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**THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CONCEPT OF MONEY
IN THE RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH PROVERBIAL CORPUS**

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Abstract

Modern researchers in linguistics concentrate their research effort on the language-culture interaction and on the study of linguistic and cultural concepts. Proverbs epitomize folk culture and wisdom and reveal the mentality and worldview of an ethnos. Research studies of particular interest focus on detecting the conceptual and semantic content of the notion of money and on the comprehensive presentation of the content of proverbs illustrating the concept of MONEY in Russian and English linguistic consciousness. The definitional analysis was used to interpret the notion of money. The method of the frame classification of proverbs found a possible identification of the main 'meanings' of proverbs, and the cognitive, linguistic and cultural approaches to the study of proverbs were used to describe the concept of money and to demonstrate a series of lexemes representing it. The study revealed the universal and specific features of this concept related to Russian and English attitudes towards money. The frame classification, which specifies the values and cultural knowledge of a national sphere of concepts, reflects the semantic space of proverbs relating to the concept under investigation. The results of the research will be useful to researchers involved in the study of cognitive semantics, paremiology and cross-linguistic/cultural studies.

Keywords

Ethnic worldview – Concept - Proverbial expressions - Frame classification

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Introduction

Modern research on linguistic units is increasingly carried out by integrating various linguistic areas of study, including the cognitive and cultural approach to studying language data. The importance of the present research lies in theoretical and practical challenges facing modern linguistics, which focuses on investigating the structures of consciousness or concepts, proverbial expressions as extra-linguistic knowledge bearers and the articulation of concepts in the proverbial corpus of a language. Examining proverbs as linguistic units that reproduce national and cultural paradigms and ethnic traditions from generation to generation also point to the importance of the present research topic.

Man perceives and comprehends the world and himself through language, which eternizes both universal and national knowledge. Language builds on and implements the results of human reflective and mental activities. An effective technique for studying the principles of knowledge organization in a language system is to resort to the notion of concept as a mental information unit that results from world cognition. In terms of cognitive linguistics, cognition is a process by which concepts/meanings are born and transformed. It is at the conceptual level that the objectification of reality in linguistic consciousness and the quantization of ideas and objects by linguistic means takes place.

Although the term ‘concept’ is now widespread, researchers interpret it in different ways. A concept is “a global mental unit, a quantum of structured knowledge”¹. A concept is an entity originating from the Ideal, which has a name and echoes the human culturally based representation of the Reality². A concept is a culturally marked verbalized idea expressed by a series of specific linguistic implementations resulting in an appropriate lexical and semantic paradigm³.

The absence of a common definition of concept results from the fact that “the concept has a complicated and multidimensional structure including a conceptual base as well as social, psychological and cultural aspects that are perceived emotionally rather than rationally by language speakers. These aspects comprise connotations, emotions, assessments and national imagery peculiar to this or that culture”⁴.

Our analysis of the above-mentioned definitions of ‘concept’ allowed us to provide the following working definition of this term. A concept is an operational unit of memory, a quantum of knowledge, which summarizes and crystallizes human cognitive experiences⁵. Surrounded with an emotional, expressive and evaluative aura, concepts are verbalized and designated with words; otherwise, their existence would be impossible.

This paper aims to investigate the content and the characteristics of the concept of MONEY in Russian and English linguistic world models and the representation of cultural

¹ Z. Popova and A. I. Sternin, *Semantic and Cognitive Analysis of Language* (Voronezh: Istokki, 2007)

² S. Vorkachev, “The Cultural Concept and Its Meaning”, *Trudy Kubanskogo gosudarstvennogo tekhnologicheskogo universiteta*, ser. Gumanitarnye nauki. Vol: 17, num 2 (2003): 268-276.

³ S. Vorkachev, “The Cultural Concept and Its Meaning”...

⁴ V. Maslova, *Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics* (Moscow: Flinta, Nauka, 2004)

⁵ T. Zalavina, “The Semantic Structure of Verbal Phraseological Units Containing the Concept of ‘Reprobation’”, *Vestnik Kostromskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. N. A. Nekrasova*, num 12 (2005): 106-109.

values that are present in proverbial expressions on money by means of the frame classification method. This study also provides a description of the universal, cultural and national aspects encrypted in the proverbial expressions of these linguistic and cultural societies. The study is based on proverbs centered round the concept of money.

