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**UNVEILING STIGMA: EXPLORING THE DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS OF
YEMENI-ARABIC PROVERBS AND SAYINGS ON INDIVIDUALS WITH
DISABILITY**

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Abstract: This study investigates the stereotypical representations and psychological implications of Yemeni-Arabic proverbial language that describes persons with disabilities, examining how such expressions become normalized as tools of “wisdom” in everyday discourse. While Classical and Modern Standard Arabic possess a rich lexicon for praising perfection, many vernacular proverbs and sayings associate physical, mental, and sensory impairments with imperfection. Adopting a qualitative approach based on cognitive semantic analysis, the study examines a corpus of 71 Yemeni proverbs collected from publicly available compilations, with a detailed analysis of 15 representative examples. The analysis demonstrates how disability is metaphorically employed to signify weakness, incompetence, misfortune, or irrationality, reflecting deeply rooted cultural conceptualizations. Through repeated use, these expressions are normalized as embodiments of collective wisdom, rendering their stigmatizing meanings socially acceptable and often invisible. However, growing sociolinguistic awareness and the promotion of inclusive language challenge the assumed wisdom of such expressions by emphasizing that no inherent connection exists between disability and imperfection. While many individuals with disabilities actively contribute to their communities, stigmatizing proverbial language may still produce psychological harm and reinforce negative social attitudes. The study highlights the need for greater linguistic awareness in Yemeni society and calls for critical reflection on everyday expressions that shape perceptions of disability and influence social inclusion.

Keywords: Yemeni-Arabic proverbs, disability, stigma, cognitive semantics, normalization, inclusive language.

INTRODUCTION

Language is a powerful social tool that shapes attitudes, beliefs, and patterns of behaviour within a community. Through everyday expressions, societies transmit cultural values, shared knowledge, and collective perceptions of social groups. In Arabic-speaking societies, proverbial language occupies a central place in everyday communication, often functioning as a repository of collective wisdom and cultural experience. While Arabic possesses a rich vocabulary and rhetorical tradition that celebrates excellence and perfection, many standard and non-standard Arabic varieties in Yemen employ proverbs and sayings that associate disability with imperfection.

Over time, such expressions have become normalized in everyday discourse, and individuals who employ them are frequently perceived as knowledgeable or wise. However, the metaphorical use of disability in proverbial language may also reinforce negative stereotypes and stigmatizing perceptions toward individuals with physical, mental, or sensory impairments. In recent years, growing sociolinguistic awareness and the promotion of inclusive language have highlighted the problematic nature of linking disability with deficiency or imperfection.

The present study examines selected Yemeni-Arabic proverbs and sayings that reference disability. Drawing on collections of Yemeni proverbial literature available in online sources, the study applies a cognitive semantic approach to analyze the metaphorical meanings embedded in these expressions. Specifically, it explores how such proverbs conceptualize disability, investigates their cultural and social functions, and examines their potential influence on societal attitudes toward individuals with disabilities.

The global movement toward disability rights has gained increasing recognition in recent decades, particularly following the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD, 2006). This international framework emphasizes the importance of dignity, equality, and full participation of persons with disabilities in all aspects of social life. Despite these global efforts, individuals with disabilities continue to face significant social, economic, and cultural barriers in many parts of the world.

In the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, disability remains a widespread social concern. According to UNICEF (2022), approximately 21 million people with disabilities live in the region. In medical and social research, disability is commonly categorized into sensory impairments, intellectual disabilities, and psychiatric disorders, distinguishing physical sensory loss from cognitive and mental health conditions (Carvill, 2001).

In Yemen, the situation is particularly complex due to prolonged conflict, economic instability, and limited institutional support. Amnesty International (2019), citing data from the World Health Organization, estimates that approximately 4.5 million Yemenis (around 15% of the population) live with some form of disability. However, due to weak data collection systems and the ongoing humanitarian crisis, the actual number is likely higher. A recent study by Millat-e-Mustafa (2025) reported that 3,694 children with disabilities, 35 percent of whom were girls, received support for conditions such as motor impairments, deafness, blindness, and autism spectrum disorder. Despite such efforts, individuals with developmental disabilities in Yemen continue to experience marginalization, limited access to services, and social exclusion. As Gaad and Alborno (2024) note, meaningful inclusion requires going beyond physical access to achieve genuine social participation and a sense of belonging.

