POLINA OLENEVA

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF MONEY IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN PROVERBS: A COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE

Abstract: The present article is an attempt to investigate the metaphorical dimension in English and Russian money proverbs. A sample of English and Russian proverbs has been selected from various sources such as dictionaries, previous research, and the internet. The analysis was within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and the FORCE money system by Kövecses (2018). The analysis showed that the money concept in English and Russian proverbs can constitute both the source domain and target domain. Also, it was found that both languages mostly exhibit similarities in the conceptual metaphors that trigger off money proverbs. Nevertheless, in English proverbs, money as a source domain was slightly higher than it is in the Russian proverbs of money. On the contrary, Russian money proverbs showed that money constituted a target domain roughly more than it did in the English proverbs of money. This was an endeavour to explore conceptual metaphors in money proverbs in two distinct languages. It is recommended to investigate the metaphors in further areas of proverbs such as health and human relationships between English and Russian.

Keywords: English and Russian proverbs, money, money proverbs, the conceptualization of money, conceptual metaphor theory

1. Introduction

According to the work of de Saussure (1959: 66-67), meaning is based on two components, one related to the language and the other beyond it. This interplay between the linguistic expressions, i.e., *signifier,* and the world they portray, i.e., *Signified* is a mental one, as language speakers can classify their knowledge and systematize their experience in the world using languages. These two cognitive processes related to schematization and categorization are labelled conceptualization (Sharifian 2003: 188), which in turn is in the arena of cognitive semantics, which is closely connected with language and the meanings that represent the meaning (Langacker 2008: 4). Proverbs are one of the examples showing how conceptualization can occur.

Moreover, 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" (Kövecses 2006: 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" (Sinclair 1995: iv). Accordingly, the meaning of idioms cannot be understood based on their constituent parts in isolation (Kövecses and Sazbo 1996: 326).

In other words, meaning in language is based on two components: the linguistic expressions (signifiers) and the world they portray (signified). The cognitive processes of schematization and categorization, also known as conceptualization, are used by language speakers to organize their knowledge and experiences in the world. Proverbs are one example of how conceptualization can occur in language. However, meaning is not always dependent on language structures and senses alone, as extralinguistic factors such as culture, experience, and shared knowledge can also contribute to meaning. Idiomatic expressions are an example of how these extralinguistic factors can interact with language to create meaning that cannot be understood based on the individual meanings of the constituent words.

Hence, the current study will explore the meaning of some English and Russian proverbs as a mirror of our world. In particular, our main goal is to explore the metaphoricity of money proverbs in the English and Russian languages. 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 and Russian proverbs. In addition, the FORCE metaphor of money will be stressed in the analysis. Besides, the analysis will include other conceptual metaphors of money.

Idiomatic expressions will be beyond the scope of the current study. In addition, a lot of proverbs have metaphorical meanings (Mieder 2004: 8), which makes the analysis in the current study also limited to those proverbs from English and Russian that have metaphorical meanings. The proverbs that have literal meanings were not included in the analysis, although they are part of the data to see to what extent money proverbs can be metaphorical.

More specifically, the following research questions need to be addressed:

1. To what extent can the Conceptual Metaphor Theory explain the metaphorical aspects of certain English and Russian proverbs of money?
2. What are the main conceptual metaphors identified in English and Russian proverbs of money?

The primary research methods for this study are a literature review and a comparative analysis of the sources available. In addition, we are planning to conduct a statistical frequency analysis to find out the main topics that money proverbs address in English and Russian.

2. Theoretical background of the research

Proverbs generally have the characteristic of idiomaticity since there are many proverbs that are based on idioms. Mieder (2004: 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 memorable form and which is hand-

ed 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 (Belkhair 2021: 559), the data in this study will be limited to the proverbs.

Metaphor can be defined as "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain" Kövecses (2010: 4). Then, the basic attribute of metaphor is experiencing one thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 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 (Kövecses 2010: 4). For example, in the proverb '*Money talks*', there is a conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A POWERFUL PERSON. The source domain here is a human being, and the target domain is the power of money. The target domain is understood through the source domain, as there is a relationship between both domains. This kind of relationship can be explained according to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) 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.

The way we think and act, according to Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 3), is inherently metaphorical within our ordinary conceptual system. Thus, there should be a mechanism or a way to effectively distinguish the metaphors around us. Pragglejaz Group (2007) introduced a procedure to detect metaphors (as well as metonymies) in language. The current paper will follow the same procedures to identify target metaphorical occurrences in the data. The 'metaphor identification procedure' (MIP) follows certain stages to identify the metaphorically used instances of language in any discourse. Firstly, the whole text should be read to understand the general meaning and determine lexical units. Then, based on the context, the lexical item's basic meaning must be identified, which can determine whether the basic meaning is different from the contextual meaning. In case the contextual meaning and the basic meaning are similar, the lexical items are marked as non-metaphorical. However, when the contextual meaning and the basic meaning are different, the

reader should find out if the meanings have some similarities. In case there is any similarity between the two meanings, the lexical item is marked as metaphorical. If not, it is marked as non-metaphorical and excluded from the data.

Most money-related idioms as well as proverbs that exhibit a high degree of idiomaticity in English and Russian are based on metaphor (Kövecses 2018). 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, and frozen assets, which all have to do with liquids)". Kövecses (2018) stated that the FORCE metaphor has not attracted linguists when they studied metaphors of money since money has a significant role in daily life. The current study will pay more attention to the metaphor of money with a different kind of corpus from Kövecses 2018, i.e., in English and Russian proverbs.