The present research examines the value component of the concept of MONEY in Russian and English languages in terms of its universal and culturally specific features and gives a comparative analysis of English and Russian proverbial expressions using the frame classification method.

To this end, the research tasks are as follows:

- 1) To consider the main approaches to understanding the concept at the current stage of the development of linguistics and to detect the essential characteristics of this phenomenon;
- 2) To carry out a definitional analysis of the lexemes 'dengi' (money in Russian) and 'money' with a view to determine the primary conceptual content of the notion of money and the representatives of the concept of MONEY in Russian and English;
- 3) To classify proverbial expressions by frame reflecting the multidimensional representation of the content of proverbs related to the concept under investigation;
- 4) To analyze proverbs by frame and to reveal their universal and national features with relation to Russian and English ethnic consciousness.

The following Russian and international research studies in the conceptualization theory, cognitive linguistics, cognitive semantics, paremiology and linguistic cultural studies provided a theoretical framework for the present study: S. L. Arora, F. M. Barbour, L.W. Barsalou, W. Daniel, T.A. van Dijk, A. Dundes, A. G. Fauconnier, S. W. Felix, C. J. Fillmore, M. A. Forrester, R. P. Honeck, R. Jackendoff, G. Lakoff, M. Minski, W. Mieder, N. Norrick, G. B. Palmer, E. Piirainen, O. Tannen, Wang Qin, A. Wierzbicka, E. Ungerer, A. Babushkin, N. Boldyrev, E. Velmezova, S. Vorkachev, V. Dyakonov, A. Borisov, O. Kornilov, E. Kubryakova, V. Maslova, O. Magirovskaya, V. Mokiyenko, A. Nazaryan, V. Teliy, I. Sternin, Z. Popova and A. Chudinov, among others.

The scientific novelty of the study consists in the following: the choice of the concept of MONEY is due to the fact that this concept holds a major place among national values, since money is an integral and necessary part of human life. Various aspects relating to the semantic potential and to cultural and national specificities of proverbs on MONEY have not yet been sufficiently covered or studied, hence the scientific novelty of the present research. Attitudes towards money change as society itself changes. This is why one of the topical issues for linguists is the study of different linguistic ways for designating this conceptual area and the detection of its specificities, given that "words and their verbal definitions reflect the results of the human mind's cognitive efforts"⁶. The theoretical significance of the study lies in its contribution to the development of cultural linguistics, to the interdisciplinary study of issues in cognitive semantics, paremiology and the language/thinking relationship. In applying the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics and semantics to proverbs, the study suggests a frame model for describing proverbial expressions, which facilitates the presentation of Russian and English mentalities.

⁶ A. Babushkin, "Various Types of Concepts in the Vocabulary and Phraseology and the Methodology for Detecting Them", *Metodologicheskkiye problem kognitivnoy lingvistiki*, (2001): 52-113.

The practical significance of the research consists in the possible use of the research results and materials in theoretical courses and workshops on Russian and English lexicology, phraseology, cultural and cognitive linguistics. The main points of the study can be used to build frame classification models in other conceptual areas and in dealing with other languages.

Materials and Methods

The present study focuses on proverbial expressions centered round the concept of MONEY in Russian and English linguistic consciousness. The linguistic corpus is based on data from lexicographic sources, including Russian and English monolingual and bilingual dictionaries along with dictionaries of Russian and English idioms, proverbs and sayings.

In this paper, proverbial concepts are understood as a means of mentally representing knowledge about the surrounding world, specifically, the proverbial concept of money in Russian and English languages.

The concept of MONEY is a worldview fragment that holds a central place among national values, because money is an integral part of human life. Of special interest are human attitudes towards money, which change as society changes too. This is why one of the topical issues for linguists is the study of different linguistic ways for designating this conceptual area and the detection of its specificities, given that “words and their verbal definitions reflect the results of the human mind’s cognitive efforts”⁷. The Russian ‘dengi’ and the English ‘money’ are the most neutral and common notions among other synonyms, such as ‘kopeck’ and ‘ruble’ in Russian and ‘pound’ and ‘penny’ in English. These terms can be regarded as the generic term for the concept, because these specific lexemes are commonly used to designate monetary units in general. At the same time, the universal lexemes ‘dengi’ and ‘money’ have no expressive meanings, that is, they are not stylistically marked and have semantic ‘transparency’, which makes it possible to see the concept’s content in them.

