"Politics is not a Spectator Sport": Proverbs in the Personal and Political Writings of Hillary Rodham Clinton

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ABSTRACT. Hillary Rodham Clinton is a thoughtful proverbial stylist in her books *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* (1996), *Living History* (2003), and *Hard Choices* (2014). Just as other politicians, she too has attempted to formulate concise statements that have the possibility of becoming familiar quotations and perhaps even proverbs. Being a world traveler she has picked up foreign proverbs which she incorporates into her communications with appropriate introductory formulas. But she also draws special attention to English language proverbs, changing some of them to expressive anti-proverbs. She appreciates the fact that the complex interplay of proverbs and political language is of great importance as she writes to communicate her thoughts on American political history and the future role that the United States might play in the world. In doing so, she does not employ proverbs as an ideological instrument but rather as a linguistic tool to enhance her often quite factual prose with vivid metaphors. Looking at her instantiation of proverbs shows the fundamental polysituativity, polyfunctionality, and polysemanticity of proverbs in actual contexts. Each proverb occurrence offers new insights into her being, her reflections, and her aspirations for herself and for her country. Whatever one might think of her political agenda, she most certainly has proven herself to be an engaged and experienced leader in the United States and on the world stage.

KEYWORDS: Hillary Rodham Clinton, democracy, government, political rhetoric, women.

The well-known American proverb "Politics make strange bedfellows" (1832) and such modern proverbs as "Politics is a contact sport" (1960; Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 472; Shapiro 2006: 618) and "In politics perception is reality" (1961) from the United States can all serve to describe the sociopolitical endeavors of Hillary Rodham Clinton (born October 26, 1947), who has dedicated her life since her student years to government service of various types. If there is one person in North America who definitely has the experience and qualifications to become the next President of the United States, then Hillary Clinton would have to be that woman at this time. But politics is a fickle business with constant changes and surprises as characterized by yet another relatively new American proverb:

"A week is a long time in politics" (1961; Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 203 and 274). Her present campaign to become the first female president of the nation is riddled with ups and downs, and it is indeed a wide open question who might be elected President of the United States in November of 2016. Certainly Hillary Clinton has earned her stripes to be a highly qualified candidate. This is not the place to analyze her endless list of accomplishments. It must suffice to mention but a few highlights from an impressive career as a public servant. She was educated at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, where she received her Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science in 1969. She went on to study law at Yale University and started her successful career as a lawyer in 1973. She married her fellow law student Bill Clinton in 1975 and became the First Lady of Arkansas from 1979–1981 and 1983–1992 while her husband was the governor of that state. From 1993–2001 she was the First Lady of the United States, while Bill Clinton served his two terms as President. From 2001–2009 she was the first female United State Senator from the state of New York. After having lost her first presidential bid to President Barack Obama, he chose her as the 67th United State Secretary of State, a clear indication of the high esteem that he had for this formidable woman. After having served in this significant position from 2009–2013 during Obama's first term, she resigned in order to begin preparing for her second attempt to become President of the United States in her own right.

Next to Eleanor Roosevelt, the socially engaged and strong-willed wife of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Hillary Clinton has proven herself to be an outspoken, independent, powerful, and at times aggressive proponent of health care, an empathetic advocate for children and families, and above all a dedicated champion of women throughout the world. A public figure of her stature and strength could, of course, not avoid controversies, of which at least some have been the result of scandals brought about by the questionable behavior of her husband. But she too has had her personal crises stemming from financial dealings, the questions remaining about the attack on the American Embassy at Benghazi, and lately her inappropriate use of a personal e-mail account to conduct the at times confidential business of the State Department. During investigations of issues like these she has at times given the impression of not being cooperative or forthcoming, and her flippant or even sarcastic responses have not endeared her to considerable segments of the population. Once, when her professional ethics as a lawyer were most likely unfairly questioned, she fired back on March 16, 1992, in a way that has reached a certain quotational status: "I could have stayed home, baked cookies and had teas, but what I decided was to fulfill my profession, which I entered before my husband was in public life" (Brock 1996: 265; Knowles 1999: 221; Burrell 2001: 31; Shapiro 2006: 159). While she was asserting the right for herself and for all women

to have a professional career, she was at the same time offending those women who were proud of being homemakers caring for large families. Without wanting to antagonize certain segments of the population, her remarks often polarize her listeners or readers because of her strained "perseverance rhetoric", with "endurance having always been a key component of Clinton's fighting style" (Spiker 2009: 109).

But speaking of rhetorical style (see Bowers and Ochs 1971; Burgchardt 1995; Elspaβ 2002 and 2007), it must be said that the numerous books and articles written about the successes and failures of this unique public figure say basically nothing about her effective use of language, with Julia A. Spiker's essay "It Takes a Village to Win: A Theoretical Analysis of 'Hillary for President'" (2009) being a valuable exception. She points out that Hillary Clinton uses "literal language almost exclusively" in her various speeches for the sake of precision and correctness at the expense of emotional vividness (Spiker 2009: 102). In fact, "her rhetoric demonstrates competence, knowledge of the complex nature of serious issues, a clear and consistent message ('I am a problem-solver'), and direct, strong language with few embellishments or emotional entanglements" (ibid: 102). All of this means that Clinton employs only "the rare metaphor" (ibid: 103) in her speeches, and it thus should not come as a surprise that she uses proverbial language only sparingly in her addresses, a fact that distinguishes her greatly from the proverbial rhetoric by Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Harry S. Truman, Martin Luther King, and her friend Barack Obama (Mieder 2000, 2001, 2009, 2010, 2014a; Mieder and Bryan 1997). The lack of proverbial metaphors in her speeches appears to be a conscious choice by Hillary Clinton, who has stated that she wants her speeches to be "accessible to the broadest possible audience" and "simple and direct" (Clinton 2014: 579). Especially in her role as Secretary of State it was important for Clinton to be precise when dealing with foreign leaders for whom English is a foreign language. Proverbial expressions could easily be misunderstood or not understood at all, and thus it might be best to speak in straightforward English: "It's easy to get lost in semantics, but words constitute much of a diplomat's work, and I knew they would shape how the rest of the world received our agreement and how it was understood on the ground in Syria" (ibid: 458). In any case, Clinton is well aware of the importance of language in sensitive political communications: "Words matter, and words from an American President [Bill Clinton] carry great weight around the world" (Clinton 2003: 457). Not surprisingly then, she spends much time on writing and editing her speeches with the help of speechwriters: "The speech team still had work to do. We were on our fifth or sixth draft" (ibid: 302). Here is how she recalls getting ready for her speech on August 28, 2008, at the Democratic National Convention in Denver, Colorado, nominating Barack Obama to be the democratic candidate for the Presidency of the United States:

> For as many speeches as I'd given, this was a big one, in front of a huge audience in the arena and millions more watching on TV. I have to admit I was nervous. I tinkered with the speech right up until the very last minute, so that when my motorcade arrived one of my aides had to leap out of the van and sprint ahead to hand the thumb drive to the teleprompter operator. The Obama campaign had asked to see it much earlier, and when I didn't share it, some of his advisors worried I must be hiding something they wouldn't want me to say. But I was simply using every second I had to get it right. (Clinton 2014: 9)

"Getting it right" can stand for Hillary Clinton's obsession with perfection, but as my own analysis of several of her major addresses has collaborated, this aspect of her oral rhetoric prevents her from emoting naturally. Interestingly but not surprisingly then her speeches are lacking in the vividness and expressiveness that a more conscious reliance on proverbial metaphors would add to her intelligent and well-intended messages.

Things are completely different when it comes to the at times passionate and certainly emotional as well as natural style of her books. The "cool" or "icy" and certainly intellectual Hillary Clinton is perfectly capable of letting her official hair down, to put it proverbially. And yes, her books show Hillary Clinton to be quite the proverbialist. Her first book *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* (1996), written with the help of Georgetown journalism professor Barbara Feinman (Olson 1999: 277–279; Andersen 2004: 145–146), made the Best Seller list of *The New York Times*, and it shows Clinton's concern for and commitment to all aspects of child raising, especially the matters of health care, proper treatment, and education. Her next two books are of less consequence to this investigation of her proverbial language. There is the splendidly documented children's book *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy. Kids' Letters to the First Pets* (1998) about the cat and dog of the Clinton family in the White House, followed by her richly illustrated coffee-table book *An Invitation to the White House. At Home with History* (2000). Then came her autobiography *Living History* (2003) on whose pages Clinton found her personal voice filled with facts, stories, dreams, anxieties, joys, emotion, passion, and much more. The book was favorably received and translated into twelve languages and provided a telling glimpse into the life of one of America's leading women politicians. When her book *Hard Choices* (2014) appeared some eleven years later, the reaction was not as positive to this account of her work as the Secretary of State. To some readers and critics it was too self-serving in its prose, although it must be admitted that it too is written in a lucid, informed, and vivid style. From a proverbial point of view, the three major books are deserving of a closer look, especially since the reviewers and critics of the books pay no attention to paremiological matters that are part of their personal and historical significance.

