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**THE FRAME ORGANIZATION OF PROVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS REPRESENTING
THE CONCEPT OF MONEY IN RUSSIAN AND FRENCH LINGUISTIC CULTURES**

Ph. D. Tatyana Yu. Zalavina

Nosov Magnitogorsk State Technical University (NMSTU), Russian Federation

ORCID: 0000-0003-0210-7963

tania_mgn@rambler.ru

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Abstract

This article examines proverbial units in relation to the concept viewed as the cognitive structure of knowledge. The relevance of this research area derives from theoretical and practical issues in modern linguistics that focuses on linguistic identity, interaction between language and culture as well as the linguistic worldview encrypted in the language in general and in the proverbial lexicon in particular. Language reinforces and implements the results of human reflective mental activities. Proverbs and sayings most clearly demonstrate this point, as they represent the distinctive features of the mentality, cognition and worldview of a nation speaking a specific language, along with its cultural values. The study focuses on the following objectives: determining basic representations of the conceptual content of the notion of money; identifying lexical units that are representative of this concept in Russian and French linguistic mentalities; classifying proverbs according to frames reflecting the multidimensional content of proverbs related to the concept under investigation; and describing the universal and national components of importance for the linguistic awareness of the Russians and the French. The author used a method known as the definitional analysis with a view to identify the main points of the conceptual content of the notion of money and the corpus of lexical representatives of the concept under consideration. The above-mentioned method revealed that basic representations of the conceptual content of the notion of money and comparisons of Russian and French dictionary entries for 'money' / 'argent' generally coincide. The concept of MONEY verbalized by Russian and French proverbial units can be regarded as a special type of proverbial concepts. Combining several research methods, including the definitional analysis, the cognitive and semantic analysis of proverbs and the frame classification of proverbs proved to be a highly fruitful approach. Frames are an efficient way to transmit information and to speed up its processing, given that they contain both apparent and hidden/implicit data.

Keywords

Concept of MONEY – Proverbial expressions – Proverbs – Frame classification – Linguistic culture

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PH. D. TATYANA YU. ZALAVINA

In modern linguistics, researchers focus largely on the study of mental structures of consciousness, or concepts, of proverbs that are carriers of non-linguistic knowledge and of the verbalization of the concept by proverbial means of language¹. The rationale for giving close attention to such linguistic units as proverbs which hand down national cultural and ethnic traditions from generation to generation, also determines the relevance of the present study. The cognitive area of linguistics is a means of examining the results of human reflective activities in terms of language as well as cognition of ambient reality and of themselves by language speakers. Today, cognitive linguistics studies various mental entities, such as the conceptual worldview, conceptual categories, concepts and frames². Research emphasizes the importance of the notion of concept as a mental unit that structures consciousness and takes shape in the cognitive process of objective reality. Researchers examine concepts as units of ethnic linguistic culture, taking into consideration its national peculiarities and values³. The cognitive process generates and transforms concepts involving the 'objectivation' of the world around us by linguistic means that explain and specify the content of a concept⁴. Scholars give conflicting interpretations of the term of 'concept' despite its widespread use. What they mean by this term is a global mental unit, a quantum of structured knowledge and a national mental image with an elaborate objectivation system⁵. The concept is regarded as a meaning that have a specific cultural dimension and are represented by a set of language signs producing a certain lexical and semantic paradigm⁶.

¹ A. P. Babushkin, *Various Types of Concepts in Phraseology and Methods for Detecting Them. Metodologicheskiye problemy kognitivnoy lingvistiki* (Voronezh: Izd-vo Voronezh. gos. un-t, 2001); S. G. Vorkachev, "Cultural Concept and Its Significance", *Trudy Kubanskogo gosudarstvennogo tekhnologicheskogo universiteta. Ser. Gumanitarnye nauki*, Vol: 17 num 2 (2003): 268-276; V. P. Dyakonov & A. V. Borisov, "Frame Model of Knowledge Representation", *Osnovy iskusstvennogo intellekta*, (2007): 30-31; T. Yu. Zalavina, "A Semantic Structure of French Verbal Idioms Containing the Concept of Reprobation", *Vestnik Kostromskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. N. A. Nekrasova*, Vol: 11 num 12 (2005): 106-109; A. S. Lineva & T. Yu. Zalavina, "The Inner Form of Phraseological Units and the Linguistic Picture of the World", *Aktualnyye problemy sovremennoy nauki, tekhniki i obrazovaniya*, Vol: 2 num 71 (2013): 132-134; V. A. Maslova, *Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics* (Moscow: Flinta: Nauka, 2004); M. B. Pimenova, *Issues in Cognitive Linguistics and Current Conceptual Research. Mentalnost i yazyk*; M. V. Pimenova (ed) (Kemerovo: KemGU, 2006); Z. D. Popova & I. A. Sternin, *Semantic and Cognitive Language Analysis. Monografiya* (Voronezh: izd-vo Istoki, 2007); A. Dundes, *Interpreting Folklore* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); 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> y W. Mieder, "Paremiological Minimum and Cultural Literacy", *Proverbium*, Vol: 1 num 1 (1995): 297-316.