On the other hand, in the English proverb, "time is money," it can be noticed that "money" is not a target domain. Money in this proverb is a source domain, whereas "time" is the target domain. In this realization of metaphor, "time" is construed as an important entity in life. Money is important; thus, it is being used as a source domain in this proverb. Consequently, the discussion in the current paper will not be limited to money as a target domain in English and Russian proverbs. The analysis will depict the cases in the data when money is a source domain and when money is a target domain.

3. Literature review

There have been numerous attempts to study the concept of money in English, Russian, and other languages from various perspectives. Kövecses (2018), Denisenkova, (2013&2016), Fedyanina (2005), Golubeva (2008), Mayorenko, (2005), Osheva (2015), and Paleeva (2010), among others. Kövecses (2018) studied how English idioms about money can disclose the conceptualization of money. He analyzed 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 relationship between people and money. Thus, according to him, there are two forceful entities in the conceptualization of money, i.e., the human attitude toward 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 as 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 proverbs of money exclusively. Idiomatic expressions will not be included in the analysis. In addition, the current study will show how money can constitute a source domain in English and Russian proverbs.

Isahakyan (2021) focused on the metaphorization of the concept of MONEY in English linguistics and conceptual pictures. The aim of that paper was to examine the MONEY concept in English proverbs and describe its meaning. The analysis showed that most examples of MONEY are presented metaphorically in English. The research was based on the methods offered by G. Lakoff, M. Johnson, and Russian linguist L. Cherneyko. According to them, MONEY is a creature, power, plant, stream, river, etc. The author draws the conclusion that MONEY in the English language is understood metaphorically and presented as a creature. The study only examined English proverbs, which may not represent all metaphorical uses of money. The research did not consider the cultural and historical context and relied heavily on methods without evaluating their applicability. Further research is needed to fully understand the metaphorical use of money in the English language.

Kilyeni and Silaški (2014) studied money metaphors in economic and business terminology in English. In particular, the authors focused on the MONEY IS SOLID metaphor, which is used for the conceptualization of money and finance in English. The terms for analysis were extracted from various English dictionaries of business and economics. The authors chose 55 terms and expres-

sions that linguistically express the MONEY IS SOLID metaphor and categorized them according to the conceptual mappings (e.g., THE AMOUNT OF MONEY IS BUILDING, LOSING MONEY IS SINKING, THE AMOUNT OF MONEY IS FLOATING, etc.). As a result, the authors concluded that the conceptualization of money as a solid matter reflects a higher degree of productivity than the conceptualization of money as a liquid matter in the frame of metaphorical mappings. Kilyeni and Silaški's study on money metaphors in English economic and business terminology is insightful but has limitations. They only used terms from dictionaries, and the categorization may not fully capture nuances. Additionally, cultural and historical contexts are not discussed. More research is needed to fully understand the metaphorical use of money in English.

Osheva (2015) made another attempt in her study to examine the MONEY concept in English and American proverbs. The aim of the paper is to reveal the cultural components of the MONEY concept in both English and American cultures. The data was taken from the proverb dictionary by W. Mieder. The proverbs were classified into semantic groups, such as money means value, MONEY MEANS EVIL, EASY MONEY, LACK OF MONEY, etc. The author stated that people from English culture do not talk about money: it is a cultural taboo, while in American culture, parents encourage their kids to earn some pocket money, and it is appreciated to work hard to have more money. The study only uses data from one proverb dictionary and makes broad generalizations about culture without sufficient evidence. The author's conclusion oversimplifies complex cultural attitudes and beliefs. More research is needed to understand the metaphorical use of money in these contexts.

Denisenkova (2013) conducted a diachronic analysis of the concept of MONEY in English and Russian. Thus, she analyzed the development of money in Russia and Great Britain and tried to conduct research on the formation of MONEY terminology in both languages. The author showed the abnormal connection between money development and money evolution in English and Russian. In conclusion, she demonstrated similar features of MONEY concepts in the two languages.

In another study, Denisenkova (2016) researched money proverbs in the English and Russian languages from a semantic

perspective. The author selected 100 proverbs (50 English proverbs and 50 Russian proverbs about money), and divided them into semantic groups, such as money is the engine of our society, the corruptive nature of money, money as an award for hard labor, money as a social tool, etc. Also, the author attempted a comparative analysis of money-related proverbs and made a correlation between the mentalities of Russian and English speakers. In addition, she stressed the role of money in both cultures based on the results of the study. The analysis in Denisenkova's two studies was not within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, unlike the current study. Further research is needed to fully understand the concept of money in both languages.

Ermakova (2012) examined the overlapping of the concept of MONEY in Russian and French in her work. The goal of this study was to investigate the means of expression MONEY concept in both Russian and French paremiology. The author chose 73 Russian and 55 French paremias about money. Next, she classified two groups of paremias about money. The first group includes paremias with the same meaning and lexical content, and the second group contains paremias with similar meanings but diverse lexical content. Ermakova's study on the overlap of money concepts in Russian and French paremiology has interesting insights but some limitations. The sample size of paremias analyzed is small, and the classification of paremias into two groups oversimplifies the complexities of their metaphorical use. Additionally, the study does not employ the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which limits its ability to fully understand the metaphorical use of money in both languages.

