# Women's Representation in Selected Hadhrami Proverbs

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#### **Abstract**

The paper aims at shedding light on the representation of women in selected Hadhrami proverbs\*\*\*. The assumption is that women's image is distorted because of men's chauvinism in the patriarchal Hadhrami society. Samples of these proverbs have been analyzed to show how women are represented. Besides, there have been an investigation among the youth to see what are the reasons that stand behind that dark image and the social negative attitude towards women. The study comes to the conclusion that range of negativity and distortion in the proverbs are not the same. The study is divided into four chapters; the first is a definition of terms and concepts and the related studies; the second is about the methods and approaches followed in the analysis; the third is the analysis of the data; and the forth is a conclusion that sums up the findings.

Keywords: Representation, Proverbs, Hadhrami Arabic.

#### **Introduction:**

Language is a mirror through which one can see social views and attitudes of human beings; all kinds of social phenomena are bound to be reflected in language. Proverbs, as an essence and an important part of language and carrier of culture, reflect people's perspectives and systems of society.

The Hadhrami Proverbs samples in this research have been selected from:-

أحمد بن طالب العامري4000 مثل من حضرموت. 2014, حضرموت: مكتبة تريم الحديثة للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع then transliterated and translated.

The discrimination, marginalization, and image against women in society are distortion reflected in proverbs, which affect the collective social opinion regarding women.Of the various verbal folklore genres, i.e., fairy tales, legends, tall tales, jokes, and riddles, proverbs are the most condensed and concise but not necessarily the simplest form. The vast scholarship on proverbs is ample proof that they are anything but mundane matters in human communication (Mieder, 2004: 1). In the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (Fowler and Fowler, 1990), a proverb is defined as: "A short pithy saying in general use, held to embody a general truth".

Arabic proverbs are one of the earlier forms of oral literature. A large number of Arabic proverbs are shared by all Arabic speakers. However, there are many proverbs which are specifically current among a certain community

Language reflects social activities; the sex differentiation and discrimination in language are not determined by the natural properties of language symbols; instead, they are reflection of social values and ways of thinking in a particular society or culture. (Qin Xiubai cited in Wang, 2012: 151). To a great extent, people have been absorbing the stereotyped and old thought from sex discrimination proverbs, which widens the gap between the two genders. Such proverbs reinforce the stereotyped images of women revealing a high degree of misogyny.

This research is meant to shed light on the representation of women as reflected by Hadhrami proverbs. The study rests on the assumption that women are more likely to be negatively represented by the Hadhrami proverbs because of the male chauvinism in Hadhrami society.

This paper aims to analyze the Hadhrami proverbs in order to expose the representation of women as conveyed by these proverbs. The study is also set out to investigate the attitudes of young males and females in Hadhramout towards the image of women in proverbs, and to explore the reasons behind their attitudes.

This research attempts to answer these questions: 1- How do Hadhrami proverbs represent women?

- 2- What are the attitudes of young males and females in Hadhramout towards such representations?
- 3- What are the reasons behind these attitudes?

and even such which are mainly used by a small group within the community (Smith, Smart & Pridhan, 1996: 164).

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To accomplish these aims, the paper is divided into four chapters. The first chapter offers some terms definition and a summary of scholarly research dealing with the images of women in proverbs, and the second chapter explains the methodology of the study, highlighting the approaches used for this study and the chosen data collection procedures that match the characteristics and the size of the sample of the study.

The third chapter provides an analysis of the collected data depending on the research questions, and the forth chapter presents a summary of the major findings arising from the data analysis. Moreover, it provides some recommendations that can help to correct the negative stereotypes of the society towards women and to conceive women's role in the several domains in their society.

#### I. Review of Literature:

#### 1. 1 Definition of Key Terms:

**Proverbs:** according to The Longman Modern English Dictionary, the proverb is defined as "a brief familiar maxim of folk wisdom, usually compressed in form, often involving a bold image and frequently a jingle that catches the memory" (Watson, 1976: 899). In simple terms, a proverb is a selection of words put into sentences derived from the observation of behaviour of human beings, animals, plants, natural phenomena, folklore, beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, emotions and the entire system of thoughts (Ashu, 2010: 81).

**Representation**: In The Oxford Dictionary, representation is defined as the description or portrayal of someone or something in a particular

way, whereas The Free Dictionary defines it as "Something that represents, as: **a.** an image or likeness of something. **b.** an account or statement, as of facts, allegations, or arguments. **c.** an expostulation; a protest. **d.** a presentation or production, as of a play.

Hadhrami Arabic: Hadhramout province is located on the coast of the Arabian Sea, and away from the capital Sana'a by kilometers. The population of Hadhramout province, according to census results for the year 2004 is 1028556 people and the growing population rate 3.08% per annum; it is 5.2% of the total population of the Republic. There are 30 districts in the province, and it is the largest province in the Republic in terms of area, which is about 193,032 square kilometers. The city of Mukalla is the center of the province, and most important cities are Syeiun, AL- Shahr, Tareem and Shibam. Hadhrami or Hadrami Arabic ([ISO-639-3]) is a dialect of Arabic spoken by the Hadhrami people or Ḥaḍhārima living in Hadhramaut. It is also spoken by many emigrants who migrated from Hadhramaut to the Horn of Africa (Somalia and Eritrea), East Africa (Comoros, Zanzibar, Kenya, Tanzania, and Mozambique), Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore) and, recently, to the other Arab states of the Arabian Gulf. The dialect in many towns and villages in the Wādī (valley) and the coastal region is characterized by its  $\varepsilon$  /dʒ/-yodization, i.e. changing Classical Arabic reflex /d3/ to the approximant ي /j/. It resembles some Eastern Arabian and Gulf dialects including the dialects of Basra in Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain and the

dialects

of

the

other

Arab

Emirates.

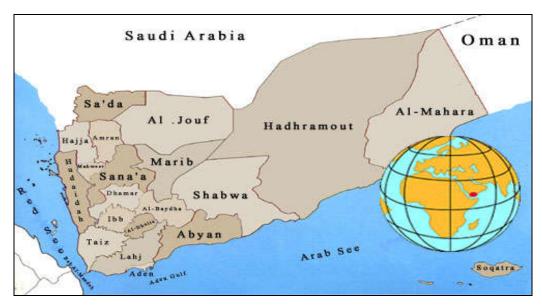


Figure (1): Yemen map (http://www.onyxhome.com/yemen/eng/aboutyemen/2.asp)

In educated speech,  $\varepsilon$  is realized as a voiced palatal plosive /J/ or affricate /dʒ/ in some lexical items which are marked [+ religious] or [+ educated].