As can be seen from comments that Hillary Clinton has made in her books and speeches about the influence of her parents on her own outlook on life, they definitely instilled proverbial wisdom in her during the formative years as a young girl that she adheres to with fond and appreciative memory of them to this day. Her father, Hugh Ellsworth Rodham (1911–1993), was a conservative Republican and built a successful small textile business, with her more liberal mother Dorothy Emma Howell (1919–2011) being an efficient homemaker who took care of the family that includes Hillary's brothers Hugh and Tony. As church-going Methodists they instilled solid Puritan ethics in their children that included proverbs cited as signs and strategies for a successful and responsible life (Burke 1941; Seitel 1969; Arthurs 1994). As Hillary Clinton recalls in her first book: "My parents drilled into my brothers and me that familiar refrain 'Sticks and stones may break my bones, but words will never hurt me' and the advice to 'take a deep breath and count to ten' to give us ways to avoid hostile confrontation" (*It Takes a Village* = V, 178). In her autobiography she recalls: "I think if my father and mother said anything to me more than a million times, it was: 'Don't listen to what other people say. Don't be guided by other people's opinions. You know, you have to live with yourself.' And I think that is good advice" (*Living History* = L, 226). Indeed, the American proverb "You have to live with yourself" (1902) has been a guiding principle for Clinton as she maneuvers her private life, that of her family, and her public persona through the political waters that often find her between the proverbial rock and a hard place.

Her father played the traditional patriarchal role in the family, as she explains with the obvious proverb to describe the situation: "I grew up in a cautious, conformist era in American history. But in the midst of our *Father Knows Best* upbringing, I was taught to resist peer pressure. My mother never wanted to hear about what my friends were wearing or what they thought about me or anything else. 'You're unique,' she would say. 'You can think for yourself. I don't care if everybody's doing it. We're not everybody. You're not everybody'" (L, 14). And here is yet another proverbial string by her practical mother: "Mom measured her own life by how much she was able to help us and serve others. I knew if she was still with us, she would be urging us to do the same. Never rest on your laurels. Never quit. Never stop working to make the world a better place. That's our unfinished business" (*Hard Choices* = H, 589). Even in her all-important Campaign Launch Speech of June 13, 2015, she remembered her mother fondly, crediting her for her own strength of character and will power:

> I certainly haven't won every battle I've fought. But leadership means perseverance and hard choices. You have to push through the setbacks and disappointments and keep at it. I think you know by now that I've been called many things by many people – "quitter"

> is not one of them. Like so much in my life, I got this from my mother. <...> I can still hear her saying: "Life's not about what happens to you, it's about what you do with what happens to you – so get back out there." (Clinton 2015a)

Little wonder that the thankful daughter also writes that "Sometimes Mother knows best too!" (V, 14). It is doubtful that the knowledgeable Hillary Clinton knew that the proverb "Mother knows best" (1871) was formed as an anti-proverb to the American proverb "Father knows best" that was coined in 1870, originally meant ironically, by the admired feminist Susan B. Anthony (Mieder 2014a: 172; Mieder 2015: 104 and 171).

Her father also "bombarded" his children with proverbial insights, often telling them "'When you work, work hard. When you play, play hard. And don't confuse the two'" (V, 15). As with her mother's teachings, she remembers her father's proverbial advice with the wisdom of experienced hindsight:

> I'm sure I inherited my [monetary] concerns from my notoriously frugal father, who made smart investments, put his kids through college and retired comfortably. My dad taught me how to follow the stock market when I was still in grade school and frequently reminded me that "money doesn't grow on trees." Only through hard work, savings and prudent investing could you become financially independent. (L, 86)

But the most impressive testimony to her dad's proverbial prowess is the chapter title "The Best Tool You Can Give a Child Is a Shovel" (V, 135) in her book *It Takes a Village*. It is a Rodham family proverb of sorts, as Hillary Clinton points out in the introduction to her book: "It is about giving our children the skills they need to overcome adversity and to 'shovel their way out from under whatever life piles on.' It's my father's metaphor. Whenever I got stuck, he would say, 'Hillary, how are you going to dig yourself out of this one?'" (V, xvii). In the chapter itself, she writes:

> My father's approach [to character building] was vintage Hugh Rodham. When I was facing a problem, he would look me straight in the eyes and ask, "Hillary, how are you going to dig yourself out of this one?" His query always brought to mind a shovel. That image stayed with me, and over the course of my life I have reached for mental, emotional, and spiritual shovels of various sizes and shapes – even a backhoe or two. (V, 136–137)

With such proverbial preoccupation it can hardly be surprising to find the following folkloric observation in this very book: "The lessons men and women have learned over thousands of years are available to anyone, in the form of fables, stories, poems, plays, proverbs, and scriptures that have stood the test of time" (V, 137).

And Hillary Clinton is even somewhat of a phraseographer, cutting out passages, quotations, and other memorable statements and putting them "in a little book of sayings and Scriptures that I keep" (V, 166). It would be good to get to see the entries of that book one of these days, but it is to be assumed that some of the familiar quotations and proverbs to be discussed here might well be included in this personal treasure.

Speaking of Scriptures, it is clear that Hillary Clinton is a religious person solidly informed by the Bible: "I had read my Bible and other books about religion and spirituality" (L, 267). She is a church-going Methodist, she takes part in prayer meetings, and she remembers "an old saying from Sunday school: Faith is like stepping off a cliff and expecting one of two outcomes – you will either land on solid ground or you will be taught to fly" (L, 494). She also remembers the proverbial exaggerations and Biblical phrases employed by her sixth-grade teacher to get her young pupils motivated: "If we were sluggish in responding to her questions, she said, 'You're slower than molasses running uphill in winter.' She often paraphrased the verse from Matthew [5:15]:'Don't put your lamp under a bushel basket, but use it to light up the world'" (L, 15). The Biblical call for love of other human beings has touched her deeply, as can be seen from the following two statements based on the Bible proverbs "Love your neighbor as yourself" (Galatians 5:14) and "Love your enemies" (Matthew 5:44):

> Learning to live affirmatively begins with the way we feel about ourselves. Children who grow up thinking of their own lives in positive terms are more likely to value the lives of others as well. Religious teachings remind us that we are to love others as we love ourselves. Loving oneself is not a matter of narcissism or egocentrism; it means respecting yourself and feeling affirmed in your identity. (L, 172)

> It is not always easy to live what we believe, however. For example, while I believe there is no greater gift that God has given any of us than to be loved and to love, I find it difficult to love people who clearly don't love me. I wrestle nearly every day with the biblical admonition to forgive and love my enemies. (L, 166)

But it is the so-called "golden rule" imperative that informs Hillary Clinton's personal and political ethics, just as it has been a guidepost for President Barack Obama' worldview (Mieder 2014b: 172–197). And both of them know that the proverb "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" (Matthew 7:12) is known in variants in all the major religions of the world (Hertzler 1933–1934; Griffin 1991: 67–69; Burrell 1997: 235–240; Templeton 1997: 8–12). It continues to encapsulate the most basic ethical law for the modern age of globalization (Mieder

2014b: 204 and 222). Always interested in the children of the world, Clinton writes: "I wish more churches – and parents – took seriously the teachings of every major religion that we treat one another as each of us would want to be treated. If that happened, we could make significant inroads on the social problems we confront" (L, 164; Kengor 2007: 111–112). And that people really get the message, she chose Barbara Reynold's aphorism "The Golden Rule does not mean that gold shall rule" (L, 265) as a motto for a chapter on "Every Business Is a Family Business" (L, 265–279). After all, it is the humanitarian engagement rather than the mercantile successes that make the world a better place for humankind.