In addition, Korbut and Huizi (2015) made an attempt to investigate the traditional layer of the MONEY concept in Chinese and Russian. The authors studied Chinese and Russian fairy tales and proverbs. They discovered that the Russian MONEY concept mainly has negative connotations about money, while the Chinese include positive connotations.

Moiseeva, Remizova, and Nesterova (2019) investigated the prothteconomic concept of MONEY. The researchers clarified that this concept is manifested differently in commonplace and scientific spheres. According to the authors, the concept of MONEY is one of such prothteconomic concepts as WEALTH, POVERTY, LA-

BOUR, AND PROPERTY. The results of the study state that 'the scientific conscience deals with concrete terms, while the common national collective conscience gives preference to brief figurative statements, in which it stores the whole nation's experience and centuries-old wisdom' (p. 4). Based on that assumption, the current paper will try to highlight the issue of a common national collective conscience, and how it varies from one culture to another, i.e., Russian culture vs. American/British culture in terms of the concept of money.

Another investigation of the concept of MONEY was conducted in the St. Petersburg population at the beginning of the 1990s by Rathmayr (2004). The author discussed the conceptual change of money by devising data that was collected from a corpus of interviews recorded in St. Petersburg in 1993 (16 interviews in total with Russian native speakers). Rathmayr compared the concept of MONEY before and after the Perestroika period. The analysis was made through the examination of assertive expressions with metaphors, mitigation, hedging, and direct and indirect judgments. The final stage of the study was to consider the respondents' thoughts and convictions that were not obvious. To sum up, the author stated that 'MONEY in reality and the concept of MONEY have undergone fundamental changes' (p. 187). He identified the following concepts of money: for instance, money as an active personified subject, money as a concept that is judged from a moral perspective, and money as an object that the respondent or other subjects use to carry out a certain inventory of actions (money is earned, spent).

Furthermore, Zalavina, Yuzhakova, Dyorina & Polyakova (2019) studied the concept of MONEY in the context of national linguacultures. The authors did a comparative analytical review of papers in cognitive and cultural linguistics regarding the money concept in Russian, English, German, and French. This research demonstrates the scientific interest in investigating money concepts in different languages. It shows the theoretical and practical contributions to cognitive linguistics and linguistic culturology. However, the study's focus on previous research may not capture all the nuances of the money concept, and its comparative approach may oversimplify cultural attitudes toward money in each language. Further research is needed to ful-

ly understand the concept of money in the context of national linguocultures.

Zalavina (2020) investigated the concept of MONEY in Russian and French linguistic cultures in her work. The author identified lexical units in Russian and French linguistic mentalities, classified proverbs based on the concepts, and reviewed the linguistic awareness of Russians and French. Zalavina used definitional analysis in her work to describe the conceptual content of MONEY concepts. She studied proverbs using cognitive and semantic approaches. She concluded that the concept of money is universal and stressed: "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 code" (p. 441). This study presented the method of frame classification of proverbs for identifying their meaning.

As far as money metaphors in other languages are concerned, Sundblom (2016) investigated the money theme in Japanese from the perspective of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The main goal of this study is to understand how money is conceptualized through the metaphorical meaning of money in Japanese. The data was taken from the *Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese,* which contains a total of 2,549 sentences. All examples contain metaphors where money is the target domain. The author concludes that there are several definitions of money in Japanese. Most of the metaphors describe money as a negative object. Meanwhile, Japanese metaphors from source domains are mainly neutral or negative. The study is limited to written Japanese and does not consider spoken Japanese or the nuances that can exist in different dialects. Additionally, the study only focuses on the metaphorical meaning of money and does not take into account the broader cultural and historical contexts that may shape how money is understood in Japan. Moreover, while the study suggests that most of the metaphors in Japanese describe money as a negative object, it is unclear how representative the sample of sentences used in the study is of the broader Japanese language and culture.

Furthermore, Maria-Crina (2017) examined money metaphors in English and Romanian with a comparative approach. The main aim of this paper is to analyze the conceptual cate-

gories of money in metaphors in both English and Romanian. The author focused on the mappings between the source domain and the target domain, and the frequency of money-related metaphors. She built two parallel corpora for English and Romanian with a total of 600.000 words each. The author used manual annotation with the MIP method and automated annotation using the corpus-based approach. She drew the conclusion that English corpora have more positive connotations of money than Romanian; besides, not all money-related metaphors contain the word "money" in Romanian. Thus, it was quite difficult to identify them without the help of special programs.

Kamyshanchenko and Nerubenko (2012) did a comparative analysis of English and German proverbs and sayings about the MONEY concept. The goal of the study was to discover the cultural components of the MONEY concept in English and German. The researchers concluded that the MONEY concept has similarities and differences in the German and English languages. For instance, there are semantic groups such as THE POWER OF MONEY, THE INFLUENCE OF MONEY FOR A PERSON, etc., in both languages. All the proverbs under study reflect money's power in society.

Although anti-proverbs are beyond the scope of the current study, it is important to mention a study of Russian anti-proverbs from a conceptual perspective compared to another European language, i.e., German. Samozhenov and Matveyeva (2019) examined money-related anti-proverbs in German and Russian. The purpose of the study was to make a comparative study of anti-proverbial images of the world for conceptual analysis. In the conclusion, the authors showed the topics that are present in money-related anti-proverbs in both languages, such as happiness, poverty, power, and enrichment. Furthermore, a statistical analysis of the most popular themes in both languages was conducted, based on cultural aspects. For instance, thrift and 'money is happiness' take first place in German, while in Russian the ratio is slightly different.

