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Towards a linguistic vision of the world at the paremiological level of language*

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This article examines the thematic groups of the Russian paremiological minimum of Grigoriy Permyakov, and its reflection in various foreign paremiological corpora, to support the idea of the specifics of a linguistic picture of the world at the paremiological level of language. The authors' collections of Slavonic proverbs from 2000–2019 are utilized. The work applies the approach of contrastive paremiological studies promulgated by Valeriy Mokienko, in order to demonstrate the systematic characteristics of the paremiological level of expression: polysemantic, currently synonymous (70 groups) and antonymous (30 groups) Russian proverbs. Some proverbs are found in several synonymous and/or antonymous pairs: from our database, the total number of proverbial synonyms is 195 out of 500 proverbs, and of proverbial antonyms 83 out of 500 (as a result, approximately 39% of our Russian paremiological minimum are in a synonymous relationship and approximately 17% of proverbs are in an antonymous relationship). The authors conclude that the synonymous proverbs appear in all 12 groups of our thematic classification of Russian proverbs and the antonymous Russian proverbs appear in 10 thematic chapters out of 12. It is proposed that the thematic subgroups, containing synonyms or/and antonyms, are the dominating segments of the Russian proverbial representation of the world, which highlight the most important sides of the Russian conception of life embodied in proverbs.

Keywords: paremiological level, paremiological minimum, proverbial representation of the world, Russian language, thematic classification.

Introduction

Professor Valeriy Mokienko outlined the following linguistic aspects of Slavonic paremiology: traditions and the present in paremiology and paremiography, the contemporary paremiography of Slavonic languages; proverbs and sayings: the status, terminol-

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ogy and aspects of research; functioning of paremias in modern literary languages, media and living speech; variability of paremias as reflection of their dynamics; cognitive aspects of research on proverbs; paremiological minimum; cross-language comparison and historical-etymological analysis of Slavonic proverbs [Mokienko 2018: 251–271].

This research has been conducted in accordance with Prof. Mokienko's outline. The purpose of this study, in regard to the thematic groups of the Russian paremiological minimum, is to describe the phenomena of polysemy, synonymy, and antonymy as highlighters of the paremiological level of the Russian language, on the one hand, and to demonstrate the most vivid thematic segments of the Russian proverbial representation of the world, containing proverbial synonyms and antonyms, on the other hand.

To solve the problem, we utilize the collections of Slavonic proverbs from 2000 to 2019 and the approach of contrastive contextual and linguistic cultural studies is applied [RSDP 2000; HP-1 2013; HP-4 2018; HP-6 2019].

Taking into consideration that a proverb points to a situation and that the connotative aspect predominates over the denotative and significative in the semantic structure of a proverb, we demonstrate that proverbial synonyms are tokens of identical situations and paremiological antonyms are signs of opposite situations.

Following the Russian paremiologist Grigoriy Permyakov, we determine the paremiological polysemy, synonymy, and antonymy as the semantic features of the language's paremiological system, i.e. the paremiological level of the Russian language [Permyakov 1979; 1988].

Semantic specifics of the Russian paremiological system: proverbial polysemy, synonymy, and antonymy. The structure of the entry in the dictionary of proverbs

It is important to clarify from the outset the mechanism by which the dictionary definition of the Russian proverb is established on the basis of our paremiographic experience. This mechanism reflects various problems of paremiology and paremiography. Here, we will apply the principles and structure of the *Russian-Slavonic Dictionary of Proverbs with English Parallels* (RSDP), published by Kotova in 2000 [RSDP 2000].

This creative process of establishing a definition of a proverb is influenced by the composition of the dictionary, the system of mutual connections of proverbs (proverbial polysemy, synonymy, antonymy), and the lexical semantics of the components of proverbs.

The RSDP consists of four parts. We designate them here in the order of their applicability to our paremiographic work; this does not correspond to their order in the contents of RSDP: the thematic index of Russian proverbs; the alphabetical index of all components of Russian proverbs from the RSDP, the dictionary (the main part); alphabetical indexes of all foreign proverbs included in the dictionary.

Thematic classification helps to identify the polysemy of proverbs, thanks to their uninhibited inclusion into various thematic groups.

In RSDP 24% of our proverbial material is presented in several thematic sections at the same time; hence, a quarter of Russian proverbs are polysemantic. This data is found in the process of the creation of the index for all components of Russian proverbs, where at each head-word proverb entry, an arrow points to the numbers of chapters and headings of the thematic index in which this proverb is given.

The following types of polysemantic proverbs are to be found:

- proverbs with a figurative form of expression, e.g.: *Не так страшен черт, как его малюют* (lit. “The devil is not as terrible as he is depicted”). ‘1. Encouragement to act despite obvious difficulties; 2. rejoicing in connection with the successful business, which at first seemed very difficult’ [RSDP 2000: 174] (cf. the English proverbial parallel: *The devil is not so black as he is painted* [HP-4: 142]);
- proverbs with a direct form of expression, e. g.: *Там хорошо, где нас нет* (lit. “It’s good where we are not”) ‘1. This is said when looking for something better; 2. A cautious remark about the praise of distant and hard-to-reach places’ [RSDP 2000: 169] (cf. the English proverbial parallel: *The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence* [HP-4: 146]);
- proverbs with semantic duality, e. g.: *Чем бы дитя ни тешилось, лишь бы не плакало* /lit. “It does not matter how the child plays, the most important thing is that the child does not cry.” ‘1. This is said by parents about children, forgiving all their pranks and fulfilling all their desires, so that they do not disturb others; 2. about somebody who finds comfort and enjoyment in any situation, which other people see as an empty caprice, but they forgive him for it, feeling sorry for him’ [RSDP 2000: 52].