As can be seen from these examples of Bible proverbs, Hillary Clinton does not necessarily cite them verbatim, perhaps in order to avoid an overemphasis of religious didacticism. After all, most of her listeners and readers will recognize the underlying proverbial message in these allusions. This is also the case when she simply alludes to folk proverbs, but in her two employments of the classical proverb "Nature passes nurture" she might have gone a bit too far away from its recognizable wording: "It is increasingly apparent that the nature-nurture question is not an 'either / or' debate so much as a 'both / and' proposition" (V, 50) and "Cream will rise to the top no matter what we do, so let nature take its course and forget about nurture" (L, 227). Notice that the second example includes the proverb "Cream will rise to the top", making this statement a powerful claim. But here then are a few more contextualized examples where Clinton does not cite the proverbs in their standard wordings or structures that are cited in italics:

> *Children are our future.*
> It is often said that children are our last and best hope for the future, and that if we want society to evolve, we must teach the next generation the importance of active citizenship. Teaching children how to become good citizens and giving them an appreciation of governance is another way to elicit their natural empathy, compassion, idealism, and thirst for service. (V, 183–184)

> *You can't go home again.*
> A month after school [Wellesley College] started, I called home collect and told my parents I didn't think I was smart enough to be there. My father told me to come on home and my mother told me she didn't want me to be a quitter. After a shaky start, the doubts faded, and I realized that I really couldn't go home again, so I might as well make a go of it. (L, 27–28)

> *Don't kick a fellow when he is down.*
> Bill [Clinton] was raised by his mother to believe that you don't hit people when they're down, that you treat your adversaries in life or politics with decency. (L, 211)

Every cloud has a silver lining.
With his skeptical views about politics and people, [Dick] Morris served as a counterweight to the ever optimistic Bill Clinton. Where Bill saw a silver lining in every cloud, Morris saw thunderstorms. (L, 251)

If life hands you lemons, make lemonade.
I told the President [Barack Obama] that if the votes for action against Syria were not winnable in Congress, he should make lemonade out of lemons and welcome the unexpected overture from Moscow. (H, 468)

The perfect is the enemy of the good.
The Chinese weren't giving an inch; neither were the Indians and Brazilians. Some of the Europeans were letting the perfect be the enemy of the good – and the possible. We emerged, frustrated and tired, sometime around 2:00 in the morning, still without an agreement. (H, 498)

What is good for Main Street is good for Wall Street.
As a former senator from New York, I know firsthand the role that Wall Street can and should play in our economy, helping main street grow and prosper, and boosting new companies that make America more competitive. (Clinton 2015b; speech on "Economic Vision" on July 13, 2015, at the New School in New York City)

The last example is of special interest, since this socioeconomic proverb originated only in 1995 based on the proverb "What is good for general Motors is good for America" from 1953. It was subsequently popularized by President Barack Obama in various speeches, and perhaps Hillary Clinton picked it up from him. In any case, as this reference and also such proverbs as "Children are our future" (1920), "You can't go home again" (1940), and "If life hands you lemons, make lemonade (1910)" indicate, this astute woman is perfectly attuned to the world of modern proverbs (see Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 38, 123, and 140).

Hillary Clinton does not refer to her former boss in this speech on her "Economic Vision" since she obviously wants to campaign for the presidency on her own terms and not by way of a lame-duck president with plenty of problems primarily due to the uncooperative Republican-controlled Congress. However, she does enjoy citing familiar quotations from well-known figures, with some of them having gained a proverbial status by now (Boller 1967). It might perhaps again be surmised that some of these "proverbial quotations" are to be found in that "little book of sayings":

James Carville (1992; U.S. political consultant)
I don't think Bill [Clinton] expected that health care reform would become a cornerstone of his campaign. After all, James Carville's famous war room slogan was "It's the economy, stupid." (L, 115, see also p. 379; Shapiro 2006: 138)

Samuel Johnson (1763; English man of letters)
There's a similar thought attributed to Dr. Samuel Johnson by [James] Boswell: "Sir, a woman preaching is like a dog's walking on its hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all." (L, 190; Shapiro 2006: 402)

Harry S. Truman (no date; U.S. President)
It's often said that the President has the loneliest job in the world. Harry Truman once referred to the White House as "the crown jewel in the American penal system." (L, 223)

Mark Twain (1903; U.S. writer)
One day, I was persuaded to try a round of golf with Bill [Clinton], whose leg had healed enough to permit a return to his favorite pastime. Frankly, I don't like golf. And I'm a terrible player. I side with Mark Twain: "Golf is a good walk spoiled." (L, 415; Shapiro 2006: 782, attributed to Mark Twain)

Nelson Mandela (no date; South African president)
"But if our expectations, if our fondest prayers and dreams are not realized," he [Mandela] said, "then we should all bear in mind that the greatest glory of living lies not in never falling, but in rising every time you fall." (L, 480)

John F. Kennedy (1961; U.S. President)
Diplomacy would be easy if we had to talk only to our friends. That's not how peace is made. Presidents throughout the Cold War understood that when they negotiated arms control agreements with the Soviets. As President Kennedy put it, "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate." (H, 163–164; Shapiro 2006: 421)

Yitzhak Rabin (no date; Israeli prime minister)
I hope that one day the constituencies for peace among both peoples [Palestinians and Israelis] would grow so strong and loud that their leaders would be forced to compromise. In my head I heard the deep and steady voice of my slain friend Yitzhak Rabin: "The coldest peace is better than the warmest war." (H, 330; for proverbs on war and peace see Mieder 2014b: 230–258)

> Hafez Ibrahim (no date; Egyptian poet)
> I quoted the Egyptian poet Hafez Ibrahim, who wrote, "A mother is a school. Empower her and you empower a nation," and I talked about my own experiences with all-women's education at Wellesley [College]. (H, 354)

> Barack Obama (2009; U.S. President)
> In his first inaugural address, President Obama had told Iran and other pariah states that we would "extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your first." (H; 434, see also p. 54; Mieder 2009: 143)

The most interesting proverbial quotation is the well-known feminist claim that "A woman is like a teabag. You never know how strong she is until she's in hot water." Together with many others, Hillary Clinton strongly believes that it originated with Eleanor Roosevelt – humanitarian and diplomat as well as wife of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt – as can be seen from these comments in her autobiography *Living History* and her later book *Hard Choices*:

> One dreary November morning, I stopped by my office after a meeting with Bill [Clinton] in the Oval Office and glanced at the framed photograph of Eleanor Roosevelt displayed on a table. I am a huge fan of Mrs. Roosevelt, and I have long collected portraits and mementos from her career. Seeing her calm, determined visage brought to mind some of her wise words: "A woman is like a teabag," Mrs. Roosevelt said: "You never know how strong she is until she's in hot water." It was time for another talk with Eleanor. (L, 258)

> At times when I felt daunted by the scope of challenges we were trying to overcome, I often found myself looking for comfort to a portrait of Eleanor Roosevelt that I kept in my office. The examples she set as a fearless First Lady and a courageous fighter for human rights inspired and fortified me. <...> Eleanor's language of "full participation [of women]" <...> has always resonated with me. So have many of her other words. "A woman is like a teabag," she once observed wryly. "You never know how strong she is until she's in hot water." I love that and, in my experience, it's spot on. (H, 564)

As her short book chapter on "Conversations with Eleanor" (L, 258–267) illustrates, Hillary Clinton does indeed have somewhat of a mystical relationship to this exemplary woman with whom she carries on short imaginary conversations to gain strength and courage in moments of anxieties and disappointments (Sheehy 1999: 261–262; Bernstein 2007: 239240; Gerth and van Natta 2007: 148). There is no doubt that these two strong women are kindred spirits and that they were the two most actively involved First Ladies who also had to deal with the infidelity

of their presidential husbands. But alas, Eleanor Roosevelt did not originate this proverbial quotation and neither did the unlikely Nancy Reagan, the trim and proper wife of President Ronald Reagan (Shapiro 2006: 629). It has simply become attached to Eleanor Roosevelt's name, as is the case with many other proverbs that have been attributed to historical persons without any proof (Taylor 1931: 34–43). In fact, the earliest evidence of the possible origin of the phrase is from the 1915 *Times-Picayune* newspaper in Seattle, Washington, referring only to tea and surprisingly to men:

> "Men are like tea."
> "How so?"
> "Their real strength is not drawn out until they get into hot water."

In 1958 a reference with "tea bags" appeared referring to both men and women: "People are like tea bags. They never know their strength until they get into hot water." Finally, in 1963, a variant with "women" appeared: "Women are like tea-bags – they don't know their strength until they are in hot water." But as phrase sleuth Ralph Keyes had to conclude after tracing the expression by way of numerous historical references, there is absolutely no evidence that Eleanor Roosevelt ever used it at all (Keyes 2013; I also acknowledge the help of my friend Charles Clay Doyle with this matter).