² T. Yu Zalavina; O. N. Afanasyeva & L. A. Shorokhova "The Paremiological Concept of 'Money' as a Mental Representation of Knowledge about the World". *Problemy istorii, filologii, kultury*, num 1 (2016): 372-379; T. Yu. Zalavina, "A Semantic Structure of French Verbal Idioms Containing the Concept of Reprobation", *Vestnik Kostromskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. N. A. Nekrasova*, Vol: 11 num 12 (2005): 106-109 y T. Yu. Zalavina, *Cognitive and Pragmatic Aspects of Idioms Related to Reprobatio. Ph.D, Thesis* (Chelyabinsk, 2007)

³ T. Yu. Zalavina, *Cognitive and Pragmatic Aspects of Idioms Related to Reprobatio. Ph.D, Thesis* (Chelyabinsk, 2007).

⁴ Z. D. Popova & I. A. Sternin, *Semantic and Cognitive Language Analysis. Monografiya* (Voronezh: izd-vo Istoki, 2007).

⁵ A. P. Babushkin, *Various Types of Concepts in Phraseology and Methods for Detecting Them. Metodologicheskiye problemy kognitivnoy lingvistiki* (Voronezh: Izd-vo Voronezh. gos. un-t, 2001) Z. D. Popova & I. A. Sternin, *Semantic and Cognitive Language Analysis. Monografiya* (Voronezh: izd-vo Istoki, 2007).

⁶ S. G. Vorkachev, "Cultural Concept and Its Significance", *Trudy Kubanskogo gosudarstvennogo tekhnologicheskogo universiteta. Ser. Gumanitarnye nauki*, Vol: 17 num 2 (2003): 268-276.

Various definitions of the concept can be explained by its structural multidimensionality, its intricacy, its conceptual basis and its social, psychological and cultural characteristics. Ethnic group members going through them emotionally produce strong associations, assessments and specific cultural connotations⁷.

Our analysis of scholarly definitions of this term made it possible to define the concept as an operational unit of memory, a quantum of knowledge, which comprises the cognitive experiences of a nation as an active subject of cognition. The concept comprises emotional, expressive and judgmental components⁸ and is expressed by means of language and words. Furthermore, “to actualize, clarify the meaning and verbalization of a concept, one also uses phraseology, particularly comparative phraseological units, which could not only convey a meaning, but also reveal the ‘hidden’ semantic potential of concepts⁹. The present study aims to examine the content and specific features of the semantic representation of the concept of MONEY in Russian and French. The study will also focus on the representation of values contained in proverbial units related to money through the lens of a frame classification, while describing universal, cultural and national aspects encrypted in the proverbs of the above-mentioned linguistic and cultural societies. The subject matter of the present research is the analytical comparison of the value-based component of the concept of MONEY in Russian and French linguistic cultures, of identical and nationally related specific features, and the comparative analysis of French and Russian proverbial units based on a frame classification. The multifold and generically varied proverbial corpus contains cultural markers related to the history, culture, every day and spiritual life, mentality and values of a nation. Figurative and vivid, proverbs reflect important events in the life of an ethnos. The study of proverbs introduces us to the cultural background of the country and people, whose language we learn¹⁰.

Methods

The study examined the concept of MONEY and on French and Russian proverbial expressions related to the concept of MONEY. Research sources include the lexicographical literature, such as bilingual and phraseological dictionaries, Russian and French dictionaries of proverbs and sayings, as well as various theme-related Web resources. The reason for choosing the concept of MONEY is that it ranks among the highest in national values. Various problems related to the semantic potential, the cultural and national dimension of representative proverbial expressions related to the concept of MONEY have not yet been fully explored, despite a number of research studies dedicated to this topic. Money is the integral and necessary part of our lives. The use of proverbs to study the verbalization of this concept’s value allows researchers to determine the moments when value-based judgments peculiar to the language consciousness of a specific nation are retained.

⁷ V. A. Maslova, *Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics* (Moscow: Flinta: Nauka, 2004).

⁸ A. P. Babushkin, *Various Types of Concepts in Phraseology and Methods for Detecting Them. Metodologicheskiye problemy kognitivnoy lingvistiki* (Voronezh: Izd-vo Voronezh. gos. un-t, 2001); T. Yu Zalavina; O. N. Afanasyeva & L. A. Shorokhova, “The Paremiological Concept of ‘Money’ as a Mental Representation of Knowledge about the World”, *Problemy istorii, filologii, kultury*, num 1 (2016): 372-379; T. Yu. Zalavina, *Cognitive and Pragmatic Aspects of Idioms Related to Reprobatio*. Ph.D, Thesis (Chelyabinsk, 2007) y Z. D. Popova & I. A. Sternin, *Semantic and Cognitive Language Analysis. Monografiya* (Voronezh: izd-vo Istoki, 2007).

⁹ V. A. Maslova, *Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics* (Moscow: Flinta: Nauka, 2004).

¹⁰ T. Yu Zalavina; O. N. Afanasyeva & L. A. Shorokhova, “The Paremiological Concept of ‘Money’ as a Mental Representation of Knowledge about the World”, *Problemy istorii, filologii, kultury*, num 1 (2016): 372-379.

