "Proverbs are in the nature of evidence" [cited in Bryant 1945: 19].

In effect, proverbs have gained their universal status because their recitation has proved useful. Their predominantly oral nature makes for a genre strongly inclined to convey views of our environment and even more so for one that promotes our biological health. Given the high frequency of their iteration and the consideration that as bits of advice they are particularly suited for interpersonal discourse in often argumentative contexts, this creates a nearly ideal system of self-editing, making ample time for deselection of deleterious ideas. What Daniel C. Dennett says of memes can certainly be applied to proverbs: "We would not survive unless we had a better-than-chance habit of choosing the memes that help us. Our meme-immunological systems are not foolproof, but not hopeless either. We can rely, as a general, crude rule of thumb, on the coincidence of the two perspectives: by and large, the good memes are the ones that are also the good replicators" [cited in Lynch 1996: 38]. True, proverbs are not at all free from fault. We may be able to explain away such "crossings" as "It's never too late to learn" and "You cannot teach an old dog new tricks" by assigning them to different situations. Proverbs continue to be concocted in different contexts, so we can hardly expect them to constitute a seamless perspective. Secondly, there may be some utility in having differing points of view to choose from, such as would allow one to gauge a measured response somewhere

in between. Such contradictions can readily be found in the proverb repertory of a single speaker, without his being aware of this apparent inconsistency [Kwesi 1994]. But many are quite dubious. Is it true that "We must all eat a peck of dirt before we die" or that "One hour's sleep before midnight is worth two hours after"? [cited in Hand 1987] A number strike us as distinctly harmful. Some Russian proverbs advocate corporal punishment much in the mode of "Spare the rod and spoil the child":

- Б171 Бей своих и чужие бояться будут.
Spare not your nearest and all others will fear.
К212 Кто больно сечёт, тот нежно любит
He who strikes painfully, loves tenderly.

And then there is the traditional penchant for misogyny, as in

- В400 Волос долог да ум короткий

which has its English equivalent in "Long hair, short wit," and the even more troubling,

- Ж62 Жена умирает, а муж со смеху помирает.
As the wife dies, so does her husband - from laughter.
Да убоится жена мужа.
Let a wife fear her husband. [Зимин 1996: 266]

However horrifying the thought, this does not exclude the likely possibility that such misogyny and abusive behavior, even if combined into one, could have been deemed meritorious under different social conditions. The infamous Russian guide to "home making" of the sixteenth century, *The Domostroi*, for example, backs up its exhortation that a proper husband should periodically beat his wife with advice as to how this should be done. D. B. Shimkin and Pedro Sanjuan noted that Russian peasants near the end of the nineteenth century continued to regard "wife-beating as indispensable, even praise-worthy" [1953: 334] On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of proverbs convey advice that is not just good to follow but also quite safe from harm. Their universal ability to seize our attention is all the more remarkable because their messages are usually so very unextraordinary. After all, their predominant moral is to be sensible and behave. Whereas art, particularly modern art, often inclines us to seek extremes and exotic sensibilities,

proverbs tells us to stay at home and to prefer the all-too-familiar. As Archer Taylor, probably the classic authority on proverbs puts it, this genre "expresses a morality suited to the common man. It is cautious and conservative in recommending the middle way: 'Virtus in medio, Nequid nemis.' It is not a call to high adventure" [1987: 7] Created over the course of an unmeasured but surely long period, probably one on a scale with language itself, the proverb reflects the long-term strategies best suited for the group selection of its reciters: play it safe, stick to the tried and true, innovate only when absolutely necessary.

Furthermore, proverbs constitute a kind of group thought, despite their inevitably individual origin. They convey what are the shared reasonings of the populace. Notably, at least in Russian, they are addressed to singular listeners in the familiar, much as one would talk to a family member, a child, or an old acquaintance, almost as if reminding that person of the already agreed-on rules that bind them. Very likely this is how they wield such rhetorical power, namely, in that they recall to the other person's attention those considerations which that person should not have ignored, having known them all along. Yet more so, they express what we otherwise have long since "taken for granted," a mental phenomenon which likely accords with much in evolutionary psychology and warrants much further enquiry. Now this is this is not to say that proverbs are a faithful reflection of the people who maintain them. Few proverbs can be seen as to advocate vice, yet clearly vices persist:

г315 Грех сладок а человек падок.
Temptation is sweet, man weak.