Yemen shares many of the customs that are found in other parts of the Arab world. Culture is intensely patriarchal, and households usually consist of an extended family living in a single domicile or family compound. The head of the family is the eldest male, who makes all significant decisions for the family and its members. Women play a secondary role in running the household and raising the children and, in rural areas, helping to work the family farm. Though nearly one-fourth of Yemeni women obtain work outside the home, a woman traditionally earns most of her social status through bearing children, particularly males. The birth of a male child is considered one of the most important social events in Yemeni society and is followed almost immediately by a circumcision ceremony (Etheredge, 2011: 108).

#### 1.2 Nature and Characteristics of Proverbs

One such classification of the characteristics of proverbs was suggested in the following quote: "Two basic characteristics differentiate proverbs generally from freely formed utterances. First, proverbs are preformed, inventorized linguistic units; and second, they are traditional items of folklore" (Norrick, 1985: 25).

# 1.2.1 Linguistic Characteristics of Proverbs:

Proverbs are mostly spoken rather than written expressions. They are depicted as

"conversational" (Norrick, quoted in Bahameed, 2007: 20). Truthfully, it is seldom that we find people using proverbs in their written, or rather printed works especially the scientific ones. Conciseness is the most important attribute of proverbs. The brevity of proverbs is the result of their abrasion throughout history. In addition," proverbs are described as being lexically and syntactically inflexible. They enjoy much stiffness and stability. This means that their linguistic components are not susceptible to any sort of addition, deletion, substitution or even modification." (Ibid:1).

## 1.2.2 Proverbs and Figures of Speech:

The word proverb literally means "to be like", or "to be compared with". A proverb, then, is a form of communication of truth by using comparisons or figures of speech (Rhondes, 2009: 20).

Proverbs are usually short, have alliteration or rhyme, and use metaphors and other images to make their point. Thus, they are easy to remember, and some of them are therefore often repeated, today most often slightly tongue-incheeck (Hellinger & Bubmann, 2003: 73). For example, in the proverb below:

الخالة الزينة قطبة في العين

Al-khalah al-zynah quTbah fi al-?yn.

(al-khalah means stepmother, quTbah means a prickle)

The good stepmother is a painful prickle in the eve.

This proverb is used to describe the stepmother's

ill-treatment for her husband's children. It is used to express the stepmother's ill-treatment, a metaphor, quTbah fi al-?in (a painful prickle in the eye), is used to express the harm and pain stepmothers cause to their husbands' children.

In this regard, Bahameed argues that:

Proverbs are also distinguished from the other multi-word units of having the dominantly figurative nature. Using a proverb figuratively means that it is said in some way other than the main or usual meaning to suggest a picture in the mind or to make a comparison. They always embody or portray an image constituting simile, metaphor or metonymy. This characteristic arises essentially from the link the speaker establishes between the abstract literal meaning and the connotative proverbial interpretation. This being the case, it can be said that one of the basic sources of the language figures of speech lies in proverbs among others. (2007, p. 21).

#### 1.2.3 The Cultural Characteristics:

Proverbs are culture-loaded, they are regarded as one of the most ancient and valuable manifestations of human culture. They use succinct and pithy language to express commonly held ideas and beliefs and provide the readers with interesting glimpses at a people's geography, religion, history, social views and attitudes (Vicky, 2011).

Proverbs are a crystal of language and culture, loaded with accumulated wisdom and strong national characteristics and distinct cultural implications. Therefore, they serve as a good means of introducing a nation's culture when used for communication.

Each culture has proverbs that are unique to it. The saying, "If you want to know a people, know their proverbs" illustrates this. Mieder (1980: 119) puts together these characteristics of a proverb and come up with the following definition: "a proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, memorable form which is handed from generation to generation" (Mieder, 1980 cited in Mugane, 2003).

### 1.3 Proverbs and Gender:

One function of language is to communicate a society's gender ideology. The literary heritage of a people mirrors as well as creates gendered culture. As one element of oral literature, proverbs are also used to channel gender ideology in the society.

Proverbs can therefore be used to unearth

underlying values and expectations about men and women in society. Hence, they are valuable in identifying and understanding how a society defines gender roles. If gender is described as 'the socially constructed roles, activities, and responsibilities assigned to men and women in a given culture, location and time' then the proverbs of the time demonstrate what those roles are or were. These social structures and attributes influence how women and men perceive each other, themselves, and their respective roles.

# 1.4 Representation of Women in Proverbs:

As it is stated before, proverbs are an important part of a language and carrier of a culture. They reflect people's perspective and society systems. The discrimination and derogation against women in societies can be reflected in proverbs because they influence the social concepts greatly.

This subject matter has been of interest to researchers for some time in different societies and languages. Despite the differences between societies in which such studies have taken place, common themes emerge. Inferiority, lack of intellectual and physical abilities, lack of leadership, having an ill-nature, and being trouble makers are some of the frequent images of women, as reflected by researched proverbs. Such studies include Ambu-Saidi's (2010) investigation of Omani proverbs; Belfatmi's (2013) examination the Moroccan proverbs; Wang's (2012) study of English proverbs; Dickson and Mbosowo's (2014) analysis of African proverbs.

Ambu-Saidi (2010) found that many of the negative images reflected by Omani proverbs are not characteristics of women only; many men exhibit such characteristics. Furthermore, the belief that these negative images pertain to women in contemporary Omani society has diminished. "el Hurmah Hylha filsanha" (A woman's strength is in her tongue) reflects how women are talkative.

Belfatmi (2013) examined the portrayal of women through Moroccan proverbs. She found that Moroccan proverbs still represent the backbone of the Moroccan society, have the function of legitimizing certain stereotypes, especially, those related to women, putting women in a secondary position, while they valorize and put men in higher positions related to governance and dominance. "Elli y3amlu ibli:ss f 3am t3amlu l3guza f sa3a" (What the

devil can do in one year, the mother in law can do in one hour), this proverb means that women, especially mothers in law, represent a major threat, i.e., mothers in law are more powerful and more evil than a devil.