Another study was made by Oleneva (2022), in which she investigated the conceptualization of money in English anti-proverbs from a cognitive perspective. The aim of the paper was to explore the metaphorical meaning of the money theme in a group of English anti-proverbs based on the Conceptual Met-

aphor Theory and the work done by Kövecses (2018). The main source domains to conceptualize money were a force, human beings, objects, plants, and animals. In total, the author analysed 170 English anti-proverbs about money. The sample size of anti-proverbs analyzed is relatively small, and the focus on anti-proverbs may not fully capture the breadth of money metaphors in English. The study heavily relies on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the work by Kövecses, which may limit alternative perspectives on the money concept. Therefore, further research is needed to fully understand the metaphorical use of money in the English language.

In addition, Oleneva and Litovkina (2021) examined Russian proverbs and anti-proverbs about money. The authors demonstrated numerous mechanisms of proverb transformations, discussed the semantic field of the word MONEY, and mentioned examples of proverbs about money in other languages. Moreover, they presented a detailed analysis of money proverbs and anti-proverbs in Russian. In total, they covered 33 Russian proverbs and 88 anti-proverbs. The authors focused on the types of changes inside proverbs and the most common types of transformations in the corpus. These two studies by Oleneva (2022) and Oleneva and Litovkina (2021) focused on the money anti-proverbs in English and Russian, unlike the current study, which will focus on the money proverbs in these two languages. Nevertheless, Oleneva and Litovkina's study on Russian proverbs and anti-proverbs about money offers valuable insights but has some limitations, including a relatively small sample size and the lack of a theoretical framework. The study's focus on Russian proverbs and anti-proverbs may also limit its generalizability to other languages. Further research is needed to fully understand the metaphorical use of money in proverbs and anti-proverbs across different languages.

4. Data collection and methodology

The current study aims to explore the metaphoricity of money proverbs in both the English and Russian languages. The total number of money proverbs in the sample is 168, including both English and Russian proverbs. The English money proverbs

comprise 116 proverbs, whereas the Russian sample consists of 52 proverbs related to the theme of money. After applying the MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007) to identify the money proverbs in both languages, it was found that 138, or82% of the 168 proverbs have metaphorical meanings. Unsurprisingly, this higher frequency of metaphorical money proverbs conforms with the widespread view that "Not all but most proverbs contain a metaphor" (Mieder, 2004:8). Table 1 illustrates that 79% of the English sample contains proverbs with metaphorical meanings, while nearly 89% of the Russian money proverbs have metaphorical meanings. The analysis excluded the 30 money proverbs with literal meanings from both languages, as the emphasis of the analysis is on the metaphoricity of money proverbs in two distinct languages. Therefore, the remaining 138 money proverbs from English and Russian will be analysed to examine how money can constitute a source domain or a target domain in various cases.

5. Discussion and data analysis

The current study aims to explore the metaphoricity of money proverbs in both English and Russian. Of the 168 money proverbs in English and Russian, 82% were found to have metaphorical meanings after using the MIP. Table 1 shows that 79% of the English and almost 89% of the Russian proverbs are metaphorical. A total of 138 proverbs will be analyzed to examine how money is used as either a source or target domain.

Table 1. The English and Russian proverbs of money

Proverbs	Metaphorical meaning	Percentage	Literal meaning	Percentage	Total	Percentage
English	92	79.3	24	20.7	**116**	69
Russian	46	88.5	6	11.5	**52**	31
Total	138	82.1	30	17.9	**168**	100

Table 2 presents the frequency of money as both a target domain and a source domain in metaphorical proverbs in the English and Russian samples. The frequency of the proverbs that include money as a target domain is significantly higher, at approximate-

ly 70%. This clearly demonstrates the common tendency to use money metaphors when discussing money itself. In both languages, money serves as a source domain in nearly 36% of the money proverbs. This means that out of the 168 proverbs, 35 English proverbs and 14 Russian proverbs use money as a source domain. On the other hand, money is identified as a target domain in 57 English proverbs, which accounts for 62% compared to almost 70% of the Russian proverbs. The frequent use of money as a source domain, and not only as a target domain, illustrates that money proverbs are not confined to talking about money alone. Consequently, money can be conceptualized to address other themes in life, which will be further explored in the discussion section.

Table 2. The frequency of money as a source and a target domain in the data

Proverbs	Money as a source domain	Percentage	Money as a target domain	Percentage	Total	Percentage
English	35	38	57	62	**92**	**66.7**
Russian	14	30.4	32	69.6	**46**	**33.3**
Total	49	35.5	89	64.5	**138**	100

The discussion now will focus on the main source and target domains in the money proverbs in English and Russian. The analysis reveals that money can constitute a target domain in most of the English and Russian proverbs in the data. In addition, the analysis highlights the primary source domains in proverbs where money is the target domain, as well as vice versa in other English and Russian money proverbs.

First, English money proverbs include 57 instances of money as the target domain. These proverbs metaphorically address the topic of money by utilizing other concepts. Table 3 presents the main source domains used to talk about money, such as HUMAN STANDS FOR [2] [3] MONEY, POWER STANDS FOR MONEY and OBJECT STANDS FOR MONEY. These conceptual metaphors are the most prevalent in English money metaphors. Furthermore, there are other conceptual metaphors (see Table 3) that are less frequent than these three main conceptual metaphors including FOOD STANDS FOR MONEY, PLANT STANDS FOR MONEY, OBJECT STANDS FOR MONEY…etc.