Rather, they depict, if hardly an ideal state of existence, a system of behavior which is within one's reasonable grasp. Notably, they are distinctly close to home in their frame of reference; they typically discuss matters which concern us on an everyday basis, all in the hope that there will be another day.

In effect, proverb memes establish a symbiotic relationship with their human hosts. Like a wise virus, they know better than to kill off their hosts, at least not too soon. On

the contrary, the interests of both are better served if the proverb prompts its human carrier to thrive and, in turn, to broadcast it. As a result, proverbs not only help groups survive, both on the level of individuals and of more cohesive groups, they also help ensure their own survival.

The Case of Russian Proverbs

Paremiologists repeatedly remind us of the all-important element of the context in which a proverb is spoken: "Circumstances alter cases" [cited in Goodwin and Wenzel 1981: 156]. Certainly this holds true for Russia, a country which continues to hold an unusual degree of esteem for the proverb, which still thrives as a genre. Andrew Guershon estimates that there are more than fifty thousand proverbs in the Russian lexicon. My own impression is that they play a much larger role in Russian discourse than in our own. For Guershon, Russia constitutes a special ground for gathering proverbs. Thanks to its geographic isolation prior to modern technology and historical conditions which served to cut it off, for the most part, from other countries, Russia developed what might best be termed a hermetic culture, one not so much European or Asiatic as it is true unto itself, unique. As a result, Guershon notes how relatively few Russian proverbs are translations of foreign originals [1941: 115]. Secondly, modern culture arose there only in recent centuries. A hundred years ago the great majority were still illiterate, making them less susceptible to alien influences--and probably more dependent on proverbs. For the same reason, Russian proverbs are less likely to derive from literary quotations. As a result, they are more often representative of the masses, hence, true to Russian concerns. On the other hand, the flat plain with good internal trade routes along slow moving rivers made Russia geographically the most widespread primary language prior to the rise of the modern state; many areas contributed to the same heritage of proverbs. Furthermore, the Christianization of Russia proceeded quite slowly, effectively reaching some parts of the countryside as late as the fifteenth century, almost five hundred years after the great

baptism of 988 [Ivanits 1989:19]. As a result, common Russians remained quite close to their prehistoric ways. Linda J. Ivanits says that "one can only be astonished at the degree to which the Russian peasant succeeded in preserving his ancient, pre-Christian customs and world view" [1989: 3]. One example is the special regard for "Мать - сырая земля" ("Mother is the damp earth") which may be linked to the pagan god Mokosh and would explain the persistence of various forms of earth worship [Ivanits 1989: 14-15]. Whereas there are very few religious references in Russian proverbs, the less than completely effectual conversion of Russia to a modern faith may be reflected in the continuing sway of proverbs. In other words, Russia is a relative latecomer to formal logic, which leaves more room for proverbs, whose recitation bears some relationship to sympathetic magic, as in the case of weather proverbs and other divinational sayings.

Given the down-to-earth bias of the proverb, we are right to expect different frames of reference for expressions uttered in a northern country like Russia from those recited in a different environment. For example, English proverbs show a familiarity with the sea ("Time and tide wait for no man") which is not shared by the largely landlocked Russians:

х3 Хвали море, а сиди на берегу.
Praise the sea but keep on land.

Predominantly composed by peasants, forest-dwellers and fisherman, the common populace of old Russia, their proverbs reflect their view of the world. The language will play a role, along with related local traditions. Rhymes are found in the majority of Spanish and Portuguese proverbs, while they are much less frequent in Russian, roughly 19% of my survey [Barrick 1987: 431]. This may reflect either differing generic expectations, as seems to be true for Hispanic proverbs, or the greater difficulty of finding interesting rhymes in Russian.