To determine the interpretations of the notion of ‘money’, a definitional analysis was carried out using Russian and English monolingual dictionaries.

Russian dictionaries⁸:

- 1) Деньги -
 1. только мн. Металлические и бумажные знаки, являющиеся мерой стоимости при купле-продаже. Медные деньги. Заработал много денег.
 2. только мн. Капитал, состояние, средства (разг.). Он теперь при больших деньгах. Ни за какие деньги не отдам. Время - деньги. Пословица.
 3. только ед. деньга, деньги, собир. То же, что деньги (простореч.). Зашибать деньгу. У Павлинского всегда водилась вольная деньга. Салтыков-Щедрин.
 4. деньга, деньги, ж. То же, что денежка в 1 знач. (истор.).
 (‘Dengi’, money:

⁷ A. Babushkin, “Various Types of Concepts in the Vocabulary and Phraseology and the Methodology for Detecting Them”. *Metodologicheskiye problem kognitivnoy lingvistiki*, (2001): 52-113 y D. Ushakov, *Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Moscow: Astrel, AST, Khranitel, 2007).

⁸ S. Ozhegov and N. Shvedova, *Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Moscow: ITI Tekhnologii, 2006)
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1. Only plural. Metallic or paper entities, of value for purchase and sale. Copper money. He earned a log of money.
2. Only plural. Fortune, means, capital (colloq.). He has plenty of money now. I will not give it for love or money. Time is money. Proverb.
3. Only singular. denga, dengi, collective. Same as 'dengi' (vulg.). Rake in money. Pavlinsky has always had spare money. Saltykov-Shchedrin.
4. denga, dengi, f. Same as 'denezhka' (hist.)

2) Деньги –

1. Металлические и бумажные знаки (в докапиталистических формациях - особые товары), являющиеся мерой стоимости при купле-продаже, средством платежей и предметом накопления.
2. Капитал, средства. Денежная единица [законодательно установленная единица всеобщего эквивалента (действительных денег), служащая для соизмерения и выражения цен всех товаров и представляемая денежным знаком (денежными знаками) (спец.)].

Money:

1. Metallic or paper entities, merchandise in pre-Capitalist societies that is of value for purchase and sale, medium of payment and savings.
2. Capital, monetary unit. Unit of the general equivalent of real money [that is established under the law. Serves to measure and show the price of goods, represents currency notes (spec.)].

The following English dictionaries give a more detailed definition of the notion of 'money'⁹:

1) Macmillan:

Money - what you earn, save, invest and use to pay for things. Money can be kept in a bank, where it can earn interest. If you have a bank account, you can pay for things with a cheque.

- a. the coins and pieces of paper that you can use to pay for things
- b. the coins and pieces of paper that you use to pay for things in a particular country

2) Longman:

Money –

1. what you earn by working and can use to buy things. Money can be in the form of notes and coins or cheques, and can be kept in a bank.
2. money in the form of coins or notes that you can carry around with you [= cash].
3. someone's wealth, including all the property and other things they own.

⁹ T. Longman, The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English is an online version of the CD-ROM of the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, Updated Edition. Retrieved from: <http://www.ldoceonline.com/> y G Macmillan, The Free Online English Dictionary from Macmillan Publishers. Retrieved from: <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/>.

Proverbial expressions are an exciting area of study in modern cognitive research that investigate various ways in which the human mind processes information about the surrounding world. Phraseological word combinations, including proverbial expressions, are known to be interpreted figuratively rather than literally precisely because “they comprise conceptual constructs that are familiar to language speakers”¹⁰.

Traditionally, proverbial expressions include proverbs, sayings, aphorisms, catchphrases and many other concise and vivid expressions that convey traditional views, attitudes and values of an ethnos, based on its real-life experiences.

Proverbial expressions result from the cognition of the reality of things and are themselves a synthesis of the cognitive activity of human consciousness, based on a combination of orderly knowledge or a sphere of concepts. “In fact, it is a system of man’s opinions and knowledge of the world, which reflect his cognitive experiences at the pre-linguistic and linguistic levels”¹¹. On the other hand, “proverbs are a type of cultural assertions (axioms)”¹². In A. Dundes’ view, only in folklore do the implicit signs of the human worldview become explicit, which is why the study of proverbial expressions implies the possibility of reconstructing the proverbial world picture¹³.