Table 3. Source domains in the English proverbs that have money as a target domain.

Source Domains	Frequency	Percentage
Human	16	28.1
Power	14	24.6
Object	7	12.3
Food	3	5.3
Plant	3	5.3
Animal	2	3.5
Feeling	2	3.5
Fire	2	3.5
Comfort	1	1.8
Hell	1	1.8
Language	1	1.8
Location	1	1.8
Lubricant	1	1.8
Relationships	1	1.8
Smell	1	1.8
Sport	1	1.8
Total	**57**	**100.0**

In both examples (1) and (2), there is a personification of money, where it is viewed as a person or a friend. This personification is a literary device that is used to convey the importance and loyalty of money.

The conceptual metaphor A HUMAN STANDS FOR MONEY is used in these English proverbs. In (1), the three faithful friends are likened to an old wife, an old dog, and ready money, which implies that money is as important and trustworthy as a spouse or a pet. Hence, metaphor is based on the relationship of similarity or analogy between two concepts, where one concept is described in terms of another concept that is different but shares some similarities. In (2), the proverb "no friend like a dollar" uses the word "friend" to describe money, which further reinforces the idea that money can be a faithful and reliable companion. The analogy here stems from the idea that both money and friends in need are the friends indeed.

1. There are three faithful friends: an old wife, an old dog, and ready money.
2. There's no friend like a dollar.

Personification is a common literary device used in proverbs and other forms of literature to make abstract concepts more relatable and understandable to readers. In this case, personifying money helps to emphasize its importance in our lives and the role it plays as a symbol of security and stability.

Also, in example (3), there is a money-related word, namely "banks", in this English proverb, which illustrates that financial institutions operate based on logic and self-interest rather than emotions. In this case, money here is personified to convey the conceptual metaphor that money INSTITUTIONS ARE MERCILESS PERSONS. This conceptual metaphor is motivated by the notion that there are human beings who are merciless when it comes to pursuing their own benefits, thus establishing the conceptual metaphor that a human STANDS FOR MONEY. The metaphorical use of banks in (3) is based on metonymy, as it refers to the physical location where money is usually kept in order to highlight the concept of money itself (see also example 5).

3. Banks have no heart.

Another conceptual metaphor in the English money proverbs is MONEY STANDS FOR POWER. In the following examples, money serves as the target domain where power is the source domain. Example (4) depicts the impact of money as a superpower that can make the earth go around. The proverb in example (5) has a metonymic scenario, where a specific item associated with money, in this case, a purse, is used to represent money itself. The size of the purse signifies the amount of money it contains. The English proverb in (6) also depicts money as a source of power that can change people's attitudes towards the mistakes of others.

4. Money makes the world go round.
5. The longest purse will prevail.
6. Money covers all faults.

In addition, money is conceptualized in English proverbs as an object, as in the following examples. The source domain is an object such as a round object, sinews... etc. These proverbs are motivated by the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS AN OBJECT.

    7. Money is round and rolls away.
    8. Money is the sinews of trade.

Secondly, money and money-related words are not only considered a target domain. Money also constituted the source domain of the metaphors in many of the English proverbs. These proverbs are not meant to address the issue of money itself. Rather, these proverbs emphasize other themes such as behaviour, life, and relationships as illustrated in Table 4. The table shows the main target domains in a group of English proverbs where money is the source domain. In other words, people do use money and money-related words in the metaphor in the money proverbs. Behaviour, life, relationships, and risk were the most common themes in this type of money proverbs.

Table 4. Money as a source domain in English Proverbs

Money as a source domain in English Proverbs		
Target Domains	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Behavior	15	42.9
Risk	8	22.9
Life	4	11.4
Relationships	3	8.6
Appearance	1	2.9
Corruption	1	2.9
Power	1	2.9
Time	1	2.9
Value	1	2.9
Total	**35**	**100.0**

    Nearly 43% of these proverbs used money as a source domain to refer to certain behaviours as in the following examples:

    9. A bad penny always comes back.
    10. Civility costs nothing.

11. Jack would be a gentleman if he had money.

In example (9), a penny is used to talk about a recurring behaviour. A bad penny refers to a person or thing which is unpleasant or disreputable. This metaphor is motivated by the conceptual metaphor BAD MONEY STANDS FOR BAD BEHAVIOUR. Example (10) demonstrates that money can stand for positive behaviour. It suggests that civility has a value similar to money. In this proverb, the metaphorical meaning is motivated by the conceptual metaphor MONEY STANDS FOR GOOD BEHAVIOUR. Furthermore, example (11) shows that money or the possession of money can signify good behaviour.

Money is also used in the metaphorical proverbs of money as the source domain to discuss taking risks as in the following examples:

12. You can spend a dollar only once.
13. You never accumulate if you don't speculate.

In example (12), the proverb equates taking a risk to spending a dollar once. This proverb is used to encourage people to take risks and seize opportunities because it is thought that opportunity comes once in a lifetime. This metaphor suggests that money or spending money stands for taking risks, reflecting the conceptual metaphor that money stands for risk. The same conceptual metaphor is present in example (13).

Examples (14-16) present an interesting case where money can be both a source domain and a target domain at the same time. In all three proverbs the metaphor of 'scared money' personifies money as a scared or dead person. In this case, the scared/dead money (target domain) is a scared/dead person (source domain), where we can notice the conceptual metaphor that A HUMAN STANDS FOR MONEY. Nevertheless, money also constitutes a source domain in these three English money proverbs, representing the concept of taking risks. This proverb is motivated by the conceptual metaphor that MONEY STANDS FOR RISK.