A more profound distinction may lie in the consideration that diverse environments may require quite different lifestyles and cognitive habits of their inhabitants.

Proverbs are often assumed to represent the mentality of their nation. Admittedly, this is not entirely accurate. Shimkin and studied the proverbs of three Russian provinces from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and found no maxims on health in disease-ridden areas nor on sectarian strife in a region so afflicted. They surmised that a process of self-censorship was at work concerning "emotionally dangerous matters," which, consequently, would deny us the full picture [1953: 345n]. But, as they and Margaret M. Bryant agree that proverbs are more representative than individual utterances; statements put into proverbial use by a substantial number of reciters indicates that they express the "general sense of the people who adopt them" [Bryant 1941: 19]. Furthermore, traditions will vary, quite possibly due to different environmental requirements. As a brief genre with little investment required, proverbs, despite the age of most of the paremiological heritage, can react quite rapidly to changing conditions. Alan Dundes notes how in America, a land and a culture which has rewarded risk-takers and self-made men, some of our characteristic sayings are similarly optimistic: examples are "The sky is the limit," "Where there's a will, there's a way," "Do or die," and "Come Hell or high water." In other words, with our traditions of individual liberties and determined self-reliance, it more often behooves one to adopt a "can-do," "never say die" attitude, to make the most of whatever opportunities one has for extreme social and financial gain.

The far north of Eurasia can be a very different matter. Despite an even more expansive frontier with huge mineral resources, Russia never developed the kind of "boomtown" mentality that was repeatedly witnessed in the American West. Due to the harsh climate, extremely brief summer, there is barely time for one growing season in a land laboriously cleared in the monotonous forests. As a result, a meager existence was possible, but spectacular success, real wealth, was out of the question for all but an extreme minority. And theirs was truly an unchanging environment with little variation and notably rare contact with the outside world, moreover snowbound for the majority of the year. South of the forests Russian peasants were exposed both to persistent attacks by

nomadic tribes or periodic droughts. Not only was life hard--and still is--with starvation a real threat, there was no means of escaping these dolorous conditions and getting ahead to the point of being free of worry, other than death.

Added to this, except in the far north, were varying degrees of harsh social oppression culminating for many in serfdom, and a long winter with plenty of time to think about how hopeless was the situation. Shimkin and Sanjuan noted everywhere stern systems of "customary law" which additionally limited personal freedom. Daniel Rancour-Laferriere suggests that the masochism so characteristic of Russians may have been an adaptive response in such a social context:

Держи голову уклонну, а сердце покорно.
 Keep your head bowed and your heart submissive.
 Тише воды, ниже травы.
 Be quieter than water, and lower than grass. [1995: 5, 13]

The self-made man was a rare commodity in Russia until recently. As a result of this combined environmental and social oppression, Gary Cox says Russians suffer from "a weak sense of self, and secondly, a need for a strong authority figure to allay an inordinate fear of chaos." Therefore they rely on their characteristic psychological resources, "a strong survival instinct and, second, a tendency toward submissiveness or obedience"--which are richly exhibited in their traditional sayings [1989, 452-53].

Strangely enough, the Russian proverb lexicon responded to their dismal lifestyle with more of the same, much as American sayings redouble our optimism. In a variety of geographical areas, Shimkin and Sanjuan noted that proverbs exhibited a strong penchant for "negativity, fatalism and pessimism," despite belief in a "beneficent God, in love above hatred, in piety over ungodliness" [1953: 343]. Russian proverbs are generally characterized by great fatalism, their acknowledgement of their difficult living conditions and a consistent advice to play it safe, which makes plenty of sense, given that true success is not an option. Some parallel cases are instructive. Thanks to a heritage of slavery, Mary Warren Beckwith scans the proverbs of Afro-Jamaicans as their