In this way, this aspect constitutes the research novelty of the present study. Various linguistic means, including proverbs, regularize attitudes towards money that transform in the context of ongoing social changes. Detecting the special features of this conceptual field is highly relevant to linguists, since the word itself, its verbal definition and value-based judgments perpetuated in proverbs reflect the results of national cognitive efforts of the human mind. The examination of the verbalization of the concept of MONEY based on proverbs, the cognitive and semantic analysis of proverbs and the frame organization of proverbs make a theoretical contribution to the development of the general cultural linguistic theory and to the interdisciplinary study of issues in cognitive semantics and paremiology. It also contributes to the further investigation of issues related to the study of the relationship between language and thinking.

The Russian and French words for money – ‘деньги’ (dengi), ‘argent’ – are mostly neutral and general notions among their synonyms, ‘рубль’ (ruble), “копейка” (kopeck) in Russian and ‘franc’, ‘sou’ in French. Owing to their neutral nature and the fact that they easily denote the general meaning of the corresponding monetary unit, they can serve as naming units of the concept under investigation. At the same time, universal lexemes are not emotionally or stylistically labeled and, furthermore, they are semantically ‘transparent’. These characteristics typical of universal lexemes make it possible to see the concept’s contents in them. The definition analysis, Russian and French dictionaries, as well as Web resources were used to determine the conceptual components of the lexeme ‘money’.

Russian dictionaries¹¹:

1) Деньги:

- металлически, бумажные знаки, представляют меру стоимости в купле-продаже. Деньги из меди. Заработать больше денег.
- состояние, средства, капитал. Теперь он при больших деньгах. Не отдам ни за какие деньги. Время – деньги. Паремия.
- деньга, деньги. То же, что деньги (простореч.). Зашибать деньгу. Вольная деньга всегда водилась у Павлинского. Салтыков-Щедрин.
- деньга, деньги, ж. То же, что денежка в 1 знач. (истор.).
- (‘Dengi’, money:
 - metallic or paper entities, of value for purchase and sale. Copper money. Earn more money.
 - fortune, means, capital. He has plenty of money now. I will not give it for love or money. Time is money.
 - denga, dengi. Same as ‘dengi’ (vulg.). Rake in money. Pavlinsky has always had spare money. Saltykov-Shchedrin.
 - denga, dengi, f. Same as ‘denezhka’ (hist.)

2) Деньги:

- металлически, бумажные знаки. Особые товары в докапиталистических формациях, которые представляют меру стоимости в рамках купли-продажи, средство платежа, предмет накоплений.

¹¹ S. I. Ozhegov & N. Yu. Shvedova, Dictionary of the Russian Language (Moscow: ITI Tekhnologi; Izdaniye 4-e, dop, 2006) y D. N. Ushakov, Dictionary of the Russian Language (Moscow: Astrel, AST, Khranitel, 2007).

– средства, капитал, денежная единица. Законодательно установленная единица общего эквивалента действительных денег. Служит в качестве соизмерения и выражения цен товаров, представляет денежные знаки.

(Money:

– metallic or paper entities. Merchandise in pre-Capitalist societies that is of value for purchase and sale, medium of payment and savings

– means, 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)

French dictionaries propose similar definitions of the lexeme 'argent' ¹² :

1) Argent:

– Métal précieux, blanc, brillant et très ductile, inoxydable. (Élément chimique de symbole Ag, de numéro atomique 47, de masse atomique 107,87.);

– ce même métal mêlé à une certaine quantité de cuivre : Vaisselle d'argent;

– autrefois, monnaie à base de ce métal;

– toute monnaie métallique ou tout papier-monnaie accepté comme numéraire : Un portefeuille contenant de l'argent;

– ensemble du numéraire, des valeurs, des biens; fortune : Il a beaucoup d'argent; un des deux métaux héraldiques, s'indiquant en gravure par un fond uni.

(– precious metal, white, shiny and highly ductile, made of stainless steel. (Chemical element, symbol : Ag, atomic number : 47, atomic mass : 107,87.) ;

– same metal [silver] mixed with a certain amount of copper : Silverware;

– in the past, a coin made of the same metal (silver);

– any metal or paper money accepted as cash : Wallet containing money ;

– any cash, currency, property, fortune : He has plenty of money ;

– one of the heraldic metals, indicated in engraving as a plain background.)

2) Argent:

– *Argent* est masculin. Le nom argent est masculin et il n'est employé qu'au singulier aujourd'hui pour désigner la monnaie (pièces ou billets de banque). L'**argent** volé a vite été retrouvé. Je garde cet **argent** pour tes études. Prends tout l'**argent** nécessaire.

– 'Money' is a masculine word. Today, it is always singular and is used to designate money (coins or banknotes). The stolen money was quickly found. I am saving this money for your education. Take as much money as you need.

3) Argent:

– Sens 1 – L'**argent** est un **métal précieux** de couleur blanche, malléable, ductile et peu altérable, correspondant à l'élément chimique de symbole Ag et de numéro atomique 47. L'argent et ses composés sont utilisés en bijouterie, en photographie, en chirurgie dentaire, en thérapeutique, en électricité, en miroiterie, etc. C'est aussi la couleur de ce métal.

– Sens 2 – Dans le langage courant, l'argent est la **monnaie sous toutes ses formes**, pièces ou billets. Synonymes : monnaie, numéraire, espèces.