In any language, paremiology is closely related to the national history, culture and lifestyles and embodies its spirit, modes of thought and values. Proverbial expressions highlight important aspects of different areas of human activity in an imaginative and figurative manner, and studying them facilitates one’s discovery of the culture of the country where that language is spoken.

The unique features of categorizing the reality using proverbial expressions can be revealed by describing the interaction between linguistic and cognitive activities as part of the secondary nomination of the concept by primary categorization models (propositional, schematic, metaphorical and metonymical). O. Magirovskaya believes that these features are apparent in the choice of linguistic means used in language units to verbalize the concept, in the specific way of creating an image for the concept’s secondary nomination and in the degree of implicitness of the conceptual meaning being actualized¹⁴.

This approach to the study of proverbial expressions makes it possible to investigate, in a more detailed and precise manner, their informative dimension (conceptual knowledge of the reality) and the totality of mental stereotypes and to track their sources and the rationale behind their appearance.

Many international researchers, such as S. Arora, W. Mieder and A. Taylor, explore proverbial expressions within the context of specific issues facing Western society¹⁵, therefore their studies are mostly narrow-focused and practical in nature. Linguists W. Mieder and A. Dundes devote particular attention to the diachronic and synchronic study of

¹⁰ M. A. Forrester, *Psychology of Language. A Critical Introduction* (New Delhi, 1996)

¹¹ V. Maslova, *Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics* (Moscow: Flinta, Nauka, 2004)

¹² G. B. Palmer, *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics* (Texas: UT Press, 1996)

¹³ A. Dundes, *Interpreting Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980)

¹⁴ O. Magirovskaya, “The Specifics of the Linguistic Configuration of Knowledge in Terms of Basic Conceptual Cognition”, *Kognitivnye issledovaniya yazyka*, num XIII: *Mentalnye osnovy yazyka kak funktsionalnoy sistemy*, (2013): 54-61.

¹⁵ S. Arora, “The Perception of Proverbiality”, *Wise Words: Essays on the Proverb*, (1994): 3-29 y W. Mieder, “Paremiological Minimum and Cultural Literacy”, *Proverbium*, Vol: 1 num 1 (1995): 297 - 316.

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individual proverbs and their functions in speech¹⁶. W. Mieder examines the didactic and methodological value of proverbial expressions in foreign language learning. Linguists D. Karlheinz and K. Higbee study proverbs taking into consideration the psychologic aspect of their functioning, and M. Barbour and W. Daniel focus on cultural and linguistic aspects of proverbial expressions¹⁷. Chinese linguist Wang Qin argues that foreign languages should be taught without losing contact with their proverbial corpus, because proverbial expressions represent a unique linguistic domain that reflects the historical, economic and cultural development of the ethnos speaking this language¹⁸.

International linguists adopt the cognitive approach to carry out extensive research on proverbial expressions and cognitive processes underlying the creation, uses and understanding of proverbs, ways of categorizing real-life events and pragmatic roles of proverbs¹⁹.

The cognitive approach perceives proverbs as representatives of abstract structures of human consciousness. For instance, in G. Palmer's view, proverbial expressions are a form of cultural postulates, whose cognitive natures makes them similar to propositional models or propositions-schemas that structure human knowledge about the world. He proposes the following definition of the term *postulate*: «Postulate is ... a verbal predication with relatively abstract cultural imagery at its semantic pole»²⁰. Palmer considers postulates to be the highest level of abstraction and relates them to religious dogmas and folklore philosophy echoed in aphorisms, maxims, dictums and proverbs. These linguistic units contain observations, experiences and knowledge of past generations and objectify the main features of concepts, thus reflecting the cognitive activities of language speakers and making it possible to pinpoint the connotative mechanism underlying human perceptions of the world. There is, however, something common about trends in research on proverbial expressions. Specifically, Russian researchers are actively involved in studying proverbial expressions by using their ethnic and cultural aspects and the cognitive approach.