"justification of the vicissitudes of life" [cited in Bryant 1945: 12]. In other words, if there is no means of addressing a situation, one viable method of effecting a *modus vivendi* is to acknowledge it, possibly even make a virtue of it--as Russians do when they take pride in their harsh and overlong winter. Finland, which suffered from many of the same conditions as in Russia and was occupied by both by Sweden *and Russia*, is home to what may well be an even richer proverb culture, which exhibits the same profound tendency for fatalism--as we find in "Every man dies such a death as has been decreed for him on the *luoma*-day." Matti Kuusi summarizes the general moral of this lexicon as expressing that "one should be content with one's lot and not covet the lot of others" [1981: 279]. This makes some sense as long as there is no reasonable option available. Most interestingly enough, the general tenor of the Finnish compendium has begun to shift towards optimism and consequent enterprise as with the advent of modern conditions. Kuusi even finds a marked distinction between the proverbs of Western and Eastern Finland, namely between the coastal areas which are in contact with the rapidly developing European community and the deep forests. Perhaps with time the same will happen with Russian proverbs if capitalism and personal freedoms prevail in Russia.

But could such readings of whole cultures be merely subjective impressions gleaned from a few, favorite expressions? Our aim here is to make a connection between a given environment and the proverb heritage that helps one live in it. If theories of how memes complement genetic adaptation are ever to become more than mere lip service, then some form of objective demonstration is required. More importantly, we are looking at proverbs here in the hope of discerning what factors gives one thought an advantage over another, in effect, what might be the basis for memetic selection in Russia and elsewhere. Fortunately, not only is there an enormous volume of proverbs at hand, they are more or less equivalent in scale and character, which facilitates a quantitative survey. So we decided to subject two samples of Russian proverbs to the same examination for issues related to fatalism and conservatism. Both are drawn from Peter Mertvago's

Comparative Russian-English Dictionary of Russian Proverbs and Sayings, which includes 5543 entries, roughly 11% of Guershoon's estimate for the entire lexicon [1995]. First we looked at Mertvago's selection of the 1900 "most common and important" proverbs. Sayings are not repeated with the same frequency, and this is obviously an important consideration in evaluating memetic success. Mertvago does not say what was the basis for his selection of "the most common and important," but the popularity of most of his listed entries is evident. We then decided to compare these findings with a random sample of the non-selected proverbs from the same volume. We coded proverbs for expressions of acknowledgement of the harshness of living conditions, fatalism, attitudes towards risk in work, towards the upper classes and worldly success, feelings about holding one's tongue and, finally, their regard for their native land, keeping track all the while of contrary statements; no proverb was coded for more than one of these themes, but all were examined for the presence of rhyming words, significant alliteration and play on words. We scanned 1828 "important" and 935 randomly chosen non-select Russian sayings coming to a total of 2763 entries.

Pessimism certainly showed up in our survey of Russian proverbs. Fully 4.3% talked about the harshness of life in Russia, the inevitability of suffering and even a suggestion that these conditions may bear benefits. Russia, after all, is home to Dostoevsky's theory that suffering is necessary for salvation.

- в145 В счастье всякий умеет попеть, а умный умеет и горе терпеть.
Anyone can sing when fortune smiles, but a wise man also knows how to bear adversity.
- в223 Век изжил, всё прожил, горб нажил.
He lived to a ripe old age, suffered all and has the hump to show for it.
- м195 Мука всему наука.
Misfortunes make us wise.
- н588 Нужда острит разум.
Need sharpens the mind.
- о186. Оттерпимся и мы люди будем.
With patience we too can become like everyone else.

п242 Привыкнешь, и в аде живёшь.
You can even get used to living in hell.

Life in northern Russia is difficult, so there is all the more reason for us to expect the equivalents of "When the going gets tough, the tough get going." Such is expressed in perhaps, thanks to Pasternak, the most famous Russian proverb,

ж147 Жизнь прожить - не поле перейти
Living life is more than just crossing a field.