¹² V. A. Maslova, Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics (Moscow: Flinta: Nauka, 2004); Encyclopédie Larousse. Retrieved 03.08.2017 from: <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/argent/5167> y Toupictionnaire. Retrieved 03.08.2017 from: <http://www.toupie.org/Dictionnaire/Argent.htm>

– Sens 3 – Par extension du sens 2, le mot argent désigne la richesse que représente la possession de monnaie ou plus généralement de valeurs **monétaires**. Synonymes : richesse, capital.

(– First meaning: - Silver is a white, malleable, ductile precious metal, which is a chemical element with symbol Ag and atomic number 47. Silver and its compounds are used in jewelry, photography, dental surgery, therapy, electricity, mirror making, etc. It also designates the color of this metal.

– Second meaning: - in spoken language, the word 'argent' designates all kinds of money, coins or banknotes. Synonyms: currency, cash, coins.

– Third meaning: - By extension, the word 'argent' means wealth represented by possession of money or, more generally, monetary values. Synonyms: wealth, capital.

4) L'argent:

– sm. (l. argentum), métal blanc; monnaie; richesse.

– from Lat. Argentum, white metal; money; wealth.

Traditionally, proverbial expressions include proverbs, sayings, maxims, catch phrases and many other short, colorful expressions that convey traditional views, attitudes, and values of an ethnos, based on life experience. Proverbial expressions reflect the ethnos' cognition of the surrounding world and its general or unique representations of the reality, thus demonstrating a set of orderly knowledge, in other words, its national concept sphere. As a matter of fact, proverbial expressions systematize the ethnos' views and knowledge about its environment and reflect their cognitive experiences with linguistic signs¹³. Secondly, "proverbs are a variety of cultural assertions and axioms"¹⁴. In other words, proverbial expressions reflect the specific features of the ethnos' linguistic worldview. Its invariant is the paremiological worldview, which reflects specific characteristics retained inside proverbial expressions. Take as an example the following proverbs: Si vous voulez savoir le prix de l'argent, essayez d'en emprunter. Если хотите узнать цену деньгам, возьмите займы (If you want to know the value of money, borrow some). Argent emprunté s'en va en riant et revient en pleurant. Деньги, взятые в долг, тратишь смеясь, а возвращаешь плача, со слезами. Берешь деньги чужие, а отдаешь свои. (You spend the borrowed money laughing and give it back crying). L'argent emprunté porte tristesse. Деньги, взятые в долг, приносят грусть, печаль (The borrowed money brings sadness). The above proverbs belong to the cognitive space of 'money' in the Russian and French languages and give a negative assessment of borrowing through the stereotypical modeling of typical situations denoting that one will have to give the borrowed money back and that people in debt feel sad.

According to A. Dundes, it is in the folklore that implicit signs of the worldview turn into explicit signs and, therefore, the study of proverbial expressions implies a real reconstruction of the proverbial view of the world¹⁵. In any language, paremiology is closely related to the history, culture and everyday life of a nation and embodies its spirit, ways of

¹³ O. G. Dubrovskaya, Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of a Comparative Study on Russian and English Proverbs Relating to Intelligence and Stupidity: Ph.D. Thesis 10.02.20 (Yekaterinburg, 2000) T. Yu Zalavina; O. N. Afanasyeva & L. A. Shorokhova "The Paremiological Concept of 'Money' as a Mental Representation of Knowledge about the World", Problemy istorii, filologii, kultury, num 1 (2016): 372-379.

¹⁴ Qin. Wang, Racial Characteristics of Proverbs. Teaching and Learning (Los Angeles: University of California, 1996).

¹⁵ A. Dundes, Interpreting Folklore (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980).

thinking and values. Proverbial expressions highlight important moments in human life in an imaginative and concise manner and their harmony, rhythm, rhymes make them easy to memorize, while embellishing and enriching our speech.

French and Russian researchers have, basically, the same views on proverbial expressions. M. Maloux defines proverbs as short aphorisms illustrative of popular wisdom related to moral truths and as a metaphor of a pragmatic approach to life and compares proverbs to celebrated couplets that transform into proverbs¹⁶. Paremiologist C. Xatara regards proverbs as fixed phraseological signs recognized by the entire linguistic community and representative of generalized experiences; he articulates them as concise and completed phrases, aimed at acting as sermons, recommendations, consolations, warnings, reprimands and curses¹⁷.

A specific categorization of the real world with proverbial expressions reflecting the ethnoses' particular viewpoints on their reality can be identified by describing the interaction between linguistic and cognitive activities in terms of a secondary nomination of the concept by typical categorization models (propositional, schematic, metaphorical or metonymic). O. V. Magirovskaya believes that this specific nature can be detected by choosing linguistic means for verbalizing the concept, by creating a representation for the secondary nomination of the concept and by determining the degree of the implicitness of the meaning actualized by the concept¹⁸.

Such an approach to the study of proverbial expressions makes it possible to reflect more deeply and precisely their conceptual knowledge about the world or their informative aspect, the combination of mental stereotypes and to keep track of sources and rationale behind their emergence.