14. Scared money can't make money.
15. Scared money is dead money.

16. Scared money won't win.

Thus far, the discussion of money as a target domain in most cases on one hand, and money as a target domain in other cases focused on the English proverbs in the sample. The discussion included examples of the most common domains. The main conceptual metaphors in the English money proverbs are:

1. A HUMAN STANDS FOR MONEY,
2. POWER STANDS FOR MONEY
3. AN OBJECT SANDS FOR MONEY
4. MONEY STANDS FOR A BEHAVIOUR
5. MONEY STANDS FOR RISK

The focus will now shift to the Russian money proverbs. The data consists of 52 Russian money proverbs, out of which only six proverbs have a literal meaning. The analysis was conducted on the remaining 46 Russian money proverbs to determine whether money functions as a target domain or a source domain. It was found that in 32 Russian proverbs money serves as a target domain, whereas in 14 proverbs, money is a source domain. First, the discussion will focus on money as a target domain, followed by an examination of money as a source domain.

Table 5 illustrates the source domains in the Russian money metaphors where money serves as the target domain. The most common source domains, among others, are human, power, and object. Thus, the main conceptual metaphors that motivate these Russian money proverbs are: HUMAN STANDS FOR MONEY, POWER STANDS FOR MONEY, and OBJECT STANDS FOR MONEY.

Among the different source domains, humans are the most prevalent in the Russian sample, accounting for approximately 22% of this group of Russian proverbs. Money is conceptualized as a person as in the following examples:

17. Когда деньги говорят, правда молчит. Lit. 'When money speaks, the truth is silent'.
18. Денежки труд любят. Lit. 'Money loves work'.
19. Копейка рубль бережёт. Lit. 'Penny (kopeyka) is taking care of rubl.'

In examples (17) and (18), it can be noticed that money is given human attributes, such as speaking and loving. This is another example of the personification of concepts as we saw above with the English sample. In these two Russian money proverbs, money stands for a person who speaks and loves. These proverbs are motivated by the conceptual metaphor that a human STANDS FOR MONEY, expressing the idea that money has an impact on our thoughts, actions, and attitudes. The proverb in example (19) is another case of personification where we can notice the kopiyka and rubl are described as persons that require care.

Furthermore, power is another source domain in the Russian money proverbs where money is the target domain. These proverbs are motivated by the conceptual metaphor POWER STANDS FOR MONEY.

20. Деньги правят миром. Lit. 'Money rules the world'
21. Не воюй с сильным, не судись с богатым. Li 'Don't fight with the strong one, don't sue the rich one.'

Table 5. Money as a source domain in Russian money proverbs

Source Domains	Frequency	Percentage
Human	7	21.9
Power	5	15.6
Object	4	12.5
Animal	3	9.4
Happiness	2	6.3
Liquid	2	6.3
Plant	2	6.3
Beauty	1	3.1
Blindness	1	3.1
Clothes	1	3.1
Evil	1	3.1
Movement	1	3.1
Clothes	1	3.1
Stone	1	3.1
Total	**32**	**100.0**

In the above two examples (20) and (21) power is symbolized by money. In the first example, money represents power that controls

the world. On the other hand, strength is presented by money by referring to those who own money, i.e., the rich. This is also a metonymic-based metaphor as it refers to the rich who own the power, i.e., money because the rich without the money are powerless.

Additionally, money is depicted as an object in the following example:

> 22. Не подмажешь – не поедешь. Lit. 'If you don't rub it - you won't go'.

In example (22), money is presented as an object that needs to be rubbed in order to gain benefits. The proverb is motivated by the conceptual metaphor AN OBJECT STANDS FOR MONEY.

Table 6 shows the target domains in the Russian money proverbs where money is the source domain. These proverbs in the Russian language use money-related words to address other themes beyond the scope of the money issue. There are 14 proverbs that have different target domains. The most common target domains in these Russian proverbs are behaviour, relationships, and time.

Behaviours are described in Russian money proverbs using money-related words, similar to the English proverbs mentioned above. These are some examples where money can stand for behaviour:

> 23. Чем беднее, тем щедрее.   Lit. 'The poorer, the more generous.'
> 24. Долги помнит не тот, кто берет, а кто дает. L i t . 'Debts are remembered not by the one who takes, but who gives.'

These money proverbs include money-related words to address certain behaviours. Thus, the proverbs are not meant to talk about money per se, but to use the topic of money to express thoughts. For instance, in (23) money (rich) symbolizes stinginess, and in (24) money (debts) stands for doing a favour. These behaviours are portrayed in the form of money in these Russian proverbs, motivated by the conceptual metaphor MONEY STANDS FOR BEHAVIOUR.

Table 6. Money as a source domain in Russian proverb

Money as a source domain in Russian proverb		
Target Domains	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Behaviour	5	35.7
Relationships	2	14.3
Time	2	14.3
Agreement	1	7.1
Corruption	1	7.1
Luck	1	7.1
Power	1	7.1
Value	1	7.1
Total	**14**	**100.0**

Also, money is used as a source domain in the conceptual metaphors MONEY STANDS FOR A RELATIONSHIP as in example (25), and MONEY STANDS FOR TIME as in example (26).