This quite naturally leads these deliberations to memorable quotations by Hillary Clinton herself. Just as all politicians, she too has attempted to formulate concise statements that have the possibility of becoming familiar quotations and perhaps even proverbs. For now they might be considered pseudo-proverbs:

> Service is not a one-way street. (Foss 1999: 228; comment during a White House ceremony on National Youth Service Day on April 20, 1993)

> If women and girls don't flourish, families won't flourish. And if families don't flourish, communities and nations won't flourish. (Foss 1999: 274; remark celebrating the 75th anniversary of the ratification of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on August 26, 1995, at Grand Teton National Park, Wyoming)

> There is no such thing as other peoples' children. (Rawson and Miner 2006: 109; Clinton in *Newsweek*, January 15, 1996)

> Every child needs a champion. (V, 25, chapter title; see also V, 41)

> Security takes more than a blanket. (V, 117, chapter title)

Every business is a family business. (V, 265, chapter title)

Where women prosper, countries prosper. (Foss 1999: 209; speech on March 27, 1996, at Istanbul, Turkey)

In other words: Aid is a bridge to trade. (Clinton 1997: 46)

Honor the past, imagine the future. (Clinton 1998: 195 and 201; L, 461)

Silence is not spoken here. (L, 268, chapter title; see also L, 286)

Yet the most famous remark which has become quotational if not proverbial is certainly "Human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights" (H, 585). By now it has been entered without context in books of famous quotations (Foss 1999: 124; Bartlett 2012: 864), but here is what Hillary Rodham Clinton as an effective advocate for women's rights worldwide actually said at the end of a powerful anaphora during a major address at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women on September 5, 1995, at Beijing, China:

It is a violation of *human* rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.
It is a violation of *human* rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution.
It is a violation of *human* rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.
It is a violation of *human* rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.
It is a violation of *human* rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes.
It is a violation of *human* rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.
It is a violation of *human* rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.
If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference, it is that human rights are women's rights – and women's rights are human rights. Let us not forget that among those rights are the right to speak freely – and the right to be heard.
Women must enjoy the right to participate fully in the social and political lives of their countries if we want freedom and democracy to thrive and endure. <...>
Let this Conference be our – and the world's – call to action. (Clinton 1995: 5–7)

This important speech "meant the world" – to put it proverbially – to Hillary Clinton, as can be seen from remarks in her book *Hard Choices* some twenty years later:

> I wanted to push the envelope as far as I could on behalf of women and girls. I wanted my speech to be simple, vivid, and strong in its message that women's rights are not separate from or a subsidiary of the human rights every person is entitled to enjoy. <...>
> The heart of the speech was a statement that was both obvious and undeniable but nonetheless too long unsaid on the world stage. "If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference," I declared, "let it be that human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights, once and for all." <...>
> My speech ended with a call for all of us to return to our countries and renew our efforts to improve educational, health, legal, economic, and political opportunities for women. When the last words left my lips, the delegates leaped from their seats to give me a standing ovation. As I exited the hall, women hung over the banisters and raced down escalators to shake my hand.
> My message had resonated with the women in Beijing, but I could never have predicted how far and wide the impact of this twenty-one-minute speech would stretch. For nearly twenty years women around the world have quoted my words back to me, or asked me to sign a copy of my speech, or shared personal stories about how it inspired them to work for change. (H, 560–561)

Indeed, especially the statement about human rights also being women's rights deserves to be quoted, remembered, and adhered to as a piece of quintessential wisdom. The entire speech showed Clinton's fighting spirit which on a personal level could also be seen in her first attempt to become the first woman president during the presidential campaign of 2008. She did lose that hard-fought political battle to Barack Obama, but even as the loser, she rose to the occasion of endorsing Obama to be the next President in her speech of June 7, 2008, that ended her own Presidential campaign. Clearly this was a difficult and emotional speech for her, but the fighter in her was not lost, and she took the opportunity to make a powerful statement on behalf of women by making use of the proverbial expression "to break through the glass ceiling", with the metaphor of the "glass ceiling" referring to "an invisible barrier on the career ladder that some employees, in particular women and members of minority groups, find they can see through but which they cannot surmount" (Room 2000: 282). In this speech, "Clinton's rhetoric transcended her standard issue-listing, problem-solving structure. <...> It soared above her previous rhetoric in that it incorporated the powerful metaphor of 'light shining through,' offering hope. She redefined her efforts and those efforts of her supporters as putting 'eighteen million cracks' in the glass ceiling, the ultimate

metaphor signaling the societal limitations on women with power" (Spiker 2009: 111–112; see also Kornblut 2009: 11):

> Although we [primarily her women supporters] weren't able to shatter the highest, hardest glass ceiling this time, thanks to you, it's got about 18 million cracks in it. And the light is shining through like never before, filling us all with the hope and the sure knowledge that the path will be a little easier next time. That has always been the history of progress in America. You will always find me on the front line of democracy – fighting for the future. The way to continue our fight now, to accomplish the goals for which we stand, is to take our energy, our passion, our strength and do all we can to help elect Barack Obama the next President of the United States. (H, 6; see also the picture and caption H, 174a)

Not surprisingly, Theodore Sheckels chose the title *Cracked But Not Shattered. Hillary Rodham Clinton's Unsuccessful Campaign for the Presidency* (2009) for his book analyzing what went wrong with Clinton's attempt to become the first woman President. In the meantime, she is continuing her fight for women's rights, working "on a digital 'global review' of the status of women and girls in time for the twentieth anniversary of Beijing in September 2015" (H, 584). Describing this effort, she has returned to the "class ceiling" metaphor:

> Eventually we started calling our initiative No Ceiling: The Full Participation Project. The name was a playful echo of the "18 million cracks in the glass ceiling" that became famous at the end of my Presidential campaign, but it meant much more than that. You didn't have to be at the highest levels of politics or business; women and girls everywhere still faced all sorts of ceilings that held back their ambition and aspirations and made it harder, if not impossible, for them to pursue their dreams. (H, 585; see also Schnoebelen, Carlin, Warner 2009: 45)

In any case, it remains to be seen, whether Hillary Clinton will be able to break through "The Last Glass Ceiling" (Allen and Parnes 2013: 379) as the title of a recent book chapter suggests. Whether it will be she in 2016 or another deserving woman, the time has surely come to elect a woman President of the United States:

> Decades ago, Hillary's heroine Eleanor Roosevelt offered the following wisdom: "Some day, a woman may be president. <...> I hope it will only become a reality when she is elected as an individual because of her capacity and the trust which the majority of the people have in her integrity and ability as a person." Eleanor Roosevelt is waiting. (Gerth and van Natta 2007: 346)

And Hillary Clinton has learned well from her soul-mate Eleanor Roosevelt, declaring already in a speech on February 23, 2007, at San Francisco: "Although I'm proud to be a woman, I'm not running as a woman candidate" (Gerth and van Natta 2007: 343). This also holds true as she is in the middle of her second attempt to reach the highest political office of the United States. Of course she wants and needs the support of women, but she clearly wants to be the President of many men as well.

Leaving the "glass ceiling" issue aside, there is a second proverbial metaphor that has served Hillary Clinton well on her long and engaged political and social journey. It all has to do with the proverbial title of her extremely successful first book *It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* (1996) that begins with a chapter also entitled "It Takes a Village' (V, 1–11). A few pages into it, she makes the following comments around the proverb "It takes a village to raise a child" that encapsulates the entire thrust of this book on the raising and educating of children. As can be seen from her remarks, she very astutely incorporates the village with its familial and social structures, traditions, and values as a small place into the nation as a whole, and beyond that into the world. After all, the child of today is a citizen not only of a particular village or country but of the interconnected world:

> Children exist in the world as well as in the family. From the moment they are born, they depend on a host of other "grown-ups" – grandparents, neighbors, teachers, ministers, employers, political leaders, and untold others who touch their lives directly and indirectly. Adults police their streets, monitor the quality of their food, air, and water, produce the programs that appear on their television, run the businesses that employ their parents, and write the laws that protect them. Each of us plays a part in every child's life: It takes a village to raise a child.
>
> I chose that old African proverb to title this book because it offers a timeless reminder that children will thrive only if their families thrive and if the whole of society cares enough to provide for them. <...>
>
> In earlier times and places – and until recently in our own country – the "village" meant an actual geographic place where individuals and families lived and worked together. <...> For most of us, though, the village doesn't look like that anymore. <...> The horizons of the contemporary village extend well beyond the town line. From the moment we are born, we are exposed to vast numbers of other people and influences through radio, television, newspapers, books, movies, computers, compact discs, cellular phones, and fax machines. Technology connects us to the impersonal global village it has created. <...>
>
> The sage who first offered that proverb would undoubtedly be bewildered by what constitutes the modern village. <...> The village can no longer be defined as a place on

> a map, or a list of people or organizations, but its essence remains the same: it is a network of values and relationships that support and affect our lives. (V, 5–7; see also V, 11)

The supposedly African proverb caught on quickly in the United States and beyond by way of Clinton's book, as she herself describes it in the 10th anniversary edition of her book in 2006:

> This small book with the bright, whimsical jacket provided endless opportunities for headline writers, who have come up with such variations as "It Takes a Village to Have a Parade!," "It Takes a Village to Build a Zero Waste Community," and, my all-time favorite, "It Takes a Village to Raise a Pig." More significantly, the book helped to initiate conversations about how parents and the greater community – the village – all shape the lives of children. People took its message to heart. During my travels as First Lady, several people told me that their PTA [Parent-Teacher Association] had adopted "It takes a village" as a slogan to encourage more community involvement. At a children's hospital, I saw staff wearing buttons that said: "This is the village that takes care of children." I got off a plane in Asmara, Eritrea, on an official trip to Africa and was greeted by a large group of women with a colorful painted sign: YES, IT REALLY DOES TAKE A VILLAGE. (V, xiii; the sign is also mentioned in L, 405)

Clinton shows herself as a folklorist or paremiologist here, noting how a proverb can be changed into effective anti-proverbs and slogans. Above all, of course, she sees deep wisdom in the proverb: "The African proverb 'It takes a village to raise a child' summed up for me the commonsense conclusion that, like it or not, we are living in an interdependent world where what our children hear, see, feel, and learn will affect how they grow up and who they turn out to be. The five years since 9/11 [the World Trade Center disaster of 2001] have reinforced one of my main points: How children are raised anywhere can impact our lives and our children's futures" (V, xii). Owing to her celebrity status, the proverb has become attached to her name by now (Rawson and Miner 2006: 109; Bartlett 2012: 864), but alas, as she herself states, it was not coined by her but neither is it an African proverb, even though a somewhat similar Swahili proverb "One hand (person) cannot bring up (nurse) a child" has been located (Nnaemeka 2000: 1; Shapiro 2006: 529; Mieder 2014b: 201). Rather, "It probably is of American coinage, with Toni Morrison's related statement during a 1981 interview hardly qualifying as the first use of the actual proverb: 'I don't think one parent can raise a child. I don't think two parents can raise a child. You really need the whole village'. It is, however, of interest that the next appearance of the proverb in 1984 relates back to this very interview: As author Toni Morrison has said, it takes a village to raise a child, not one parent,

not two parents, but the whole village'. It was popularized by way of Jane Cowen Fletcher's young adult novel It *Takes a Village* (1993), where Yemi tries to watch her little brother Kokou on market day in a small village in Benin and finds that the entire village is watching out for him as well" (Mieder 2014b: 202; see also Shapiro 2006: 529; Speake 2008: 336). Be that as it may, all of this, also the fact that Toni Morrison is a well-known African-American writer, might have led Hillary Clinton erroneously to conclude that she was using an African proverb. Clinton cites the proverb numerous times in *Living History* (see L, 263, 291, 311, 320, 330, 375), with one reference in particular standing out that relates to her own family, their beloved daughter Chelsea, and to be sure to children in general. It was the crescendo of her major address at the Democratic National Convention on August 27, 1996, at Chicago that handed Bill Clinton the nomination for his second term as the President of the United Sates:

> For Bill and me, there has been no experience more challenging, more rewarding and more humbling than raising our daughter. And we have learned that to raise a happy, healthy, and hopeful child, it takes a family. It takes teachers. It takes clergy. It takes businesspeople. It takes community leaders. It takes those who protect our health and safety. It takes all of us.
>
> Yes, it takes a village.
>
> And it takes a President.
>
> It takes a President who believes not only in the potential of his own child, but of all children, who believes not only in the strength of his own family, but of the American family.
>
> It takes Bill Clinton. (L, 376)

Clinton obviously likes the proverb, as can also be seen from the first sentence of "Acknowledgments" (L, 533–538) at the end of her autobiography *Living History*: "This book may not have taken a village to write, but it certainly took a superb team, and I am grateful to everyone who helped" (L, 533). Politics, books, and speeches aside, the proverb is a guidepost for her personal life as a mother and now as a proud grandmother. She refers to this close family bond often, and she is definitely justified in merely citing the first half of the proverb that has become so well known in a relatively short time due to her belief in its universal wisdom.

When she used this proverb the first time in 1996 in her book *It Takes a Village*, she employed it with the introductory formula "that old African proverb" (V, 5), thereby adding authoritative expressiveness to the proverb even though she was wrong about its origin. Being the world traveler that she has been as First Lady and Secretary of State, she has picked up foreign proverbs which she enjoys to

incorporate into her communications with appropriate introductory formulas. While she obviously cites them in English translation, these proverbs add considerable cultural and historical value to her statements. Naturally she has friends, colleagues, speechwriters, and others to help her with these proverbial bits of wisdom, but her effort in this regard, especially during her four years as Secretary of State, are most certainly appreciated. But as the first two examples show, she also uses proverbs from other languages to reflect on her own life and thoughts:

> Let Us Build a Village Worthy of Our Children. (chapter title)
> A civilization flourishes when people plant trees under whose shade they will never sit. Greek proverb (motto for this chapter) (V, 295)

> "What you don't learn from your mother, you learn from the world" is a saying I once heard from the Masai tribe in Kenya. By the fall of 1960, my world was expanding and so were my political sensibilities. (L, 16)

> The Chinese have an ancient saying, that women hold up half the sky, but in most of the world, it's really more than half. Women handle a large share of responsibility for the welfare of their families. Yet their work often goes unrecognized and unrewarded inside the family or by the formal economy. These inequities are starkly visible in South Asia, where more than half a billion people live in grinding poverty – the majority of them women and children. (L, 269; see also L, 460)

> A week later I went to the Asia Society in New York to deliver my first major address as Secretary on our approach to the Asia-Pacific. Orville Schell, the Asia Society's silver-haired China scholar, suggested that I use an ancient proverb from Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* about soldiers from two warring feudal states who find themselves on a boat together crossing a wide river in a storm. Instead of fighting, they work together to survive. In English the proverb roughly translates as, "When you are in a common boat, cross the river peacefully together." For the United States and China, with our economic destinies bound up together in the middle of a global financial storm, this was good advice. My use of the proverb was not lost on Beijing. Premier Wen Jiabao and other leaders referenced it in later discussions with me. (H, 46–47; see also H, 70)

> If I had seen the worst of humanity on this trip [to Africa], I had also seen the best, especially those women who, after they had recovered from being raped and beaten, went back to the forest to rescue other women left to die. During my trip to the DRC [Democratic Republic of Congo], I heard of an old African proverb: "No matter how long the night, the day is sure to come." These people were doing their best to make that day come faster, and I wanted to do all I could to help. (H, 282)

> I knew that flickers of progress [in Burma] could easily be extinguished. There is an old Burmese proverb: "When it rains, collect water." This was the time to consolidate reforms and lock them in for the future, so that they would become ingrained and irreversible. (H, 117)

Of course, well educated as Hillary Clinton happens to be, she feels at ease to cite a well-known classical Latin proverb in its original tongue, adding the English version of the proverb just to make sure that the wisdom is not lost: "All children, especially in today's stressful world, need the joyful release of free play as well as healthful exercise. *Mens sana in corpore sano*, the ancients advised, and it still holds true – a strong mind in a strong body" (V, 108). And not surprisingly she also enjoys referring to English proverbs abroad to bring alive her own culture, as in this comment with its "inspiration" anaphora during her visit of South Africa on her extended trip to Africa in 1997:

> Today, we Americans find inspiration in the generous and forgiving spirit that has won you this democracy. We find inspiration in the democratic institutions that have come to light here in just a few years. We find inspiration in your progressive new constitution, which is being distributed around the country this week, and especially in the rights it enshrines for women and children. We find inspiration in the work you are undertaking in every sector of society to build your new nation. We have an old saying in America that "idle hands are the devil's work[shop]." From what I have seen in just a few short days, the devil will have no help here. South Africa is a country that is to busy to hate. (Clinton 1997: 8)

Clearly Hillary Clinton is tuned into proverbs, recalling even those she picked up during the years that Bill Clinton was Governor of Arkansas. Here she is showing herself as somewhat of an ethnographer, folklorist, and paremiologist:

> Sure enough, the "vast conspiracy" line got [Kenneth] Starr's attention. He took the unusual step of firing off a statement complaining that I had cast aspersions on his motives. He called the notion of a conspiracy "nonsense." As they say in Arkansas, "It's the hit dog that howls." My comment seemed to have touched a nerve. (L, 446)

But here are a few more references where Clinton employs English language proverbs by directly calling attention to them with introductory formulas that help to strengthen the proverbial point she wishes to make. In the first example she even declares her "love" for a particular proverb! No proverb scholar could ask for more:

> There's an old saying I love: You can't roll up your sleeves and get to work if you're still wringing your hands. So, if you, like me, are worrying about our kids; if you, like me,

have wondered how we can match our actions to our words, I'd like to share with you some of my convictions I've developed over a lifetime – not only as an advocate and a citizen but as a mother, daughter, sister, and wife – about what children need from us and what we owe to them. (V, 10)

But we have also tried to teach her [their daughter Chelsea], as we were taught, that service is a part of daily life – as the saying goes, the rent we pay for life. There is no shortage of needs waiting to be met. (V, 182)

I will never forget the mother of the boys as she testified on their behalf. Fierce as a lioness defending her cubs, she denied – in the face of overwhelming evidence – that her sons were the vandals. They couldn't be, she explained, because she had quit work and stayed home to raise them. (That was the first time I really understood the meaning of the saying "Denial ain't just a river in Egypt"!) (V, 196; denial = dialect for the Nile river)

There used to be this old saying that the lie can be halfway around the world before the truth gets its boots on. Well, today, the lie can be twice around the world before the truth gets out of bed to find its boots. (Foss 1999: 153; comment at a press conference on February 11, 1998, at the White House)

Both [Yitzhak and Leah] Rabins were realistic about the challenges that lay ahead for Israel. They believed they had no choice but try to achieve a secure future for their nation through negotiations with their sworn enemies. Their attitude called to mind the old saying "Hope for the best, plan for the worst." That was also Bill's and my assessment. (L, 184–185)

You have to do the research and run the numbers; that's how we minimize risk and maximize impact. And these days we keep statistics on everything we care about from RBIs [runs batted in] in baseball to ROI (returns on investment] in business. There's a saying in management circles: "What gets measured gets done." So if we were serious about helping more girls and women achieve their full potential, then we had to get serious about gathering and analyzing the data about the conditions they faced and the contributions they made. (H, 570)

But here is a splendid account of how the English proverb "The proof of the pudding is in the eating" was used in a diplomatic exchange between Hillary Clinton as Secretary of State and two foreign ministers regarding sanctions for Iran:

When we spoke afterward, the Foreign Ministers of Brazil and Turkey both tried to sell me on the merits of the deal. They reported on their tough eighteen-hour negotiations and tried to convince me that they had succeeded. I think they were surprised that their

> triumph was being greeted with such skepticism. But I wanted to see action from Iran, not more words. "We have a saying that the proof is in the pudding," I told [Celso] Amorim [from Brazil]. "I agree that the tasting of the pudding is key, but there must be time to get the spoon out and have time to try it," he replied. To that I replied, "This pudding has been in for over a year now!" (H, 431)

If proof were needed that proverbs continue to play an important role in the modern age – that proverbs are indeed never out of season (Mieder 1993) – then this exchange can serve as such. But that the strategic and indirect use of the metaphorical proverb succeeded is in large part due to Minister Amorim's solid knowledge of the proverb, since Hillary Clinton truncated it by leaving out the "eating" or "tasting" part as added by Amorim. Clearly though, the proverb gave the diplomats an opportunity to communicate by way of indirection, one of the major functions of proverbs in actual communicative contexts.

However, proverbs don't necessarily need statements to introduce them, and Hillary Clinton is perfectly aware of that. Following the pseudo-proverbial chapter title "Security Takes More Than a Blanket" (V. 117) that is based on a child's "security blanket", she simply adds a well-known proverb stated twice, remembering it from a line in *The Wizard of Oz*: "There's no place like home ... there's no place like home" (L, 117; see also V, 118). She also uses the proverb "Seeing Is Believing" (L, 249) as yet another straight-forward chapter heading. And here is an example where she actually cites a scientist using the proverb "Use it or lose it" that at first glance appears to be a modern proverb but that actually dates back to 1838:

> As neuroscientist Bob Jacobs says, the bottom line is: "You have to use it or you lose it." If we think of the brain as our most important muscle, we can appreciate that it requires activity in order to develop. Just as babies need to flex their arms and legs, they also need regular, varied stimulation to exercise all the parts of their brains. (V, 48)

There is also a fascinating paragraph that concludes with the non-descript proverb "Easier said than done". But in its context, it becomes a very honest conclusion to comments and reflections by Hillary Clinton regarding the many attacks and the considerable criticism that she has had to bear during decades of political service:

> Some of the attacks, whether demonizing me as a woman, mother and wife or distorting my words and positions on issues, were politically motivated and designed to rein me in. Others may have reflected the extent to which our society was still adjusting to the changing roles of women. I adopted my own mantra: Take criticism seriously, but not personally. If there is truth or merit in the criticism, try to learn from it. Otherwise, let it roll right off you. Easier said than done. (L, 110; see also H, 95)

Of course, as one would expect, she also cites the proverb "All men are created equal" and the proverbial triad "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" from the *Declaration of Independence* (1776), something that is literally expected and followed by all American politicians reaching her level of national achievement (Fields 1996: 3–4; Burrell 1997: 249; Aron 2008: 91–96; Melton 2008: 64–65). While she does not quote them in customary unison, she places the well-known proverbial claims into two separate paragraphs dealing with different issues. In the first case, she reports on Eleanor Roosevelt's greatest achievement in helping to draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that was finally adopted by the UN General Assembly on December 10, 1948, after close to two years of intense negotiations in her international committee:

> They discussed, they wrote, they revisited, revised, and rewrote. They incorporated suggestions and revisions from governments, organizations, and individuals around the world. It is telling that even in the drafting of the Universal Declaration there was a debate about women's rights. The initial version of the first article stated, "All men are created equal." It took women members of the Commission, led by Hansa Mehta of India, to point out "all men" might be interpreted to exclude women. Only after long debate was the language changed to say, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. (H, 565)

That expanded gender free formulation is most appropriate, but it might be pointed out here that the American feminist Elizabeth Cady Stanton had already stated in the "Declaration of Sentiments" at the start of the women's rights movement on July 19, 1848, at Seneca Falls, New York, that "All men and women are created equal" (Mieder 2014a: 65–74). One wonders whether Eleanor Roosevelt and the other members of the commission were aware of this. The same is true for Hillary Clinton, who unfortunately mentions Stanton and her feminist friend Susan B. Anthony only in passing as she recalls her visit to the Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls and her speech there in July of 1999 (see H, 462–463). Had Hillary Clinton known about the significant change to Jefferson's male-oriented proverbial claim of equality she would almost certainly have mentioned it at Seneca Falls or in conjunction with her statement just cited.

The second reference is less complex, but Clinton's comments on the three basic rights of all human beings is a proverbial reminder of the important role that government must play in making certain that they are achieved and maintained:

> When we're reminded of the bounty and protection we enjoy, most of us are grateful. Our gratitude has its roots in a view of government that dates back to the Pilgrims and to the successive waves of immigrants who came to the country seeking religious and political freedom and better economic opportunities. In this view, government is an instrument both to promote the common good and to protect individuals' rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. (V, 284)

All of this brings to mind a second important proverbial triad from American political history, namely the ultimate short definition of democracy: "Government of the people, by the people, [and] for the people". It originated in the late 18th century and became established by its occurrence in the speeches and writings of President John Adams, Chief Justice John Marshall, Daniel Webster, and the abolitionist preacher Theodore Parker in the first half of the 19th century. Then Abraham Lincoln immortalized it in the American psyche by concluding his famous *Gettysburg Address* of November 19, 1863 with these words: "<...> that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom – and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth" (Mieder 2005: 15–55). There are still High School students in America today who memorize the entire address as it was quite common in earlier times (Safire 1978: 256–257). Perhaps Hillary Clinton was one of them, but the governmental triad does not appear in her own prose of her five books. However, in her book *An Invitation to the White House. At Home with History* she recalls that in 1997 and 1998 President Bill Clinton and she as the First Lady welcomed leaders from China to the White House as an attempt to improve relations between the two countries: "I will never forget Premier Zhu Ronji of China recalling in his toast that he had memorized the Gettysburg Address as a schoolboy. He recited a section from memory, including the phrase "of the people, by the people, for the people' – a hope we hold for the Chinese people" (Clinton 2000: 61). There can be no doubt that this event touched a nerve among the diplomatic and governmental dignitaries at the White House, and it is yet another proof that proverbs uttered at the right moment can be a most effective tool for international relations and understanding (Raymond 1956; Pei 1969: 101–110).