Synonymous proverbs are clearly indicated in separate subheadings of the thematic index, for example:

А Васька слушает, да ест /lit. “Well, Vaska the cat listens, but eats”/ — *В одно ухо вошло, а в другое вышло* /lit. “It went in one ear and came out the other”/;

Вор у вора дубинку украл /lit. “The thief stole the truncheon from the thief”/— *Мошенник на мошеннике сидит и мошенником погоняет* /lit. “The swindler sits on a swindler and drives a swindler”/;

Снявши голову, по волосам не плачут /lit. “Those left without their head, do not cry for their hair”/ — *После драки кулаками не машут* /lit. “They don’t wave their fists after a fight”/;

Назвался груздем — полезай в кузов /lit. “If you call yourself a mushroom — get in the basket”/— *Взялся за гуж — не говори, что не дюж* /lit. “If you start to do something — do not say that you are not strong”/, and others.

Some dictionary entries also contain antonyms, for example:

На Бога надейся, а сам не плошай /lit. “God saves those who save themselves”/ (cf. the English proverbial parallel *God helps those who help themselves* [HP-4: 64]);

‘You must fight for your goals, you should not just passively wait for the mercy of God (fate) (this is said when one has to demonstrate courage and decisiveness)’ (opposite: *Человек предполагает, а Бог располагает* — En. Man proposes, God disposes) [RSDP 2000: 22].

Accordingly, the synonymy and antonymy of Russian proverbs is made manifest in the thematical index of the RSDP.

The definition of a proverb reflects the relationship with the various thematic chapters of the thematic index in which the interpreted proverb is included. This relationship either provides grounds for the establishment of several proverbial meanings, or it is brought into the definition of a single meaning of the proverb, for example:

Одна паршивая овца все стадо портит /lit. “One black sheep spoils the whole flock”/ ‘1. About a person who violates a family’s well-being with his nefarious actions; 2. about a person who is negatively perceived in society, and differs sharply from all the others’ [RSDP 2000: 104] (cf. the English proverbial parallel *There is a black sheep in every flock* [HP-4: 153]). This proverb is placed in the thematic index under two headings: in the fourth section, “Children — parents”, of the fourth chapter, “House. Family. Children. Parents. Raising children”; and in the twelfth section, “Head — subordinates”, of the eighth chapter, “The relationship between people”;

Старого воробья на мякине не проведешь /lit. “An old sparrow is not caught with chaff”/ ‘An elderly, experienced man who cannot be fooled by primitive tricks’ [RSDP 2000: 35] (cf. the English proverbial parallel *Old birds are not caught with chaff* [HP-4: 116]). The proverb is included in three thematic headings: the thirteenth subheading, “Ability — inability”, of the first thematic chapter, “Coping. Work. Occupation. Learning. — Rest. Idleness. Laziness. Ignorance”; in the fifth subheading, “Mind — age”, of the second chapter, “Person”; and in the second subheading, “Youth — old age”, of the fourth chapter, “House. Family. Children. Parents. Raising children.”

The thematic index is organized according to the dichotomous principle, which is manifested in most of the titles of chapters and subheadings, and in the location of proverbial material: if in this category there are proverbial correlations between the different polarities of the title, they are located in two columns; if the dichotomy is the essence of the semantics of the proverb and is inextricably included in its internal form, the proverbs are located in one column in the middle of the page, for example:

«VII. Love. Friendship.

3) Love — indifference.

Любовь горы свернет

/lit. “Love will move mountains”/

С глаз долой — из сердца вон

/lit. “Out of sight out of mind”/

4) Love — hate.

От любви до ненависти один шаг

/lit. “From love to hate there is one step”/» [RSDP 2000: 193–194]

Let us consider the relationship of the paremiological meaning and the lexical meaning of words-components in proverbs with a direct form of expression (e.g., *Обещанного три года ждут* /lit. “For something promised we wait three years”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *A promise costs nothing* [HP-4: 21]), with a figurative expression (e.g., *Своя рубашка ближе к телу* /lit. “His own shirt is closer to his body”/) and in proverbs with semantic duality (e.g., Russian *Не хлебом единым жив человек* /lit. “No one lives on bread alone”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Man shall not live by bread alone* [HP-4: 102]).

The proverb *Обещанного три года ждут* /lit. For something promised, we wait three years/ does not contain an allegory and it has no imagery, so only background knowledge will help a foreigner (for ex., a Pole) to recognize a proverb in this sentence and suggest a connection with the Polish proverbial parallel *Obiecanki, cacanki, a głupiemu radość* /lit. “Promises are rattles, and a stupid amusement for stupid people”/.

The Russian maxim turned from a sentence with free meaning into a proverb owing to such acquired features as reproducibility, expressiveness, aphoristic characteristics, didacticism and, most importantly, the ability to function as a sign of a certain situation.

If we turn to the thematic index, we will find it listed in four situations, the sign of which this proverb can be:

- 1) the first theme “Coping. Work. Occupation. Learning. — Rest. Idleness. Laziness. Ignorance”, the tenth subgroup “Words (promises) — deeds”
- 2) the eighth theme “The relationship between people,” the second subgroup “Gratitude — ingratitude for help,”
- 3) the eighth theme “The relationship between people,” the fifth subgroup “Generous gift — humble gift”
- 4) the eighth theme “The relationship between people,” the eleventh subgroup “Promise — keeping a promise.”