Similarly, Wang (2012) studied many English proverbs and concluded that proverbs are extracted from social practice over the years and can reflect people's views, behaviors or system of society, more representative and persuasive to be used to make a research on sex discrimination in language. The sex discrimination proverbs in the English language portray women as "idle chatterboxes", "capricious", "stupid", "evil" and "the root of disasters". "There was never a conflict without a woman" presents a woman as a source of troubles.

Likewise, Dickson and Mbosowo (2014) offered many African proverbs examining the semantic importance of proverbs about women. These proverbs depict gender bias and discrimination prevalent in African societies. Women in the proverbs are portrayed as lazy, weak, parasitic, unintelligent, and caring only about their outward appearances than hard work. "A woman and an invalid are the same thing" (Kikuyu proverb) conveys the uselessness of women. The bride price system conditions the mind of most African women to seek to marry older, richer men. This can be reflected by the Hausa proverb "Balbela ba ki bi kare, sai shanu" (The cattle egret does not perch on a dog, it perches on a cow), means that a woman does not fall in love with a poor man but with a rich one.

#### II. Methodology:

# 2.1 Research Hypothesis:

It is assumed that women are more likely to be negatively represented by the Hadhrami proverbs because of the male chauvinism in Hadhramaut.

# 2.2 Research Questions:

This paper attempts to answer these questions:

- 1- How do Hadhrami proverbs represent women?
- 2- What are the attitudes of young males and females in Hadhramout towards such representations?
- 3- What are the reasons behind these attitudes?

#### 2.3 The Sample of the Study:

The sample of the study consists of fifty Hadhrami proverbs representing several images of women and their positions in their society. The rationale behind choosing the Hadhrami proverbs is that Hadhramout is famous of its heritage and popular oral folk sayings that are

frequently used by people and transmitted by inheritance through generations. Therefore, the proverbs will be rich of diversity in the portrayals they have.

To learn about the males and females attitudes towards such portrayals, a sample is chosen from different parts of Hadhramout; namely Mukalla, Seiyun and Tareem, representing different social classes and of different educational levels. The random sampling technique is used, as it ensures the law of the Statistical Regularity, which states that if the average of the sample chosen is a random one, the sample will have the same composition, and characteristic as the universe, i.e., using the probability sampling technique can avoid bias sample which leads to subjective results.

# 2.4 The Approach:

In this paper, the mixed methods approach is used. The quantitative approach is useful in determining the direction of the participants' attitudes whether they are positive or negative. Concerning the proverbs, as they are classified in certain categories in accordance with the images they hold, the quantitative approach helps to measure the frequency of representing women in several images. Whereas the qualitative approach provides profound explanations about the reasons and motives behind using such proverbs. Therefore, mixing both approaches will increase the validity and reliability of the data, and thus the quality of the findings of the study.

# 2.5 Data Collection Procedures:

Since the approach opted is the mixed methods approach, i.e., the quantitative and the qualitative approaches, the data in this study are drawn from the informants through making interviews with people from different parts Hadhramout. Interviews allow the informants the scope to talk about their opinions on the subject of the study. Moreover, interviews enhance and sustain the study with in-depth information about the reasons impacts of the portrayals of women in proverbs, and it can provide information about the interviewees' background that affects their attitudes towards using proverbs misrepresent women, these proverbs are collected by asking people and from Bin Talib's book "4000 Hadhrami Proverbs".

# III. Data Analysis:

# Section 1: Analyzing the Representation of Women in Hadhrami Proverbs:

Proverbs represent several and disparate portrayals about women. Some of them reflect

discrimination against women, while some appreciate their roles. In the present study, the fifty collected proverbs are divided into three major general types, namely negative images,

positive images and neutral images, depending on the content of these proverbs. The table below illustrates the frequency of Hadhrami proverbs associated to each of those types:

Table (1): The frequency of	women's images represented in	Hadhrami proverbs

	Frequency	Percent
Positive image	11	22.0
Negative image	33	66.0
Neutral image	6	12.0
Total	50	100.0

A close analysis of the table above reveals that 60% of the collected proverbs discriminate against women, while 20% of these proverbs convey a positive portrayal about them, and 20% reflect neutral images about females. Thus, the negative representation of women in Hadhrami proverbs is the prevailing image in these proverbs. Regrettably, meager number of these proverbs represent positive portrayals. On the other hand, those proverbs which hold a neutral image represent general societal traditions towards females.

# 1. Negative Connotation:

According to the present study, the proverbs that represent women negatively vary in the images they reflect. In this respect, these proverbs are subdivided into six categories; namely: lacking of women's intellectual ability, women's inferiority versus men's superiority, women as jinx and catastrophes, women's jealousy, women's wickedness, and curiosity. The following diagram shows the frequency of these subtypes of the negative portrayals:

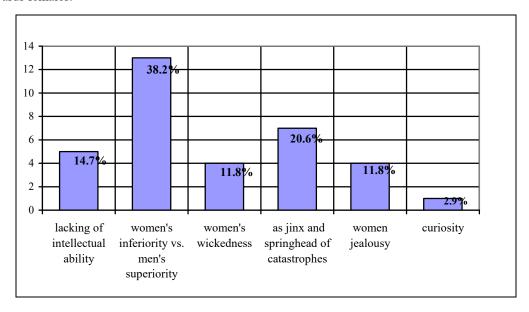


Figure (2): Negative Images about women

According to figure (2), 38.2% of the proverbs that represent women negatively reflect women's inferiority, 20.6% represent women as jinx and the springhead of catastrophes. The theme of

lacking of intellectual ability reflected in these proverbs is 14.7%. Both notions, women's wickedness and jealousy amongst women are about 11.8%, while curiosity is the less frequent

image representing 2.9% among these proverbs. The analysis below of each category explores the way that these images are reflected, depending on the transitivity structure and figures of speech.

# 1.1 Women's Inferiority Versus Men's Superiority:

Concerning the transitivity structure of the proverbs which reflect women's inferiority compared with men's superiority, the processes used in composing these proverbs are restricted to two types of processes: the relational process and the material process; however, there is one clause having a verbal process. In the relational processes, a woman is a token participant given an inferior value or denying a superior value which is associated to men. For instance:

البنت ونَّة والولد جنَّة.

albint wannah wa alwalad jannah.

A girl is a moan and a boy is a boon.