The concept of negotiability is relevant here. Proverbs either give advice about issues which can be addressed with some success, or they acknowledge what is beyond man's grasp. The range of human negotiability is merely more constrained in a country like Russia, or at least appears to be. There seems to be little choice but to come to terms with it. Proverbs of this sort thus become useful for dispensing with futile alternatives so that one can focus on what one can and must do. They may also work as a palliative, perversely helping the reciter deaden the pain. Another possibility is that thoughts of this kind may serve to instill pride in those who are able to withstand such a challenging environment. After all, who else would be around to talk about it if it were not for those sufficiently tough? It has often been observed that Russians prefer a hard winter. This may be the source of many of their problems, but it distinguishes them in their eyes. And, if they have no choice but to live in Russia, they would do well to come to love these conditions.

The problem gets a bit darker with acknowledgement that there is a fatal pattern to life, that death is inevitable, and that things either change or stay the same despite human volition--in effect, that one has no control over his destiny. Whereas it is difficult to decide what is a significant degree of frequency against the background of a potentially infinite range of subjects, it does seem notable that almost 2.8% of these proverbs expressed such fatalism. Some examples are

б116 Без смерти не умрёшь.
No man dies before his time.
б248 Бог дал, Бог и взял.

- The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away.
 б253 Бог долго ждёт, да больно бьёт.
 God waits long and strikes strong.
- д107 Двум смертям не бывать, а одной не миновать.
 A man can die but once and that's inevitable.
- д169 День прошёл, и к смерти ближе.
 The day is over and death is nearer.
- ж39 Желającego судьба ведёт, нежелающего тащит.
 Fate leads the willing but drives the stubborn.
- к160 Кому быть повешенному, тот не утонет.
 He that is born to be hanged, shall never be drowned.
- н20 На всяк день готовься к смерти.
 Every day prepare for death.
- о122 От всего вылечишься, кроме смерти.
 There is a remedy for everything but death.
- о157 От судьбы не уйдёшь.
 No flying from fate.
- ч45 Чему быть, тому не миновать.
 What will be cannot be avoided.

Guershoon sums up such expressions as saying "Life is at times not worth while. Even if one wishes to try and lead one's own life, Fate, the all-powerful, will not allow it" [1941: 118] Shimkin and Sanjuan conclude that "the hardships and uncertainties of peasant life justified pessimism; man's powerlessness before authority made fatalism and a belief in God as his only chance quite rational" [1953: 344] But what could be the benefit of repeatedly reminding oneself of such a dark philosophy, one that even touches on the callousness of God? Rarely is there any mention of a reward beyond the grave, a life in the next world to compensate for what we lack in this one.

- ч4 Час терпеть, а век жить.
 Endure for an hour and live ever after.

Shimkin and Sanjuan reported an infant mortality rate of 40-50% in each of the areas they studied [1953: 331]. And there is no mention of any justification for such an ill state of affairs.

There is also no justice in this world, if we judge by proverbs--2.0% of the sample--concerning the clergy and legal authorities who are not at all treated as if they are morally superior.

- г42 Где закон, там и преступление.
Where there's a law, there is crime.
- д365 Дождь падает на злых и добрых.
Rain falls alike on the just and unjust.
- о161 От трудов праведных не наживёшь палат каменных.
Honest work won't earn mansions of stone.
- п145 Поп бездонный мешок.
A priest is a bottomless sack [or belly].
- п146 Поп людей учит, а сам грешит.
The priest who preaches to others sins himself.
- с300 Судейские ворота без серебра не отворяются
A judge's doors open only to silver.
Хвали сено в стогу, а барина - гробу.
Praise the hay in the haystack, and the noblemen - in his grave.
Близ царей - близ смерти.
Close to the tsar - close to death. [Зимин 1996: 219].

Such expressions help vent frustrations regarding the social order. Upward social mobility was generally impossible for Russian peasants, albeit there were a few remarkable exceptions. So what we get is more of a "sour grapes" response to examples of success either in social rank or wealth. True, there are a number of proverbs which extoll the benefits of wealth and rank, but these achievements accord with typical notions of reproductive success and are entirely to be expected.

- з157 Знание - сила, время - деньги.
Knowledge is power. Time is money.