In the definitions of this Proverb in the RSDP, these situations are summarized under two meanings: ‘1. a consolation to the one who hopes somebody will fulfil his promises, 2. this is said mockingly by somebody who has deceived a naive and trusting person by promising him anything’ [RSDP 2000: 103].

Thus, the definition does not show the interpretation of the literal meaning of the proverb, but serves as information about the scope, conditions, and situation of Russian proverbs’ function: *Обещанного три года* /lit. “For something promised we wait three years”/, including the characteristics of emotional and expressive colouring in its use.

An example of a proverb with an allegorical (figurative) form of expression and vivid imagery (inner form) is *Своя рубашка ближе к телу* /lit. “His own shirt is closer to his body”/ ‘1. This is said about a selfish person who thinks only about his own interests; 2. about a person who cares only about his belongings and does not worry about the safety of someone else’s property’ [RSDP 2000: 130]. It is represented in the thematic index within two themes:

- 1) the third theme “Character. Psyche. Morality. Emotions,” the fifth subgroup “Selfishness”;
- 2) the eighth theme “The Relationship between people,” the seventh subgroup “My own — the other.”

Its semantics is due primarily to the literal meaning of its two components — *one’s own* and *closer*. The components *shirt* and *body* work to create an image (note its active foreign proverbial parallels, for example, Polish *Bliższa koszula ciału* /lit. “The shirt is closer to the body”/).

The lexical dichotomy *their own* — *someone else’s* determines a paremiological opposition in the seventh subgroup, “My own — the other”, of the eighth theme in the thematic index. In the left column there are the proverbs *В чужой монастырь со своим уставом не ходи* /lit. “Do not go to a foreign monastery with your charter”/ (cf. the English proverbial parallel *When in Rome, do as the Romans do* [HP-4: 173]) and *Своя рубашка (рубаша) ближе к телу* /lit. “His own shirt is closer to his body”/. In the right hand column there are the proverbs *На чужой каравай рот не разевай* /lit. “On someone else’s loaf do not open your mouth”/ and *Чужую беду руками разведу, а к своей и ума не приложу* /lit. “I will help someone else’s misfortune, but I cannot solve my own problem”/. In the left column, the semantic centre of the proverbs is the component *own*, and in the right — the semantic dominant is the component of *someone else’s*.

The more meanings a Russian proverb has, the more complicated it becomes to match it with a foreign paremiological equivalent. The process of this matching becomes more difficult in the case of synonymous relationships of a proverb in the Russian proverbial system.

Themes of proverbial representation of the world, reflected by synonymous and antonymous Russian proverbs

Synonymous proverbs

According to Outi Lauhakangas, “with the term synonymy we refer to proverbs, which have the same idea but not the same form. If proverbs have both the same idea and they vary only by some words or grammatical structures, they are proverb variants to each other” [Lauhakangas 2014: 54].

Examining the coverage of synonymous Russian proverbs in the thematic index of the RSDP [RSDP 2000: 182–203], which includes 500 Russian proverbs, we come to the following results:

- 1) The number of synonymous groups in the thematic index is 70 (from two to eight proverbs in one synonymous group). Some proverbs are represented in several synonymous groups; the total number of proverbs within the 70 synonymous groups is 195.
- 2) Synonymous Russian proverbs appeared in all 12 thematic chapters (themes), but not in every subgroup of these themes.

Antonymous proverbs

Our research into proverbial antonyms is based on the concept of linguistic opposites (Lev Novikov) and on the ideas of objectification of antinomies and classification of antinomies (Wilhelm von Humboldt, Alexander Potebnya, Pavel Florensky, Yuri Apresyan, Tatyana Bochina, E. N. Miller, E. Rodicheva, Nikolai Shanskiy and others).

We are also aware of the results Russian researcher Natalia Golembovskaja's candidate's thesis. Golembovskaja was the first within the field of contrastive paremiology to study the problem of the expression of the antonymy in Russian and Lithuanian proverbs [Golembovskaja 2013; 2014]. Her dissertation contains a detailed survey of the representation of the established structure of linguistic and cultural antinomies in the semantics of Russian and Lithuanian. The analysis of the lexical and grammatical means of expressing antinomy, and the consideration of the norms and contexts of the use of antonyms is based on a field approach. She analyzed the whole Russian proverbial corpus regardless of the current frequency of proverbs. This is the difference between her approach and ours.

We have come to the following conclusions:

- 1) The number of antonymous groups in the thematic index is 30 (from two to eight proverbs in one antonymous group). Some proverbs are represented in several antonymous groups; the total number of proverbs within the antonymous groups is 83;
- 2) antonymous Russian proverbs appeared in ten thematic chapters (themes I–IX, XII), but not in every subgroup of these themes.

Let us examine here the coverage of the actively used synonymous and antonymous Russian proverbs in the thematic index of the RSDP and illustrate the whole thematic classification with all subgroups; an asterisk (*) is used to distinguish the subgroups containing actively used proverbial synonyms; the hash symbol (#) marks the subgroups with active proverbial antonyms.

