

ограничений; вытекающая отсюда историчность анализируемых языковых единиц; их функциональная устойчивость и интегративная способность идентифицировать язык на всех этапах его применения.

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CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MONEY IN ENGLISH ANTI-PROVERBS: A COGNITIVE PROSPECTIVE

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The present article is an attempt to investigate the domains of English anti-proverbs about money. A sample of English anti-proverbs has been selected from the published source: *Old Proverbs Never Die, They Just Diversity* (2006). The analysis was within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and the force system of money by Kövecses (2018). The analysis showed that the main conceptual metaphors about money are money is a force, money is a person, money is an object, and money is a plant or animal. This endeavour to explore conceptual metaphors in anti-proverbs is an exploratory one. It is recommended to investigate the metaphors in further domains of anti-proverbs such as health and human relationships.

Keywords: English anti-proverbs. Money. Cognitive linguistics. Anti-proverbs about money. Conceptualization of money. Conceptual metaphor theory.

INTRODUCTION

De Saussure [2, 66-67] indicated that the meaning of utterances is based on two aspects; one is linguistic or related to the language, and the other is non-linguistic or beyond the language. This relationship between the linguistic expressions and the world they portray is mental one as language speakers can schematize (or organize their knowledge) and categorize (or organize their experience) the world using languages. These two cognitive processes are labelled as conceptualization [16, 188]. This conceptualization process in the arena of cognitive semantics has a connection with language to represent the meaning [9: 4]. Proverbs can constitute one arena where the conceptualization takes place. The current study will address the meaning in some English proverbs and anti-proverbs as a mirror of the world we live in.

Consequently, the meaning is not always dependent on language structures and senses. There are other factors that can add to the meaning beyond language e.g., culture, experience, and shared knowledge. The extralinguistic variables can derive meanings from our bodies which can make the meaning «a crucial aspect of mind, language, and culture» [5, 3]. One of the areas where these three aspects interact is the idiomatic expressions. Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms defines an idiom as «a group of words which have a different meaning when used together from the one it would have if the meaning of each word were taken individually» (17, iv). Accordingly, the meaning of idioms cannot be understood based on their constituent parts in isolation [4, 326].

Proverbs generally have the attribute of idiomaticity since there are many proverbs that based on idioms. Mieder [13, 3] defines a proverb as «a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorisable form and which is handed down from generation to generation.» This definition can provide a distinction between a proverb and an idiom. Based on this definition where a proverb is a complete sentence and an idiom is just a group of words not necessarily a sentence [1, 559], the data will be limited to the proverbs and their anti-proverbs in particular. Idiomatic expressions will be beyond the scope of the current study. In addition, a lot of proverbs have metaphorical meaning [13, 8] which makes the current study to be limited to those proverbs from English which have metaphorical meaning. The proverbs and their anti-proverbs which have literal meaning were not included in the data.

Wolfgang Mieder invented the term «Antispruch» (anti-proverb) for proverb transformations. These transformations are also known as alterations, parodies, variations, and fractured proverbs [12, VII–X]. The term anti-proverb was accepted by proverb scholars all over the world (e.g., Litovkina et al. 2021; Pavlović 2016 among others). Proverbs can be altered in many ways for example by adding or inserting further elements, omitting, or deleting other parts of the proverb, or substituting some components of the proverb [11, 53]. In some cases, anti-proverbs can have metaphorical meaning. The metaphors in English proverbs and their anti-proverbs will be the essence of the data analysis in the current study.

Metaphor can be defined as «understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain» Kövecses [6, 4]. Then, the basic attribute of metaphor is experiencing one thing in terms of another [8, 5]. Hence, there is one main domain (i.e., target domain) that is understood through another domain (i.e., source domain). The former is abstract, whereas the latter is more concrete [6, 4]. For example, in the proverb ‘Money talks’, there is a conceptual metaphor money is a powerful person. The source domain here is human being and the target domain is power of money. The target domain is understood through the source domain as there is a relation between both domains. This kind of relation can be explained according to Conceptual Metaphor Theory [8] by mappings which are a set of systematic correspondences between both domains. The analysis of the data in this research will be within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

Most money-related idioms in English are based on metaphor [7]. In this view of metaphor, the concept of money is called the ‘target domain’ and that of (moving) liquid the «source domain» «The moving substance / object / liquid source domain is one of the major ways to conceptualize money – not only for everyday purposes but also in scientific (economic, financial, commercial, etc.) parlance and thought (as in expressions like currency, cash flow, money circulation, liquidity, frozen assets, which all have to do with liquids)». Kövecses [7] stated that that the force metaphor has not attracted linguists when they studied metaphors of money as long as money has a significant role in daily life. The current study will pay more attention to the force metaphor of money in a different kind of corpus from Kövecses 2018, i.e., in English anti-proverbs.

