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**THE LINGUOCULTUROLOGICAL POTENTIAL OF RUSSIAN
PAROEMIA WITH TOOL–NAMES AS THEIR COMPONENTS VIEWED
AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE CHINESE PAROEMIA**

Scientific specialty 5.9.5. Russian language. Languages of the peoples of Russia

DISSERTATION

for the degree of Candidate of Philological Sciences

Translation from Russian

Scientific adviser:

Doctor of Philological Sciences

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Saint Petersburg

2023

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	4
CHAPTER 1. FOUNDATIONS AND PROSPECTS OF THE LINGUOCULTURAL ANALYSIS OF PAROEMIA: THEORETICAL INSIGHTS INTO THE ISSUE.....	15
1.1. Cultural linguistics as a discipline.....	15
<i>1.1.1. Linguistic worldview as a foundational concept in cultural linguistics.....</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>1.1.2. Paremiological worldview as a component of the linguistic worldview.....</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>1.1.3. The tool code of the culture in the Russian and Chinese languages.....</i>	<i>29</i>
1.2. Proverbs and sayings from the perspective of linguistics and cultural linguistics.....	35
<i>1.2.1. Characteristics of Russian paroemia and their position among the fixed linguistic units of the Russian language.....</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>1.2.2. Characteristics of Chinese paroemia as reflected in research.....</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>1.2.3. The linguoculturological potential of paroemia: the experience of studying Russian and Chinese proverbs.....</i>	<i>43</i>
1.3. The theory of lexical-semantic field as applied to the components of paroemia.....	46
<i>1.3.1. Properties of the semantic field and the lexical-semantic group.....</i>	<i>46</i>
<i>1.3.2. Tool-names in Russian: The ideographic approach.....</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>1.3.3. Tool-names in Chinese: The ideographic approach.....</i>	<i>52</i>
1.4. Resume by chapter.....	54
CHAPTER 2. STEREOTYPICAL IDEAS REFLECTED IN RUSSIAN AND CHINESE PROVERBS WITH TOOL-NAMES AS COMPONENTS.....	57
2.1. Stereotypes about the availability and quality of tools as a prerequisite for work and its efficiency.....	58
<i>2.1.1. Background assumption “A craftsman cannot do without appropriate tools”.....</i>	<i>58</i>
<i>2.1.2. Background assumption “The efficiency of labour depends on whether quality tools are available to the worker”.....</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>2.1.3. Background assumption “The tool must suit the craft, the task and the volume of work”.....</i>	<i>65</i>
<i>2.1.4. Background assumption “Every worker needs to have his own tools”.....</i>	<i>68</i>

2.2. Stereotypes about the worker and his work with the use of tools.....	70
2.2.1. <i>Stereotypes about the importance of preparing the tools for work</i>	70
2.2.2. <i>Stereotypes about the importance of skills and mastery</i>	73
2.3. Stereotypes about attitude to work and its results as represented in paroemia.....	78
2.3.1. <i>The worker's personal qualities (industriousness, enthusiasm, diligence, patience) and attitude to work</i>	78
2.3.2. <i>The relationship between the worker's personal qualities and the results of work</i>	81
2.4. Stereotypes about the conditions for work with the use of tools.....	84
2.4.1. <i>Stereotypes about the importance of following the agricultural calendar</i>	85
2.4.2. <i>Stereotypes about the importance of precipitation for the agricultural cycle</i>	89
2.5. Figurative/symbolic use of tool-name components in paroemia.....	92
2.5.1. <i>The image of the axe head as an expression of stereotypical ideas</i>	94
2.5.2. <i>The image of the awl as an expression of stereotypical ideas</i>	96
2.5.3. <i>The image of the axe as an expression of stereotypical ideas</i>	98
2.5.4. <i>The image of the hammer as an expression of stereotypical ideas</i>	100
2.5.5. <i>The images of the plough and the harrow as an expression of stereotypical ideas</i>	101
2.5.6. <i>The image of the sickle as an expression of stereotypical ideas</i>	104
2.5.7. <i>Stereotypes about the knife</i>	105
2.6. The image of the human being as represented in the Russian and Chinese paroemia with tool-names as components.....	109
2.7. Resume by chapter.....	115
CONCLUSION.....	119
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	122
DICTIONARIES AND SOURCES.....	140
ABBREVIATIONS.....	144
APPENDIX.....	145

INTRODUCTION

One of the currently relevant approaches to analysis of language data – cultural linguistics – is based on a widely accepted statement that “linguistic signs contain and translate cultural information” [Kovshova 2019:14]. This fact undeniably explains the past and the present of the language and its speakers. Of no coincidence is the fact that M.L.Kovshova puts a special stress on ethno– and extralinguistic aspects of any analysis done within the framework of cultural linguistics [Kovshova 2019: 5]. Despite becoming an almost traditional instrument in dealing with lexicography of paroemia (this method proved to be quite fruitful when compiling the “Big Phraseological Dictionary” ed. by V.N.Telia, with lexicographic definitions generally clarifying how the actual semantics of a language sign was formed [Bredis 2019: 23]) as well as in studying fragments of a language worldview, linguoculturological interpretation of language signs still opens up new horizons for analyzing ethnically–marked semantics of words and for searching deep underlying meanings of cultural events and phenomena.

Nowadays a revived interest in phraseology, especially from the comparative method perspective, can be explained, on the one hand, by increasing attention given to national identity questions, linguistic uniqueness (such as the growing interest in the languages of “minor nations”), and various other issues, which motivates scholars and researchers to reveal factors determining ethnic identity and ethnic markedness of the language signs. At the same time, on the other hand, linguists focus their attention on the language universals and universality due to resembling views of the world, a common human nature and similarity of human interrelations, likeness of lifestyles and household structures and so on.

Phraseology, which “reflects most vividly a nation’s experience, traditions and worldview” [Zinovieva, Yurkov 2006:86], is of particular importance for those who, by applying the comparative method to language data, strive to reveal differences caused by a set of factors which can be ethnically specific for each culture.

It is common to include into the corpus of phraseological units the items belonging to paroemia (further: UP–s), since they are seen as national linguistic asset, a

sort of national code, a pool of folk wisdom, according to characteristics given by V.N.Telia, the founder of cultural linguistics approach in studying phraseological resources of a language. According to V.N.Telia, the stock of proverbs represents the language of everyday communication shaped in the course of centuries and handed down from generation to generation; it reflects “all the life attitudes and philosophies of people belonging to a particular culture” [Telia 1996: 214]. Functioning as a vivid and nation-specific part of the language worldview, phraseology of any language epitomizes the worldview of a nation which is anchored in its units, lexemes and collocations.

The method of semantic fields, in our case – semantic fields of phraseological units, to analyze a class of linguistic phenomena (see, e.g., the works of Z.D.Popova, I.A.Sternin, N.F.Aliferenko, Ye.I.Zinovieva and others) is a highly demanded and popular one. It can be successfully applied in the process of semantic analysis of both particular fragments of the linguistic view of the world verbalized by means of certain linguistic items (here – proverbs), and constituent elements of the paroemia stratum, that is, paroemia components participating in forming the semantics of the proverb as a language item.

Semantics and structure of proverbs, their linguistic features (in particular – their composition and composing elements), variability of proverbs, on the one hand, and their quality of being fixed collocations, on the other, are described in scholarly works of linguists of the Russian school of phraseology – G.L.Permyakov, N.M.Shanskii, L.B.Savenkova, Z.K.Tarlanov, S.G.Lazutin, V.P.Zhukov, G.D.Sidorkova, N.F.Aliferenko, T.G.Bochina, N.R.Oynotkinova, O.Ye.Frolova and many others. Today another kind of research takes precedence over these, namely, works which employ connotative or denotative analysis of proverbs which concentrates on the question of what life principles, philosophies, attitudes towards life of a people they express and by what means it is achieved [Telia 1996: 231].

According to the research conducted so far, proverbial constituents are elements helping to have some knowledge of a society fixed in minds and to keep these ideas firmly established, they verbalize a kind of ‘quanta’ of cultural level, axiology and morality, ethical standards of nation, etc. Proverbs demonstrate not only how (in what manner) the

members of an ethnicity understand and reflect the world around them or the character of underlying analogies and/or parallelisms but also help to prioritize events and objects by stating the level of their importance and axiological value for the society. Russian proverbs and other PU–s concerning various physical (labour) and household activities are ‘built’ on tools used in these activities and on instruments contributing to a more successful achievement (*Mustard after supper is like an axe after a strickle; Use a scythe while there is dew, when dew is gone, we go home; Use glue with paper, a needle – with a shirt; If you plough with a plough, the soil will turn into a meadow; Exchanged a bar of soup for an awl*). Proverbs and sayings contain a national component in their semantics adding to a deeper understanding of the culture, traditions and customs of an ethnic group.

Comparative studies of fixed collocations of the Russian language have traditionally been one of the most important spheres of analyzing language data in the Russian linguistic school. Attention of linguists is attracted to a variety of groups of phraseological units based on different criteria – their semantics, components and composition, structural characteristics, grammatical features of their organization, their potential from the point of view of cultural linguistics, etc. Analyzing the Russian material against the Chinese proverbial data is highly promising in terms of revealing differences between the two languages caused by the particular histories of the countries, differences in their cultures, diverse ways of life, specific tendencies in metaphorical conceptualization of the surrounding world as well as in attributing symbolic and/or axiological semantic components to surrounding objects or occurring events.

In Chinese phraseology, nationally and culturally coloured semantics of PU–s can be conveyed separately, by elements in their composition. For example, a proverb 磨刀不误砍柴工 which includes an element – the name of an instrument 刀 ‘an axe’ – sounds as “Sharpening a blade will not slow down the cutting”, while metaphorically it translates into ‘A thorough preparation for a job will quicken the process rather than slow it down’. The Russian language possesses equivalent items of paroemia. Thus, a proverb “*The sharper an axe, the thicker the tree trunk*” speaks of a better cutting capability of a sharp instrument. The literal meaning of a proverb 千锤百炼 is “forge hot a thousand

times and temper a hundred times”. It is a simile which means ‘like metal becomes stronger after being forged and tempered many times, so does an experienced or knowledgeable person who fears no failure’.

Simultaneously, proverbs demonstrate a variety of associations, relations and dependencies which, on the one hand, reflect factual actions and situations (when a subject does use an artefact mentioned in a proverb), while on the other, they put a stress on some qualities and characteristics of the instruments mentioned that make it possible for them to be used symbolically or axiologically. For example, in a PU “*Two axes go together, while two spinning wheels are apart*” the ‘two axes’ symbolize two males and the ‘two spinning–wheels’ symbolize quarrelsome women.

Our choice of this array of proverbs as a worthy material for comparative studying is due to the lack of papers on this topic either in the Russian or Chinese linguistics. It is hardly doubtful that comparative studies of phraseology are of paramount importance for understanding and appreciating the cultural heritage of the Chinese and Russian people. However, so far proverbs containing names of various tools and instruments as their components have not been given appropriate attention, nor have they been analyzed with the help of the comparative method when the Russian proverbs are considered against the Chinese ones, which fact allows us to speak of **the scientific novelty of the research conducted.**

Cultural linguistics as an approach to the proverbs of Russian and Chinese – the two non–related genealogically or morphologically languages – helps, firstly, to reveal serious differences in the taxonomy of the tools/instruments mentioned in paroemia, their role, functions and specific features; secondly, to bring to light some stereotypical vision of jobs requiring these tools and of a labourer who uses them as well as of the people’s attitudes to the implements used; thirdly, the material of paroemia uncovers similarities and differences in metaphoric usage of the names of tools, implements and appliances, and their metaphoric re–evaluation or comprehension, which in turn clearly demonstrates distinctness of a national worldview.