In the proverb above, a girl is a token participant of the relational process given an inferior value "moan", whereas in the second part of the proverb, a boy is a token participant given a superior value "boon". However, if the value participant of the relational process is superior, this value is to be refuted from females, as it is shown in the following proverb;

النساء بلا رجال كما الادلاء بلا حبال.

alnsa' bla rjal kama alidla' bla Hbal.

Women without men are like well's buckets without cords.

To use the word "without" is to refute the superior value of women in order to put women in an inferior position, when comparing them with the superior position of men. In addition, the phrase "Women without men" suggests that women do not have any value unless they are engaged to men. In contrast, in the following proverb, a man is put in an inferior position because his name is connected to females; he acquires this inferiority from the inferiority of females;

مات من ذريّته بنات.

mat mn thuryyatuh bnat.

A man, with only female children died.

In the proverb above, the end of a man is due to having only female children; it reveals that men prefer having male children to female ones. Thus, if it is meant to reduce men's status, they are connected to women in an affirmative statement "A man with only female". On the contrary, to emphasize the inferior status of women, they are connected to men using negative article to deprive them from the

superior status which is related to men as in "Women without men".

On the other hand, in the material process men represent actor participants while women are either affected participants or beneficiary participants to show men's strength and women's weakness. For instance;

قطّب جناحها وقال لها فرّي.

qaTTab jnaHha wa qal lha frry.

He had cut her wings and asked her to fly.

In the first part of the proverb above, she is affected through his action; this reflects men's strength used against women as they are thought to be weak; moreover, in the second part of the same proverb "asks her to fly", a female is an addressee participant receiving the message said by a man. This proverb explores men's abuse towards women, such a proverb is commonly used when a man divorces his wife and deprives her from taking her children with her.

Concerning the way used to convey the portrayal above, most of the proverbs in this category reflect women's inferiority versus men's superiority throughout two techniques, (metaphors and similes) in order to make a comparison between these two genders to explore each gender status. As proverbs are a complex composition holding intentions and meaning, such figures of speech are used to clarify the theme of proverbs.

البنت ونية والولد جنّة.

albint wannah wa alwalad jannah.

A girl is moan and a boy is boon.

البدع أنثى والجواب ذكر.

albd? 'untha wa aljawab thaker.

Words are like females, and deeds are like males غنم بلا راعي.

ghanam bla ra?y.

Sheep without a shepherd.

To explore the connotation of women's inferiority versus men's superiority, metaphors are used to reflect this image. In the first proverb, a girl is compared to 'a moan' to reveal the troubles that are caused by having girls, unlike having boys which is considered as amenity. Likewise, the second proverb compares females as words which have less importance and effects than deeds which are compared to males to reveal the stronger status of men and the women's weakness. The third proverb compares women to animals "sheep", it reduces their status and humanity, while in the following proverbs, another technique is used to illustrate the same idea; النساء بلا رجال كما الادلاء بلا حبال. alnsa' bla rjal kama alidla' bla Hbal.

women without men are like well's buckets without cords.

الحرمة بلا رجال كما البقر بلا أحبال.

alHurmah bla rijjal kama albaqar bla aHbal.

A woman without a man is like the cows without cords.

Explaining the proverb "women without a man", women are negatively portrayed. First, women are compared once to wells' buckets without cords in order to convey that females are useless without men; secondly, they are compared to cows without cords. The word "cords" is repeated in the two proverbs above, the use of cords reveals a meaning of restraint of women value and rights to be treated as a human being.

# 1.2 Women as Jinx and Springhead of Catastrophes:

Derived from women inferiority, they are considered as jinx and springhead of catastrophes. The origin of this idea belongs to the pre-Islamic epoch; as one knew that his wife gave a birth to a girl, he was shocked and kept himself out of people's sight as if he were befallen with odium, and thus was compelled to bury his daughter alive. After the Islamic period, burying girls has been interdicted; however, in many societies especially in the Arab world, they prefer having boys to girls. There are some common proverbs used in several communities such as "ham albnat lilmamat: Anxiety which arises from girls stays till death".

These are some of the proverbs which describe women as jinx and springhead of catastrophes:

- جابها بنية في الطبق.

jabha bnyyah fy alTabaq.

He brings a daughter in a plate.

- عرس الخفي يلّقي بنات.

?urs alkhfy ylaqqy bnat.

A secret marriage gives birth to daughters.

- النار ولا العار.

alnar wla al?ar.

To be burnt is better that shame.

عيضة مع أمه ومن جاته بنيّة تجيه.

?yDah m?a ummuh wa mn jatuh bnyyah tjyh. Eidhah is with his mother, and he does not care about who has a girl (calamity).

In all the four previous proverbs, metaphors are used to compare females as springhead of catastrophes. For instance, the proverbs "jabha bnyyah fy alTabaq: He brings a daughter in a plate" and "?urs alkhfy ylaqqy bnat: A secret marriage leads to have daughters", in both proverbs having daughter stands for illaudable results. The first proverb is used when people are

waiting for a response, but they are shocked by an illaudable result; likewise the second one is used to convey that what is done secretly leads to illaudable results, so the use of the word "daughters" symbolizes catastrophes. In the proverb "To be burnt is better than shame", shame refers to women as they the springhead of catastrophes and infamy. Similarly in the last proverb, "Eidhah is with his mother, he does not care about who has a girl (calamity)", in the second part of the proverb "a girl" symbolizes calamity and tribulation.

### 1.3 Lack of Intellectual Ability

According to the analysis of the collected proverbs, about 14.7% represent women as they are deficient in intellectual ability.

أربع حريم في عقل ضانة والضانة مغرومة.

arba? H?arym fy ?ql Danah w al-Danah maghrwmah.

Four women have a mind of a single sheep and the sheep is crazy.

النساء قاصرات عقل ودين.

alnsa' naqSat ?ql wa dyn.

Women are less than men in terms of religion and mind.

المرة مقمرة.

almarah magmarah.

A woman can easily be cheated.

Women in the first proverb are the token participant of the relation process; they are given a value of a mind of one sheep via using metaphor comparing four women's minds to a mind of a sheep, referring to that one sheep as brainless. Additionally, in the second proverb "Women have little sense", women are described explicitly as they have less sense with an implicit comparison with men. In "A woman can easily be cheated", women are the affected participant of the material process; they are easily cheated by men. There is an implicit comparison between women's lacking of intellectual ability with men's intelligence.