Some linguists, including S. Arora, W. Mieder and A. Taylor, examine proverbial expressions as part of specific problems of Western society¹⁹. As a result, their research studies take a narrow, applied approach. Such linguists as W. Mieder and A. Dundes, focus largely on particular proverbs and adopt synchronous and diachronic approaches while taking into consideration their functioning in speech²⁰. W. Mieder investigates the didactic and methodological significance of proverbial expressions in foreign language teaching and learning. D. Karlheinz and K. Higbee study proverbial expressions from a psychological perspective, and M. Barbour and W. Daniel examine the cultural and linguistic nature of their functioning²¹. Wang Qin is strongly of the view that the proverbs corpus needs to be used when learning a foreign language, because proverbial expressions

¹⁶ M. Maloux, *Dictionnaire des proverbes, sentences et maximes*. (Éditions Larousse, 2006).

¹⁷ C. Xatara, *Les proverbes à la portée de tous. Tous les chemins mènent à Paris Diderot*. Colloque international de parémiologie, 29.06-2.07.2011 (Paris, 2011).

¹⁸ O. V. Magirovskaya, *Language Configuration of Knowledge at the Level of Basic Conceptual Reflection*. *Kognitivnye issledovaniya yazyka*. Issue XIII: *Mentalnye osnovy yazyka kak funktsionalnoy sistemy* (Moscow: In-t yazykoznaniya RAN; Tambov Izd. dom TGU im. G. R. Derzhavina, 2013).

¹⁹ S. Arora, *The Perception of Proverbiality*. *Wise Words: Essays on the Proverb* (New York: Garland, 1994) y W. Mieder "Paremiological Minimum and Cultural Literacy". *Proverbium*, vol: 1, num 1 (1995): 297-316.

²⁰ 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.

²¹ F. M. Barbour, *Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases of Illinois* (Carbondale, 111: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995).

reflect the unique linguistic information on the historical, economic and cultural evolution of an ethnos that speaks this particular language²².

International linguists are engaged in active research on cognitive processes that are important for creating, using and understanding proverbial expressions, on the pragmatic functioning of proverbs and on ways of categorizing situations, events and the reality surround man. The cognitive approach offers the possibility to regard proverbs as representatives of abstract consciousness structuring. As an example, G. Palmer studies proverbial expressions as a variety of cultural postulates, whose cognitive status is similar to propositional models, or schemes, that structure human knowledge about reality. Palmer proposes the following definition of a postulate: "Postulate is ... a verbal predication with relatively abstract cultural imagery at its semantic pole"²³. In his view, postulates are abstractions at their highest, which correspond to religious dogmas and to folklore philosophy reflected in proverbial expressions. These linguistic units record knowledge and experiences transmitted from generation to generation and objectify the main characteristics of concepts, which allow proverbial expressions to reflect the specific nature of the ethnos' cognitive process and provide the opportunity to monitor the associative mechanism in terms of his worldview. General trends in the research of paremiological signs, however, may become less evident. Russian linguistics actively uses the method of cognitive analysis to study proverbial expressions through the lens of their national and cultural aspects. Russian and French proverbs have all the inherent properties of a linguistic sign, which manifest themselves in their didactic nature, semantic diffusiveness, individual meanings preserved in different components of proverbs, their use in speech to generalize a statement or a thought in a didactic way. The didactic nature of proverbs is related to their prescriptive function: *sobriété est mère de santé* (moderation is mother of health), *mauvais accomodement vaut mieux que bon process* (there never was a good war or a bad peace).

In case of proverbs, a class of situations, rather than a specific situation, acts as a reference, which substantiates their diffusive meaning: *tant vaut l'homme, tant vaut la terre* (like priest, like people), *ventre affamé n'a point d'oreilles* (a hungry belly has no ears), and many more. Components of a proverb maintain their individual meanings, for instance, *tel père, tel fils* (like father, like son), *le mieux est l'ennemi du bien* (the perfect is the enemy of the good), *sitôt dit, sitôt fait* (no sooner said than done), *quand on parle du loup, on en voit la queue* (speak of the devil and he will appear), etc. Using proverbs in speech to generalize a statement or a thought in a didactic way makes them effective tools for text organization. People use proverbs not only as communicative linguistic units (phrases), but also as part of phrases. - *La faim chasse le loup du bois et la petite peur pousse aux excuses, hé? dit-il. Tu es coulé, hein, mon bon?* (Hunger is no joke and you'll beg pardon in fear for your life, right? he said. – You're done for, buddy).

The above-mentioned aspects determine the content structure and the syntactic organization of French and Russian proverbs.

In cognitive science, there are similar structures aimed at knowledge representation (cognitive images, schemes, frames and scenarios). The possibility to vary the meaning of proverbial expressions is an important principle that we considered when classifying proverbs illustrating the concept of MONEY. A frame is one of the central figures in

²² Qin. Wang, *Racial Characteristics of Proverbs. Teaching and Learning* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1996).

²³ G. B. Palmer, *Toward a Theory of Cultural Linguistics* (Texas: UT Press, 1996).

knowledge representation. They act as units centered round this or that concept instead of being randomly identified fragments of knowledge²⁴. A. P. Babushkin regards the concept frame as a multifaceted concept containing standard knowledge about the denotation, the phenomenon and the situation²⁵. The name and slots as independent units form the content of a frame. The nature of frames is homogenous²⁶. In his frame theory, M. Minsky puts forward a hypothesis that knowledge about the surrounding reality is structured in the form of cells and is shaped by certain scenarios with a fixed composition of stereotypical situations/frames²⁷. Their clearer structure, as compared to that of concepts, enables them to represent information in an orderly manner. Minsky believes that a two-level structure of top and terminal nodes, as well as links between them are typical of frames. Top nodes contains information about a specific situation, and terminal nodes or slots hold data on a specific practical situation.