Cognitive science makes use of various structures for knowledge representation, such as mental images, frames and scenarios. The possibility of varying the semantics of proverbial expressions is a major principle that we took into consideration when classifying proverbs illustrative of the concept of MONEY. T. van Dijk believes that frames are units centered round a certain concept rather than randomly selected pieces of knowledge²¹. M. Minsky bases his theory of frames on the idea that human knowledge about the world consists of structured cells or, in other words, is composed of certain scenarios with a fixed set of stereotyped situations/frames²². In A. Babushkin's view, a frame concept is a multicomponent concept that comprises a combination of conventional knowledge about a

¹⁶ A. Dundes, *Interpreting Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980) y W. Mieder, "Paremiological Minimum and Cultural Literacy", *Proverbium*, Vol: 1 num 1 (1995): 297 - 316.

¹⁷ F. M Barbour, *Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases of Illinois* (Carbondale, 111: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995) y L. W. Danie, *Towards an Ethnography of Afro-American Proverbial Usage* (New-York, 1973).

¹⁸ L. W. Danie, *Towards an Ethnography of Afro-American...*

¹⁹ G. B. Palmer, *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics* (Texas: UT Press, 1996)

²⁰ G. B. Palmer, *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics...*

²¹ T. A. Van Dijk, "Cognitive and Conversational Strategies in the Expression of Ethnic Prejudice", Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers. Text, Vol: 3-4 (1983): 375-404.

²² M. A. Minski, *Framework for Representing Knowledge*. MIT-AI Laboratory Memo 306, 1979. Retrieved from: <http://web.media.mit.edu/minsky/papers/Fra-mes/frames.html>.

subject, an event or a situation²³. A frame is composed of a name and of independent units called slots. It is of homogenous nature²⁴.

In his comparative analysis of cultural and linguistic aspects in the semantic space of Russian and English proverbs on intelligence and stupidity, the Russian researcher O. Dubrovski adopts the method of frame classification of proverbial signs manifesting the primary 'meanings' of proverbs²⁵. Researchers highlight the idea that a frame is one of pivotal figures in knowledge representation.

Results

A comparison of dictionary definitions of the notion of 'dengi'/money in Russian and English languages leads to the conclusion that basic representations of this notion's conceptual content coincide in both languages, which suggests the universal nature of the concept of MONEY.

Given that any concept has a basic layer or a specific sensual image, it can be assumed that the basic layer of the concept of money is metallic or paper entities as well as capital/wealth.

We deem it important to highlight that "every concept contains a basic cognitive layer with a sensual image at its center, otherwise the concept cannot function in the universal subject code as a mental image"²⁶. Lexical units nominating monetary units in Russian and English languages, such as 'dengi', 'ruble', 'kopeck' and 'money', 'pound', 'penny' act as basic lexemes currently representing the concept under investigation.

An analysis of dictionary definitions of monetary units in both languages points to the following conclusions. 'Pound' and 'penny' are English counterparts of the Russian terms 'ruble' and 'kopeck' in terms of their roles in exchange relationships. One ruble and one pound are equal to one hundred kopecks and pence respectively. Importantly, pounds as monetary units are also used in other countries (former colonies of the British Empire); they are also known as a unit of weight. All this points to the polysemic nature of the term *pound*. The term ruble, however, does not have any connotations unrelated to money, as compared to *pound*.

A study of some 80 proverbial units made it possible to detect the following six frames, whose names reflect the multidimensional representation of the semantic content of proverbs related to the concept under investigation.

"Money as a result of accumulation": Money begets money. Money makes money. A penny saved is a penny gained. Penny and penny laid up will be many. Деньга деньгу наживает (One coin produces another). Деньга на деньгу набегаёт (One coin runs towards another). Копейка рубль бережет (A copeck saves a ruble), etc.

²³ A. Babushkin, "Various Types of Concepts in the Vocabulary and Phraseology and the Methodology for Detecting Them", *Metodologicheskiye problem kognitivnoy lingvistiki*, (2001): 52-113

²⁴ V Dyakonov and V. A. Borisov, *Frame Model for Knowledge Representation. Osnovy iskusstvennogo intellekta*, (2007): 30-31.

²⁵ O. Dubrovskaya, "The Cultural and Linguistic Aspect of a Comparative Research on Russian and English Proverbs on Intelligence and Stupidity" (Dissertation of candidate of philological sciences, Yekaterinburg, 2000).

²⁶ Z Popova & I. A Sternin, *Semantic and Cognitive Analysis of Language* (Voronezh: Istokki., 2007).