# 1.4 Women's Wickedness:

Concerning the transitivity structure used in composing the proverbs which reflect women as wicked; in, almost, all of these proverbs, women represent the token participant having a value of wickedness. For instance;

فلان لقاله دهن خالة.

flan laggaluh dihn khalah.

He uses a stepmother's ointment.

فصوصة الخالة ما منها نشاط.

fSuuSat alkhalah ma mnha nashaT.

A massage done by a stepmother is useless.

الحرمة حيلها بلسانها.

alHurmah Heilha blsanha.

A woman's strength is in her tongue.

About 75% of the collected proverbs representing women as wicked focus on the wickedness of stepmothers against their husband's children. "He uses a stepmother's ointment" explains that a stepmother never does any service faithfully for her husband's children; this proverb is used when someone never does his work faithfully. A stepmother symbolizes unfaithfulness. The same is found in the second proverb, "A massage done by a stepmother is useless" reveals stepmothers' unfaithfulness explicitly; "A massage" symbolizes any favor done by a stepmother.

The proverbs, in the previous categories, represent women's weakness and lack of intellectual ability; however, the other side of them is shown in this category. Women's strength is latent in their tongues, as it is revealed in the proverb "A woman's strength is in her tongue". Tongue might refer to a means that women use to protect themselves or as the cause of their wickedness.

# 1.5 Jealousy Amongst Women:

Women are known for their jealousy, accordingly, Hibbert-Roye (2013) Women can also be the perpetrators of hate towards other women. Women can instigate and continue a trail of destruction towards other women. It can be very uncomfortable to acknowledge that women can act just as aggressively as men and cause the emotional breakdown in others especially towards other women. The following proverbs assert this notion:

دق النساء بالنساء والأعداء بالكساء.

duq alnsa' bilnsa' wa alkhaSm duqquh bilksa'.

Avenge women by women, and avenge your enemy by clothes.

لا خالة تهر ولا صهرة كما الهر.

la khalah thrr wa la Sihrah kama alhir.

Neither, mother in law shouts, nor sister in law fights.

البنت طبينة أمها.

albint Tabynat ummha.

The daughter is the stepmother of her mother.

The first proverb explicates the use of jealousy amongst women in the interest of men, i.e., men

punish women by women referring implicitly to polygamy. The second proverb reveals the prickly relationship between the wife and her sister-in-law, and the traditional hostility between a wife and her mother-in-law. This proverb is used to show that a wife is lucky when her husband's mother is dead and when he does not have sisters.

Likewise, the proverb "The thighs drive away the breasts" emphasizes the traditional hostility between a wife and her mother-in-law; however, to convey this connotation, another figure of speech is used which is metonymy, i.e., the use of a word or phrase to substitute for another which is closely associated. In the previous proverb, "The thighs" substitute for a wife; and "the breasts for a mother, reflects the use of Showalter's biological model of gynocriticism which explores how female body is imprinted in text by identifying relevant literary images (Makaryk, 1993: 473 and Sinha, 2007: 103). One of the commonly used proverb is "The daughter is the stepmother of her mother"; women jealousy reaches a stage where the relationship between a mother and her daughter, revealing that a daughter is always imitating her mother through doing whatever her mother does.

# 1.6 Curiosity:

The least reflective negative portrayal of women in Hadhrami proverb is curiosity. The proverb "Curiosity killed the old woman" is used to express that women are interested in knowing others' news. According to the structure of the proverb, it can be said that women are affected by their curiosity via using the verb "to kill" exaggeratedly. The use of this proverb is not restricted to women; men can also use it referring to men

# 2. Positive Connotation:

In spite of representing women negatively in the majority of the proverbs, there are some proverbs, (22% of the collected proverbs), which convey a positive portrayal about them, appreciating a mother stature for her family, women's beauty, and revealing positive attitudes towards females. The following diagram clarifies the frequency of representing women positively associated to these categories:

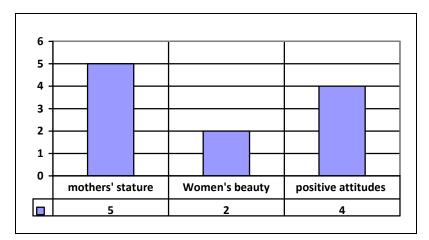


Figure (3): Positive images about women

The results that the diagram above reveal 45.5% of the proverbs representing women positively are about appreciating mothers stature for their family, 36.3% of these proverbs convey positive attitudes towards women, while the notion of women beauty is emphasized via 18.2% of these proverbs.

#### 2.1 Mothers' Stature

الأم تلم. -

l-'um tlm.

The mother brings her family together.

البنات بلا أم كما الثوب بلا كم.

albanat bla 'um kama althwb bla kum.

Daughters without a mother are as a dress without sleeves.

من أمه في الدار قريصه حار.

mn ummuh fy alddar qreiSuh Har.

Who has a mother, his bread is hot.

من ماتت أمه عرف يبكى.

mn matat ummuh ?araf ybky.

If your mother dies, you will know the meaning of crying.

With reference to the transitivity structure, the processes used in the proverbs, which assert the importance of mothers' role in their families, are confined to two processes, relational and material processes. In the first proverb "The mother brings her family together", a mother is an actor participant as she is responsible for protecting and keeping the unity of her family, whereas her family is the affected and the goal participant in the material process. "Daughters without a mother", daughters are the token participant given; their value is derived from the existence of their mother. Thus, mothers are considered as a value participant, this value is explored by the use of a simile which as "as a dress without sleeves". Daughters are compared

to a dress and mother to sleeves; according to the proverb, the value of the dress is dropped by being without sleeves.

Some proverbs refer to mothers' care throughout preparing food for their children, as the third proverb "Who has a mother, his bread is hot" illustrating how mothers care about their children by providing them with food without any slackening, "his bread is hot". Likewise, the proverb "without my mother, my mouth will not be fed" affirms mothers' care, and acknowledges explicitly the importance of mothers in one's life. However, losing a mother is deep grief, the death of mother is described, according to the forth proverb, as the only grief deserves to be cried for: "If your mother dies, you will know the meaning of crying".

#### 2.2 Positive Attitudes Towards Women:

No one can deny the positive roles of women; the following proverbs emphasize their magnitude:

الحرمة سراج الدار.

alHurmah sraj aldar.