A phraseological item (a unit of paroemia) is considered as a complex language

sign, with its components distributed among three entities – the language, the real world and the human mentality. It is treated as an established (invariable) speech act, which is even more true in case of proverbs. This makes us take into account a number of factors that exert influence on the forming of proverbs as items of a specific discourse. They are the factors of language, psychology, culture and history, ethnography, etc. [Kirillova 2003: 27].

The aim of the study is seen, therefore, as follows: in the course of analyzing the PU–s of the Russian language containing names of tools and appliances and contrasting them with the similar material of the Chinese language *to reveal* stereotypical concepts epitomized in the PU–s and cultural preferences prevailing in both languages, *to estimate* the measure of their universality and the extent of their similarity in the worldview of Russian and Chinese speakers, of representatives of the Russian and Chinese cultures. At the same time, the aim is *to find out* nation–specific features reflected in the paroemia of the two languages, *to identify* general tendencies and ethnically determined (unique) ones in comprehending the roles of the tools, the ways they are used in the two cultures, their metaphoric perception and associations, vectors in the development of their semantics based on the ‘instrument–name’ components.

The aim of the study makes it necessary to solve the following **tasks**:

1. To work out theoretical principles and basis for the comparative analysis;
2. To compile the arrays of lexemes in Russian and Chinese belonging to the semantic field ‘Tools/Implements/Appliances’ and serving as components/constituents in proverbs, to supply them with their lexicographic portraits taken from dictionaries;
3. To collect proverbs with components ‘Tool’ from dictionaries of Russian and Chinese proverbs;
4. To determine major thematic zones related to various labour activities described by Russian and Chinese proverbs that contain tools/appliances as lexical elements;
5. To suggest a typology of linguistically and culturally conditioned attitudes in the two languages and to examine them in terms of notions typical of Chinese paroemia so as to identify general/universal features against specific/ethnically marked ones;

6. To identify typically Russian images compared to Chinese ones and to define their cultural semantics;
7. To catalogue the cases of proverbs in the contrasted languages with axiological expression in the components meaning ‘tool/appliance’ (using the criterion of implicit/explicit expression);
8. To classify the most representative binary structures built of such components and to determine their role in the formation of paroemias in the two languages.

The object of the research is items of paroemia with components – names of tools in Russian and Chinese.

The subject matter of the research comprises specific features of the components of the paroemias containing names of tools/instruments, their linguistic and cultural contents revealing itself in universal comprehension or ethnic-specific understanding of the characteristics of the tools customarily used by the ethnos, their role in general and their particular functions. The study aims at identifying linguistic cultural potential of the paroemia units whose composition includes tool-names.

The material under examination is extracted from paroemia dictionaries of the Russian language; “Russian Proverbs” by V.I.Dahl, “Folk Wisdom” by V.M.Mokiyenko b T.G.Nikitina, “The Dictionary of Russian Proverbs and Sayings” by V.P.Zhukov. “Proverbs and Sayings of the Russian People. A Big Explanatory Dictionary” by V.I.Zimin and A.S.Spirin, “Russian Phraseology. Historico–Etymological Dictionary” edited by V.M.Mokiyenko, “A Big Dictionary of Russian Proverbs” by V.M.Mokiyenko, T.G.Nikitina, Ye.K.Nikolayeva; from the dictionaries of paroemia and phraseology of the Chinese language: “A Big Dictionary of Chinese Sayings” by Li Hanwen, “A Big Dictionary of Chinese Proverbs” by Wen Duancheng, Classificatory Dictionary of Proverbs” by Wen Duancheng, «Russian–Chinese Phraseological Dictionary” by Ye Fanglai, “The Dictionary of Equivalent Chinese and Russian Phraseological Units, Proverbs and Sayings” by Xie Caifu and Wu Yu, A Dictionary of Modern Usage of Russian Phraseological Units with their Explanations in Russian and Chinese” by Sun Xuewei, «Lexical and Phraseological Basis of the Category of Impersonality: Russian–

Chinese Dictionary by Sun Xuewei and some other.

The theoretical and methodological background of the dissertation comprises:

- works on cultural linguistics: N.F.Alefirenko 2010, A.S.Aleshin and Ye.I.Zinoviyeva 2020, L.P.Vodysova 2009, V.V.Vorobiev 2008, Ye.I.Zinoviyeva 2016, V.I.Karasik 2015, Ye.A.Martynova 2013, V.A.Maslova 2001, V.I.Postovalova 2017, F. de Saussure 2007, and others;

- works on the linguistic view of the world: T.I.Vorontsova 2003, D.B.Gudkov 2005, O.A. , O.A.Kornilov 2003, Z.D.Popova and I.A.Sternin 2002, and others;

- works on the studies of lexical–semantic groups of Russian words including those that are constituents of phraseological units: L.G.Babenko 1997, L.M.Vasiliev 1971, Li Imo 2022, T.G.Skrebtsova 1996, I.P.Slesareva 2010, A.A.Ufimtseva 2002, Cao Jingjing 2020;

- works on the Russian paroemia: T.F.Balykova 1998, A.N.Baranov 2008, M.A. Bredis 2019, V.P.Zhukov 2000, K.A.Zhukov 2004, I.A.Zykova 2015, S.M.Isupova 2015, B.I.Karadjev 2009, M.L.Kovshova 2019, Ye.A.Kuzmina 2002, O.V.Lomakina 2016, L.B.Savenkova 2002, R.R.Sanyarova 2019, Ye.I.Seliverstova 2022, I.M.Sneguirev 2012 and others;

- works on the Chinese paroemia: Gao Xing 2004, Liu Bo 2009, Ma Xiangfei 2018, Cao jingqing 2020, Zhang Yan 2019, Zhao Zhiqiang 2012, Shang Wenqin 2021, Yuan Liying 2016 and others;

- works on the concept ‘tool’ including instruments, various appliances and their parts or elements: V.V.Varzinova 2022, M.A. Safyanova 2014, T.A.Zhdanova 2016, Yang Kai 2009 and others.

To achieve the goals set above the following **techniques and methods** are applied: continuous sampling method and directional sampling method, descriptive method, componential analysis, quantitative statistical method, comparative and contrastive method, linguistic cultural analysis.

All the above–said makes it possible to formulate and advance a **hypothesis** of importance of tools and implements in labouring activities and everyday life of an ethnos,

which is evidenced and supported both by a great number of phraseological collocations with the related components, and by a variety of ideas expressed in them. As indispensable instruments in everyday life tools appear in the paroemias in their direct meanings, however, they also take part in rendering figurative or allegoric meanings as parts of idioms. Projecting the Russian phraseological material of paroemias on the Chinese material will expose to view some universalities of the ways different ethnicities look at their tools (their shape and appearance, scope and sphere of application, practical use, value, symbolic and figurative meanings) as well as ethnically coloured conceptualization of facts of life caused by the way of life, living standards, history, philosophy, mythology and folk traditions.

The following **statements** are to be defended:

1. The fact that components with the semantics of ‘tool, implement, instrument, appliance’ are actively used in paroemias serves as solid evidence of the importance of tools in human life; it is the importance of tools that brings about such variety of lexemes verbalizing the concept and frequent usage of them as constituents of the paroemias considered;
2. Proverbs and sayings mirror the most essential spheres of life of language speakers, their culture and activities in which the usage of tools and instruments was not only helpful but also vital;
3. Paroemias being items produced by popular wisdom reflect true to life experience of applying various instruments – their functions, practicability of their usage depending on conditions and circumstances, influence of the performer’s personality on the result of work, etc.
4. The elements verbalizing the concept ‘tool’ are not equally active in representing the concept, nor is the frequency of their appearance in PU–s the same for all of them. This can be explained by different levels of importance of different tools in the life of people and in providing them with material wealth.
5. Paroemias reflect extra–linguistic peculiarities of labouring pursuits of the Chinese and Russians, their traditional preferences in the choice of tools and their application

as well as different associations the tools bring to mind.

6. Phraseological units with components—names of instruments establish and fix the mindset of the speakers and members of the culture, and in this way they characterize a person in a variety of social roles – as a labourer, as a professional, a head or member of the family, and express interpersonal relations as well as evaluate people via their usage of tools.
7. The functions, appearance and other characteristics of customary tools are reconsidered, reimagined by the speaker and serve as a range of figurative means to characterize positive and negative features of a human.
8. Analyzing the Russian paroemias against similar expressions of the Chinese language reveals both universal stereotypical perceptions which can be explained by the similarity of the tools used and of the worldviews of the speakers of various languages, and unique, ethnically coloured phenomena caused by idiosyncrasies of national histories, lifestyles, philosophies, etc.
9. The Chinese paroemias describe in more detail the very process of using a tool. In addition, they are more allegoric than Russian PU–s and they tend to draw analogies in describing stereotypical situations.

The theoretical value of the research is seen in the fact that its results contribute to the development of theoretical issues of cultural linguistics and the study of paroemias and, in particular, to the study of certain fragments of a language worldview, culture–specific and nation–specific aspects of semantics, functioning of the Russian paroemias as compared to the Chinese ones, as well as to the theory of binary structures of paroemias as a phenomenon in the field of paroemias of a language.

The practical value of the research consists in applicability of the results obtained in lexicographic practice, theoretical and practical issues of translation, in courses of Russian as a second language, as illustrative material when developing lectures on the above–mentioned subject matters. The results of the study can be used in universities – in the practical teaching of a wide range of linguistic disciplines, lectures and special courses on etymology, Russian–Chinese contrastive studies, in practical lexicographic

work of compiling monolingual and bilingual phraseological and explanatory dictionaries.

The aim and tasks set in the dissertation dictated **the structure of the research paper**. The dissertation consists of an Introduction, two Chapters, a Conclusion, a Bibliographical list and an Appendix.

Chapter One demonstrates the state of knowledge in Russian and Chinese linguistics of the problems under analysis in the paper presented: to describe the field of language culture studies, to give definitions to the principal terms and terminology, to define the place, role and significance of proverbs as material for language culture studies and for comparative analysis; to demonstrate the importance of the word–class ‘names of tools’ in the Russian and Chinese languages, productivity and fruitfulness of analyzing the lexical composition of proverbs with the help of method of phraseological–semantic fields and of comparing the proverbs of one language against those of another.

Chapter Two presents the analysis of the lexicographic material collected from a wide range of dictionaries (explanatory, phraseological, of proverbs, etc.); determines the meaning and the role of the ‘tool’ components in the organization of ‘entire collocations’ as they are expressed by the paroemia units; the linguo–cultural potential value of the proverbs is identified, with stereotypes that prevail in the mentality and culture of the Russian speakers or of the Chinese ones, stereotypes that in some cases seem coinciding, and in others turn out to be culturally localized in one culture with a gap in the other; identifies figurative and symbolic functions of the components as capable of expressing peculiarities of the worldview in the two cultures.

The Conclusion presents and summarizes the main results of the research conducted.

The evaluation of the results

The results of the research were presented and considered at the seminars for Ph.D. students at the Department of Teaching Russian as a Foreign Language, St. Petersburg State University, as well as in the presentations at scientific conferences:

1. A National (All–Russia) Conference in Sciences and Humanities with International Participation “Science SPbU – 2021” (December 2021, St. Petersburg);

2. International Conference "Problems and Prospects of Interdisciplinary Research" (May 2023, Voronezh).
3. International Conference "Science, Society, Education in the Modern world" (May 2023, Penza).