THE THEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF RUSSIAN PROVERBS IN THE RSDP:

I. Coping. Work. Occupation. Learning. — Rest. Idleness. Laziness. Ignorance

- 1) * Beginning — end
- 2) * Condition — effect
- 3) Reason — consequence
- 4) * # Purpose — means (* Synonyms: *Игра не стоит свеч* /lit. “The game is not worth the candle”/; *Овчинка выделки не стоит* /lit. “The sheepskin is not worth the manufacturing”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *The game is not worth the candle* [HP-4 2018: 145] vs. # an antonym: *Игра стоит свеч* /lit. “The game is worth the candle”/)
- 5) Whole (total) — essential
- 6) # Large — small
- 7) # Search — find
- 8) Success — failure
- 9) # Seriousness — carelessness
- 10) * # Words (promises) — deeds (# an antonym: *Обещанного 3 года ждут* /lit. “For something promised we are waiting for three years”/, see the English proverbial parallel *A promise costs nothing* [HP-4 2018: 21] vs. * Synonyms *Сказано — сделано* /lit. “Said — done”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *So said, so done* [HP-4 2018: 132]; *Назвался груздем — полезай в кузов* /lit. “If you call yourself a mushroom — get in the basket”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *In for a penny, in for a pound* [HP-4 2018: 84])
- 11) Work — result
- 12) * Work — Rest — Pampering
- 13) * # Skill — lack of practice (# an antonym: *Терпение и труд все перетрут* /lit. “Tolerance and hard work will do everything”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Care and diligence bring luck* [HP-4 2018: 37] vs. * the synonyms *Работа дураков любит* /lit. “Work loves fools”/; *Работа не волк, в лес не убежит* /lit. “Work is not a wolf, it won’t escape to the forest”/)
- 14) * Diligence — laziness
- 15) Diligence
- 16) * # Learning, knowledge — ignorance, inattention (*synonyms *Век живи — век учишь* /lit. “Live a century — learn a century”/; *Повторенье — мать ученья* /lit. “Repetition is the mother of learning”/; *Ученье — свет, неученье — тьма* /lit. “Learning is light, laziness is darkness”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Live and learn* [HP-4 2018: 97] vs. # an antonym *Много будешь знать — скоро состаришься* /lit. If you learn much you will soon grow old/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Too much knowledge makes the head bald* [HP-4 2018: 163])

II. Person (human)

- 1) # Appearance (beautiful-ugly; clothes; health and state of mind)
- 2) * Dignity — vices
- 3) Drunk — sober
- 4) # Mind — stupidity
- 5) Mind — age
- 6) Sly person — simpleton
- 7) # Language, speech — silence

III. Character. Psyche. Morality. Emotions

- 1) Modesty — bragging (boasting)
- 2) * Stealth
- 3) Coldness — kindness, tenderness
- 4) * # Optimism — uncertainty (* synonyms *Где наша не пропадала!* /lit. “We will not be lost!”/, *Не боги горшки обжигают* /lit. “It’s not the gods who burn pots”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *What man has done, man can do* [HP-4 2018: 170] vs. #an antonym *Как бы чего не вышло* /lit. “It could result in undesirable consequences”/
- 5) * Selfishness
- 6) Commitment — caution
- 7) * Conscience
- 8) * Freedom, independence — constrained desires
- 9) * Satisfaction — unsatisfied desire
- 10) * # Courage — fear (* synonyms *Волков бояться — в лес не ходить* /lit. “If you are afraid of wolves, do not go to the forest”/; *Где наша не пропадала!* /lit. “We will not be lost!”/, *Кто смел, тот и съел* /lit. “He that is brave will eat”/; *Либо пан, либо пропал* /lit. “Win or lose”/; *Риск — благородное дело* /lit. “Risk is a noble thing”/; *Смелость города берет* /lit. “The brave conquer cities”/; *Чем черт не шутит* /lit. “What tricks does not the devil play”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *He that fears every bush must never go a-birding* [HP-4 2018: 71] vs. # an antonym *У страха глаза велики* /lit. “Fear has huge eyes”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Fear has magnifying eyes* [HP-4 2018: 58])
- 11) * Despair — bravado

IV. House. Family. Children. Parents. Education (Raising children, Upbringing)

- 1) * House. Family.
- 2) # Youth — old age
- 3) Husband — wife
- 4) # Children — parents
- 5) * Pampering — disobedience

V. Property. Owner. Guest. Wealth

- 1) House, property
- 2) * Host — guest
- 3) * Food, treat

- 4) # Economy — mismanagement
- 5) * # Thrift — wastefulness (* synonyms *Денежки счет любят* /lit. “Money likes to be counted”/; *Копейка рубль бережет* /lit. “A kopek will save a ruble”/, cf. also the English proverbial parallel *You look after the pennies, the pounds look after themselves* vs. an antonym *Деньги — дело наживное* /lit. “Money is an accumulative business”/)
- 6) * # Wealth — poverty (# an antonym *Не было ни гроша, да вдруг алтын* /lit. “He had no money, but suddenly he got a lot of money at once”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *From rags to riches* [HP-4 2018: 63] vs. * synonyms *Где тонко, там и рвется* /lit. “It tears in the weakest part”/; *Не до жиру, быть бы живу* /lit. “Being alive is more important than being fat”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *A chain is no stronger than its weakest link* [HP-4 2018: 11])

VI. Time. Patience

- 1) Past — present — future
- 2) * Provision of time — lack of time
- 3) * Slowness
- 4) Delay
- 5) * Summing up
- 6) * # Call for patience — impatience (# an antonym *Терпи, казак, атаманом будешь* /lit. “Be patient, soldier, you will become a commander”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *While there is life, there is hope* [HP-4 2018: 174] vs. the synonyms *Всему есть предел* /lit. “Everything has its limit”/; *Всякому терпению приходит конец* /lit. “Each act of patience gets to the end”/)