Language plays an important role in shaping social perceptions of disability. Arabic, the official language of 26 countries and spoken by more than 420 million people worldwide, coexists with numerous regional dialects that dominate everyday communication. These dialects include slang expressions, idioms, and proverbs that reflect cultural beliefs and social values (Abubakr, 2026).

Among these linguistic forms, proverbs occupy a prominent place in Arabic-speaking societies. Proverbs are widely regarded as repositories of collective wisdom and are frequently used in everyday speech, public discourse, and rhetorical expression. McCarus (1956) notes that proverbs often carry literary and cultural prestige, and individuals who skillfully employ them are frequently perceived as knowledgeable or wise. Similarly, Burckhardt (2005) observes that Arabic proverbs provide valuable insight into Arab perspectives on life, morality, and social relations.

Brosh (2013) further explains that many Arabic proverbs originated in desert communities and reflect the harsh environmental conditions, social competition, and cultural values of early Arab societies.

Historically, Arabic proverbs are commonly classified into three main periods: pre-Islamic (Jahili) proverbs, which emerged before the rise of Islam and reflect the values of tribal society; Islamic proverbs, which developed after the advent of Islam and often draw inspiration from Qur'anic verses and prophetic traditions; and modern (Muwalladah) proverbs, which evolved in later historical periods (Rahim, 2024).

Arabic proverbs address a wide range of themes, including morality, resilience, fate, education, patience, and interpersonal relationships. However, alongside these themes, some proverbs also reflect social biases and cultural stereotypes. As noted by Brosh (2013) and McCarus (1956), certain expressions employ metaphorical references to disability in ways that may reinforce stigmatizing attitudes toward individuals with physical, mental, or sensory impairments.

Recent scholarship has increasingly examined how proverbial and everyday language can encode negative social attitudes toward marginalized groups, including persons with disabilities. Proverbs, often regarded as repositories of cultural wisdom, may also reproduce social stereotypes through metaphorical and figurative expressions.

Karimova, Sauers, and Dakka (2015) conducted a qualitative study of Moroccan popular culture by collecting proverbs and jokes through face-to-face semi-structured interviews. Their findings revealed that Moroccan proverbs frequently reproduce stereotypical images of people with impairments, portraying them as pitiable, laughable, or socially inferior. The study also demonstrated that such representations closely parallel stereotypes documented in Western popular culture.

Similarly, Turmusani (1999) argued that the Arabic language has often functioned as a linguistic mechanism that shapes social perceptions of disability. In his study of language use in Jordan, he showed that a large number of Arabic words,

expressions, and proverbs describing people with impairments carry negative connotations that contribute to discrimination and social marginalization.

Using a different methodological approach, Badr (2021) conducted a critical discourse analysis of Iraqi folk proverbs. Drawing on Van Dijk's socio-cognitive framework, the study analyzed 27 proverbs from major Iraqi proverb compilations and found that many of them encode ideological messages that discriminate against certain social groups, including individuals with disabilities.

This phenomenon is not limited to Arabic-speaking societies. In a study of Hindustani proverbs in North India, Kumar (2013) found that among 127 proverbs referring to disability, approximately 99 percent depicted persons with disabilities negatively. He argues that such expressions represent "the darker side of the worldview" embedded in cultural discourse and reinforced through socially accepted linguistic practices (Kumar, 2013, p. 262).

Comparable findings have also been documented in other linguistic contexts. Yaralı Akkaya (2018), examining Turkish proverbs and idioms, showed that language can function as a mechanism for the "otherization" of individuals with disabilities. The study revealed that Turkish proverbial expressions frequently portray disabled individuals through frames of pity, exclusion, and humiliation, reflecting patterns similar to those observed in Arab, Indian, and Western cultural traditions.

While these studies demonstrate that proverbial language often contains stigmatizing representations of disability, limited research has focused specifically on Yemeni Arabic proverbs. Moreover, previous research has rarely employed a cognitive semantic perspective to examine how metaphorical structures in proverbs conceptualize disability and transmit cultural attitudes. Therefore, the present study seeks to address this gap by analyzing Yemeni-Arabic proverbs through a cognitive semantic framework in order to uncover the conceptual patterns through which disability is represented and socially interpreted.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study investigates Yemeni-Arabic proverbs and sayings that associate imperfection with individuals with disabilities. The research adopts a qualitative research design using cognitive semantic analysis to examine how proverbial language conceptualizes disability and transmits cultural attitudes toward individuals with impairments.