The main theses and points of the dissertation are covered in six publications, five of which are published in the journals indexed and recommended by the State Commission for Academic Degrees and Titles (VAK):

1. Liu Yue. Similarities and Differences in Actualization of Language Cultural Gender Stereotypes in the Proverbs with the 'TOOL'–Component in Chinese and Russian // Modern Science: Actual Problems of Theory and Practice. Series: THE HUMANITIES. – 2022. – #1/2. – P. 154–159 (VAK).
2. Liu Yue. Linguocultural Potential of the Russian Proverbs with the components – names of the tools // Newsletter of the South–Ural State Humanities–Pedagogical University named after I.Ya.Yakovlev – 20110. – # 2 (115). – P.78–83 (VAK);
3. Liu Yue. The Reflection of National Stereotypes in the Proverbs with the Component 'Tools for Sewing and Knitting' in the Russian Language Culture as Compared to the Chinese One // Philological Studies. The Problems of Theory and Practice – 2022. – Series 12. – P. 3849–3853 (VAK);
4. Liu Yue, Seliverstova Ye.I. Agricultural Tools Through the Eyes of the Russian and Chinese Proverbs (Linguocultural Approach) // A Modern Scholar. 1. – 2023. – P. 119–125 (VAK);
5. Liu Yue. Universal and Nation–Specific Linguocultural Features of the Proverbs with the Components – Names of Tools of a Blacksmith, Carpenter and Cabinet–Maker in Russian and Chinese // Philological Studies. The Problems of Theory and Practice. – 2023. – Series 3. – P. 943–949. (VAK) ;
6. Liu Yue. Linguocultural Potential of the Russian Proverbs with the Components – Names of Agricultural Tools and Appliances // Proceedings of the All–Russia Conference of Sciences and Humanities with International Participation "Science SPbU – 2022". – SPb.: ISVOE, 2022. – P. 628–629.

CHAPTER I. FOUNDATIONS AND PROSPECTS OF THE LINGUOCULTURAL ANALYSIS OF PAROEMIA: THEORETICAL INSIGHTS INTO THE ISSUE

1.1. Cultural linguistics as a discipline

Linguoculturology is a scientific field dealing with linguistic facts considered from the point of view of the interrelation of language and culture belonging to the same ethnic group.

Nowadays, when cultures of different peoples are in constant interaction and cooperation, and processes of globalization and integration are deepening [Efremova 2012: 13], it has become quite demanded and almost traditional to address linguistic units from anthropocentric positions, taking into account information of historical and cultural nature.

A community speaking the same language belongs to a certain culture, which includes national traditions, history, literature, and language, which is now interpreted as a means of reflecting culture and, according to E. Sepir, a guiding tool in the study of culture [Sepir 1993: 293]. When studying a language it is not enough to know the vocabulary and the set of rules for constructing a statement – the culture and worldview of native speakers, familiarity with their way of life, with the customs and traditions characteristic of the country of the studied language are important. The establishment of these connections has led to the emergence of such a direction in linguistics as linguoculturology. Within the framework of this direction language is perceived as a means of transmitting ethno-labeled cultural information, reflecting the features of material and – what is very important – spiritual life (philosophy, mentality) of the collective speaker [Kornilov 2003, Zinovieva, Yurkov 2009; Paremiology 2020 and others].

Linguoculturology is a complex branch of science which emerged at the junction of several fields of knowledge – linguistics, ethnography and ethnology, history, and culturology [Maslova 2001: 9]. Language is seen in it as a phenomenon of culture and as

a means of reflecting cultural facts [Vezhbitskaya 2001: 78]. Linguoculturology studies the view of the world as it is seen by bearers of a certain culture, through the prism of the national language of a particular nation. Language is presented both as a repository of a nation's cultural values and as a tool for assimilating these values [Ermolenko 2010: 3].

Despite the active development of this direction and the appearance of new works highlighting the linguocultural potential of linguistic units in different languages [Vorobyov 2000; Karaulov 2010; Infantova 2008; Sharifian 2011, etc.], there remain many layers of linguistic means of the Russian language, subject to further study and allowing to reveal the specificity in the worldview of Russian language and culture speakers.

The idea expressed in 1836 by W. von Humboldt about the relationship between language and culture, about the manifestations in language of the features of the national spirit and the influence of language on worldview and outlook [Humboldt 1984: 45–48] inspired many researchers to comprehend this relationship and interdependence, served as the strongest impulse to the development of the linguocultural direction. "Language," Humboldt wrote, "is not merely an external means of communication between people, of maintaining social ties, but is embedded in human nature itself and is necessary for the development of his spiritual forces and the formation of his worldview." [Ibid].

The scholar's views on the ability of language, with its peculiar structure, to reflect the culture and individuality of its speakers and testify to their spiritual development were further developed by many of his followers. For example, E. Sepir and B. Warf wrote about the determinism between language and culture. Warf, postulating the idea that speakers of different languages comprehend the world in different ways, treating language as a product of culture and at the same time a culture-forming factor [Warf 2002: 91], as any culture is manifested in language, finds its material embodiment, develops and changes under the influence of the environment.

Now the problem of the relationship between language and culture is covered by scientists in different directions:

– linguistic [Sorokin 1989; Krasnykh 2011; Telia 1996; A. Vezhbitskaya 1997;

Vereshchagin, Kostomarov 2005; Karasik 2002, 2013; Neshchimenko 2000; Postovalova 2017; Alford 2001 and others],

- philosophical [Brutyanyan 1973, Markarian 1969, Human Factor 1988, etc.],
- psychological [Vygotsky 1996; Leontiev 1972, 2007; Petrenko 1997, etc.].

In recent years, linguoculturology has been developing particularly actively thanks to the works of researchers treating it as a special branch of linguistics; see: Gudkov 2003; Kovshova 2008, 2015, 2019; Krasnykh 2002, 2011; Maslova 2001, Ashurova 2003, etc.

S.G. Ter–Minasova, considering language as a cultural asset, notes that language preserves cultural values in its vocabulary, grammar, idioms, articles, folklore, fiction and scientific literature, as well as in oral and written speech [Ter–Minasova 2000: 13]. If we consider the structure, expression, and ways of mastering language, the sociocultural layer or component of culture manifests itself as a part of language or the basis of its existence [ibid.: 8].

Noting the existence of a cultural image of the world in the collective consciousness, V.I. Karasik writes that language covers both general human features, conditioned by the objective real world, and special ones: "culturally specific meanings, cultural–value dominants, concepts forming certain types of culture will be preserved and applied in the language in the cultural image of the world". [Karasik 2002: 169]. Linguoculturology acts as a complex field of scientific knowledge about the relationship and mutual influence of language and culture, based largely on the fact that language units are an organic part of the natural being of a speaking person in his social and natural environment [Menzairova 2010: 23].

A special place in the works of linguocultural nature is occupied by the studies involving the material of two [Aleshin 2020, Zinovieva 2016, Ivanova 2006, Krushelnitskaya 2008, Nelyubova 2019, Seliverstova 2019, 2021; Ho Xiaojun 2022, Shaykhullin 2012, Shvets 2016 and others.] and more languages [Bredis 2019; Wang Dongxue, Wang Wenbin 2018, Lomakina 2016, 2018, Nikolaeva 2016, Sanyarova 2019, Seliverstova 2020, Mukarapova 2019, etc.], because it is in comparing two languages that verbalize cultural phenomena that lacunar areas that indicate the unique nationally

colored features of a particular people's worldview can be identified.

In the development of man, in mastering his culture, ways of behavior and thinking, systems of signs and symbols that humanity has created in the course of historical development participate, i.e. language, writing, etc. [Vygotsky 2019]. Consequently, language is a universal means of cognition of culture [Sadchikova 2015]. Mastering many languages, a person plunges into the world of material and spiritual culture characteristic of native speakers of the languages being studied. Thus, culture contributes to the expansion of a person's horizons and his participation in intercultural communication.

Thus, language is a manifestation of national culture, a form of its existence and its repository. It is not only a means of communication between people, but also the most important tool for transferring information. Nationally–marked information about a nation is also the nature of the place where people live, and the way of their economic life. Language accumulates information about the art, science, literature of the ethnic group, its folklore works and traditions, and transmits them from generation to generation. Especially important is the fact that language reflects the essential for the people – the bearer of culture worldview and worldview, features of mentality, nationally marked system of values.

Cultural perceptions of a particular ethnic group, differences in ways of thinking, traditions, literature, religion and folklore, reflected in language, are found both in the vocabulary – this is written, in particular, by A.V. Polonsky and W. Tsi [Polonsky 2005], and in stable units, in figurative sayings and comparisons, in time–tested signs of situations – proverbs.

According to S.G. Vorkachev, the interaction and mutual influence of language and culture is carried out in various forms – hence the multidimensional nature of the subject of linguoculturology, which includes, in particular, linguistic and national worldview, linguistic consciousness, linguistic personality, mentality, cultural code [Vorkachev 2002: 9].

1.1.1. Linguistic worldview as a foundational concept in cultural linguistics

One of the basic concepts of linguoculturology is the concept of "picture of the world" or, as it is sometimes called, "model of the world" or "image of the world" [Semantics 2004: 8]. The picture of the world is the central concept of the concept of man, "expressing the specifics of his being" [Role 1988: 18].

In the most general form the picture of the world is understood as "an ordered totality of knowledge about reality, formed in the public (group, individual) consciousness. [Language 2002: 10]. Further researchers distinguish several types of the picture of the world – rational and sensual, empirical and theoretical, scientific and "naive", etc.

Scientists distinguish two main types – conceptual and linguistic picture of the world. The conceptual image of the world means a set of representations arising in human consciousness as a result of perception of the surrounding reality, thorough life experience. Language verbalizes numerous phenomena connected with practical human activity, observed and comprehended by man; human consciousness, thus, acts as "a mediator between the real world and language". [Prokhorov 2008: 18]. The existence of language justifies the existence of the expression "conceptual image of the world", which is understood as the sum of knowledge about human existence. As E.S. Kubryakova notes, the conceptual image of the world is realized through language, a certain part of which is imprinted in the human psyche through other types of mental representations – images, schemes, pictures [Kubryakova 2001].

The image of the world in language is the language understanding of the world, or the language picture of the world – it covers only those quanta of information, which are verbalized by units of language. Language is the tool of cognition of the world by the person, a way of perception and the organization ("conceptualization") of its knowledge of the world. The totality of this knowledge fixed in the language form, and that is what is called the language picture of the world (LCW). It should be remembered that the definition of the linguistic picture of the world as "a set of representations of the people about reality, fixed in language units" is accompanied by an important specification: "at

a certain stage of people's development". [Language 2002: 12], since NKM is not something once and for all given and unchangeable. A change in the surrounding world leads "to a change in the picture of the world that is formed in a person's consciousness" [Yakkn 2014: 42]. [YAKKN 2014: 42]. Language and conceptual (conceptual) picture of the world are closely connected with each other.

Studying the relationship between language and culture, V.M. Shaklein notes that people of each subsequent generation begin their life in the world of objects, phenomena and concepts created and accumulated by previous generations; they master this world and develop those abilities, without which the world around them is incomprehensible, in the process of mastering the historically established language [Shaklein 2010: 6], that is, in fact, they also master the language world picture. From his point of view, the process of mastering language by a person is connected with the process of mastering culture, but is not equivalent to it. Language, if he mastered it, the phenomenon is more social, culture is more biological [Ibid: 7].