A woman is the light of home.

كما حريم دو عن.

kama Harym Dw?an.

As Dawa'n's females. (Dawaan is the name of inhabited wadi in Hadhramaut)

كم من قصة (غرة) خير من لحية.

kam mn qssah kheir mn lHyah.

Some blazes are better than beards.

The first proverb describes the magnitude of women in their family using a metaphor to compare a woman to a light of home, a light symbolizes happiness, i.e., women are the source of happiness for their families. Most of Dawa'ni men are abroad for work leaving their families with homeland; thus, women are responsible of

their families and care about all the affairs of family. The proverb "As Dawa'n's females" is used to acknowledge the support that women provide for their family and husband especially in hard times.

Contradictory to the notion of women's inferiority vs. men's superiority, "There are some blazes are better than beards", women, in some situations, are better than men, metonymically the word "blazes" stands for women; and "beards" for men.

# 2.3 Women's beauty

خذ لك من دهامير النساء.

khuth lak mn dahamyr alnsa'.

Marry a tall woman.

بيضاء وزادت صرصت.

baiDa' wa zadat SarraSat.

She is white and she removed her face hair.

The previous proverbs appreciate the beauty of women. For instance, the first proverb, "Marry a tall woman" encourages men to choose a beautiful, tall woman to marry revealing that women's beauty is latent in her height, whereas the second proverb, "She is white and she removed her face hair", reveals that women's beauty is latent in their skin's whiteness.

#### 3. Neutral Connotation:

The proverbs that have a neutral image of women declare two connotations associated to Hadhrami community's traditions; namely endogamy and affinity, and wedding tradition. Some families prefer endogamy rather than marrying a woman belonging to another tribe; the following proverbs convey this idea:

الطريق ولو دارت وبنت العم ولو جارت.

alTaryq walaw darat wa bint al?am walaw jarat. The safe way, even long, is good, and your cousin will support you even if she oppresses you.

من تزوج من غير جنسه ظلم نفسه.

mn tzawwaj mn gheir jnsah Zalam nafsah.

If a man had not married from his race, he did injustice to himself.

لا تأخذ حرمة نعلها بعير.

la takhuth hurmah na?lha b?yr.

Don't marry a woman whose shoes are a camel's.

The first and the second proverbs refer to the preference of endogamy emphasizing the consanguinity explicitly. The third proverb " Don't marry a woman whose shoes are a camel's" reveals an advice that "to marry a women from a far city". "whose shoes are a camel's" refers to a distant place that needs a means of transport if she would like to visit her family. In contrast with these proverbs that prefer endogamy, there are other proverbs supporting a marriage from a woman not from the country of the same race; such as, "Women bring strangers close" emphasizing that marrying from different families and tribes leads to bring those strangers close via affinity. During a wedding celebration, the bride is not supposed to sing or to show happiness that she is going to marry as behaving so is considered boldness, "The bride does not sing". This proverb is used for guests to be polite "ya gharyb q? adyb: a stranger must be polite". The analysis of the representation of women in Hadhrami proverbs revealed that the majority of the collected proverbs reflect the notion of sex discrimination against woman portraying women as "inferior figures versus men's superiority", "lacking of intellectual ability", "springhead of catastrophes "," jealous", and "curious". On the other hand, there are some proverbs reflecting mothers' statures in their family and other positive attitudes towards women appreciating their roles in protecting their families. As proverbs are the mirror of societies' traditions and customs; accordingly, some proverbs reveal several traditions associated to Hadhrami society. Section 2: Attitudes of Males and Females

# Section 2: Attitudes of Males and Females Towards Women's Portrayals in Proverbs:

According to the analysis of the portrayals of women reflected by the Hadhrami proverbs, the results reveal that the majority of these portrayals represent negative notions about women. These negative representations are resulting from several factors, relying on the society, men, and females themselves. The diagram below shows males and females' attitudes towards the negative images of women in proverbs:

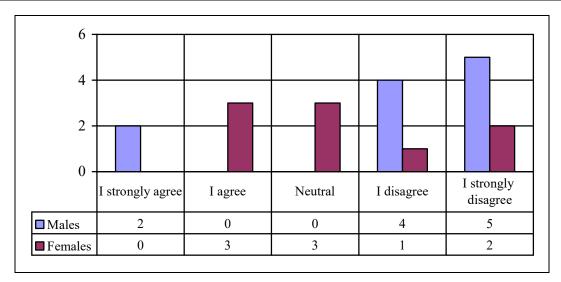


Figure (4): Attitudes towards the negative representation of women in Hadhrami proverbs

The results of the diagram above illustrate that about 45.4% of males strongly disagree and 36.4% of them disagree on the negative notions about women conveyed by proverbs, while 18.2% strongly agree. Unexpectedly, 33.35% of females agree on such representations, while only 22.2% strongly disagree on them. On the other hand, 33.35% of females have neutral attitudes towards negative images about women. These proverbs are rarely used these days; they are used only for jesting. Using such proverbs is restricted to rural areas, as interviewee 1 (male) and interviewee 8 (female) emphasized that they are used just for jesting and mocking at women. From males' point of view, the use of such negative representation about women is consequent from the nature of the society and its perspective towards them. Interviewee 2 stated that these proverbs reflect the male chauvinism perspective; not the reality of women, adding that "those proverbs reduce their statures; denying women even if they are illiterate, they take responsibility towards raising their children". The roles of women could not be denied, even history asserts their roles in building civilizations, accordingly, interviewees 2 and 17 referred to women's roles by stating that Oueen of Shiba and Oueen Arwa could not be forgotten, they proved that women can have more wisdom than men. A woman today is a leader, lawyer, and minister, there is no nation has advanced unless women are the basis of this advancement, a woman can lead a man to misery or happiness. Several studies have been conducted shedding a light on the role of

Hadhrami women interviewee 17 referred to a thesis about the roles of Hadhrami women in education during the sixth and seventh centuries AH that he read during his visit to Jordan. However, the idea of women's inferiority and considering them as jinx is not rejected totally; in this regard, interviewee 3 argued that women in Arab communities are still connected to reputation and ignominy, thus, they are always centered with criticizing, and the idea of "women have less sense and religion" still popular in society.