Kövecses [7] investigated how English idioms about money can disclose the conceptualization of money. He analysed the metaphorical meaning of certain idiomatic expressions, proverbs, and sayings in English. He focused on the conceptual metaphor money is a force. He indicated that the force domain of money is employed to refer to the relation between people and money. Thus, according to him there are two forceful entities in the conceptualisation of money i.e. the human attitude to money and the money itself (p. 367). Kövecses presented a categorization of the money metaphors based on the conceptual metaphor causes are forces as presented by (Lakoff 1993). In this categorization system he included the cause a target domain which can be «social power, a desire, a source or origin, an essential condition, an enabling cause, and a multiplier.» (p. 368). The analysis of the data in the current study will be based on this categorization by Kövecses. Nevertheless, the data will include anti-proverbs of money exclusively. Idiomatic expressions or proverbs will not be included in the analysis. However, the original proverbs can be mentioned in some cases for reference.

According to Kövecses (2018) the force metaphor of money needs further investigation. The current study aims at exploring the money domain in some metaphorical English anti-proverbs. In addition, the force metaphor of money will be stressed in the analysis. Besides, the analysis will include other conceptual metaphors of money.

Thus, the current study will seek to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent can the Conceptual Metaphor Theory explain the metaphorical aspects of certain English anti-proverbs of money?

2. What are the main conceptual metaphors that English anti-proverbs of money can have?

1. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

There will be an analysis of a sample of English anti-proverbs, i.e. 170 anti-proverbs, which have been collected from the published source: *Old Proverbs Never Die, They Just Diversify* (Litovkina and Mieder 2006). This book contains anti-proverbs which were collected from American and British written sources. The total compilation gives over 5000 texts based on 580 traditional Anglo-American proverbs. The anti-proverbs for this study were selected based on the fact that they are transformations or alternations of original proverbs. Also, the target anti-proverbs with metaphorical meanings were selected through metaphor identification procedure [15]. The analysis of the data will be based on Cognitive Theory of Metaphor by Lakoff and Johnson's (1980). Furthermore, Kövecses (2018) suggested that money idioms in English rely particularly on two conceptual metaphors: money is an object and money is a force. In his study, abstract target domains (such as money, life, economy, society, emotion, mind) are characterized by not just one source domain but other several domains. These data sources allow us to observe another metaphorical source concept that seems to be important in the conceptualization of money: it is the concept of force, as shown by the metaphorical idioms below: Money talks; Money makes the mare to go; Money can't buy happiness. The force domain is used to reflect about our relationship to money (ibid). Thus, the analysis of the data will be within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

2. DISCUSSION AND DATA ANALYSIS

The work of Kövecses (2018) will constitute the basis for the analysis of the imagery aspect in the English anti-proverbs in the data. The analysis will include the conceptualisation of money which is based on the categorisation by Kövecses (2018) of money conceptualisations as a force. Also, there will be a further analysis for other conceptual metaphor that can be found in some English anti-proverbs such as money is a person and money is an object.

2.1 The force system of money

In this section, there will be an analysis of the collected data about money based on the force system as suggested by Kövecses (2018). Namely, the focus will be on anti-proverbs with the force domain i.e., money is a force.

2.1.1 Money as a social power

In this case of anti-proverbs, money is depicted as a social force. In all of examples of the anti-proverbs below, money obtains some social influence. In other words, if somebody possesses money, they can steer the wheel of events. Here the power of money lays in its ability to determine certain outcomes.

In the original proverb, 'Money makes the mare go', it can be noticed that the money was expressed by referring to it as a social power as in the following anti-proverb as well:

(1) Money makes the mare go – but not the nightmare.

The anti-proverb here reiterates the idea of money as a social power force that can push other people to do anything for the those have money. Hence, in the anti-proverb, there is the conceptual metaphor money is a social force. However, the money in the anti-proverb shows the incapability of money to keep bad thoughts or nightmares away.

Also, in examples (2) and (3) of the anti-proverbs which are based on the original proverb 'Money talks', the money is portrayed as a social force. This is based on the idea that people usually listen more to those who have money.

- (2) Money always talks most when a man marries it.
- (3) Money talks, and it also stops talk.

2.1.2 Desire for money

People have desire for money because it has an attractive force and has a power to determine what happens [7, 369]. This desire for money is conceptualised in the anti-proverb (4).

- (4) Money talks, but the people who want their money talk the loudest

In the example (4), there is the conceptual metaphor desire to obtain money is desire to talk louder which is different from Kövecses' conceptual metaphor desire to obtain money is desire to catch a fleeing animal.

Also, in example (5) the desire for money is conceptualised by the transformation of the original proverb 'Money is the root of all evil' by adding 'a man needs roots'.

- (5) Money is the root of all evil and a man needs roots.

2.1.3 Money as a source

Furthermore, money can also be construed as a source or origin of certain actions or situations. This conceptualisation of money is obvious in the anti-proverbs (6-8). Money is conceptualised as a root or source of a situation in these anti-proverbs. This conceptualisation of money yields the conceptual metaphor money is a source or a root due the force of money.

- (6) If money is at the root of all evil, it is also at the root of all morality.
- (7) Money doesn't grow on trees because the Bible tells us it's a root.
- (8) Money is the root of all evil and a man needs roots.