To date, in the scientific literature there are many definitions of the language picture of the world, the authors of which seek to highlight its most important features. Thus, O.A. Kornilov notes that in the vocabulary and phraseology of language a "reflected world" is imprinted – a kind of projection of the outside world, carried out by ethnomarked linguistic consciousness and therefore containing information about the features of national mentality [Kornilov 2000].

Y.A. Belchikov recognizes language as capable of reflecting phenomena of both the material and spiritual spheres, fixing information about various phenomena of people's life, historical facts and cultural events, the peculiarities of the inner world of man in linguistic units. To the greatest extent, he attributes this ability to vocabulary and phraseology [Belchikov 2003: 277–278].

A linguistic picture of the world, according to scientists, is a complex semantic construct [Krasnykh 2002: 54], a product of thought–language activity, which appears "as a result of the interaction of thinking, reality and language as a means of expressing thoughts about the world in acts of communication. [Telia 1988: 351].

In the monograph "The Role of the Human Factor in Language" considerable attention is paid to the functions of the NKM. According to the authors, it "forms the type of human attitude to the world – nature, other people, himself as a member of this world, sets the norms of human behavior in the world, determines his attitude to the living space" [Role 1988: 26]. [Rohl 1988: 26]. The picture of the world also forms "strategies of life activity of society as a whole", but can also influence the purpose of life of an individual person [NKM 1983: 65].

With all the variety of definitions, what they have in common is the recognition that the YAKM represents the surrounding world in a special way – and this is a manifestation of the specifics in the lifestyle, upbringing, mentality, national culture of the people and the consequence of its historical past and established traditions.

The study of the linguistic picture of the world from the point of view of how a person sees the world around him, how he understands and interprets it, can be carried out at different levels of the language system. The study of the lexical side of the language is interesting, since the very nature of the word is directly related to the "human factor" in the language, thanks to which linguistic means embody the spiritual wealth accumulated by linguistic communities in the process of their historical development.

To date, scientists have already named almost all those means of language, which participate in the creation of the linguistic picture of the world. They are, firstly, nominative means of language – lexemes, stable units, phraseological units, verbalizing the division of national reality. Particular attention is paid to the absence [lacunariness] of nominative units [Language 2002:13]. Secondly, these are figurative means of language, metaphor, peculiarities of the internal form of linguistic units and nationally marked directions of development of figurative meanings. The peculiarities of the construction of texts of different genres, the ways of dialogues and discussions, the specificity of communicative behavior in standard and non-standard situations – all these are among the means that create the model of the language picture of the world [ibid.]

Specifying the methodological prerequisites for the development of the meta-language of linguoculturology, M.L. Kovshova names such key terms for solving new

tasks: culture, cultural attitudes, cultural text, thesaurus of culture, symbolaria of culture, etc." [Kovshova 2012: 112]. [Kovshova 2012: 112]. "Cultural attitudes," writes V.N. Telia, "correlate with social and spiritual reference points formed as a result of the culture bearers' ideas about normative/ideal life activity". [Telia 1999: 18].

As V.A. Maslova writes, cultural attitudes are "a kind of ideals, according to which a person is qualified as 'worthy/unworthy'" [Maslova 2001: 50]. Singling out a linguocultural unit as one of the most important notions in linguocultural studies, the researcher defines it as a unit of language or speech reflecting a cultural object in its semantics (meaning), which constitutes its content plan, and then offers a typology of such units represented by nine positions. They include units with different degrees of linguistic complexity – primitive, artificial, compound words, phrases, word combinations, sentences, speech clichés, compound syntactic units, texts, including folklore, etc. Then the main areas where "language and culture actively interact" are defined – phraseological and paremiological funds of language, codes of culture, concepts of culture and values of culture, etc. [Maslova 2014: 79]. [Maslova 2014: 79] and offers a classification of the most "culture-bearing" entities, which includes:

1. equivalentless vocabulary;
2. mythological language units;
3. paremiological fund of the language;
4. phraseological fund of the language;
5. symbols, stereotypes;
6. metaphors and images of language;
7. stylistic features of language;
8. verbal behavior;
9. units of speech etiquette [Maslova 2001].

When studying perceptions of the surrounding world through the prism of linguocultural studies, experts point out a number of aspects concerning the connection of the image of the world with culture:

- 1) language encompasses universal and specific features, including the cultural

image of the world;

2) language preserves and uses culture-specific meanings, cultural-value dominants, concepts, distinguishing one culture from another;

3) the cultural image of the world is not uniform and unique, as representatives of different nationalities may have different values;

4) the cultural image of the world exists not only in individual, but also in collective consciousness [Karasik 2015].

Researchers note that the linguocultural approach also takes into account the semantic side of language, including the picture of the world, the system of connotations, metaphor, the system of figurative and artistic means, and also takes into account the composition of vocabulary and phraseology, the syntactic structure of speech (oral and especially – written) – all this is determined by the actual cultural and historical conditions, circumstances and tasks of social life of the people – a speaker of this language [Belchikov 2003: 274–275]. Such phenomena can be confirmed in the form of examples revealing the national-unique uniqueness of each of the languages and each of the cultures.

When describing the NKM of a particular nation, or rather its individual fragments, it is usually emphasized that we are talking about the national linguistic picture of the world, because, for example, words that are close in meaning in different languages may reveal ethno-labeled semantic differences. There are also discrepancies in the number of linguistic units denoting one phenomenon, which is more relevant to the speakers of one culture and almost indifferent to the representatives of another. When comparing NKM of different peoples in the language system, both differences in the nature of reality division and lacunas [Language 2002: 14], i.e., missing language units and verbalised ways of expressing certain characteristics, relations and feelings, are revealed.

In modern linguistics the concept of a national picture of the world is used widely enough and is argued by the fact that the countries of the world differ from each other in their socio-economic development, historical path, level of cultural development, the way of life of the peoples inhabiting them, having their national outlook. As N.F.

Alefrenko writes, there is "national cultural space – information–emotional ("ethnic") field, virtual and at the same time real space of human existence and functioning, which becomes tangible when colliding with the phenomena of another culture". [Alefrenko 2010]. It includes "all existing and potentially possible perceptions of the phenomena of culture among the members of the national linguocultural community," and the knowledge included in this field of information "must be nationally and culturally marked perceptions, inherent in all representatives of the corresponding linguocultural community" [Ibid. [ibid].

The reference to the totality of language units as an object of study allows us to see behind the names of realities those facts of reality which are objectively inherent only in the ethno–cultural community under consideration (names of clothes, buildings, food, rituals, etc.). Lacunas, i.e., in V.I. Karasik's terminology, "minus–facts" of reality, are "meaningful absences of certain signs", observed, as a rule, in the lexical system of one language compared to another [Karasik 2002: 127]. Researchers also take into account the background meanings, which are essentially meaningful characteristics of concrete and abstract names, but which require additional information about the culture of the ethnic group for their adequate understanding [ibid.]

In the linguistic picture of the world of each native–speaking nation and its hotel fragments, it is possible to distinguish universal content due to the objectivity and reality of the world as an object of knowledge, and national–specific content reflecting history and culture, traditions and customs.

Despite the active development of this scientific direction, which attracts new layers of units as an object of research, the linguistic and cultural potential of Russian languages against the background of foreign ones remains as relevant: the appeal to proverbs with components–names of attributes important for human life (tools and devices) allows not only to see the role of household culture items in the life of individual ethnic groups, but also to comprehend the stereotypical ideas associated with their use, to penetrate deeper into the subtleties of the axiological system of carriers of a certain culture, views on the ethnomarked scale of evaluation of an individual's activity.

1.1.2. Paremiological worldview as a component of the linguistic worldview

The linguistic picture of the world, representing a set of naive knowledge about the world, is fixed by units of different levels (sublevels) of the language system: lexical, phraseological, grammatical [Alefirenko 2010]. "Keywords", which are constants of consciousness, associated with ethno–linguistic conceptualization of the world and participating in the verbalization of knowledge [ibid], should be considered not only as individual nominations of important entities, but also as part of other language units – proverbs, proverbs, comparisons, precedent texts. For example, the concept of the concept "work", verbalized in the language by the lexemes work, rabotenka, ploughing, toil, hard labor, etc., cannot be complete without taking into account a huge number of stable expressions, reflecting a wide range of linguocultural settings and prescriptions – see, in particular, the analysis of the proverbial material in works: [Basova 2004; Isupova, Yu Hongbao, Han Li 2015; Orlova 2012; Savenkova 2002; Seliverstova 2013, Tokarev 2002, etc.].

Modern researchers are unanimous in the opinion that the units of the paremiological fund of language are a source of information included in the language picture of the world and use the term "paremiological picture of the world", emphasizing the language specificity of the considered units [Komova 2019, Ledneva 2016, Savchenko 2010, Sanyarova 2019; Seliverstova 2022 and others]. I. M. Snegirev wrote that values and stereotypes verbalized in proverbs and sayings are important for speakers of language and culture "precepts of truth, turned into worldly wisdom" [Snegirev 2012]. [Snegirev 2012].

Today phraseological units (PU) and paremiological units (PU) are seen as a possibility to store and transmit cultural information – they participate in the representation of national and cultural constants in the "halo of all kinds of additional information. The phraseological component of the language reproduces the elements and features of the cultural and national worldview", expresses a variety of connotations, thus contributing to the overall picture of the national culture [Vodasova, Martynova 2013]. The paremiological fund of the language is considered to be a reliable source of

information about the national–cultural features of the linguistic and cultural community in which they are used [Yuan Liying 2016: 148].

Scientists note various aspects of paremias that contribute to their cumulative functions, the transmission of the peculiarities of the worldview of a collective representative of a certain culture. Thus, the system of images in PU serves as "a niche for the accumulation of cultural and national experience of the described linguistic and cultural societies" [Dubrovskaya 2000].

Proverbs and proverbs not only record observations of the surrounding world and generalize them in a peculiar form – it is important that the inferences formulated in figurative statements regulate economic and social activity [Romanova 2019: 2]. This viewpoint is shared by Guo Pintin, who is convinced that language not only reflects the phenomena of the surrounding reality, but also records the experience accumulated by the language community, marked by national–specific features [Guo Pintin 2018: 305] and is necessary as a life guide for speakers of language and culture.

In the context of this study, the ability of PU to express stereotypical perceptions is especially important. Stereotypical perceptions include connections and dependencies between the phenomena of the objective and spiritual world of the people, ideas and assessments, which are formed in culture by linguistic means and are shared by members of the ethno–cultural community. They are elements of the social and cultural heritage and ensure the "stability and continuity of the collective memory". [Shvets 2016: 352].

According to E.A. Kuzmina, the linguocultural specificity of paremiological units is manifested in their ability to express not only attitudes and stereotypes of a certain ethnos, but also "specific expressive–evaluative connotations, the basis of which are cultural–historical, worldview, empirical knowledge of the representatives of a given linguocultural community about the properties of a characterized reality, the evaluation of that reality by the speaker, socially determined relations between participants in communication". [Kuzmina 2002: 182].

The paremiological picture of the world of any language is a picture based on the general stereotypes of the life of a particular ethno–cultural society – this position is the

basis of the undertaken comparison of stereotypical representations about the man, expressed by Russian and English proverbs [Shaimardanova 2021: 180].