Concerning females' perspectives about these images, "some of these proverbs convey real images about women", asserted interviewee 20," but not all of them". The reason behind using proverbs that decrease women's value is women themselves, interviewee 7 regretfully stated that: "unfortunately, women themselves use such proverbs". In addition. interviewee complained that these negative portrayals are a of women's perspectives towards result themselves, and not seek to develop themselves. Some women accept the notion of their inferiority; thus, they themselves use proverbs which degrade them. Therefore, women blame other women for resigning to those negative representations and not trying to adjust these stereotypes; as interviewee 16 argued women do not take part in changing the society's perspective towards them. However, the community also contributes in imposing stereotypes about women. These stereotypes emerge from the culture of the society; accordingly, interviewee 20 emphasized that the reasons of such negative images are latent in the society culture and tribalism thought.

As male informants, females assert that stereotypes about women are resulting from the male chauvinism perspective of the society, and this perspective is a deep-rooted notion, as interviewee 8 said: "the preference of male to females is hereditary traditions and customs", although the Islamic religion stresses on women's respect and value. Interviewee 12 referred to the fact that there are some proverbs oppressing women, while religion and many verses of the Holy Koran dignify them.

The notion of men's superiority provides them to be substitutes for women in proverbs that reflect negative portrayals, interviewee 6 (male) emphasized that a man could not be replaced in these proverbs by women as he is the leader of his family, similarly, interviewee 11 (male) added that a man has a different stature because a man is a man. However, neither males nor females could be degraded via using proverbs that decrease their value as each one can err or be right. In this regard, interviewee 10 clarified that the relationship between men and women is not a competitive relationship; it is a supplementary relationship.

Thus, males disagreed with the notions that proverbs talk negatively about women, exploring that this negative representation is a result of a male chauvinism community which imposes such stereotypes about females. On the other hand, many females believed that this sex discrimination is attributed to women themselves as they take part in asserting the negative perspective against women via using these proverbs and women's inferior perspective towards themselves.

#### **Conclusion:**

Language reflects society naturally; it is the evidence of the values and beliefs of that society. All kinds of unequal phenomena in the society including sex discrimination are reflected through language. Accordingly, this study has analyzed fifty Hadhrami proverb in order to explore the representation that these proverbs provide about women. Based on a quantitative and qualitative survey, this study reveals that the majority of these proverbs reflect a sex discrimination against woman.

The sex-discrimination concept that considers males are superior to females in intelligence, strength, and leadership abilities is reinforced by the proverbs. Additionally, other proverbs shed light on other characteristics of females' personalities such as, wickedness, jealousy, and curiosity. To represent such notions, certain literary techniques are used like, metaphors, similes, and irony; moreover, the transitivity structure of the proverbs plays a potential role to reflect these different images.

In spite of these negative representations against women, there are still other proverbs that appreciate women's role among their families or towards their society. Proverbs could not deny the importance of mothers referring to their sacrifices for their children. As it was stated before, a language is a mirror and carrier of the culture of the society; many proverbs expose the society's customs and traditions, especially in marriage.

This study also aimed at correcting the notion of the relationship between both genders (men and women) clarifying that the relationship between a man and a woman is not a competitive relationship; it is a complementary relationship. Each one has his value and stature, without imposing any stereotypes on the other gender.

#### **APPENDICES:**

### Appendix A:

#### 1. NEGATIVE IMAGES

# 1.1 Women's inferiority versus men's superiority

1- البنت ونية والولد جنة.

albint wannah wa alwalad jannah.

A girl is moan and a boy is boon.

2- الحرمة بلا رجال كما البقر بلا أحبال.

alHurmah bla rijjal kama albaqar bla aHbal.

A woman without a man is like the cows without cords.

khTub lbintak wa la tukhTub lwaladak.

Look for a husband for your daughter before you look for a wife for your son.

4- مات من ذريّته بنات.

mat mn thuryyatuh bnat.

A man with only female children is dying.

5- النساء بلا رجال كما الادلاء بلا حبال.

alnsa' bla rjal kama alidla' bla Hbal.

women without men are like well's buckets without cords.

6- قطّب جناحها وقال لها فرّي.

qaTTab jnaHha wa qal lha frry.

He cut her wings and asks her to fly.

albd? 'untha wa aljawab thaker.

Words are like females, and deeds are like males

8- غنم بلا راعى.

ghanam bla ra?y.

Sheep without shepherd.

9- الله يخلى لآل عامر طفلة (اسم امراءة).

Allah ykhalli liaal ?amir Taflah.

May Good save Taflah for the Amers.

mn tzawwaj Hurmah brabbyyah jabat bnyyah bkhamsyyah.

A man gets married of a woman having a girl, she will deliver a girl.

النساء خلقن من ضلع أعوج. alnsa' khuliqn mn Dl? A?waj.

Women were created from a crooked rib.

12- من تزوجت استعانت بالله.

mn tazwwajat ast?anat billah.

A woman who marries resorts to Allah.

li ma raDat lHlalha ?Tat lilshaiTan.

A woman who refuses to marry, she will follow Satan.

#### 1.2 Lack of intellectual ability

14- أربع حريم في عقل ضانة والضانة مغرومة.

arba? H?arym fy ?ql Danah w al-Danah maghrwmah.

Four women have a mind of a single sheep and the sheep is crazy.

la tTarid Danah wa la tfalij ?jwz.

Don't run after a sheep and never debate with an old woman.

16- المرة مقمرة.

almarah maqmarah.

A woman can easily be cheated.

alnsa' naqSat ?ql wa dyn.

Women are less than men in terms of mind and religious.

mn shwruh fy ras Hurmtuh ma hw fy kheir.

Taking woman's opinion will bring you troubles.

# 1.3 Women as jinx and catastrophes

البنت و نـّة و الو لد جنَّة.

albint wannah wa alwalad jannah.

A girl is moan and a boy is boon.

19- جابها بنية في الطبق.

jabha bnyyah fy alTabaq.

He brings a daughter in a plate.

20- عرس الخفى يلقى بنات.

?urs alkhfy ylaqqy bnat.

A secret marriage leads to have daughters.

21- النار ولا العار.

alnar wla al?ar.

To be burnt is better that shame.

?yDah m?a ummuh wa mn jatuh bnyyah tjyh.

Eidhah is with his mother, he does not care about

who has a girl (calamity).

23- هم البنات للممات.

ham albnat lilmamat.