Results

Use of the definition analysis and comparison of dictionary definitions of the concept of 'dengi'/'argent' (money) in the Russian and French languages leads to the conclusion that the conceptual content of the notion of money is the same in both languages: metallic and paper money, capital, fortune, means; monetary resources, property, coin, bank drafts, cash and wealth. This fact suggests that the concept of MONEY is universal. The French word 'argent', however, has a distinctive characteristic, which is worth mentioning. Its first meaning is 'silver' (lingot d'argent means 'a silver bar'). Etymologically, this word comes from the Old French 'argent' and the Latin 'argentum' (silver). Its root is the Proto-Indo-European *h₂erǵnt-, *h₂erǵ (white), hence the Ancient Greek ἀργός (white). This word's second and third meanings are metal coins, paper money and capital, financial resources, wealth, that is, everything that money brings to people.

Given that the concept under consideration contains conceptual, figurative and value-based components, it can be assumed that metallic and paper money, capital, fortune and wealth form the conceptual component of the concept of MONEY. Any concept has a cognitive layer with an imagination-based core, because, without it, the concept cannot function as a discrete cognitive unit in the universal subject code²⁸. To establish the value-based component of the concept of MONEY, researchers take into consideration proverbial expressions, which focus on money, reveal people's attitudes towards it and their positive or negative assessments of the concept. The dominant representative lexemes of the concept under study are the following Russian and French lexemes: 'dengi', 'ruble', 'kopeck' and 'argent', 'franc', 'sou'. The French phraseological corpus has preserved the word 'sou' in a small number of idiomatic expressions, despite the fact that it represents an outdated monetary unit. The word 'franc' (equivalent to 100 centimes) was widely used in France, Belgium, their colonies, Switzerland and Luxembourg before 2002.

²⁴ M. A. Forrester, *Psychology of Language (A Critical Introduction)*: New Delhi, 1996).

²⁵ A. P. Babushkin, *Various Types of Concepts in Phraseology and Methods for Detecting Them. Metodologicheskiye problemy kognitivnoy lingvistiki* (Voronezh: Izd-vo Voronezh. gos. un-t, 2001).

²⁶ O. G. Dubrovskaya, *Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of a Comparative Study on Russian and English Proverbs Relating to Intelligence and Stupidity*: Ph.D. Thesis 10.02.20 (Yekaterinburg, 2000) V. P. Dyakonov & A. V. Borisov, "Frame Model of Knowledge Representation", *Osnovy iskusstvennogo intellekta*, (2007): 30-31.

²⁷ M. A. Minski, *Framework for Representing Knowledge*. MIT-AI Laboratory Memo 306. 1979. Retrieved from: <http://web.media.mit.edu/minsky/papers/Frames/frames.html>.

²⁸ Z. D. Popova & I. A. Sternin, *Semantic and Cognitive Language Analysis. Monografiya* (Voronezh: izd-vo Istoki, 2007).

Historically and economically, the euro is now the official currency in the European Union, but the French language still reflects the historical and empirical experience of the French people, related to money and to the traditional attitudes towards money by the French.

This study adopted the method of frame classification of proverbial expressions to identify current 'meanings' of proverbs. The cognitive and semantic analysis of the proverbial corpus along with the use of frame classification of proverbial expressions reveals the key characteristics of a specific culture²⁹.

Seven frames are identified based on proverbial data (around 100 items) and their names reflect the comprehensive representation of the content of proverbs related to the studied concept:

"Money – accumulation, movement" (Un sou amène l'autre. – Деньга деньгу родит. (One coin produces another). Один су приводит другой. (One penny brings another). L'argent va à l'argent. – Деньги к деньгам. (Money [leads] to money). L'argent attire l'argent. – Деньги к деньгам. (Money attracts money). Копейка рубль бережет. (A kopeck saves a ruble), etc.);

"Money – labour, work" (L'argent ne pousse pas sous les arbres. – Деньги не растут под деревьями. (Money does not grow under the trees). L'argent est rond, il faut qu'il roule. (Money is round, it has to roll.) – Деньги не в деньгах, а в делах. (Money is not in money, but in deeds). Денежки круглые – весь век катятся. (Coins are round, they roll all the time). Деньги с неба не падают. (Money does not fall from the sky). Рубль – трудовой, потому и дорогой. (A ruble is based on labour, that is why it is expensive). Копейка рубль бережет, а рубль голову стережет. (A kopeck saves a ruble, and ruble guards one's head/life). Бережливость – это те же деньги. (Thrift is also money). Plaie d'argent n'est pas mortelle. (Money wound is not lethal.) – Деньги не голова – наживное дело. (Money, unlike one's head, can be gained). Не деньги нас наживали, а мы деньги нажили. (The money did not gain us, but we gained the money). Денежная рана не смертельна. (Money wound is not lethal). Pas d'argent, pas de Suisse - Нет денег, нет швейцарцев. (no money, no Swiss); нет денег - нет слуг, даром ничего не дают. (no money, no servants; one does not get anything for free). These words were said in 1521 by members of Swiss mercenary regiments who did not get their salary on time and quit their service to King Francis I of France;