Proverbs are "a kind of repository of information about the life of people, a kind of mirror reflecting not only life, but also the history of the beliefs, customs, rituals of the people. [Savenkova 2002: 8]. Paremys also contribute to the formation of the attitude towards things and phenomena of the real world, which occurs in the process of reflection of objective reality by everyday consciousness" [Kulkova 2014].

Stereotypical perceptions and linguocultural attitudes are what justify the existence and functioning of paremy as a complete statement: Paremys are the speakers' verbalized qualifications of typical, repeated situations, recommendations regarding behavior patterns – right and wrong, ridiculing the reviled and encouraging the positive, explicitly and implicitly expressed by the speakers' assessments. The view of paremy as implementing stereotypical representations of speakers of certain language and culture is shared by many contemporary researchers; see, for example, Zinovieva and Rokhlina 2016; Kalita 2017; Ogarkova and Kharitonova 2008; Yuan Liying 2016, Cao Jiaqi 2020, Shan Wenqing 2022, etc.].

According to N.I. Kirillova, the paremiological fund of the language as a unique semantic–semiotic system contains holistic stereotypical representations, which can testify to the fundamental linguocultural ideas and folk traditions of the representatives of the community where they are used [Kirillova 2002: 130].

Ma Xiangfei identifies fragments of the phraseological picture of the world, associated with the verbalization of stereotypical ideas about meteorological phenomena, and compares the data of lexicographic sources and corpus data. The researcher concludes that in order to prove the conclusions about the ethnomarked peculiarity of the stereotypical representations revealed, it is necessary, first, to involve large volumes of different linguistic material, and second, to consider not only dictionary interpretations, although they are certainly important, but also to observe the trends in the meaning of a particular unit in the language [Ma 2018: 143–145].

O.V. Kuryshcheva also speaks about stereotypes, which also form the linguistic

picture of the world, and believes that language in the process of its development accumulates ideas about the values inherent in a given linguocultural community and reflects the traditions that have been formed in the course of historical development [Kuryshcheva 2010: 107].

As we can see, among the general features of a stereotype the researchers distinguish the following features: first, it is a certain representation of reality (object/situation), refracted by consciousness of native speakers of language and culture, i.e. it is not a reflection of reality.

Secondly, it is a part or a fragment of the mental picture of the world. V.A. Maslova calls a culturally determined stereotypical representation a "mental picture" associated with a subject, phenomenon or situation [Maslova 2001: 110]. The researcher emphasizes an important feature of a stereotype: it belongs to both consciousness and language – this concept includes the verbal shell of the mental image [Ibid: 111].

Third, stereotypes are ethnospecific, belonging to a certain culture. Speaking about speech communication stereotypes, Y.E. Prokhorov emphasizes their sociocultural and ethnocultural marking: it is "a socioculturally marked unit of the mental and linguistic complex of a representative of a certain ethnoculture, implemented in speech communication in the form of a normative local association to a standard for this culture communication situation". [Prokhorov 2008: 98].

V.V. In characterizing the stereotype, Krasnykh points out what it consists of. In her opinion, a stereotype as a mental and linguistic complex is formed by "an invariant set of valence connections attributed to a given unit". [Krasnykh 2003: 232], and the aggregate image–representation is successfully used by representatives of the ethnic group due to "a certain predictability of directed associative connections". [Ibid].

According to M.L. Kovshova, a stereotype, on the one hand, is associated with a certain fragment of the surrounding reality and, on the other hand, is "the result of the reflection in the mind of an individual of a "typical" fragment of the real world", but a collective personality, so the stereotype is invariant [Kovshova 2018: 126].

Proverbs act as "a kind of storehouse of information about the life of people, a kind

of mirror reflecting not only life, but also the history of the beliefs, customs, rituals of the people". [Savenkova 2002: 8]. PE also contribute to "the formation of the native specific evaluative attitude to the things and processes and phenomena of the real world, which occurs in the process of reflection of objective reality by the everyday consciousness". [Kulkova 2014].

E.I. Shvets expresses the opinion that the presence of a stereotype component in the semantics of a paremiological unit is one of its typological features [Shvets 2016: 350]. At the same time, the researcher interprets a stereotype as an informative mental formation fixed in linguistic expression and manifested in behavior, which was formed within the framework of linguoculture during historical development [Ibid].

Thus, the paremiological picture is one of the most important components of the linguistic picture of the world, and the units of the information they store are the stereotypical ideas, linguocultural attitudes and a wide range of ethno-labeled connotations expressed in PU.

1.1.3. The tool code of the culture in the Russian and Chinese languages

Language units – including proverbs – reflect a certain ethnic group's vision of various spheres of life. They include views of the vegetable and animal world, and characteristics of the spheres of labor and everyday life of society, and a reflection of the ideas formed in society about ethics, morality and aesthetics. Features of worldview are manifested both in the selection of objects and phenomena characterized and the frequency of their coverage, in the spectrum of their qualities and features identified, and in the system of images and standards used, which reflect cultural codes. It is no coincidence that within the framework of the linguocultural trend, an approach has been formed that focuses on studying and describing the implementation of various cultural codes in the language.

The cultural code is understood as a system of the global level, which includes the characteristics of the world picture objects of a certain ethnos, which are united by one common categorical property [Karasik 2001: 45]. The cultural code is based on the system of nominations, "the totality of signs and mechanisms of their application formed

by the stereotypes of ethno-cultural consciousness", with the help of which, first, formation of pre-verbal meanings and, second, "their verbalization during processing, transformation, storage and transmission of non-genetic information within a certain communicative and pragmatic paradigm" are performed. [Alefirenko 2008: 61–62].

According to V.N. Telia, the culture code is something that crystallizes from a number of texts, i.e. "a set of cultured notions" about the ethnos' world picture – "about its constituent natural objects, artifacts, phenomena, mentofacts". [Telia 1999: 20].

Figuratively, the culture code is perceived by V.V. Rednykh as a "grid" which "culture "throws" on the surrounding world" that allows it to be divided, structured and evaluated. Cultural codes, correlating with the existing human perceptions, "form a system of coordinates, which contains and sets standards of culture" and participates in "structuring and evaluation of the material world". [Krasnykh 2001: 19].

The researcher identifies and names cultural codes that "are basic and correlated with the archetypal representations of Russian culture" – they fix naive ideas about the universe: 1. somatic (bodily); 2. spatial; 3. temporal; 4. object; 5. biomorphic; 6. spiritual [Ibid].

The system of cultural codes may look differently – with a more fractional division: actional, anthropomorphic, zoomorphic (animistic), mythological, ornithological, food (gastronomic), natural-landscape, plant, fetish, animistic and others. [Gudkov 2004, 2005, Dormidontova 2009, Kovshova 2019, Pimenova 2007, Tokarev 2003, etc.].

N.G. Merkulova considers the cultural code as "a set of basic concepts, attitudes, values and norms (an element of the human psyche)", which are "part of the mentality structure of a particular human community". [Merkulova 2015: 194]. It allows getting an idea of the nature of material and spiritual human activity, "to understand the meanings hidden behind language signs, to establish correspondence between nomination and its meaning, and to decipher the deep meanings of cultural phenomena and phenomena" [Ibid. [Ibid: 190].

Cultural codes are identified with the involvement of a wide range of linguistic material and in different aspects. Thus, O.V. Vinogradova, analyzing Akhmatova's poetry,

considers the manifestations of such most productive cultural codes as the actional, mythological, anthromorphic, although in general their range is much wider [Vinogradova 2011].

Within the framework of the linguocultural direction, a number of researchers focus their attention on the study and description of the implementation of various cultural codes in the language, as such knowledge may serve as a key to understanding socio-cultural norms and standards, important and/or characteristic for representatives of a particular linguocultural community, "limitations and attitudes in relation to various activities (communicative, transformational-technological, semantic, axiological, cognitive, aesthetic, etc.)" [Avanesova, Kupnova, 2011]. [Avanesova, Kuptsova, 2015: 35].

V. M. Savitsky emphasizes the versatility of the cultural code and the diversity of its interpretations, determined by the branch of knowledge that considers this concept – philosophy, culturology, linguistics [Savitsky 2019: 68]. At the same time, despite the different approaches to the interpretation of the status and functioning of the cultural code, the scientists are unanimous in the fact that the cultural code "does not so much describe cultural phenomena as it is a part of the cultural process, its semantic core [Izotova 2020: 8].

Recognizing the role of cultural code as a key to understanding the culture of an ethnos and considering phraseology as a source of various information about the way of life of the people, the structure of its character and mentality, the researchers turn to the stable language units in search of manifestations in them of cultural code units, the unique features of national and cultural mentality, inherited from ancestors. As N.V. Khudoley writes, "in this sense, folklore texts – proverbs, sayings, and texts of Russian classical literature most fully record the national culture code, remaining relevant mechanisms for its preservation and translation in the modern information society". [Khudoley 2017: 650]. Therefore, familiarity with proverbs and sayings participates in the formation of the national code of culture as a whole, because these texts "fix those basic social and spiritual values/values of national culture, which ensure the preservation of its integrity in

conditions of value pluralism and allow the nation to remain in a state of axiological certainty". [Ibid].

E.A. Khomyakov, who is convinced that cultural codes are, on the one hand, substantive (this is connected with the material nature of expression) and, on the other hand, conceptual, stemming from the ideological nature of expression, shares the opinion about the possibility of identifying and systematizing cultural codes on the basis of the linguocultural analysis of phraseological language fund units [Khomyakov 2014: 153].

D.B. Gudkov illustrates the possibility and expediency of using phraseological material to demonstrate similarities and differences in the national–cultural codes of representatives of different cultures – in particular, Finns and Russians, who, despite a long history of contacts and close forms of economy, may differently see and interpret certain phenomena of the surrounding world [Gudkov 2005].

Seeing in the cultural codes important components of the language picture of the world, A.M. Myagkova considers them in the aspect of intercultural communication. She refers such verbalizers of cultural codes as phraseological units and paremics to the units with "the fullest semantic content and cultural imagery". Therefore, "the figurative presentation of the cultural and connotative features of lexemes is of great psychological and linguodidactic value, because a person thinks in images", and foreign cultural facts figuratively represented in comparison with the facts of the native language are absorbed better and more firmly [Miagkova 2016: 69].

So, scientists, placing different emphases in determining the status of the cultural code, proceed from the fact that it is based on "the idea of a set of rules that can serve as a prerequisite for the appearance of cultural phenomena", the code is "the semantic matrix of the cultural process". [Merkulova 2015: 192], allowing to correlate its individual signs with fragments of information, quanta of meaning. That is how we understand the culture code in this work. Thus, the cultural code belongs to a certain set of basic notions, values, norms and attitudes necessary for reading cultural texts [Svirepo 2002], etalons and stereotypes.

A significant place in the system of cultural codes is occupied by the *object* (*object–*

object) code, which covers the ideas about a very significant number of things of the surrounding world. Among them, there is a group of objects used by a person in performing certain actions and having a purpose assigned to them; cf. *tool, needle, awl, bailer, hoe, spindle, hammer, broom, rolling pin*, etc. The success of any activity is determined by the equipment (equipment), including tools and devices. It is no coincidence that interpretations of many activities refer to specific tools needed to perform certain types of work. Thus, for example, for carpentry work are important, in particular *axe, chisel, hammer, planer*, and for blacksmith – *tongs, anvil and hammer*: cf. *Without tongs blacksmith as without hands; For that blacksmith smits tongs not to burn hands; Blacksmith takes tongs – from fire hands are protected; Who to what, but the blacksmith to anvil (should be)*. By the way, it should be noted that among the names of the tools an important place is occupied by an *axe* as a universal tool, and *ploughshare* (ploughshare), the main tool of a farmer.