25. Доброе братство — лучшее богатство. Lit.' Good brotherhood is the best wealth.'
26. Время - деньги   Lit. 'Time is money.'

The analysis of the Russian money proverbs indicates that these proverbs are mainly motivated by the following conceptual metaphors:

1. A HUMAN STANDS FOR MONEY
2. POWER STANDS FOR MONEY
3. AN OBJECT STANDS FOR MONEY
4. MONEY STANDS FOR BEHAVIOUR
5. MONEY STANDS FOR A RELATIONSHIP
6. MONEY STANDS FOR TIME

The analysis of both Russian and English money proverbs reveals both similarities and differences. First, both languages use money as the source and target domain in the money proverbs. Nevertheless, the English money proverbs (with 116 examples) significantly outnumber the Russian money proverbs (with 52 examples). This discrepancy in the use of money or money-related words in the proverbial discourse is an interesting area for future research. A further study may explore the historical, cultural, or economic reasons for such a discrepancy.

Moreover, there are conceptual metaphors of money that are shared by both languages in these proverbs, such as HUMAN STANDS FOR MONEY, POWER STANDS FOR MONEY and MONEY STANDS FOR BEHAVIOUR…etc. This can be attributed to the similar human experiences that people share although they belong to distinct cultures. Nevertheless, the conceptual metaphor MONEY STANDS FOR RISK does not exist among the main conceptual metaphors that motivate the Russian money proverbs. Again, this can be attributed to variations in people's attitudes towards money in different countries speaking these languages, i.e., Russian in Russia on the one hand, and English in the United States of America and the United Kingdom on the other. Probably, this variation in the use of money in certain proverbial contexts or scenarios is related to the various ideologies, societal factors, or economic impact on the language, among other factors.

6. Conclusion

The current paper endeavoured to explore the use of money terms in a sample of English and Russian proverbs. The analysis of the proverbs in this study was conducted within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Metaphorical proverbs were detected using MIP (Pragglejaz Group, 2007), and thus, the English and Russian proverbs with literal, non-metaphorical meaning, were excluded from the comparative analysis.

Prior research on money metaphors primarily focused on money as a target domain, emphasizing that money is conceptualized in various ways in English proverbs as well as in other languages.. The current research attempted to be more comprehensive and consider money metaphorical proverbs from two perspectives. The analysis showed that both English and Russian money proverbs are predominantly based on metaphors since most of the proverbs in both languages carry metaphorical meanings.

However, Russian money proverbs showed a slightly higher degree of metaphoricity compared to English proverbs, with a 10% difference. Moreover, it was observed that money can function as both a source and target domain in proverbs of both languages. In English proverbs, money as a source domain was slightly more prevalent than in the Russian proverbs of money,

while Russian proverbs demonstrated a higher frequency of money as a target domain compared to English proverbs. Although these differences may not be statistically significant, they may reflect certain ideological, societal, or economic factors that influence how people in distinct societies look at the issue of money. In other words, the use of money and money-related words in English proverbs to address topics such as taking risks may be more common compared to Russian proverbs. This can be attributed to the capitalist lifestyle in the United States in contrast to the Communist heritage in Russia, formerly the Soviet Union (see also Deberdeeva 2013; Fediunina 2014 for the impact of the cultural differences between American and Russian mentalities, and how Americans and Russians perceive things differently). This issue needs further investigation in the future to explore the impact of lifestyle on the discourse.

The current paper is based on the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which serves as the underlying framework. This theory provides a cognitive explanation for the metaphorical elements found in English and Russian proverbs. The author of the paper employed this theory to demonstrate how metaphors are influenced in both languages, as well as to highlight the similarities and differences between them. The analysis showed that money proverbs in the Russian language were mainly motivated by the conceptual metaphors: A HUMAN STANDS FOR MONEY, POWER STANDS FOR MONEY, and AN OBJECT STAND FOR MONEY when money served as the target domain. In the Russian sample, when money was the source domain, the proverbs were mostly motivated by the conceptual metaphors MONEY STANDS FOR BEHAVIOUR, MONEY STANDS FOR A RELATIONSHIP, and MONEY STANDS FOR TIME. On the other hand, the main conceptual metaphors in English proverbs with money as the target domain were a human stand for money, power stands for money and an object stands for money. The conceptual metaphors MONEY STANDS FOR BEHAVIOUR and MONEY STANDS FOR RISK are triggered by English money proverbs with money as the source domain. The absence of the conceptual metaphor MONEY STANDS FOR RISK in the Russian proverbs is noteworthy and reflects how the collective conscience can impact language in various cultures. Consequently, intercultural differences can provide an explanation for linguistic variation based on shared values, norms, sentiments, and beliefs.

In conclusion, further research is recommended on the topic of money in English and Russian within other contexts such as media, literature, daily conversations, etc. This would provide insights into cultural similarities and differences between these two distinct languages. Also, another investigation can be conducted to compare the metaphorical use of money in other languages. Such research endeavours can offer valuable information for educators, translators, and language learners when engaging with foreign languages.

References

Belkhir, Sadia. "Cognitive linguistics and proverbs". *The Routledge Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, 2021, pp. 599-611.

de Saussure, Ferdinand. *Course in general linguistics*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959.

Deberdeeva, Elena and Sayannaya, Natalia. "National mentality reflection in language (The case study of Russian and English proverbs with metaphorical and connotative components)". Вести Волгоградского Государственного Университета, 2013.