But such sayings, 1.3% of our survey, are outnumbered by 2.1% of our proverbs with irrational statements about the evils of achievements, including intellectual achievements.

- и108 Из ученого глуп бывает.
A scholar may sometimes be a fool.
- к263 Кто много учён, тот редко умён.
The learned man is rarely wise.
- л113 Лучше бедность да честность нежели прибыль да стыд.
Better honest poverty than shameful gain.

And, as we might expect by now, there is even one which accedes to neither alternative:

г258 Горе - деньги, а вдовое - без денег.
Misery with money, double misery without.

So what is one to do? Life can be lived in such conditions, but the most viable manner involves making a true effort while opting for the safest, most conservative and time-tested way possible. 8.1% of our total survey advised taking small measures--with a populace always close to the brink of starvation, there were no proverbs expressing the uselessness of work--and avoiding risk. Some examples are:

б181 Береги денежку про черный день.
Lay up for a rainy day.
б395 Будь малым доволен - больше получишь.
Be content with little and get more.
п189. Поспешность нужна только блох ловить.
Nothing must be done hastily but killing fleas.
с117 Сидячий стоячего перетянет.
A sitter prevails over one who stands.
т35 Тише едешь, дальше будешь.
Slow and steady wins the race.
ч102 Что скоро, то хворо.
Haste makes waste.

This is not to claim that such proverbs offer us an accurate picture of the Russians themselves. They have been widely noted for the inconsistency with which they apply themselves to work, possibly a reflection of the futility of making major effort in the context of Russian society as well as the very contrasting seasons which beset them. While wealth is out of the question, subsistence labor is absolutely necessary. Their proverbs may work to counterbalance and somewhat correct their behavioral tendencies. Lastly, another way to stay out of trouble is to curb one's tongue.

г333 Губы да зубы - два запора.
Lips and teeth - a double barrier.
я13 Язык мой - враг мой.
My tongue is my enemy.

It is even--or should we say especially--risky to tell the truth.

п142 Помолчи боле, проживёшь доле.

Talk less and live longer.
п221 Правдою не обуешься, сыт не будешь.
Truth won't fill your stomach nor buy your shoes.

Russia, of course, has always been a land without free speech--until the August Revolution of 1991.

Another expression of the same conservative spirit lies in the many expressions Russians make of love for their native land. Given the much narrower worldview of peasants a century ago, this is not necessarily Russia as such, but often their home region.

п116 На чужой стороне и весна не красна.
Even Spring loses its charm abroad.
На чужой сторонушке рад своей воронушке
In a foreign land one is glad to see a crow of one's own.

Time and again, the moral is the same: stick to the familiar, that there's no place like home.

в135 В своей хате и углы помогают.
At home every corner helps.
в579 Всяк хозяин в своем доме.
Every man is a master in his own home.
в600 Всякая птица свое гнездо любит.
Every bird likes his own nest best.
с71 Своя земля и в горсти мила.
A handful of soil is pleasing if it's your land.
х18 Хижа своя лучше каменных хором чужых.
One's own hut is better than others' stone mansions.

It should be noted that Russia was arguably the worst place to live in Europe. Russians are descended from those members of the Indo-European tribe who literally stayed behind north of the Black Sea while all other members of their race emigrated to more clement parts of the continent. And they are descended from those Eastern Slavs who did the same thing while the other Slavs moved south and west. Yet no country professes such a love for their native soil than do the Russians. It is a matter of negotiability: what choice do they have? It makes sense that one should make the most of what one has got, especially when there is no alternative.

з25 За морем теплее, а у нас веселее.
It may be balmy overseas, but it's merrier here.

щ5 Ци да каша - пища наша.
Cabbage soup and *kasha* is our staple diet.

Those who do not mouth such sentiments probably do not fare as well in Russia as those who do. In effect, proverbs are self-selecting--and Russian national character more and more distinguishes itself as truly different.