Being units of folk origin, it is the paremics largely relate to the economic activities of people, – agricultural labor, which uses a wide range of special tools and devices, carpentry, forging, weaving and spinning and other types of work. PU reflect, first, labor processes using tools. Thus, in the definition of the blacksmith's activity the verb *forge* (*forge*) is given first of all, and the tools used for this purpose are named: The verb '*to work with heated metal by blows of a hammer or presses, to make (make) sth. out of heated metal, giving the desired shape to an object*'. *The Novgorod armourers forged such swords that had no equal in the whole Rus'* [BTSWG: 221]; *Until late in the evening a blacksmith forged iron staples'* [BTSWG: 174]. The most characteristic and necessary for this kind of work is a *hammer*.

The paremics also reflect the attitudes of the members of society to the artifacts themselves, developed and transmitted by people in the course of their centuries–old activities: *Without ploughman – not a ploughman, without hammer – not a smith; Without a scythe you cannot cut hay; Hold on to the shovel – you keep life; Without plough and harrow the tsar will not find bread* etc.

It should be noted that the set of the most common tools and devices used in

Russian crafts, in general, is observable, and there are such tools necessary for a specialist to perform certain works that do not act as components of the parables (e.g., *chisel*, *chisel*)¹.

On the other hand, the names of tools and devices may be included in the PU not only about labor, crafts, skill and lack of qualifications, laziness, but also in the sayings, which are not associated with labor as such. For example, in the proverb "*You can't hide an awl in a bag*"; an awl is a very sharp tool, which is mainly used by shoemakers or craftsmen working with leather to make holes. However, this parable is not about work at all, but about the fact that any secret, any information, will always come out, no matter how hard they try to hide it. In a similar way, in Chinese expressions, the image of the needle has a metaphorical meaning: 针无两头利 – lit. "*There is no needle with two sharp ends*," i.e., no one is perfect; 针无两头尖 – lit. "*There is no needle with two points*", i.e. in life all things are not perfect.

The layer of paremiological units with the components – the names of tools and devices for the implementation of human economic activity, in the Russian and Chinese languages is quite extensive. This is explained in general by the attention in paremics to the semantics of labor and the image of the toiler, to skill, to laziness and idleness, etc. [Basova 2004, Honnova 2004, Zhukov 2004; Katsyuba 2011, Savenkova 2002, etc.].

However, with considerable attention in general to the parems of the semantic sphere "Labor. Work". [Balykova, Savenkova 1998; Bochegova, Samoylova 2019; Kutlimuratova 2022, Ostrovskaya 2005, Radzievskaya 2004, Tokarev 2002, etc.] PEs concerning tools, instruments and devices for the implementation of labor activity were not considered separately, although "objects and tools of labor" are named by researchers as the main components of the concept of labor [Gonnova 2003].

Despite the activity of the development of this scientific direction, the linguocultural potential of Russian P.E. on the background of foreign language P.U. is still relevant: an appeal to paremics with components–names of important for human life attributes allows not only to see the role of objects of everyday culture in the life of individual ethnic groups, but also to penetrate deeper into the subtleties of axiological

evaluation of the activity of an individual.

1.2. Proverbs and sayings from the perspective of linguistics and cultural linguistics

Paremiias make up a special layer of linguistic units viewed from different sides and with different accents. Let's focus on the issues of determining their status, functions and specifics against the background of other units of the language.

1.2.1. Characteristics of Russian paroemia and their position among the fixed linguistic units of the Russian language

To understand the essence of proverbs and to develop criteria for the selection of material in this paper we should dwell on their differences from proverbs as the closest units to them.

With a broad understanding of phraseology proverbs and sayings for a long time did not have in the Russian science clearly defined criteria of differentiation, although in his time V.I. Dal, the author of the collection "Proverbs of the Russian people", gave one of the first definitions of proverbs, trying to distinguish them from sayings. Proverb is "*a short saying, a teaching, in the form of a parable, allegorical or in the form of a worldly judgment*; proverb is the salt of the language or national speech, it is not formed, but arises by itself, it is the driving thought of the people". [Dahl 1880: 466]. In addition to brevity, as we see, Dahl emphasizes, on the one hand, the allegorical nature of the proverb, i.e. the form of transfer of meaning – the possibility of indirect interpretations of the utterance, and on the other – the instructive nature, i.e. the substantive and pragmatic side of the judgment, its function.

Convincing criteria for distinguishing the two types of stable language units – proverbs and proverbs – were given by G.L. Permyakov, who uses the structural criterion. According to the scientist, proverbs are closed sentences (closed, wholly cliched structures), consisting of stable elements, little subject to change (*A small gold coin is a dear one*), while proverbs are open structures, changeable or complementary in speech (*Shooting/shooting/shooting a sparrow with a cannon*). The difference consists in the

following: if the first example is reproduced in speech entirely and practically without deviations from the invariant form, the second example acquires its final form and specific content only in a certain context of communication [Permyakov 1979: 96]. The researcher notes the ease with which one type of utterance can approach the second, i.e. a proverb can take the form of a proverb: *You do not shoot at sparrows with cannons* → *You shoot at sparrows with cannons* [Ibid.]

The use of the structural criterion as a way of distinguishing proverbs and sayings is also important for V. P. Zhukov, who, firstly, distinguishes from proverbs and sayings phraseological units as units not equal to a sentence and synonymous to a word or phrase combination (thus, his classification includes three positions). They include such phrases as "*someone's eyes are climbing on someone's forehead, sparks are falling out of someone's eyes, a bear has stepped on someone's ear*", etc., "because each of them can be opposed to a variable word combination of the same lexical composition and has a lexical meaning" [Zhukov 2000: 9–10]. [Zhukov 2000: 9–10].

Secondly, V.P. Zhukov distinguishes proverbs and sayings in the category of units with a closed structure, possessing such signs of a sentence as "semantic and intonational completeness, syntactic partition (if the proverb is used literally), predication and modality". Proverbs are distinguished from proverbs by their biplanarity, which is vividly shown on the example of the saying *Kasha cannot be spoiled by butter*, which can be used in its literal meaning as a culinary recommendation ('*Food is good if it is fat*') and in its figurative meaning 'Useful things will never hurt, even in large quantities' [Zhukov 2000: 10–11]. The paremics without words include, in particular, such ones as 'Money is a hasty thing' and '*A plait is a maiden's beauty*'.

V. P. Zhukov also noted other features of proverbs – their folk origin, a high degree of generalization of meaning and "applicability" of proverbs to many situations, the possibility of transition to proverbs of winged expressions, which has a literary source (cf.: *In another's eye we see a speck, but in his beam we do not notice; Business as usual, and fun as usual; With a sweetheart in the shade*, etc.).

L.B. Savenkova solves the question of distinguishing proverbs and sayings on the

basis of the semantic criterion: in a proverb the bearers of figurative meanings should be at least part of the components, while a proverb, possessing, of course, a certain level of information generalization, can have an exclusively direct meaning [Savenkova 2002: 86–87]; see also the article of L.B. Savenkova devoted specifically to the problem of distinguishing separate types of proverbs [Savenkova 1999].

V. M. Mokienko sees a different solution of the terminological and definitional problem. He proposes, "leaving unchanged the traditional definition of the terms proverb and proverb, to accept the very essential distribution of proverbs into two categories, as proposed by V. P. Zhukov: 1) figurative proverbs and 2) abstruse proverbs". [Mokienko 2021: 10]. V. P. Zhukov in his time chose fundamentally different approaches for these two types of units – a detailed definition for each figurative proverb and its absence for the meaningless one, because "the images encoding the meaning of the proverbs of the first category need interpretation, while the edifying meaning of the proverbs without meaning directly follows from the addition of their verbal components" [Ibid. [Ibid].

The criteria for distinguishing proverbs from other types of phraseological units can be reduced, as A. N. Baranov and D. O. Dobrovolsky write. N. Baranov and D. O. Dobrovolsky, to three main ones; they are: 1) the presence of a "quantitative value of generality in terms of their content", i.e. a high degree of generality (verbally it can be expressed by words like any, every and/or by the generalized–personal form of the verb); 2) the presence of "recommendatory force" in the semantics of proverbs; 3) the greater independence of proverbs compared to idioms (for example, On the catcher and the beast runs) [Baranov, Dobrovolsky 2008: 69].

The famous American paremiologist Wolfgang Mieder, acknowledging some difficulties in defining a proverb and considering in detail its individual attributes, sees it as "a short, well–known folklore saying expressing folk wisdom, traditional views and moral standards in a metaphorical, memorable form, passed on from generation to generation. [Mieder 2004: 4; our translation – L.Y.]. In addition to the signs already mentioned, Mieder draws attention to the prominence and prevalence (traditionality) of the idea expressed in the utterance, the folkloric origin of the paremy and the convenient

form for remembering. The content side of a maxim is clarified by W. Meader with the phrase moral norms. Indirectly, it also refers to the authority of proverbs, transmitted from generation to generation and, therefore, reflecting the experience of ancestors, predecessors, on which it is customary to rely.

There are many definitions of proverbs in the theoretical literature, and in many cases the features mentioned in them, if not repeated literally, then overlap. Researchers of proverbs, in addition to the folk origin (according to V. N. Telia, they are "principles of folk philosophy of life" in the form of a maxim) and the syntactic structure of the complete statement, note such sides of them as:

- figurativeness and expressiveness [Mokienko 2021, Podyukov 1982, Seliverstova 2017: 25 and others];
- The language of everyday culture [YaKKN: 88].
- The edification, the instructive character, the wisdom of the paremy [Babkin 1964: 25–27; Telia 1996, Chernysheva 1997: 78 et al;]
- fixation of moral norms and attitudes of morality, indication of preferred models of behavior and actions [Seliverstova 2017: 5; Shuvalova 1998: 103–104; Telia 1996, Taylor 1975: 79, etc.];
- the way of realization of communicative intention [Komova 2019: 82; Sidorkova 1999];
- linguocultural value [Alefirenko 2014, Mokienko 2021: 16; Zinovieva 2016, Shan Wenqing 2022 et al;]
- reflection of stereotypes of national consciousness [Zinovieva 2016, Telia 1996, Tokarev 2013, Khakimova 2003, etc.];
- value (axiological) attitudes [Kirilina 1999, Lomakina 2018, Sanyarova 2019, etc.].

1.2.2 Peculiarities of Chinese paremy in scientific coverage

At the present time the theoretical development of views on the steady units of the Chinese language is carried out quite actively. On the one hand, attention is directed to them in the cultural aspect – when solving the problems of cultural identity and integrated

linguistic behavior in the conditions of cross-cultural communication. Thus, the ethnolabelled behavior of the Chinese is largely explained by the rules formulated in the form of stable phrases going back to Confucian philosophy – such as 严于律己，宽以待人 (lit. *Be strict to yourself, be lenient to others*), 身在福中不知福 (*A man is unaware if he lives in blessed times*).

As in Russian proverbs the traditional attitude of speakers of language and culture to matters of faith, their perception and comprehension of God (*God and on the stove will find; You hope to God, but swim to the shore; God is not in force, but in truth*, etc.), so in the Chinese the specificity of Taoism and Buddhism, the main religions of the Chinese, is manifested in stable expressions; cf: 无色无相，无嗔无狂 (*No color, no outward manifestation, no anger (reproach), no madness (raving)*), i.e. 'one should accept the world calmly, without excessive emotion,' 有信仰之根，难有佛法之株 (*Without the root of faith it is difficult to have a dharma tree; the dharma tree symbolizes wisdom, comprehension of truth*).