"Money is labor": Money doesn't grow on trees. Throw good money after bad. Put one's money where one's mouth is. Деньги с неба не падают (Money does not fall from the sky). Скупой платит дважды (A miser pays twice), etc.

"Money is filth": Money has no smell. Where there's muck there's brass. Muck and money go together. Деньги не пахнут (Money does not smell). Где грязь, - там и деньги (Where there's filth, there's money), etc.

"Money causes harm": Money is a good servant but a bad master. Money is the root of evil. The abundance of money ruins youth. Lend your money and lose your friend. Money often costs too much. Умный человек – хозяин деньгам, а скупой – слуга (A clever person owns money, a stingy one serves it). Больше денег – больше хлопот (The more money you have, the more trouble you have), etc.

"Money is transient and easy to lose": Money burns a hole in someone's pocket. Money has wings. Money is round, and rolls away. A fool and his money are soon parted. У него не карман, а решето (His pocket is a sieve). Не легко деньги нажить, а легко прожить (Money is not easy to earn, but easy to spend), etc.

"Money is power/an incentive": Money makes the world go round. Who pays the piper calls the tune. Money runs the world. Money makes the mare go. За денешки и черт спляшет (Even a devil will dance to get money). Копейка обоз гонит (A kopeck drives a cart). Деньги правят миром (Money rules the world). У кого в руках, у того и в устах (One who holds it eats it), et cetera.

Discussion

The results obtained show how important it is to have a profound understanding of people from other cultures by studying their ways of thinking, worldview and values by means of proverbs. There is a strong focus on identifying dominant cultural components of the national consciousness of Russian and English people. To determine the cultural and value dimension of the concept under consideration, attention is given to proverbial expressions, which provide a thorough assessment of and attitudes towards money. The frame organization of proverbial signs fully offers revealing and clear insights into the semantic content of the proverbial expressions related to the studied concept. Further research can potentially conduct a comparative linguistic and cultural analysis of the frame classification of proverbial expressions verbalizing the concept of MONEY in various languages. Using the linguistic material of different nationalities to detect both universal and national/cultural features of the concept analyzed and of the general picture of the world can be one of the directions for future research on the topic.

Conclusion

The study revealed that moderns linguistic research has maintained interest in examining concept verbalizations in one language or even when comparing two or more languages. From a cognitive perspective, linguists regard proverbial expressions or, in other terms, phraseological units and concise and figurative folklore units, as specific ways in which this or that ethnos linguistically perceives the surrounding world. The concept of money, objectified by proverbial expressions in Russian and English languages, can be interpreted as a type of proverbial concepts.

The proverbial material reveals that both the Russians and the English have relatively identical perceptions of the concept of MONEY. As an example, they express similar views that money originates from money and that it should be treated with care. Both languages indicate that money neither grows on trees nor falls from the sky and that one has to work hard to earn it. In both languages, there is general agreement that wealth comes from dirty money only.

This idea prevails in Russian proverbs: в богатстве голодна душа (the soul of a wealthy person is hungry), богатый совесть погубит (a wealthy person ruins his conscience).

The method of frame classification used to examine the proverbial expressions related to the concept under consideration proved productive, given that frames are an economical way of transmitting and processing information and, as such, contain not only manifest, but also hidden/implied data. The frame model proposed for the description of proverbs reveals, in the most economical manner possible, the nature of Russian and English language mentalities.

The titles of the six frames discussed above (Money as a result of accumulation, Money is labor, Money is filth, Money causes harm, Money is transient and easy to lose and Money is power/an incentive) represent the main 'meanings' of proverbs and reflect the multidimensional content of the proverbial expressions of the concept under investigation.

Some eighty proverbs verbalizing the concept of money that have been analyzed here show that, in terms of language, Russian culture gives priority to spiritual values (friends, health and love) over material things (wealth and fortune), whereas English culture emphasizes power, strength and wealth.

There are differences in how the two nations associate money with entities, but, for instance, the idea of the transience of money does not change for that reason. The English and the Russians see money as wings and water respectively; money is round and rolls away (it swims away through fingers; the coin is round and rolling). Despite these differences, however, both nations have similar attitudes towards money and highlight the transience of money, its difficult accessibility, the need for being thrifty and the absence or presence of respect due to the abundance or lack of money, as evidenced by proverbs and sayings.

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