VII. Love. Friendship

- 1) * Love mutual
- 2) * # Love unrequited (* synonyms *Насильно мил не будешь* /lit. “You cannot make somebody fall in love with you”/; *Сердцу не прикажешь* /lit. “You cannot force your heart”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *You can take a horse to water, but you cannot make him drink* [HP-4 2018: 179] vs. an antonym *Стерпится — слюбится* /lit. “You will get used to him/her and then you will love him/her”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Marry first and love will come afterwards* [HP-4 2018: 103])
- 3) # Love — indifference
- 4) Love — hate
- 5) Lack of choice
- 6) The consequences of love drama
- 7) Love after forty (male — female)
- 8) Wedding
- 9) * # Friendship — aversion (* synonyms *Человек человеку друг* /lit. “A man is man’s best friend”/; *Не имей сто рублей, а имей сто друзей* /lit. “Don’t have a hundred rubles, but have a hundred friends”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *A friend in need is a friend indeed* vs. # an antonym *Человек человеку волк* /lit. “A man is a wolf to a man”/)

- 10) * # Assistance (Help) of a friend (# an antonym *Не в службу, а в дружбу* /lit. “Not through duty, but friendship”/ vs. * synonyms *Дружба дружбой, а служба службой* /lit. “Friendship is friendship, but service is service”/; *Свои люди — сочтемся* /lit. “We are close friends and will settle up”/; *Дружба дружбой, а табачок врозь* /lit. “Friendship is friendship, but tobacco is something else”/)
- 11) * Similarity — dissimilarity of friends
- 12) * Equality — non-equality

VIII. The relationship between people

- 1) # Good — bad person in relations with other people (callousness, narcissism, predation, ingratitude, duplicity, meanness, ignorance, and selfishness)
- 2) * Gratitude — ingratitude for help
- 3) * # The unity of the individual and society — the isolation of the individual from society (* synonyms *Один за всех, все за одного* /lit. “One for all, all for one”/; *Один в поле не воин* /lit. “One is not able to struggle alone”/; *Одна ласточка весны не делает* /lit. “One swallow does not make a spring”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *One swallow does not make a summer* [HP-4 2018: 122] as # antonyms vs. * synonyms *Живи своим умом* /lit. “Live on one’s wits”/; *Каждому свое* /lit. “To each his own”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *To each his own* [HP-4 2018: 162]; *Каждый сам за себя отвечает* /lit. “Each is responsible for himself”/)
- 4) Community — dependency
- 5) * # Generous gift — humble gift (# an antonym *Не дорог подарок, дорога любовь* /lit. “We appreciate not a gift, but love”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Small gifts keep friendship alive* [HP-4 2018: 131] vs. * the synonyms *Дареному коню в зубы не смотрят* /lit. “Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Don’t look a gift horse in the mouth* [HP-4 2018: 103]; *С паршивой овцы хоть шерсти клок* /lit. “Even a shred of wool is good enough if it appears from a black sheep”/)
- 6) Fed — hungry
- 7) My own — the other
- 8) Meeting — parting
- 9) Humility — pride (arrogance)
- 10) Sympathy — indifference
- 11) Promise — keeping a promise
- 12) * Superior (Boss) — subordinates

IX. Conflict

- 1) The Source of the conflict — the outcome of the conflict
- 2) Strength — weakness
- 3) Repentance; reconciliation
- 4) * # Compromise — stubbornness, intransigence (*the synonyms *Худой мир лучше доброй ссоры* /lit. “Better a lean peace than a good quarrel”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Better a lean peace than a good quarrel* [RSPD 2000: 95]; *И волки сыты, и овцы целы* /lit. “When the wolves are full, the sheep are

unharmed”/ vs. # an antonym **Нашла коса на камень** /lit. “Scythe ran against the stone”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Diamond cut diamond* [HP-4 2018: 42])

- 5) * Guilt — innocence (injustice)
- 6) * Resentment — threat
- 7) Talkativeness — restraint
- 8) * # Crime (offence) — disclosure (* the synonyms **Вор у вора дубинку украл** / lit. “The thief stole the baton from the thief”/; **Мошенник на мошеннике сидит и мошенником погоняет** /lit. “A swindler sits on a swindler and drives a swindler”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *To deceive a deceiver is no deceit* [HP-4 2018: 162]); (# the antonyms **Не пойман — не вор** /lit. “You cannot call someone a thief until you catch him stealing”, cf. the English dialect proverbial parallel *A blot is no blot unless it be hit* [RSDP 2000: 34]/ — **На воре шапка горит** /lit. The thief’s hat burns/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *He that has a great nose thinks everybody is speaking of it* [HP-4 2018: 72])

X. Happiness — trouble

- 1) * Happiness — misfortune
- 2) * Joy — trouble

XI. Life. Death. Recommendations

- 1) * Life — death
- 2) * Intelligence — stupidity
- 3) Distinction — similarity
- 4) Tips and precautions

XII. Fate. God

- 1) * # Fatality of the past, present and future (* synonyms **Каждый кузнец своего счастья** /lit. “Every man is a blacksmith of his own fortune”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Every man is the architect of his own fortune* [HP-4 2018: 54]; **Береженого Бог бережет** /lit. “He that takes care is saved by God”/; **На Бога надейся, а сам не плошай** /lit. “God saves those who save themselves”/ ‘You must fight in the name of your goals, you should not just passively wait for the mercy of God (fate) (this is said, when you have to show courage and decisiveness)’ vs. an antonym **Человек предполагает, а Бог располагает** /lit. “Man proposes, God disposes”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Man proposes, God disposes* [HP-4 2018: 101])
- 2) * Objective — subjective
- 3) * Duality of phenomena
- 4) Large amount — small amount
- 5) The main matter — the secondary matter
- 6) * Secret — explicit
- 7) * Truth — deception
- 8) * Good — bad
- 9) * God

The subheadings with signs “#” and “*”, mentioned above, demonstrate the special segments of the Russian proverbial representation of the world. Their specificity is obvious because of the number of synonymous and antonymous proverbs which highlight the thematic significance of the segments of the proverbial vision of the world.