In philological science, attention to such and other stable units is based on the recognition of language as a product of the long-term linguistic activity of the people, in which the experience of previous generations and information from various areas of life of the ethnos are recorded. In this case, considering the units of one language – for example, Russian, against the background of Chinese language units, the researcher must understand both the differences in types of stable expressions included in the system of existing units of the national language, and in their sources, as well as in the way the meanings they express and their content itself.

Researchers who note the ethnolabeled features of Chinese stable expressions have already repeatedly constructed a typology of Chinese units [Xin–Yi 2004, Pi Jiankun 2016, Tian Jun 2001, Shan Wenqing 2022, etc.], noting the difficulty of distinguishing their individual types due to the specificity of the units in question. Thus, Wang Xinjui writes that in Chinese studies "due to the specificity of the material, a broad understanding of phraseology prevails, other types of FEs are distinguished and their own terminology is developed". [Wang Xingyu 2018: 7].

The term "shuyu (suyu) 谚(俗)" is used as a common name for stable Chinese expressions, covering turns and utterances of different structure and content, belonging to both written as well as oral speech – and this is the use of the term in the broad sense – so believe Liu Hongniang (吕洪年) [1983], Xu Zongqai (徐宗才) [1994] and Wang Jie (王捷) [1992], who also recognize the legitimacy of its use in the narrow sense. However, regarding the narrow understanding of suyu (shuyu) 俗(熟) there are differences: some perceive them as commonly understood folk figurative sentences, others as proverbs, including proverbs, understatement–implications and other stable expressions [Shan Wenqing 2022: 47].

Nevertheless, the Chinese linguistic tradition has already formed a view on the typology of stable expressions shared by the majority of researchers. For example, Zhao Zhiqiang, emphasizing the great divergences between languages in the field of grammar, characterizes the features of each of the distinguished classes of units and offers a representation of the structure in the form of a formula. The units of the first division – Chengyu (成语) – consist of single–syllable words with a wide syntactic valency and the formula "definition + subject – definition + predicate – predicate + complement" (OP–OS–OD). Cf.: huà shé tiān zú 画蛇添足 (lit. draw a snake, add legs, overdo; 'absolutely superfluous; the fifth wheel in the cart'). Chengyu most often does not need service words. Less often Chengyu is a whole sentence – e.g., yú gōng yí shān 愚公移山 (lit. Yuigong moved the mountains – close to Russian. Patience and work will change everything) [Zhao Zhiqiang 2012: 10].

The stable unit of the second division, **yanyu** (谚语), is equal to a whole sentence, simple or compound; cf. "There is no wall through which the wind does not pass" (i.e., 'the secret always becomes manifest'); lit. "The monkey is also the king of beasts when there is no tiger in the mountains (cf. Russian: Fish for no fish, fish for no man; Thomas the nobleman for no man). However, the subordinative links here are rarer than the conjunctive ones, and the non–conjunctive links are quite typical for Yanyu [ibid.] In Xin–yi the following example of the folkloric Yanyu is given: lit. "This is analogous to the

Russian PU To be afraid of oxen is not to go to forest [Xin–Yi 2004: 5].

This category of parables also includes expressions very typical for the Chinese tradition, which consist of two syntagms, separated by a comma, and represent two parts, creating a special form with lexical–semantic and grammatical parallelism. Cf. "A full bottle makes no sound, but a half–filled one gurgles (cf. Russian. A full keg is silent, but an empty one gurgles; analogous are the Poe about the condemned praise in the absence of grounds for it: There is more ringing in an empty keg; An empty ear carries its head upwards) [Zhao Zhiqiang 2012: 10].

The units (3) *sehoyu* (歇后语) singled out by all the researchers represent a complete judgment. In a two–part sentence, the first contains a figurative allegory, which, without the transcription in the second part, is not always or not entirely understandable; they are therefore also called "understatements": lit. "Beating a fly on a tiger's head – I'm tired of living". [Shin–i 2004: 5] – such expressions need to be expanded and commented in order to be translated into Russian – for example: "One should not perform a knowingly dangerous deed – it is risky and not very clever", which brings them closer to the Russian proverbs. Shan Wenqing gives as an example of the Sehoyu such an expression: "To carry water in a bamboo basket is to stay with nothing", i.e. 'there is no sense in doing a useless job' [Shan Wenqing 2022: 48].

In the classifications there is also the fourth type of stable expressions – *guanyongyu* (惯用语), the closest to the turns of the Russian language, called the terms 'proverb', 'idiom', 'phraseology': this word combination usually consists of three or four components and is synonymous in its meaning with a word or a phrase; it has no special structure. In this expression, only a part of the component composition may be reinterpreted; cf. The phrase "little eyes of the heart" – "about a person with limited moral concepts" [Guo Xin–yi 2004: 4. [The term is also used in the following words: "the duck of the duck". "The word 'duck to roost' – 'to demand the impossible (unrealizable)'. Here the turns denoting a person, an action or a feature are noted: lit. "soft knife" – 'cunning; treacherous person'; lit. "To lose face' – 'to disgrace oneself, to embarrass oneself; to disgrace oneself' [Zhao Zhiqiang 2012: 11]; the letters 'neither three nor four' – 'to

disgrace oneself; to disgrace oneself' [Zhao Zhiqiang 2012: 11]. "The verb 'neither three, nor four' is 'ugly, disorderly' [Shang Wenqing 2022: 47].

The phraseological researchers sometimes supplement this typology with other types of stable expressions – for example, 'diangu' is "a specific technique of using a widely known classical text of philosophical, historical, poetic or dramatic nature. It is based on some verbally qualifiable situation, which is correlated by the speakers with the observed in the modern discourse. For example, lit. "Quafu chases the sun" – 'to undertake a cause beyond one's strength' [Shin-i 2004: 5]. In our opinion, these expressions are close to the Russian saying of the type "And Vaska listens but eats" from Krylov's fable "The cat and the cook", which became a sign of the situation "when one speaks, convinces, while the other does not listen to him, does not consider the speaker, continuing to do his (usually reprehensible) business". [BSRPog; <https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/proverbs/13773/A>].

More detailed classifications of Chinese sayings name other units, which are also close in their functions to the Russian proverbs, but are qualified in the Chinese tradition as separate varieties, different in form, content and function. For example, Guo Xin-yi calls, in addition to the mentioned ones, the expressions minyan, which include two subtypes: author's sayings, also called geyan, and jingziu – "maxims, useful advice, common truths, warnings", such as "He who is not diligent in youth will repent in old age" or "If one suffers a little, there will be complete calm, but to step back a step will be immense breadth" [Guo Xin-yi 2004: 5].

Thus, focusing on the principle of selecting Russian language material that excludes expressions synonymous with words and phrases, we approach Chinese language material with a similar criterion and include in our field of vision stable units with sentence structure, with varying degrees of imagery, capable of qualifying a typical life situation, containing – implicitly or explicitly – edification or conclusion, morality, folk wisdom and a stereotypical representation typical of the way of thinking of the Chinese. Naturally, we consider only paroemias that include lexical components nominating the instrument.

1.2.3. The linguoculturological potential of paroemia: the experience of studying Russian and Chinese proverbs

Paremyas fulfill the communicative function in language in inseparable connection with the function of culture translation: they ensure the transfer of the accumulated experience – both the speech experience and the life experience of society [Semenenko 2005: 52]. Emerging at a certain stage of the development of language and society, EPs are classified as general worldview texts, as they – with their compact form and a relatively small number of means used – reflect the specificity of the nationally marked worldview of a native speaker of language and culture [Balova 2011].

Being related to the human ideas about different aspects of human life, society and the world around, proverbs carry a huge information and cognitive potential and have ethnographic, linguo–country study value, and as units of a particular folklore genre they are marked by artistic value.

Proverbs, as part of the linguistic units of any language, verbalize in them both universal meanings, close to the speakers of different cultures and languages, and ethnomarked attitudes and stereotypes. This makes them an important material for studying the peculiarities of manifestation in the language of the mentality of ethnic groups, everyday and social conditions of their existence, views on various aspects of life and the place of man. Researchers operate with the term stereotypical representations, understanding them as "stable generalized ideas about the psychological and behavioral characteristics of ethnic, national, cultural communities of people". [Shchekotikhina 2008: 70].

In recent years there has been a very active interest of scientists in various fragments of the Russian paremiological picture of the world, considered against the background of other languages in order to identify the peculiarities of the interaction between language and culture of two or more languages. Such studies are conducted with the help of the material of different pairs of languages – Russian and English [Dezhujaeva and Sarangaeva 2020; Ivanova 2006, Khramova 2010 et al.], Russian and Belarusian [Ivanov 2014], Russian and French [Dombrovskaya 2006, Nelyubova 2019, Shvets 2016],

Russian and Rusyn [Lomakina 2016], Russian and Swedish [Aleshin 2020], Russian and Uzbek [Kutlimuratoriya 2022], Russian and Czech [Seliverstova 2019, 2021], and also on the material of several languages [Ivanov, Lomakin, Nelyubova 2021] and others.

Y.A. Khramova, comparing the parables with the semantics of hypocrisy and sincerity in the Russian and English linguistic cultures, establishes "variants of the deployment of value characteristics and didactic orientation of proverbs" – both implementing the semantics of sincerity and talking about hypocrisy and hypocrisy. As a result of the analysis she reveals nationally specific cognitive signs and judgments of the concept "sincerity" in English and Russian language consciousness. In particular, she comes to the conclusion that the English are guided in their behavior by the desire for eternity and rational perception of the world, while the speakers of the Russian language and culture are guided primarily by emotional factors [Khramova 2010].

E.I. Seliverstova, analyzing the paremy material of several languages – and not only European ones – shows, in particular, that very many peoples are close to the observation about the ability of bad, even though small, to spoil something big and good – this attitude finds various figurative implementations, determined by the national figurative system; cf: A spoon of tar spoils a barrel of honey and expressions from English ("One drop of poison will spoil the whole barrel of wine"), Czech ("A little bile will spoil the whole goose"), Spanish ("A little bile will make bitter all honey") [Seliverstova 2020: 206].

N.Y. Nelyubova, focusing on the value aspects of the worldview of Tuvinians, Russians and the French and referring to the stable units of the three languages, shows in her work the similarities and differences between them in the vision of the phenomena of the surrounding world. The similarity of the considered material is seen by the author in the proximity of structural–semantic models of PE, and the differences consist in the content of ethno-labelled key concepts, reflected in the lexicographic description of Tuvinian proverbs and ethno–cultural comments to them, revealing the identity of language, culture and mentality of the Tuvinian people [Nelyubova 2022: 234–240].

The works based on the material of the Russian and Chinese languages and

considering paremics from linguocultural positions are widely represented in the modern linguistic literature [Guo Lihun 2021, Guo Xin-yi 2004; Zinovieva 2020; Seliverstova, Wu Yanshan 2020; Tian Jun 2001, Cao Jiaqi 2021, Zhang Mian 2017, Zhang Yan 2019, Shan Wenqing 2022, etc.].

Thus, the work of E.I. Zinovieva and Cao Jiaqi focuses on common and different cultural attitudes, verbalized in paremy with the images of insects in Russian and Chinese proverbs [Zinovieva E.I., Cao Jiaqi 2020].