The proverbial wisdom from the *Declaration of Independence* and also most of the proverbs used by Hillary Clinton are of considerable age. In fact, she herself quite often uses the adjective "old" in her introductory formulas to add a traditional and authoritative claim to them. But this is not to say that she is not thoroughly aware and ingrained in modern proverbs (20th century) as well! Here is a selection of contextualized references with the proverbs' dates of origin in parentheses (see Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012 for more information):

Three strikes and you're out. (1901)
The 1994 Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act banned nineteen types of military-style assault weapons whose only purpose is to kill people and it stopped the revolving door of career criminals with its "three strikes and you're out" provision. (V, 126)

A candle loses nothing of its light by lighting another candle. (1918)
Childhood Can Be a Service Academy. (chapter title)

A candle loses nothing of its light by lighting another candle. James Keller. (motto for this chapter) (V, 171)
[Clinton assumes that the proverb stems from the American priest and broadcaster James Keller (1900–1977), but the proverb predates him.]

Don't ask, don't tell. (1993)
After both the House and Senate [of Congress] expressed their opposition by veto-proof margins, Bill [Clinton] agreed to a compromise: the 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' policy. Under the policy, a superior is forbidden to ask a service member if he or she is homosexual. If a question is asked, there is no obligation to answer. But the policy has not worked well. (L, 241)

The devil is in the details. (1963)
Of course, in politics, as in life, the devil is in the details. The details of welfare reform or budget negotiations were hard fought and difficult and sometimes resembled a Rubik's Cube more than an isosceles triangle. (L, 290; see also L, 323)

The buck stops here. (1942)
But as I knew from history and my own experience, the sign on [President] Harry Truman's desk in the Oval Office was correct: the buck did stop with the President. (H, 22; Mieder 1997: 96–98)

Don't worry, be happy. (1908)
But it was George Shultz who gave me the best gift of all: a teddy bear that sang "Don't Worry, Be Happy" when its paw was squeezed. I kept it in my office, first as a joke, but every so often it really did help to squeeze the bear and hear that song. (H, 31)
[Clinton is referring to the 1988 hit song "Don't Worry, Be Happy" by Bobby McFerrin. (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 282)]

Trust but verify. (1966)
I called key Senate Republicans, who told me they didn't trust the Russians and worried the United States would not be able to verify compliance [to the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty]. I explained that the treaty gave us mechanisms to do just that and if the Russians didn't live up to their word, we could always withdraw. I reminded them that even President Reagan, with his philosophy of "trust but verify," had signed disarmament agreements with the Soviets. And I stressed that time was of the essence. (H, 234)
[The proverb is often attributed to Ronald Reagan, even though he stated that he had learned it as a Russian proverb from Mikhail Gorbachev. (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 264; for such political maxims see Titus 1945)]

These examples, as others before them, show the polyfunctionality of proverbs. For example, the second to the last reference about the teddy bear and the proverb "Don't worry, be happy" shows the supposedly cool, reserved, and tense Hillary Clinton from a more humane and emotive side. And she definitely also has a sense of humor, as can be seen in her use of the modern proverb "Life is like a box of chocolates" in a skit that she prerecorded for fun to entertain Washington journalists and politicians at the annual Gridiron dinner at which she could not be present because she was traveling in South Asia. The proverb originated in the popular film *Forrest Gump* (1994), where it appears as "Life is a box of Chocolates, Forrest. You never know what you're going to get" (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 143):

> As the tape rolled, a white feather drifted out of a blue sky and landed in front of the White House near a park bench, where I, Hillary Gump, sat with a box of candy on my lap.
> "My mama always told me the White House is like a box of chocolates," I said in my best Tom Hanks [the main actor in the movie] imitation. "It's pretty on the outside, but inside there's lots of nuts." (L, 287)

The humor of the dialogue results from the double meaning of the word "nut" as a fruit kernel and as a fool or even crazy person. Surely the guests enjoyed this humorous self-characterization of the White House, including Bill and Hillary Clinton, as ridiculous people. This yearly event of humor and satire is a splendid opportunity to release tension, stress and at times ill-will among the various constituencies in Washington, D.C.

But speaking of a sense of free expression by way of proverbial humor, it should also be noted that Hillary Clinton understands the communicative value of anti-proverbs (Mieder 2004: 28). In her acclaimed book *It Takes a Village* she begins three chapters with anti-proverbial titles. Her anti-proverb "No Family Is an Island" (V, 13) is based on the proverb "No man is an island" that appears first in 1624 in John Donne's works; "An Ounce of Prevention Is Worth a Pound of Intense Care" (V, 99) connects Benjamin Franklin's proverb "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" from 1735, based on the shorter English proverb "Prevention is better than cure" from 1732, with America's concern about national health care; and Clinton's "Child Care Is not a Spectator Sport" (V, 207) clearly has its connection to the modern proverb "Life is not a spectator sport" from 1958. Things are not so obvious with her statement "High expectations begin at home" (V, 228), but she might have had the proverb "Charity begins at home" from the 14th century in mind. And there is also the following humorous account relating to Hillary Clinton's difficulties with appropriate hairdos:

> We [Bill and Hillary Clinton and traveling companions] also scheduled some necessary R&R [rest and recreation]. We visited the Great Barrier Reef while we were in Australia after stops in Sydney and Canberra. At Port Douglas, Bill announced American support for the International Coral Reef Initiative, to stem the erosion of reefs around the world, and then we took a boat out to the reef in the Coral Sea. I was anxious to get into the water. "C'mon [Come on] you guys!" I said to my staff. "Life is too short to worry about getting your hair wet!" (L, 386)

The underlying structure of such modern proverbs as "Life is too short to waste it sleeping" (1944), "Life is too short to wait for someday" (1969), and "Life is too short to drink bad wine" (1985) might well have been the basis for her playful remark (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 144–145). In any case, her manipulations of proverbs add an innovative aspect to her prose style, and there is no reason why an anti-proverb as "No family is an island" should not become a proverb in its own right.

In conclusion, it can be said that while Hillary Clinton is perhaps not as proverbial in her verbal political rhetoric as such major sociopolitical American figures as Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Harry S. Truman, Martin Luther King, and Barack Obama, she certainly relies on proverbs (and more so on proverbial expressions) in her three major books *It Takes A Village*, *Living History*, and *Hard Choices*. As is the case with the other Americans just mentioned, she is aware of the fact that the "practical wisdom, practical knowledge, practical reason, [and] practical judgment" (Nichols 1996: 687) expressed in proverbs is of definite use in bringing across her personal and political agenda. She also seems to appreciate the fact that the complex interplay of proverbs and political language (see Louis 2000) is of great importance as she writes to communicate her thoughts on American political history and the future role that the United States might play in the world. In doing so, she does not employ proverbs as an ideological instrument but rather as a linguistic tool to enhance her often quite factual prose with vivid metaphors. Looking at her instantiation of proverbs shows once again the fundamental polysituativity, polyfunctionality, and polysemanticity of proverbs in actual contexts (Mieder 2004: 9). Each proverb occurrence offers new insights into her being, her reflections, and her aspirations for herself and for her country. Whatever one might think of her political agenda, she most certainly has proven herself to be an engaged and experienced leader in the United States and on the world stage. The modern proverb "Life is not a spectator sport" from 1958 holds absolutely true for her, but so does the anti-proverb "Politics is not a spectator sport" from 1963 that encourages citizens everywhere to play an active and responsible role in supporting democracies as Hillary Rodham Clinton has done throughout her lifetime.

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„Politika nėra akiai malonus sportas“: patarlės asmeniniuose ir politiniuose Hillary Rodham Clinton raštuose

WOLFGANG MIEDER

Santrauka

Jei Šiaurės Amerikoje šiuo metu yra žmogus, tikrai nestokojantis patirties ir įgūdžių tapti kitu Jungtinių Amerikos Valstijų prezidentu, tai turėtų būti Hillary Clinton. Kaip ir Eleanor Roosevelt, visuomeniška ir valinga prezidento Franklino Delano Roosevelto žmona, H. Clinton jau įrodė esanti tiesmuka, nepriklausoma, stipri, o kartais – net agresyvi kovotoja už sveikatos apsaugą, aistringa vaikų ir šeimų teisių gynėja, o labiausiai – atsidavusi viso pasaulio moterų atstovė. Ji turi didžiulę politinę patirtį: yra buvusi pirmąja Jungtinių Valstijų ponia savo vyro, Billo Clintono, prezidentavimo metais, Niujorko valstijos senatore ir valstybės sekretore valdant prezidentui Barackui Obamai. Ji geba įtaigiai ir aiškiai reikšti mintis tiek kalbėdama, tiek rašydama. Nors oficialiose, dalykinėse H. Clinton kalbose ir nėra daug metaforų, trijų didžiausių jos knygų (*It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us* [Reikia viso kaimo, arba Ko mus moko vaikai], 1996, *Living History* [Gyvoji istorija], 2003) ir *Hard Choices* [Sunkūs sprendimai], 2014) stilius yra natūralesnis – gana emocingas ir kone aistringas. Patarlių vartosenos požiūriu šias knygas verta panagrinėti įdėmiau, ypač turint omenyje, kad nei recenzentai, nei kritikai neatsižvelgė į jų paremiologinius aspektus, sudarančius nemenką asmeninio ir istorinio šių tekstų reikšmingumo dalį.