Denisenkova, Julia. "A Diachronic Analysis of The Concept 'Money'". *MGIMO Review of International Relations*, 2013, pp. 227-231.

Denisenkova, Julia. "Money-proverbs in the Russian and English languages". *Linguistics & Polyglot Studies*, 2016, pp. 28-36.

Ermakova, Natalia. "The Overlapping of The Concept "Money" In Russian and French Paremiology". Современные исследования социальных проблем, 2012.

Fediunina, Inna. "English and Russian proverbs representing attitudes towards money and financial status". *Вестник Новгородского Государственного Университета*, 2014.

Fedyanina, Lubov. *The Concept of "Geld" in the German Language Worldview*. (Unpublished candidate of philology dissertation). Kemerovo State University. Kemerovo, 2005.

Gibbs, Raymond W. "Money talks because people move: Embodied metaphors in economic action". *Society and Economy*, 2018, pp.349–364.

Golubeva, Elena. "The Study of the Concept "Money" by the Method of Semantic Differential". *Linguistic Personality. Speech Genres,* 2008.

Isahakyan Ts. Heghine. "Metaphorization Of the Concept "money" in English Linguistic and Conceptual Pictures". *JournalNX*, 2021, pp. 1-4.

Kamyshanchenko, Elena and Nerubenko, Natal'ya. "Comparative Analysis of Proverbs and Sayings in English and German Representing the Concept «Money»". *Philological Science. The Theory and Practice,* 2012, pp. 78-80.

Korbut, Alexandra, and Huizi, Li. "Comparative Analysis of the Representatives of the Concept "Money" in Russian and Chinese (traditional layer)". *Bulletin of Chelyabinsk State University. Philology. Art criticism*, 2015, pp. 113-119.

Kövecses, Zoltán and Szabó, Péter K. "Idioms: A view from cognitive semantics". *Applied Linguistics*, 1996, pp. 326-355.

Kövecses, Zoltán. "A new look at metaphorical creativity in cognitive linguistics". *Cognitive Linguistics*, 2010, pp. 663–697.

Kövecses, Zoltán. *Language, mind and culture: A practical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Kövecses, Zoltán. "The power (and problem) of money". *Society and Economy,* 2018, pp. 365-376.

Lakoff, George. Johnson, Mark. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Langacker, Ronald. W. *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Maria-Crina, Herteg. "Money Metaphors in English and Romanian. A Comparative Approach". *European Proceedings of Social and Behavioural Sciences*,2017, pp. 115-125.

Mayorenko, Irina. *Conceptualization of the Concept of "Money" in the Lexical System and the Fund of Stable Units of Russian, English and French Languages*. (Unpublished candidate of philology dissertation). Kuban State University. Krasnodar, 2005.

Mieder, Wolfgang. *Proverbs: A Handbook.* Westport & London: Greenwood Press, 2004.

Mieder, Wolfgang. *Antisprichwörter*. Band I.Wiesbaden: Verlag für deutsche Sprache. 2. Kiadás, 1983.

Moiseeva, Irina, Remizova,Valentina and Nesterova, Tatyana. "Interrelation of scientific and folk economics in the prothteconomic concept MONEY". *SHS Web Conf.*, 2019.

Oleneva, Polina. "Conceptualization of money in English anti-proverbs: a cognitive perspective". Язык и литература в социокультурном пространтсве. Karagandy State University, 2022.

Oleneva, Polina and Litovkina, Anna. "Money in Russian anti-proverbs". *Studia Slavica Hung.*, 2021, pp. 115–133.

Osheva, Elena. "Concept 'Money' in the English American Proverbs". *Historical and Social-Educational Ideas*, 2015, pp. 390-392.

Paleeva, Elena. "The Concept of "Money" in the Minds of Russian Speakers". *Scientific Notes*, 2010.

Pragglejaz Group. "MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse". *Metaphor and Symbol*, 2007, pp. 1–39.

Rathmayr, Renate. "The Concept of Den'gi (Money) in the St. Petersburg Population at the Beginning of the 1990s". *Journal of East European Management Studies*, 2004, pp. 175–89.

Samozhenov, Sergey and Matveyeva, Irina. "A Comparative Analysis of The German and Russian Anti-Proverbs in The Field "Geld/Money"". *European Proceedings of Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 2019, pp. 2767-2773.

Sharifian, Farzad. "On cultural conceptualisations". *Journal of Cognition and Culture*, 2003, pp. 187-207.

Silaški, Nadežda and Kilyeni, Annamaria. "The Money Is Solid Metaphor in Economic and Business Terminology in English". *Professional Communication and Translation Studies,* 2014, pp. 73-80.

Sinclair, John. *Collins COBUILD idioms dictionary*. London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995.

Sundblom, Daniel. *Money as Defined Concept in Conceptual Metaphors of Japanese*. Bachelor's degree project Japanese. Stockholm University, 2016.

Zalavina, Tatiyana, Yuzhakova, Yulia, Dyorina, Nataliya and Polyakova, Liliya. "The Concept of "Money" in the Context of National Linguocultures". *Arab World English Journal (AWEJ)*, 2019, pp. 183-189.

Zalavina, Tatyana. "The Frame Organization of Proverbial Expressions Representing the Concept of Money in Russian and French Linguistic Cultures".*Revista Inclusiones*, 2020, pp. 433-47.

Polina Oleneva
Eötvös Loránd University
Egyetem tér 1-3, 1053
Budapest
Hungary
polina0912@student.elte.hu