Cognitive semantics, as a field of linguistic study, explores the relationship between linguistic meaning, conceptual structures, and embodied human experience (Ismael, 2020). Building on the work of scholars such as Lakoff (2008), Talmy (2000), and Saeed (2022), this theoretical framework provides analytical tools for examining how language reflects underlying patterns of thought and culturally shared conceptualizations. In the context of proverbial language, cognitive semantics is particularly useful for identifying the metaphorical mappings through which physical, mental, and sensory disabilities are used to represent abstract social meanings. Such metaphorical structures may encode culturally shared attitudes, beliefs, and psychological perceptions through figurative language.

The data for this study were drawn from publicly available collections of Yemeni proverbs, including *Al-Amthal Al-Yamaniyah* (Yemeni Proverbs) by Ismael bin Ali Alakwa and *Al-Tharwah al-Yamaniyah min al-Amthal al-Sha'biyah* (The Yemeni Treasury of Folk Proverbs) by Mohamed Al-Adimi. From these sources, a corpus of 71 proverbs and sayings referring to disability was compiled and translated into English for analytical purposes. From this corpus, 15 representative proverbs were selected for detailed analysis in order to illustrate the dominant conceptual patterns present in the broader dataset.

The analytical procedure involved examining the metaphorical meanings embedded in these proverbs and identifying the types of disabilities referenced in them, including physical, mental, and sensory impairments. Through this process, the analysis seeks to uncover how proverbial language encodes stigmatizing representations of disability and how the repeated use of such expressions may contribute to shaping cultural attitudes toward individuals with disabilities within Yemeni society.

Exploring the Detrimental Effects of Yemeni-Arabic Proverbs and Sayings

Some Yemeni-Arabic proverbs and sayings reveal forms of hostility, ridicule, and symbolic harm toward individuals with disabilities. The relationship between language, stigma, and health outcomes has been widely documented in scientific literature. For instance, Volkow, Gordon, and Koob (2021) synthesize research demonstrating that stigma—defined as “negative attitudes toward people based on distinguishing characteristics”—can contribute in multiple ways to poorer social and psychological outcomes.

The present study categorizes Yemeni-Arabic proverbs referring to disability into three main types: physical, mental, and sensory disabilities. Proverbs referring to physical disabilities often draw on bodily impairments such as lameness or monocular vision to symbolize weakness, misfortune, or incompetence. Proverbs related to mental disabilities frequently associate intellectual impairment with irrationality, poor judgment, or lack of understanding. Finally, proverbs referring to sensory disabilities, such as blindness, deafness, or muteness, commonly employ these conditions as metaphors for ignorance, helplessness, or uselessness.

Although these expressions are often presented as forms of traditional wisdom, their repeated use may reinforce negative cultural perceptions about people with disabilities. The metaphorical association of disability with failure, irrationality, or moral deficiency reflects deeper social attitudes embedded in everyday language.

Karimova et al. (2015) demonstrate that cultural discourse frequently reproduces stereotypical representations of people with impairments, portraying them as pitiable, laughable, burdensome, or socially incapable. By applying a cognitive semantic analytical approach, the present study examines how similar patterns emerge in Yemeni proverbial language. This approach enables the analysis of metaphorical structures that encode shared cultural attitudes and conceptualizations about disability.

The chart presented in the following section illustrates how selected Yemeni-Arabic proverbs attribute meanings of wisdom while simultaneously relying on stigmatizing representations of disability. It identifies the types of disabilities referenced, the intended moral lessons conveyed by the proverbs, and the

underlying stigmatizing messages embedded within them. By analyzing these expressions, the study seeks to reveal how everyday proverbial language can contribute to the construction and perpetuation of negative social attitudes toward individuals with disabilities.