To specify the paremiological antonymy, we have to point out the following types of antonymous oppositions:

- a) Grammatical correlations, which differ by positive/negative forms of verbs, for ex., *Яйца курицу не учат* /lit. “Eggs do not teach a hen”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Don't teach your grandmother to suck eggs* [HP-4 2018: 47] — *Яйца курицу учат* /lit. “Eggs do teach a hen”/ (two examples);
- b) Antonymous proverbial pairs created by antonymous proverbial components, for ex., *Человек человеку друг* /lit. “A man is man’s best friend”/ *Человек человеку волк* /lit. “A man is a wolf to a man”/ (one example);
- c) Proverbial antonyms without any of the component correlations mentioned above, but with just the main characteristics: they designate opposite situations (e.g., the antonyms from chapter V, subheading four, “Economy — mismanagement”: # *Готовь сани летом, а телегу зимой* /lit. “Prepare your sledge in summer and your cart in winter”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel *Providing is preventing* [HP-4 2018: 126] — *Гром не грянет — мужик не перекрестится* /lit. “If there is no thunder, a peasant will not cross himself”/, cf. the old English proverbial parallel *Don't have thy cloak to make when it begins to rain* [RSDP 2000: 45])

Russian synonymous proverbs and their corresponding proverbial parallels in foreign languages. Use of proverbs on the internet

Not all Russian proverbial synonyms match foreign examples. Let us select, for example, two other current Slavonic paremiological corpora (Bulgarian and Polish) and one German. The Bulgarian and Polish proverbial material from our collections of Slavonic proverbs from the years 2000–2019 [RSDP 2000; HP-1 2013; HP-6 2019] are used here in comparison to German proverbs from the internet database SWP and the set of common proverbs by Kathrin Steyer [SWP; Steyer 2012].

Here we provide three examples from three different thematic chapters where all the above mentioned languages are represented:

- a) Chapter I. Coping. Work. Occupation. Learning. — Rest. Idleness. Laziness. Ignorance (Diligence — laziness).

Two Russian proverbial synonyms:

Без труда не вытащишь и рыбки из пруда /lit. “You don’t easily pull out even a fish from the pond”/ ‘Even the smallest business requires effort for its successful implementation’ — En. proverb *He who would catch fish must not mind getting wet* [RSDP 2000: 159]

“Село было большое, народу встречалось много, и все говорили: “Какое счастье, как же ты её (щуку) вытащил?” Рыбак спокойно и чуть насмешливо всем отвечал: “Без труда не вытащишь и рыбку из пруда!” ” (<http://fraise.ru/index.php>).

and *Любишь кататься — люби и саночки возить* /lit. “Love to ride — love to carry a sledge”/ ‘Industrious and thrifty people should work hard to get the pleasure they want’ — En. proverb *He that would have eggs must endure the cackling of hens* [RSDP 2000: 134–135]

“Они не заморачивались: любит, не любит. И любили напропалую. Но как в любви без страданий? ... Так вот, дорогие мужчины, окружайте нас любовью, радуйте нас и страдайте вместе с нами. Любишь кататься, люби и саночки возить” [PR].

These proverbs have the following proverbial parallels:

— two Bulgarian synonymous proverbs: *Без мокри гащи раци не се ловят* /lit. “No wet pants no crabs to catch”/

«Тия пицови му отиваха като на свинче звънче, но той и без това не ги ползваше, знаеше че без мокри гащи раци не се ловят» [HP-1 2013: 11];

Сухи гащи риба не ядат /lit. “Dry pants do not eat fish”/

“Тук му е мястото да кажем, че сухи гащи риба не ядат... не, че при мокрите е обратно!” [HP-1 2013: 216];

— three Polish synonymous proverbs: *Bez pracy nie ma kołaczy* /lit. “No work no cakes”/

“Kolejne miesiące nauki będą za sobą niosły wiele pracy i wysiłku, bo jak mówi powiedzenie „Bez pracy nie ma kołaczy”. Życie nieustannie nas zaskakuje, więc nigdy nie wiemy, kiedy zdobyta wiedza będzie nam potrzebna. Zwykle dostrzegamy to dopiero w dorosłym życiu” [HP-6 2019: 10];

Pieczone gołąbki nie lecą same do gąbki /lit. “Stuffed cabbage rolls don’t fly by themselves into a mouth”/

Ktoś napisał, że zorganizowany w „samochodówce” Dzień ON miał na celu nie tyle aktywizację, co zapobieganie wykluczeniu w przyszłości... Ciekawa jestem jak ten ktoś, wyobraża sobie zapobieganie wykluczeniu bez aktywizacji... Jakaś nowa, cudowna metoda? Nie znam takiej — aby zapobiegać wykluczeniu muszą działać wszystkie strony, a szczególnie ON. Bez aktywizacji, wskazywania sposobów i alternatyw nie będzie efektów... Pieczone gołąbki nie lecą same do gąbki [HP-6 2019: 210–211];

Cierp ciało, kiedyś chciało /lit. “The human body must suffer for its desires”/

“Cierp ciało — kiedyś chciało!.. —Będziesz miało na coś głosowało. Poniewczasie powiecie — głos wznosząc do krzyku: „już odzyskałem rozum!”: Lecz ręka...w nocniku” [HP-6 2019: 23];

— a German proverb: *Ohne Fleiß kein Preis* /lit. “No pain, no gain”/

“Ohne Fleiß kein Preis — dieser Sinnspruch hat auch im Profi-Fußball sein Gültigkeit. So hat mangelnder Lerneifer jetzt dem Fußball-Trainer der israelischen U-21-Nationalmannschaft den Job gekostet.” Quelle [SWP].