2.1.4 Money as an essential condition

In other anti-proverbs, money is conceptualised as an essential or necessary condition. This need for money yields its force for human life. In the examples (9) and (10), these are anti-proverbs based on the original proverb 'Money isn't everything'. The anti-proverbs here highlight the force of money unlike the original proverb. These examples can present the conceptual metaphor money is an essential condition.

- (9) Money isn't everything. But everything needs money.
- (10) Money isn't everything – sometimes it isn't even enough.

2.1.5 Money as an enabling cause

Money also can be conceptualised as a cause that can enable some events by the force of buying or value. In the example (11), money is conceptualised as a force that can corrupt happiness but cannot buy it. Here, the conceptual metaphor money is a cause is noticeable.

- (1) Money cannot buy happiness – but it can corrupt it!

Also, in example (12) money is presented in this anti-proverb as a cause to calm down for people due to the effect or force of money on the mood or mental state. This anti-proverb yields the conceptual metaphor money is a cause as well

- (12) Money doesn't bring happiness – but it's marvellous for quieting the nerves.

2.1.6 Money as a multiplier

The use of metaphor to talk about money through some anti-proverbs can exhibit that idea that money can make more money or multiply itself. In examples (13) and (14) money can produce more money by investing it. Thus, in these anti-proverbs which are transformations of the original proverbs 'Money makes money' and 'Money talks' respectively the conceptual metaphor money is a multiplier can be seen through the use of the linguistic metaphors 'breed' and 'talk about more money'.

(13) Money breeds money – when invested.

(14) When a millionaire's money talks, it usually talks about more money.

2.2 The personification of money

In the anti-proverb in example (15), money is conceptualized as a human being who is able to produce speech. As long as speech is a human attribute, this conceptual metaphor is motivated by the fact that the human speech can create the change. Also, as Gibbs [3, 361] stated the metaphor of money as a talking person is understood through «embodied simulation processes that are a fundamental part of everyday cognition». Thus, money in this instance can be based on the conceptual metaphor money is a person as in examples (15) and (16).

(15) Never let capital lie idle; remember that money talks, but it doesn't talk in its sleep.

(16) Money talks...Even when it whispers, people listen and hear it.

2.3 The objectification of money

In the anti-proverb which is a transformation of the original proverb 'A dollar in the bank is worth two in the hand' in example (17), money is portrayed as an object that can be seized in hands. Hence, this linguistic metaphor pertaining money is motivated by the conceptual metaphor money is an object or money is a possessed object.

(17) A dollar in the bank is worth two in the bucket.

2.4 Money as an animal or a plant

Moreover, money in anti-proverbs is conceptualised as a plant and an animal. In example (18) which is a transformation of the original proverb 'Money is the root of all evil', money is conceptualised as a fruit and a root as source domain for the target domain the cause and the effect of the evil. Here the use of the root concept depicts «the underlying structure of evil.» [3, 351]. This use of plant domain to talk about money results in the conceptual metaphor money is a plant.(18) Money is the fruit of evil, as often as the root of it.

Also, in example (19) which includes an anti-proverb elicited from the original proverb 'Money makes money', the domain of animal is used to construe the idea that money can bring more money by using the verb 'breed' which is related to the animal reproduction process. Thus, this anti-proverb is motivated by the conceptual metaphor money is an animal.

(19) Money breeds money – when invested.

3. CONCLUSION

The current study aimed at exploring the metaphorical meanings of money theme in a group of English anti-proverbs. The analysis was based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory, and the work by Kövecses (2018). The exploration of the metaphors in the data about money showed that the main source domains to conceptualise money are force, human being, objects, plants and animals. Consequently, the main conceptual metaphors about money are money is a force, money is a person, and money is an object. The current attempt found money can be conceptualised as a person, plant or animal which has not reported by Kövecses (2018). Finally, a larger group of anti-proverbs can unveil further source domains to conceptualise money. Thus, a potential study can explore the metaphors in further domains of anti-proverbs such as health and human relationships

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О ТЕОРИИ СОВРЕМЕННОГО РУССКОГО СЛОВООБРАЗОВАНИЯ – ПАМЯТИ ПРОФ. А.Н. ТИХОНОВА

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В статье рассматриваются тенденции в русском словообразовании с 70-х годов 20в., теория и практика создания словаря по гнездовому принципу А.Н. Тихонова.

Ключевые слова: А.Н. Тихонов, словообразовательное гнездо, терминологические элементы.

Понятие «современный русский язык» имеет достаточно давние исторические корни, определяемое расцветом творчества А.С. Пушкина. Термин «современное русское словообразование» такой истории не имеет. Конечно, можно отметить, что уже в трудах М.В. Ломоносова наблюдается интерес к построению, созданию слова. Интерес к образованию слов отмечен в трудах Н.И. Греча, А.Х. Востокова, И.А. Бодуэна де Куртане, Н.В. Крушевского, В.А. Богородицкого. Были введены в лингвистическую терминологию