"Money – reasonable expense, economy, thrift" (Garde toujours dans la main un sou pour aujourd'hui et deux pour demain. – Всегда береги один су на сегодня, а два на завтра. (Always keep one penny for today and two for tomorrow). Тот без нужды живет, кто деньги бережет. (One who is thrifty lives without need). Bien met l'argent qui en bon vin l'emploie. (One who buys good wine makes a good use of money.) Работа денежку копит, а вино топит. (Work accumulates money and wine drowns it). Laisse ton argent dans l'obscurité pour qu'il te permette de voir la lumière. (Leave your money in darkness so that

²⁹ O. G. Dubrovskaya, Linguistic and Cultural Aspects of a Comparative Study on Russian and English Proverbs Relating to Intelligence and Stupidity: Ph.D. Thesis 10.02.20 (Yekaterinburg, 2000); V. P. Dyakonov & A. V. Borisov, "Frame Model of Knowledge Representation", *Osnovy iskusstvennogo intellekta*, (2007): 30-31 y T. Yu Zalavina; O. N. Afanasyeva & L. A. Shorokhova, "The Paremiological Concept of 'Money' as a Mental Representation of Knowledge about the World", *Problemy istorii, filologii, kultury*, num 1 (2016): 372-379.

it lets you see the light.) **Il ne faut pas qu'on voit jamais le fond de notre bourse.** (The bottom of our wallet should never be seen.) Il faut toujours garder une réserve d'argent. (One should always keep money in reserve.) **Il n'y a pas de petites économies. (There are no small savings.)** Aucune économie n'est négligeable. (No saving is minor.) L'épargne est une grande richesse – Экономность – большое богатство. (Thrift is great wealth). Бережливость дороже богатства. (Thrift has more worth than wealth). Не деньги богатство – бережливость да разум. (Wealth is not money, but thrift and reason);

“Money VS greed, stinginess” (L'argent est un remède à tout mal, hormis à l'avarice. – Деньги – лекарство, панацея от всего, кроме скупости. (Money is a remedy against everything, except greed.) Qui compte ses sous, se tient loin de tous. – Кто считает свои деньги (су), тот в стороне от всех. (One who counts his money keeps away from everyone.) Un avare qui garde son argent ressemble à un homme qui a du pain devant lui, et qui ne mange pas. – Хранящий свои деньги скупой похож на человека, который не ест хлеб, лежащий перед ним. (A stingy person guarding his money resembles a man who does not eat bread that is in front of him.) L'avare ne tire pas plus d'avantage de son argent que s'il avait des pierres dans ses coffres. – Скупой человек получает пользу от своих денег, как от камней в сундуках (A stingy person gets the same advantage from his money as if he had stones in his chests), etc.);

“Money - transience” (Femme, vent, temps et fortune se changent comme la lune. – Женщина, ветер, время и богатство меняются подобно луне. (Women, wind, time, and fortune change like the Moon.) Деньги приходят и уходят, как вода. (Money comes and goes like water.) **Не легко деньги нажить, а легко прожить. (It is difficult to gain money, but easy to spend.)** Bien met l'argent qui en bon vin l'emploie. (One who buys good wine makes a good use of money.) Работа денежку копит, а вино топит. (Work accumulates money and wine drowns it.) Unlike the Russian proverb, the French one positively assesses spending money on good wine. L'argent ressemble à l'hôte de passage: aujourd'hui il arrive, demain il n'est plus là. – Деньги похожи на гостя: сегодня он пришел, а завтра его здесь уже нет. (Money resembles a guest: today he arrives, tomorrow he is no longer here.) Сегодня густо, а завтра пусто. (Plenty today, empty tomorrow.), etc.);

“Money - power” (Dieu règne au ciel, et l'argent sur la terre. – Бог господствует на небе, а деньги правят на земле. (God reigns in heaven, and money on earth.) Деньги правят миром. (Money rules the world.) У кого в руках, у того и в устах. (One who holds it also eats it.) Une main pleine d'argent est plus forte que deux mains pleines de vérité. – Рука, полная денег, сильнее, чем две руки, полные истины. (One hand full of money is stronger than two hands full of truth.) Marteau d'argent ouvre porte de fer. (Silver hammer opens iron gates.) – Золотой молоток и железные ворота отпирает. (Golden hammer opens iron gates.) Monnaie fait tout (монета делает всё). (A coin does everything). – Денежка дорожку прокладывает. (A coin creates a path.) Quand on contrôle l'argent, on contrôle les hommes. (When one controls money, one controls people.) Clé d'or passe partout. (Golden key fits everywhere.) – Злато не говорит, да много творит. (Gold does not speak, but does much.) Деньги правят миром. (Money rules the world.) У кого в руках, у того и в устах. (One who holds it also eats it.), etc.);

“Money VS happiness, love, friendship, reputation” (Travail pour l'argent et mariage pour l'amour. – Работай за деньги, а женись по любви. (Work for money and marry for love.) L'amour peut beaucoup, l'argent peut tout. – Любовь может многое, деньги могут все. (Love can do much, money can do everything.) Сильна любовь, да деньги сильнее. (Love is strong, but money is stronger.) L'argent ne fait pas le bonheur, mais il y contribue.