All these proverbs are united by one common meaning: ‘effort is the main clue to success.’

b) Chapter III. Character. Psyche. Morality. Emotions (Courage — fear)

Two Russian Proverbial synonyms *Обжегшись на молоке, дуют и на воду* /lit. “One who’s been burned with milk blows even on water”/ ‘About a man who takes excessive care, fearing that the old troubles will recur’ [RSDP 2000: 96]

“Этих девушек я хоть понимаю: обжегшись на молоке и на воду дуют. Понятно, что пережив ад на земле в предыдущих отношениях, они осторожничают и стараются обезопасить себя” [ZD].

and *Пуганая ворона (Пуганый заяц) и куста боится* /lit. “Frightened crow (Frightened hare) is afraid of a bush”/ ‘About a cowardly or cautious person who considers the most insignificant circumstances (things, objects) dangerous for himself’ [RSDP 2000: 36]

“Пуганая ворона куста боится, — смеясь, сказал Артемьев. — Капарин этот — трус, да разве он на что-либо решится? <...> Пуганый заяц и пенька боится”¹.

have the following parallel foreign proverbs:

— a Bulgarian proverbial parallel: *Парен каша духа* /lit. “The one who is burned, blows on porridge”/

“Както казва една стара, българска, народна мъдрост: „Парен, каша духа“. Този път българинът няма да се остави да бъде манипулиран, а ще търси правата си.” [HP-1 2013:184–185];

— a Polish proverbial parallel: *Kto się /raz/ na gorącym sparzy (sparzył) na zimne dmucha* /lit. “The one who is once burned on hot, blows on cold”/

“Kto się na gorącym sparzy na zimne dmucha. Tusk już POkazał co Potrafi. Była wysoka woda i co?” [HP-6 2019:133];

— a German proverbial parallel: *Gebranntes Kind scheut das Feuer* /lit. “A burnt child dreads the fire”/

Gebranntes Kind scheut das Feuer? Auch dieses Sprichwort hat aber offensichtlich keine Gültigkeit, zumindest wenn es um die Ehe geht. Denn viele Menschen entschließen sich, doch noch einmal zu heiraten, manchmal im fortgeschrittenen Alter, wenn das Motiv zur Familiengründung mit Kindern bereits wegfällt. Quelle. [SWP].

The common seme in the semantic structure of each proverb in item B is ‘previous misfortune leads to extra precautions’ (cf. also the English proverbial correspondence *Once bitten, twice shy* [HP-4 2018: 118]).

c) Chapter XII. Fate. God (Duality of phenomena)

Two Russian proverbial synonyms: *Нет худа без добра* /lit. “There is no trouble without luck”/ ‘This is said in those cases when one wants to reassure someone in a difficult situation, stressing that this provision can give positive results’ [RSDP 2000: 171].

“Вот так, нет худа без добра! Если бы не сломался тот подъемник, мы бы так возможно и не покатались бы в таком замечательном лесу!” [http://vkusno-foto.ru/]

and *Не было бы счастья, да несчастье помогло* /lit. “There would be no happiness, but the misfortune has helped”/ ‘Failure was the reason for success’ [RSDP 2000: 155].

“Не было бы счастья (1 сезон) — Все серии — Мелодрама | Русские мелодрамы HD” [YT]

have the following proverbial parallels:

— a Bulgarian proverb: *Всяко зло за добро* /lit. “There is no trouble without luck”/

¹ URL: <https://translate.academic.ru> (Access date 12.11.2019).

“Той банкрутирал в Швеция и — всяко зло за добро — емигрирал във Финландия, после в Санкт Петербург, където направил пари” [HP-1 2013: 41];

— two Polish synonymous proverbs: *Nie ma tego złego, co by na dobre nie wyszło* / lit. “There is no such bad, that does not lead to good”/

“Rodzina myślała, że śpię i nie chciała mi przeszkadzać. Sylwester, który miał się okazać dla mnie katastrofą okazał się piękną chwilą z najlepszą konsolą na świecie. Przysłowie, że nie ma tego złego co by na dobre nie wyszło sprawdziło się w pełni w moim przypadku.” [HP-6 2019: 182–183];

Szczęście w nieszczęściu /lit. “Luck in misfortune”/

“Wypadek Kubicy: skandaliczna akcja ratunkowa i wielkie szczęście w nieszczęściu.” [HP-6 2019: 253];

— a German proverbial parallel: *Kein Nachteil ohne Vorteil* /lit. No disadvantage without an advantage/

“Kein Nachteil ohne Vorteil: Der Regen macht die Kärnten Cards zur Mangelware. „Wir haben vergangene Woche einen enormen Ansturm auf die Kärnten Card erlebt. Zeitweise sind sie sogar ausgegangen“, sagt Birgit Pukelsheim von der Kärnten Werbung. Quelle” [SWP].