Anxiety arises from girls stays till death.

bintna fi alSandwq wa akhbarha fi alswq Our daughter is in a box, but her news in the oulet.

#### 1.4 Women jealousy:

25- أم الفخذين طردت أم الديدين.

'um lfakhthein Tardat 'um ldeidein.

The thighs drive away the breasts.

duq alnsa' bilnsa' wa alkhaSm duqquh bilksa'. Avenge on women by women, and avenge on your enemy by cloths.

la khalah thrr wa la Sihrah kama alhir.

Neither mother in law shouts, nor sister in law fights.

28- البنت طبينة أمها.

albint Tabynat ummha.

The daughter is the fellow wife of her mother.

### 1.5 Wickedness of stepmothers

29- الخالة الزينة قطبة في العين.

alkhalah alzynah quTbah fy al?yn.

The good stepmother is a painful prickle in the eye.

30- فلان لقاله دهن خالة.

flan laggaluh dihn khalah.

He uses a stepmother's ointment.

31- فصوصة الخالة ما منها نشاط.

fSuuSat alkhalah ma mnha nashaT.

A massage done by a stepmother is useless.

32- الحرمة حيلها بلسانها.

alHurmah Heilha blsanha.

A woman's strength is in her tongue.

# 1.6 Curiosity

33- الفضول قتل العجوز.

alfaDuul qatal al?ajwz.

Curiosity killed the old woman.

#### 2. POSITIVE IMAGE:S

# 2.1 Mother's Stature:

34- الأم تلم.

l-'um tlm.

The mother brings her family together.

35- البنات بلا أم كما الثوب بلا كم.

albanat bla 'um kama althwb bla kum.

Daughters without a mother are as a dress without sleeves.

36- من أمه في الدار قريصه حار.

mn ummuh fy alddar qreiSuh Har.

Who has a mother, his bread is hot.

37- لو ما انتي يا أمي ما كلت يا أثمي.

law ma 'inty ya ummy ma kalt ya uthmy.

Unless my mother, my mouth will not be fed.

38- من ماتت أمه عرف يبكى.

mn matat ummuh ?araf ybky.

If your mother dies, you will know how the meaning of cry.

#### 2.2 Positive Attitudes towards females

39- الحرمة سراج الدار.

alHurmah sraj aldar.

A woman is the light of home.

40- كما حريم دو عن.

kama Harym Dw?an.

As Dawa'n's females.

41- كم من قصة خير من لحية.

kam mn qssah kheir mn lHyah.

Some blazes are better than beards.

42- قبصة حشيمة.

qabSat Hashymah.

A pinch of a polite woman.

# 2.3 Women's Beauty

43- خذ لك من دهامير النساء.

khuth lak mn dahamyr alnsa'.

Marry a tall woman.

44- بيضاء وزادت صرصت.

baiDa' wa zadat SarraSat.

She is white and she removed her face hair.

#### **3NEUTARL IMAGES:**

# 3.1 The Preference of Endogamy and Establishing Affinity

45- الطريق ولو دارت وبنت العم ولو جارت.

alTaryq walaw darat wa bint al?am walaw jarat. The safe way, even long, is good , and your cousin will support you even if she oppresses you.

mn tzawwaj me gheir jnsah Zalam nafsah.

If a man married not from his tribe, he oppresses himself.

47- لا تاخذ حرمة نعلها بعير.

la takhuth hurmah na?lha b?yr.

Don't marry a woman whose shoes are a camel.

48- الحريم مقربات الأباعد.

alHarym mqerrebat alaba?id.

Women bring strangers close.

49- النساء مقربات البعد.

alnsa' mqribat albu?d.

women bring strangers close.

# 3.2 Traditions

50- العروس ما تغني.

al?ruus ma tghanny.

The bride does not sing.

# Appendix B: The Interview Questions

Hello!

We are really delighted that you have accepted to take part in this research which aims to analyze the representation of women in Hadhrami proverbs. Therefore, you are kindly requested to answer all the questions as honestly as possible. The participants' identity will be kept anonymous.

- 1. There are some Hadhrami proverbs reflect negative representations about women, e.g. "Taking woman's opinion will bring you troubles". To what extent do you agree with these proverbs?
- a. I strongly agree b. I agree c. neutral
- d. I disagree e. I strongly disagree
- 2. Do these proverbs reflect the reality of women?
- 3. What are the reasons behind these negative images?
- 4. To what extent does the society contribute in inculcating such images?
- 5. Do women contribute in using and reflecting these proverbs?
- 6. What do you think about those proverbs which compare women to animals, e.g. "four women have a mind of a single sheep, and the sheep is crazy"?
- 7. Is the notion of preferring boys to girls dominant in the Hadhrami society?
- 8. Several proverbs tend to degrade women's values revealing that women derive their strength from men, e.g. "a woman without a man is like cows without cords". Do you agree with this theme?
- 9. Can men be replaced in these proverbs instead of women?

Thank you for your cooperation

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# صورة المرأة في مختارات من الأمثال الحضرمية

سميحة أحمد بن سلمان

خالد يسلم بلخشر

# الملخص

تستهدف هذه الدراسة تسليط الضوء على صورة المرأة في الأمثال الحضرمية، وقد بنيت على فرضية أن المرأة قد صورت بشكل سلبي ينتقص من قدرها في هذه الأمثال وذلك بسبب شوفينية الرجل في المجتمع الحضرمي، لهذا اعتمدت الدراسة على تحليل عينة من الأمثال لتبيان الصورة التي ظهرت المرأة فيها. كما عمدت الدراسة إلى تقصي موقف الشباب من الجنسين في حضرموت من هذه الصورة السائدة وكشف المسببات التي تقف خلف هذا الموقف السلبي من المرأة. خلصت الدراسة إلى جملة الاستخلاصات التي حددت أنماط هذه الصورة ودرجة السلب فيها مع القليل من الإيجابية التي ظهرت فيها صورة المرأة. توزعت الدراسة على أربعة فصول: الأول فيه عرض لأهم المصطلحات والدراسات ذات العلاقة، الثاني :يشرح الطرق والمنهجية المتبعة في التحليل، الثالث: يحلل الأمثال بناء على نتائج الأسئلة التي اعتمدتها الدراسة مبينا نتائجها، بينما الرابع (الأخير) فيوجز النتائج التي وصلت إليها الدراسة.