– Деньги не приносят счастья, но сопутствуют ему. (Money does not make one happy, but contributes to happiness.) Не в деньгах счастье. (Money does not make one happy.) Деньги – что камень, на душу ложатся. (Money is like a stone, they weigh on one's soul.) Не штука деньги, штука разум. (Money is not a [valuable] thing, reason is.) Деньгами души не выкупишь. (One cannot buy soul with money.) Ne vous mariez pas pour de l'argent, vous pouvez emprunter à meilleur marché. – Не женитесь ради денег, вы можете продешевить. (Do not marry for money, you risk selling yourself short.) Mieux vaut perdre un peu d'argent qu'un peu d'amitié. – Лучше потерять немного денег, чем немного дружбы. (It is better to lose some money than some friendship.) Qui prête de l'argent sans garantie perd l'ami et l'argent. – Кто одалживает деньги без гарантий, теряет друга и деньги. (One who lends money without a guarantee loses both the friend and the money.) Дружба дружбой, а денежки врозь. (We are friends, but each has his own money.) Une once de bonne reputation vaut mieux que mille livres d'or. (An ounce of good reputation is worth more than a thousand pounds of gold.) – Добрая слава дороже денег. (Good reputation has more worth than money.) Qui a beaucoup d'argent et pas d'enfants, il n'est pas riche ; qui a beaucoup d'enfants et pas d'argent, il n'est pas pauvre. – У кого много денег и нет детей, тот не богат; у кого много детей и нет денег, тот не беден. (One who has much money and no children is not rich; one who has many children and no money is not poor.) L'argent est une richesse morte, les enfants sont une richesse vivante. (Money is a dead wealth, children are a living wealth.) Amis valent mieux qu'argent. (Friends are more valuable than money.) Les bons comptes font les bons amis. (Good accounts make good friends.) Счет дружбы не портит. (Accounting does not harm friendship.) Дружба дружбой, а денежкам счет. (We are friends, but money should [still] be counted.) Дружба дружбой, а денежки врозь. (We are friends, but each has his own money.)

Discussion

To achieve the results described above, the present study determined the main characteristics of the concept and the key meanings of the concept of money and identified the lexemes representing this concept in Russian and French mentalities within the framework of the definitional comparison of these lexemes ('dengi', 'argent'). Furthermore, it classified paremiological signs according to frames reflecting the informative representation of proverbial expressions related to the concept under investigation and identified the universal and national components of the Russian and French linguistic consciousness. An analysis of the semantic properties of proverbial expressions related to the concept of MONEY in other languages can be explored through further research. The frame organization of proverbial expressions could contribute to the identification and clarification of universal and specific features of the concept under study in various linguistic communities.

Conclusion

Modern linguistics takes a close interest in studying concept verbalization using the example of one language or by comparing two or more languages. Russian and foreign linguists conduct cognitive analytical research examining phraseological units, that is, proverbial expressions, which are concise, figurative folklore units and informative, didactic mental and ethnic messages, as linguistic means for interpreting reality by this or that ethnos. Russian and French languages use paremiological units to verbalize the concept of MONEY, which belongs to a specific type of paremiological concepts. Proverbs reveal that the Russians and the French have similar perceptions and conceptualizations of the concept of MONEY.

They have similar views on money producing more money and on the need to protect it. Money neither grows on trees nor falls from the sky, and one has to work hard to earn it. The frame classification that had been adopted to examine proverbial expressions of the concept under investigation proved fruitful, because frames concisely transmit and process information about mental attitudes of an ethnos towards money and reveal explicit and implicit information on national values related to this phenomenon in this ethnos' existence. Using the model for describing proverbial expressions helps represent in a more concise way the specific nature of Russian and French mentalities from the linguistic perspective. The titles of the seven frames revealed in this study are as follows: Money is accumulation and movement; Money is work; Money is rational spending, thriftiness and savings; Money is transiency; Money is power; Money vs greed, miserliness; Money vs happiness, love, friendship, reputation. These frames represent the dominant meanings of proverbs and give a full picture of the content of proverbs related to the concept under investigation. The proverbs representing the concept of MONEY that were analyzed in this study show that Russian and French linguistic cultures attribute an outstanding importance to spiritual values, such as health, family, love and friends, rather than material goods, fortune and wealth. Money is the opposite of happiness, love, friendship, avarice and greed. There are differences in associating money with objects, but, for instance, the perception of money's transiency does not change for that reason. For the French and the Russians, money is synonymous with wine and water respectively; money/coins are round and can roll or swim away. However, the French proverb on spending money on good wine shows that the French have a positive attitude towards spending money on alcoholic drinks, whereas a similar Russian proverb reveals a negative attitude of the Russians on the subject. Such differences do exist, but both nations share views on money's transiency, the need for thriftiness, give negative assessments of avarice, greed and the power of money and argue in favor of preserving priority values, such as love, happiness and friendship. All of these features relating to money are present in the French and Russian linguistic cultures.

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