The semantic structures of all proverbs in this item point to the common meaning ‘each misfortune has positive features’ (cf. also the English proverbial parallel *Every cloud has a silver lining* [HP-4 2018: 49]).

Conclusion

Such phenomena as paremiological polysemy, synonymy, and antonymy support the thesis that there exists a paremiological level of language, as argued by the Russian paremiologist Permyakov in the twentieth century.

According to our results from this research and our earlier studies [Kotova 2019a; 2019b; Kotova, Raina, Sergienko 2017],

- a) a quarter of Russian Proverbs of Russian paremiological minimum is polysemantic;
- b) the number of synonymous groups in the thematic index is 70 (from two to eight proverbs in one synonymous group). Some proverbs participate in a few synonymous groups, the total number of proverbs within the 70 synonymous groups is 195 (therefore, approximately 39 % of our Russian proverbs are in a synonymous relationship). Synonymous Russian proverbs appeared in all 12 chapters of the thematic index of the RSDP, but not in all subgroups. This fact specifies the thematic subgroups which contain synonymous proverbs as a thematic space with special importance and emphasis in the Russian proverbial representation of the world;
- c) the number of antonymous groups in the thematic index is 30 (from two to eight proverbs in one antonymous group). Some proverbs participate in several antonymous groups; the total number of proverbs within the 30 antonymous groups is 83 (therefore, approximately 16,6 % of our Russian proverbs are in an antonymous relationship). Antonymous Russian proverbs appeared in ten chapters of the the-

- matic index of RSDP (I–IX, XII), but not in all subgroups. This fact specifies the thematical subgroups, which contain antonymous proverbs, as a thematic space with special importance and emphasis in the Russian proverbial world picture;
- d) while matching proverbs — Russian and Bulgarian, Russian and Polish, Russian and German — we consider only active ‘living’ Russian and foreign proverbs, which we have shown in contemporary contexts. We came to the conclusion that foreign proverbial parallels (Bulgarian, Polish and German) to the Russian synonymous proverbs usually reflect one general sense of the semantic structure of all Russian proverbial synonyms. The Bulgarian, Polish, or German synonymous proverbs corresponding to Russian proverbial synonyms are not identical to Russian examples in their proverbial imagery and proverbial components, and demonstrate their own specifics that reflect their national proverbial representation of the world;
- e) the specificity of the thematic subgroups, containing synonymous and antonymous proverbs, points to the thematic significance of these subgroups, which we consider as specifically important segments of the Russian proverbial representation of the world. They are the following 17 thematic subgroups (including eight thematic chapters out of 12):
- from the thematic chapter I. Coping. Work. Occupation. Learning. — Rest. Idleness. Laziness. Ignorance: Purpose — means; Words (promises) — deeds; Skill — lack of practice; Learning, knowledge — ignorance, inattention and others;
 - from the thematic chapter III. Character. Psyche. Morality. Emotions: Optimism — uncertainty; Courage — fear;
 - from the thematic chapter V. Property. Owner. Guest. Wealth: Thrift — wastefulness; Wealth — Poverty;
 - from the thematic chapter VI. Time. Patience: Call for patience — impatience;
 - from the thematic chapter VII. Love. Friendship: Love unrequited; Friendship — Aversion; Assistance of a Friend;
 - from the thematic chapter VIII. The relationship between people: The unity of the individual and society — the isolation of the individual from society; Generous gift — humble gift;
 - from the thematic chapter IX. Conflict: Compromise — stubbornness, intransigence; Crime (offence) — disclosure;
 - from the thematic chapter XII. Fate. God: Fatality of the past, present and future.

Abbreviations

En. — English

lit. — Literal translation of all components of a proverb

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О языковой картине мира на паремиологическом уровне языка*

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Целью данного исследования является поддержка и развитие идеи о специфичности лингвистической картины мира на паремиологическом уровне языка. В статье рассмотрены тематические группы пословиц русского паремиологического минимума, выявленного Г. Л. Пермяковым, на фоне иностранных пословичных параллелей русских пословиц паремиологического минимума. В качестве материала для исследования использованы авторские издания славянских пословиц 2000–2019 гг. При помощи методов сопоставительной паремиологии, обоснованных в научных трудах В. М. Мокиенко, в статье продемонстрированы системные особенности паремиологического уровня языка: полисемия, синонимия (70 синонимических рядов) и антонимия (30 антонимических пар) современных употребительных русских пословиц, включенных в паремиологический минимум. В ходе анализа было обнаружено, что некоторые пословицы из рассматриваемой базы данных входят одновременно в несколько синонимических и/или антонимических групп: общее число пословичных синонимов — 195 из 500 пословиц, а пословичных антонимов — 83 из 500 (таким образом, примерно 39 процентов пословиц русского паремиологического минимума находятся в синонимических отношениях и примерно 17 процентов пословиц — в антонимических отношениях). По наблюдениям авторов, синонимические пословицы имеются во всех двенадцати разделах тематической классификации русских пословиц, а антонимические пословицы зафиксированы в десяти тематических главах из двенадцати. В заключении высказывается предположение, что тематические подгруппы, содержащие синонимические и/или антонимические пословицы, являются доминирующими сегментами русской пословичной картины мира, которые подчеркивают наиболее важные стороны русского мировоззрения, воплощенного в пословицах.

Ключевые слова: паремиологический минимум, паремиологический уровень, пословичная картина мира, русский язык, тематическая классификация.

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