No	Translated Proverbs or Sayings	Types of disability	Meanings of wisdom people intend	Stigma unveiled on Individuals with disability
1	"احوج من أعرج لمد ساقه" "He's more in need like the lame to stretch his leg"	person with unilateral leg paralysis	To motivate someone in need to do everything possible to achieve his goal	("the lame") as a metaphor for helplessness and excessive need, reinforcing negative stereotypes about people with disabilities.
2	"الله أعلم بما يصلي الابكم" "God only knows what the muted says in his praying"	Nonverbal, or mute	To describe how people must be secretive and mysterious when it comes to doing their business	portraying a person who is mute as mysterious or unknowable, implying that individuals with speech disabilities cannot express or communicate their thoughts like others.
3	"إذا رايت اعور عبر اقلب حجر" "if you see a one-eyed person passes by, turn up a stone"	person with monocular vision	To avoid bad luck, one should be unpredictable	This dishonours person with monocular vision of having a bad luck. It encourages hostility toward disability as something that deserves ridicule or harm.
4	"الاعور في بلد العميان طرفة" "The one-eyed man in the land of the blind is a curiosity."	person with monocular vision	To show physical uniqueness can sometime work in another worst context	using blindness as a symbol of inferiority, suggesting that people with visual impairments represent a lower standard of comparison.

5	"العاقل من غمزه والمجنون من لمزه" "The wise with a wink, the mad with a slap"	person with an intellectual disability	To praise those people who have fast intellectual perception	portraying mental illness ("the mad person") as someone incapable of understanding and needing harsh treatment, reinforcing negative stereotypes about people with mental disabilities
6	"صاحب الحاجة اعمى" "Whoever in need is always blind"	blindness	To describe how need makes a person venerable	associating neediness with blindness, implying that people with visual impairments are inherently helpless or dependent.
7	"مغنية بجانب أطرش" "Like a good singer next to a deaf man"	individual with a hearing impairment	To make fun of uselessness	using deafness to imply inability to appreciate or respond, suggesting that people who are deaf are incapable of understanding or enjoying music.
8	"عمياء تخضب مجنونه" "A blind woman applying henna to a mad woman"	Blindness & individual with a mental health condition	To ridicule irrationality	linking blindness and mental illness with incompetence, implying that people with disabilities are incapable of performing tasks properly.
9	"الحبة المسوس لها الكيال الأعور" "The rotten wheat seed comes from a one-eyed weigher"	person with monocular vision	To make fun of any source of badness	associating disability (the one-eyed weigher) with dishonesty or poor judgment, implying that people with disabilities are less capable or trustworthy.
10	"جزار اعور" "One-eyed butcher"	person with monocular vision	To ridicule talentless people in their craft.	implying that a one-eyed butcher is less skilled or unreliable, reinforcing the stereotype that

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				physical disability limits competence.
11	"ما بلاش الا العمى والطراش" "Only blindness and deafness are free."	Blindness & individual with a mental health condition	To ridicule people who like to get things for free.	treating blindness and deafness as burdens or defects, implying that people with these disabilities are inherently disadvantaged or undesirable.
12	"زقمه اعمى" "Caught by a blind man"	blindness	To make fun of people who get caught by disparity	ridiculing people's abilities by comparing them to a blind person, implying that those with visual impairments are inherently incapable or foolish.
13	"الحب الخيش له مشطاط اعمى" "Bad wheat grain has a blind sieve"	blindness	To describe the inevitable result of what begins bad ends badly	linking blindness with poor judgment or failure, implying that people with visual impairments are incapable of doing tasks properly.
14	"كل ذي عاهة شيطان" "Everyone with a disability is a devil"	Any disability	To look down on individuals with disability and associate evil with them	demonizing disability, portraying people with disabilities as evil or morally corrupt, which dehumanizes and marginalizes them.
15	"بخت العور في الدور، والملاح الضياع" "The luck of the one-eyed is to own houses, and the handsome one works on the mountain"	person with monocular vision	To ridicule how luck finds someone and not you	portraying a person with a disability (the one-eyed) as gaining success through luck rather than ability, reinforcing stereotypes that undermine the competence of people with disabilities.

RESULTS

The cognitive semantic analysis of the selected Yemeni-Arabic proverbs reveals that proverbial language conceptualizes disability through metaphorical structures that associate physical, mental, and sensory impairments with negative social meanings. From the corpus of 71 proverbs, a representative sample of 15 was analysed in detail to illustrate the dominant conceptual patterns embedded in Yemeni folk discourse.