The aggregate of all of these expressions of conservatism comes to 21.4% of our total survey--probably a significant finding, but statistical significance remains an unsettled issue in biopoetics. Had we included exhortations to behave in a moral manner, to cooperate, be truthful, conform, mind one's own business and avoid fools, the figure would surely have been much higher. In either case, they would greatly outnumber the proverbs which either advised mounting a substantial initiative or extolled wealth and social advancement: only 3.3% of those scanned. Keep in mind that initiative and wealth constitute the more rational option, except in the rather perverse context of rural Russian culture.

Another surprising finding relates to the valuation of the proverbs--and, quite possibly, to artistic value in general. The proverbs included on Mertvago's select list scored much higher on these conservative themes--25.6%-- than those picked at random--13.2%. A differential of at least 80% was maintained throughout all of the themes, indeed, from both the conservative and liberal points of view. This suggests that the most popular and, therefore, important Russian proverbs were distinguished by their "pith," how much they address issues crucial to life in rural Russia. Keep in mind that, if there are about 50,000 Russian proverbs, the random group represents the most popular 11% and Mertvago's select list constitutes the most important 2%: it is all the more surprising that such a large degree of thematic distinction is notable between successful and very successful sayings. On the other hand, formal merit of the proverbs does not seem make a qualitative difference--although it certainly helps to distinguish, and possibly to stimulate, many Russian proverbs: the random sample scored somewhat higher (22.1%) than

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from their evident source, everyday speech: the random sample scored somewhat higher (22.1%) than Mertvago's select group (17.3%)--though it should be noted that these proverbs were not scanned for such other formal features as syntactic parallelism or metaphor. Entireties were coded for the presence of either rhymed words, including identical words, and word play including alliteration.

Although these results are very preliminary and comparative surveys need to be conducted, these initial results provide support for the hypothesis that memes are favored no so much by being "made special" as by how much they work to complement the immediate needs of genetic evolution in terms of reproductive advantage. That Russian proverbs display such a marked disbalance between what could be parts of a healthy balance--as in, say, between initiative and security--also suggests how a variety of relatively small factors such as the physical and social environment may magnify themselves over time into what we now see as essentials of the typical Russian *Weltanschauung*. It is significant that, whereas local traditions may differ somewhat, this is entirely one lexicon codified in a single language: Russians are, more or less, of one mind as far as their proverbs are concerned. Of course, we must expect that proverbs and the society which maintain them will be co-evolved, that they will influence each other in an increasingly skewed manner to the point that a distinctive and national character is created. But it also appears that in so doing they help each other cohere to one another and thereby to persist.

Appendix: Formal and thematic survey of Russian proverbs from Mertvago 1995.

	SELECT	RANDOM	TOTAL
NUMBER OF PROVERBS	1828	935	2763
DISTINCTION BY FORM			
1. Rhyme or Word Play	316 (17.3%)	207 (22.1%)	523 (18.9%)
CONSERVATIVE PROVERBS			
2. Harsh Living Conditions	94 (5.1%)	24 (2.6%)	118 (4.3%)
3. Fatalism	63 (3.4%)	14 (1.5%)	77 (2.8%)
4. Play it safe, slow, quiet	172 (9.4%)	51 (5.5%)	223 (8.1%)
5. Little justice	45 (2.5%)	11 (1.2%)	56 (2.0%)
6. Achievement suspect	45 (2.5%)	14 (1.5%)	59 (2.1%)
7. Love native land, home	14 (1.9%)	8 (.9%)	43 (1.6%)
8. Hostile to new & strange	14 (.8%)	1 (.1%)	15 (.5%)
Conservative Total (2-8):	468 (25.6%)	123 (13.2%)	402 (21.4%)
LIBERAL PROVERBS			
9. Initiative extolled	44 (2.4%)	9 (1.0%)	53 (1.9%)
Exceptions to 2-7:	68 (3.7%)	22 (2.4%)	90 (3.3%)
Liberal total (9 + 10)	112 (6.1%)	31 (3.3%)	143 (5.2%)
DISTINCTION BY "PITH"			
Conservative + Liberal	580 (31.7%)	154 (16.5%)	735 (26.6%)

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