H. Clinton užaugo namuose, kur ir tėvas, ir motina dažnai vartojo patarles, norėdami perteikti gyvenimo išmintį dukteriai – kad ji užaugtų išsilavinusi, savarankiška ir būtų sėkmės lydima. Jos knygose esama ištisų pastraipų, kur prisimenamos tokios jai vaikystėje dažnai kartotos patarlės, kaip „Lazda ar akmuo gali sulaužyti kaulus, bet žodžiai niekad neužgaus“, „Reikia gyventi santarvėje su savimi“ ar „Pinigai ant medžių neauga“. Savo pačios dėmesį vaikams ir šeimai ji išreiškia patarlės leitmotyvu – „Reikia viso kaimo, kad užaugintum vaiką“: ši patarlė ne tiktai tampa vienos jos knygos pavadinimu, bet dažnai kartojama ir kitose knygose bei kalbose. Mėgsta ji ir biblinius posakius, kaip antai: „Mylėk savo artimą kaip save patį“ (Gal 5:14), „Mylėkite savo priešus“ (Mt 5:44), kurie aiškiai buvo religinio jos auklėjimo dalis. H. Clinton apskritai domisi kalbos formulėmis ir jas kaupia „posakių ir citatų knygelėje“.

Galbūt vengdama pernelyg įkyraus religinio ar pasaulietiško pamokslavimo, H. Clinton nebūtinai kaskart pažodžiui cituoja biblinius posakius ar liaudies patarles. Šiaip ar taip, dauguma jos klausytojų ar skaitytojų geba ir iš užuominų atpažinti paslėptą patarlės prasmę, ypač kai remiamasi tokiais moderniais posakiais, kaip „Vaikai yra mūsų ateitis“, „Namo nesugrįši“ ar „Jei gyvenimas pakiša tau citrinų, pasidaryk limonado“. Norėdama užbaigti ginčą ar pagrįsti kokį nors teiginį, H. Clinton irgi mielai pasitelkia patarles; pavyzdžiui, pabrėždama savo feministinį požiūrį, ji sako, kad „Moteris panaši į arbatos maišelį. Nesužinosi, kokio ji stiprumo, kol nepamerksi į verdantį vandenį“. Kaip ir daugelis kitų, H. Clinton neabejoja, kad šio posakio autorė – E. Roosevelt, tačiau iš tiesų tas pasakymas yra daug senesnis ir tik vėliau buvo jai priskirtas.

Kaip ir visi politikai, H. Clinton ne kartą bandė suformuluoti lakių frazių, galinčių tapti visuotinai vartojamais posakiais ar net patarlėmis. Kol kas tokius pasakymus galime laikyti pseudopatarlėmis, pavyzdžiui: „Tarnystė – tai dvipusio eismo gatvė“, „Už kiekvieną vaiką reikia kovoti“, „Gerbkime praeitį, galvokime apie ateitį“, jau nekalbant apie „firminį“ jos pareiškimą: „Žmogaus teisės yra moters teisės, o moters teisės yra žmogaus teisės.“

Nenuostabu, jog kalbėdama apie moteris, įsitvirtinančias profesijose, kurios anksčiau buvo prieinamos tik vyrams, ji metaforiškai nusako šį reiškinį žinomu posakiu „pramušti stiklines lubas“.

Būdama pirmoji ponia, o vėliau – valstybės sekretorė, H. Clinton apvažiavo visą pasaulį ir svetimose šalyse taip pat prisirankiojo patarlių, kurias labai mėgsta vartoti savo kalbose, prieš

tai atitinkamai apibūdindama. Aišku, pačias patarles vartoja išverstas į anglų kalbą, tačiau jos vis tiek gerokai praturtina jos kalbas kultūriniu ir istoriniu požiūriu. Pavyzdžiui: „Kinijoje nuo seno sakoma, kad moterys laiko pusę dangaus, tačiau iš tiesų daug kur pasaulyje jos laiko daugiau nei pusę“; „Esu girdėjusi seną Afrikos patarlę: *Kad ir kokia ilga būtų naktis, diena vis vien išauš*“; „Yra tokia sena Birmos patarlė: *Kai lyja, kaupk vandenį.*“ Tačiau ypatingą dėmesį H. Clinton skiria angliškoms patarlėms, aiškiai parodydama, kad vartoja jas labai sąmoningai – tam, kad pagrįstų savo pastebėjimus daugelio kartų išmintimi. Antai pirmajame iš toliau pateikiamų pavyzdžių ji netgi deklaruoja savo išskirtinę „meilę“ vienai patarlei! Kiekvienas patarlių tyrėjas turėtų būti patenkintas aptikęs tokius žodžius: „Yra toks senas posakis, kuris man ypač brangus: *Negali atsiraitęs rankoves kibti į darbą, jei vis dar grąžai iš sielvarto rankas*“; „Juk nuo seno sakoma, kad melas spės pusę pasaulio apibėgti, kol teisybė apsiaus batus“; „Jų elgesys man priminė seną posakį: *Tikėkis geriausio, o ruoškis blogiausiam.*“ Žinoma, gimtosios kalbos patarlių nereikia specialiai pristatinėti, tad daugelyje H. Clinton parašytų tekstų jos vartojamos natūraliai – kaip komunikacijos proceso dalis. Kaip tik taip ji cituoja „Nepriklausomybės deklaraciją“, kad „visi žmonės iš prigimties lygūs“, bei kitas nuo seno puikiai žinomas patarles, tačiau sykiu labai stengiasi parodyti, kad išmano ir dabar populiarius posakius, atspindinčius modernybės realijas, kaip antai: „ Atsipūsk ir nesijaudink“; „Gyvenimas – kaip šokoladinių saldainių dėžutė“; „Velnias slypi smulkmenose“.

Puikiai išmanydama patarles, H. Clinton net pati sukuria antipatarlių, kad pabrėžtų savo teiginius ar išvadas, pavyzdžiui: „Nė viena šeima nėra sala“ – pagal posakį „Joks žmogus nėra sala“; „Vaikų auginimas nėra akiai malonus sportas“ – kaip „Gyvenimas nėra akiai malonus sportas“.

Žinoma, šioje esė visi pavyzdžiai aptariami ir interpretuojami atitinkamuose kontekstuose, aiškiai parodant, kad patarlės yra svarbi H. Clinton retorinės meistrystės dalis. Nors savo politinėje retorikoje ji veikiausiai ir nėra tokia patarlių meistrė kaip kai kurie kiti garsūs Amerikos visuomenės veikėjai, pavyzdžiui, Abrahamas Lincolnas, Frederickas Douglassas, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Harry S. Trumanas, Martinas Lutheris Kingas ar Barackas Obama, savo knygose ji akivaizdžiai pasikliauja patarlėmis (ar netgi labiau – patarlių tipo posakiais). Kaip ir kiti ką tik išvardyti Amerikos veikėjai, ji puikiai suvokia, kad gyvenimo išmintis ir žinios, perteikiamos patarlėmis, gali labai pagelbėti įteigiant auditorijai pačiai H. Clinton asmeniškai ar politiškai svarbius dalykus. Atrodo, kad savo raštuose dėstydama mintis apie politinę Amerikos istoriją bei būsimą Jungtinių Valstijų vaidmenį pasaulyje, H. Clinton išties atsižvelgia ir į didžiulę sudėtingos patarlių ir politinės retorikos sąveikos svarbą. Tiesa, patarlės jai yra ne ideologinis instrumentas, o veikiau kalbinė priemonė, skirta taikliomis metaforomis pagyvinti šiaip jau gana sausą, dalykišką jos stilių. Žvelgiant į aktualiąją patarlių vartoseną jos raštuose, dar kartą tenka įsitikinti, kokiose skirtingose ir daugialypėse situacijose, įvairiomis funkcijomis ir prasmėmis gali būti pasitelkiamos patarlės. Kiekviena savitai pavartota patarlė leidžia geriau pažinti H. Clinton asmenybę, jos mąstymą bei tikslus, keliamus sau ir savo šaliai. Kad ir ką manytume apie šios moters politinę veiklą, ji neginčytinai įrodė esanti aktyvi ir patyrusi lyderė – tiek Jungtinių Valstijų, tiek pasauliniu mastu.

Iš anglų kalbos vertė *Lina Būgienė*

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