The findings indicate that disability in these proverbs functions primarily as a figurative resource for expressing imperfection, incompetence, misfortune, irrationality, or moral deficiency. The proverbs were categorized into three main types of disabilities: physical disabilities (e.g., monocular vision, lameness), mental or intellectual disabilities, and sensory disabilities (e.g., blindness, deafness, muteness). Among these categories, visual impairments appeared most frequently, particularly references to blindness or one-eyed individuals. These conditions are repeatedly employed as metaphors for failure, helplessness, poor judgment, or inferiority.

From a cognitive semantic perspective, the proverbs demonstrate how conceptual metaphors map bodily impairment onto abstract social meanings. For instance, blindness is metaphorically linked with ignorance, helplessness, or incompetence, while intellectual disability is associated with irrationality and the need for punishment or control. Similarly, sensory disabilities such as deafness and muteness are used to symbolize uselessness, secrecy, or lack of awareness. Such metaphorical mappings reflect culturally shared conceptualizations that connect physical difference with social deficiency.

The analysis also reveals that many proverbs contain elements of ridicule, hostility, and dehumanization. Some sayings explicitly portray individuals with disabilities as unlucky, incompetent, or even morally corrupt, as illustrated in proverbs that equate disability with evil or dishonesty. Others normalize subtle forms of ridicule by using disability as a humorous or exaggerated comparison for flawed human behavior.

These findings support previous research suggesting that cultural discourse often reproduces stereotypical representations of people with disabilities (Karimova et al., 2015). Through repeated use in everyday communication, these proverbs reinforce negative social attitudes and contribute to the cultural normalization of ableist perspectives. In line with the observations of Volkow, Gordon, and Koob (2021), such stigmatizing language can indirectly influence social attitudes and potentially affect the wellbeing and social inclusion of individuals with disabilities.

Overall, the results demonstrate that Yemeni proverbial discourse, while traditionally perceived as a repository of cultural wisdom, also serves as a linguistic mechanism that perpetuates stigmatizing conceptualizations of disability.

CONCLUSION

This study examined Yemeni-Arabic proverbs and sayings that associate imperfection with individuals with disabilities through a cognitive semantic analytical framework. By analysing a sample of proverbs drawn from widely recognized Yemeni proverb collections, the research revealed that disability is frequently used as a metaphorical device to represent negative social meanings such as weakness, incompetence, irrationality, and misfortune.

The findings demonstrate that proverbial language reflects deeply rooted cultural conceptualizations in which physical, mental, and sensory impairments are symbolically mapped onto undesirable human characteristics. While these expressions are traditionally regarded as sources of folk wisdom, their metaphorical structures often reinforce stereotypes and stigmatizing perceptions toward people with disabilities.

From a broader sociolinguistic perspective, the study highlights the powerful role of language in shaping cultural attitudes and collective cognition. The repeated use of disability-based metaphors in everyday discourse may contribute to the normalization of negative assumptions about individuals with disabilities, thereby reinforcing social marginalization.

Recognizing these underlying linguistic patterns is an important step toward promoting greater cultural awareness and sensitivity in language use. Future research may expand the scope of analysis by examining additional regional dialects, exploring the reception of such proverbs among younger generations, or comparing disability representations across different Arabic-speaking cultures. Encouraging critical reflection on traditional sayings may ultimately contribute to fostering a more inclusive linguistic and cultural environment in which individuals with disabilities are represented with dignity and respect.

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Appendix A

The proverbs listed in this appendix were selected from Al-Tharwah al-Yamaniyah min al-Amthal al-Sha'biyah (The Yemeni Treasury of Folk Proverbs) by Mohamed Al-Adimi. They were translated from Arabic into English by the researchers for the purpose of facilitating analysis and enabling their use in further academic studies. The translations aim to preserve the original meaning of the proverbs while making them accessible to non-Arabic-speaking readers.

1. الغبي مثل الأعمى → The fool is like the blind..
2. الحظ اعمى والخير أخيل → Luck is blind, and good is arrogant.
3. الاور ببلاد العميان فكوهه → The one-eyed man is strong in the land of the blind.
4. اعمى لقي ودعه → A blind man found a shell.
5. أعور وزاد تنقور → One-eyed and still bad mouthing.
6. أعطني حقي وقل لي يا أعور → Give me my right and call me one-eyed.
7. إذا جئت بلاد العوران كن أعور مثلهم
eyed like them.
8. العمى عمى القلب → Blindness is the blindness of the heart.
9. المجنون داري بيت من يرم
stones at him.
10. النساء ناقصات عقل ودين → Women are mentally and religiously deficient.
11. توالفوا المجانين إلى دهليز → Mad people gather in the same corridor.
12. خذ الحكمة من أفواه المجانين → Take wisdom from the mouths of madmen.
13. طاعة عمياء → Blind obedience.
14. عمى العين ولاعمى القلب → Blindness of the eye is better than blindness of the heart.
15. قل للاعور أعور في عينه → Tell the one-eyed that he is one-eyed in front of him.

16. لا تشتم المجنون قدام أهله → Do not insult a madman in front of his family.
17. لا عقل بعد جنان → No brain after madness.
18. لا تركب المجنون ولا يركبك → Do not ride a madman, nor let him ride you.
19. من قل ما بيده قالوا له مجنون → Whoever has little in his hand is called mad.
20. ما بلاش الا العمى والطرش → Nothing is free except blindness and deafness.
21. من يقرأ للعرجى خطها → Who reads the writing of the lame woman?
22. مجنون على مصطرع → One madman over another fallen epileptic man.
23. مجنون اكل قدح مجنون من قرب له → A madman ate the bowl of another madman who brought it near him?
24. وقدة عمياء → A blind spark / blind fire.

Appendix B

The proverbs listed in this appendix were selected from *Al-Amthal Al-Yamaniyah* (Yemeni Proverbs) by Ismael bin Ali Alakwa:

1. اخر التجنان الجنان → The end of foolishness is madness.
2. احمد أخيل وله في الخباله مرام → Thank a retard and is inclined toward foolishness.
3. اخبل من عمل في الجبا، ومجنون من كاوفه → More foolish than one who worked in the pit, and madder than the one who challenged him.
4. إذا القبلي رمد فالدوشان اعمى → If middle class has sore eyes, low class is blind.
5. إذا كان المتكلم مجنون فالمستمع بعقله → If the speaker is mad, the listener should keep his reason.
6. إذا نزل القدر عمى البصر → When fate descends, eyesight becomes blind.
7. اسكتي يا عجماء، وحاكمك في السما → Be quiet, you speechless one; your judge is in heaven.
8. اعمى البصر والبصيرة → Blind in sight and insight.
9. اعمى قلب ومفتح عيون → Blind of heart though his eyes are open.
10. اعمى لقي ودعه أمسى بها فارح → A blind man found a shell and ended the day rejoicing.
11. الأعمى ما ينسى عصاه → The blind man never forgets his stick.
12. اعمى مطل على بستان → A blind man overlooking a garden.
13. اعمى يقود اعمى إلى الهاوية → A blind man leads another blind man to the abyss.
14. اعمى يقود مفتح → A blind man leads one who can see.
15. اعمى يقود مجنون → A blind man leads a madman.
16. الاور نص رجال → A one-eyed man is half a man.

17. اكسح ويروح → The cripple limps away.
18. الله مع الهبلان → God is with the simple-minded.
19. اول الجنان تعلمه → The beginning of madness is learning it.
20. بخت الشرايف اعمى، أن دججت جت حدا، وان صبنت جت هجا، وان رملت ما حد جا → The fortune of a noble woman is blind: if she breeds chicken the falcon comes, if she washes clothes the wind comes, and if she is widowed, no one comes.
21. بقعا تجاه المجانين → A land next to madmen.
22. الجنون فنون → Madness is an art.
23. زومة عمياء، وطحين مجنونة → A meal by blind is more handful than a mad wheat grinding.
24. سقط الأعمى فوق المدفئ بيده → The blind man fell on the fire stove with his hand.
25. الشقر ولا العمى → Better Short sighted than blindness.
26. عمياء تكنم محلوقة → A blind woman removing lice from a shaved head.
27. الغني مثل الأعمى → The fool is like the blind.
28. الفل اعجم لسان الفتى الفصيح → Poverty makes the eloquent youth tongue-tied.
29. قليل العقل مستريح → The one with little mind is at ease.
30. كل أعور شيطان → Every one-eyed person is a devil.
31. لا تضحك مع مجنون → Do not laugh with a madman.
32. لا عقل بعد جنان → No brain after madness.