Zhou Hongxing on the material of stable expressions in the Vietnamese and Chinese languages shows the promise of the linguocultural approach, which allows identifying the similarities and differences between the two languages and systematizing them [Zhou Hongxing 2016].

Appealing to the stable units of the Russian language, reflecting stereotypical ideas about a woman and considered by Liu Bo against the background of the corresponding material of the Chinese language, allowed to see the features of verbalization of gender stereotypes in the traditional thinking of representatives of Russian and Chinese cultures. Comparison of gender-significant images allows to reveal both common features and differences in the perceptions of the Russian and Chinese speakers [Liu Bo 2009].

The topic of family relations is widely verbalized by paremiological units, which is reflected in the article by Guo Lihong. The author chose as the subject of the study the sayings reflecting the traditional relations between the family members who are not related by blood ties. In particular, he showed the similarities and differences in the understanding of the peculiar relations between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, mother-in-law and son-in-law, sister-in-law and daughter-in-law by the representatives of the two cultures [Guo Lihun 2021].

The result of such research was the expansion of linguocultural representations of ethnic groups, which gives ground for effective intercultural contacts that are important in today's globalized world [Shagiakhmetova 2020: 119].

1.3. The theory of lexical–semantic field as applied to the components of paroemia

1.3.1. Properties of the semantic field and the lexical–semantic group

Since the material studied in this work is organic with paremics with the component–name tool, let us dwell on the question of the principles of systematization of the vocabulary of the Russian language and the component composition of phraseological units – in particular, proverbs.

The development of ideas about the systemic structure of language is based on the ideas of the German researcher J. Trier. Trier, who was one of the first to propose a new (systemic) approach to describing the lexical structure of language [Trier 1931]. During the same period, the Swiss linguist F. de Saussure put forward a linguistic concept based on the idea that language is a system of signs, and the elements of the system consist in certain relations – both relations between the elements of the whole, and between the whole and separate elements [Saussure 1998]. The scholar wrote that "to regard a word simply as a compound of some sound with some concept" is erroneous. "To define a word in this way is to isolate it from the system of which it forms a part," whereas to proceed in the study of vocabulary "from a complex unity in order to arrive at its constituent elements by analysis" [Saussur 2007: 153].

In this a new approach to the study of the vocabulary of language manifested itself – with the distribution of language units on several levels, forming a hierarchy, and the establishment of relations between the units of one level and the types of their combinations. The lexical meaning of a word is a concept, an idea of some attributes, which finds its place in the systemic relations of the vocabulary of language.

The study of the content side of language units led in the science of the twentieth century to the formation of the lexical–semantic direction, in which scientists allocate sets of words, united in semantic groups on the principle of generality of their meaning – see, for example: Vasilyev 1990, Denisov 1980, Kuznetsova 1989, etc. The basis for this was the recognition of the importance of links between words by meaning, by the content they express. Gradually, observations began to be accumulated and generalized on the

composition and peculiarity of individual groupings of language words that make up the most complex system in the language – the lexicon. A.I. Smirnitsky wrote that the lexicon should be made a subject of study and exposition. "It is necessary to see in the vocabulary of a given language not a heap of various examples, but a system of lexical units specific to it. This will make it possible to distinguish in it the essential and characteristic [Smirnitsky 1956].

Asking the question whether the lexicon of a language breaks down into a number of separate "fields" or groups, or whether it represents a unified whole, in which the "interaction of the most distant links" (Yu. Sorokin), scientists came to the conclusion about the systemic nature of the lexicon, which is manifested in the fact that a word correlates with other words by proximity, coincidence or opposition of meaning, but also by the attribution of a number of words to one common semantic category [Sorokin 1965], to a certain group of "co-matching units". From the point of view of Y.S. Sorokin, systemicity in the lexicon is manifested, among other things, "in semantic connections and relations of a word with other words" – synonymy, antonymy, associations of words into lexical-thematic groups, separate terminological rows, semantic microsystems [Sorokin 1965: 13].

As John Lyons writes, "it is impossible to define the meaning of a word independently of the meanings of other words with which it is (semantically) connected and which define the boundaries of its meaning" [Lyons 2003: 117]. [Lyons 2003: 117]. Such lexical relations belong to the sphere of paradigmatics. So, E. I. Zinovieva writes about the allocation in the lexical system of language of groups of words connected by generality in the field of meaning: "System relations also cover entire classes of words, unified in their categorical essence (expressing, for example, the meaning of objectivity, attribute, action, etc.). Such systemic relations in groups of words united by common attributes are called paradigmatic" [Zinovieva 1990: 31].

The basis of the field approach to vocabulary was thus the recognition that. "entering a lexico-semantic system, each of its elements occupies in it a quite definite place", being opposed to other similar ones and combined in the text with a known circle

of words. "The place in the system is determined for each unit by the semantic properties of the latter." [Novikov 1987: 8–9].

The key concept in the field of lexical paradigmatics is that of the *lexical–semantic field*, which is understood as "a complex lexical microsystem that unites words according to the semantic principle and has a specific field structure" [Kurenkova 2006: 176]. [Kurenkova 2006: 176]. The lexical–semantic field includes more fractional fields (microfields) – sets of language units expressing – and not only synonymically – the same idea, "one and the same extralingual phenomenon," but in different ways [Vorobyov 2008: 23–24]; these fields are also called ideographic, and there are hierarchical relations between them. Some fields may penetrate into each other – have overlapping zones; others may contain several fields in their structure. A field is characterized by such features as the absence of clear boundaries, openness, autonomy, interaction with other fields, the presence of lacunas, specificity in different languages, etc. [Kurenkova 2006: 176]. The lexical–semantic field, reflecting the extra–linguistic content of language units (knowledge about the world), helps to identify "a single cognitive–semantic continuum," which allows one to see the points of convergence of all languages and human knowledge about the world [Manakin 2007: 32–33].

For us, therefore, it is important in this work that all the linguistic units considered by us are united by the integrating seme and belong to the same part of speech, forming a certain totality. This unification is the lexico–semantic group – this is an important notion for us, since the criterion for the selection of paremics for the following analysis is the identification in their composition of units belonging to one lexico–semantic group outside of PU.

The lexico–semantic group is the main large component of the field, distinguished by a number of researchers. P.N. Denisov, in particular, names it among other groups of words – synonymic series, thematic group, word–formation nest, antonymic pair, etc. [Denisov 1993: 119]. This opinion is shared by E.I. Zinovieva, naming lexical–semantic groups among linguistic associations of various types [Zinovieva 2005: 34].

Lexical–semantic groups are combined into paradigms – such as "verbs with the

semantics of mental activity" [Gudnov 2013], "verbs of understanding" [Vetyugova 2004], "verbs with the semantics of physical action" [Skrebtsova 1996], "color–naming adjectives" [Krapivnik 2013], nouns with the meaning "names of degrees of kinship", names of individuals of the semantic sphere "animal world" [Ufimtseva 2002: 112] and others. The basis for the inclusion of words in such groups is the commonality of the integrating semantics. the idea of a set of such phenomena, which reveal a certain interconnectedness and relations, supported by the action of certain internal forces.

The generality of the semantics of linguistic language units depends on their single extra–linguistic content, which is reflected in the ideographic dictionary. The principle of compiling such a dictionary, according to Y. N. Karaulov, is universal, because it is explained by "the fundamental commonality of different languages as sign systems and the commonality of people's linguistic behavior". [Karaulov 2014: 269]. The structure of an ideographic dictionary reflects the structure of the subject world, of man and his relations with nature, i.e., to a certain extent, it is a reflection of the linguistic picture of the world.

In this paper our attention is turned to the units, united into one lexical–semantic group on the basis of the common integral feature "the name of a tool (tool of labor)".

1.3.2. Tool–names in Russian: The ideographic approach

Before proceeding to the paremiological material, let us turn to the semantic boundaries of the concept 'tool' itself, which will clarify which nominants are united into a lexical–semantic group by a common integral attribute 'tool, tool', let us turn to the explanatory and etymological dictionaries of the Russian language and give successively several definitions of the word tool. For clarity, let us give definitions – with the main semesters being distinguished.

So, V. I. Dal's Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language gives the following definition of the word tool: 'tool, implement, device, string; any kind of manual aid or device, for any kind of work or work, from a lever, knife and axe, to a compass and a sextan' [Dahl 1998: 371]. Note that Dahl's definition does not imply any other tools, except those designed for labor. In the explanatory dictionary of S.I. Ozhegov we find the

following definition of a tool: 'a tool, a device for any work' [Ozhegov 2009: 303]. D.N. Ushakov's Explanatory Dictionary, in its turn, offers the following definition of this concept with an emphasis on the purpose of using a tool, its purpose: '*a manual or mechanical tool, or a set of tools, which are purposefully used by a person to perform certain works, in order to get a result*'. [TSU 2008: 303].

"Dictionary of the Russian language" edited by A.P. Evgenieva indicates that it is '*a tool, mostly manual, for the production of any work*' [SRJA.1: 670]. "The Russian Semantic Dictionary offered the most brief definition: a tool is 'a tool for producing some kind of work' [RSS 2007: 97].

According to the etymological dictionary, the word tool comes from the Latin language and asserts itself in the meaning 'tool for work' [Tsyganenko 1989: 158]. Dictionaries cite as synonyms to the word tool such lexemes as '*tool*', '*device*', '*tackle*', '*shell*', '*instrument*', etc. [Abramov 1999: 244.]

The generality of the semantics of language units depends on their singular extra-linguistic content, which is reflected in ideographic dictionaries, to which we also resorted when developing the criteria for the selection of material for this study. The principle of compiling such a dictionary is universal, because it is explained by the "fundamental commonality of different languages as sign systems and the commonality of people's linguistic behavior". [Karaulov 2014: 269]. The structure of the ideographic dictionary reflects the structure of the subject world, the human being and his relations with nature, i.e., to a certain extent, it is a reflection of the linguistic picture of the world.

Russian names of tools constitute a vast linguistic stratum, which was formed in the course of the development of crafts and acquired by man professional skills and abilities in various fields. In the absence of complex technical mechanisms, tools were represented, for the most part, tools for carrying out work by hand – such as awl, axe, saw, chisel, needle, spindle, etc.

For the purposes of this study, we will refer to the names of tools as such lexical units, the semantic meaning of which includes the following attributes: 'a mechanical or manual device (device)' used 'to perform this or that work', which brings 'a tangible result'.

The definitions of implements given in the Russian Semantic Dictionary (RSS) specify their purpose; cf. e.g. *sokha* – 'In the old days: the simplest agricultural tool for plowing the land. *Who is lazy with plough, to him the whole year is bad. One with a plough, and seven with a spoon*' [RSS: 105]. A *shovel* – "a hand tool for digging and raking with a handle and a broad honed end" [RSS: 149]. The group of words naming hand tools and implements for agricultural labor in this handbook consists of lexemes that differ in their structure and material, purpose and principles of application [RSS: 158]. Cf., for example:

pitchfork	A hand tool – several long metal teeth on a wooden handle.
rake	A hand tool is a block mounted on a long handle with teeth for raking hay, for loosening the earth.
braid	A hand tool is a large curved knife on a long handle for cutting grass and cereals.
hoe	A manual tool for loosening, digging is a metal or stone tip mounted on a long handle of a shovel.
chain	A hand tool for threshing is a wooden roller tied to a long handle.

The units of instrumental code in the Russian language, as the dictionary shows, are numerous and diverse – they are designed to perform a wide range of different actions and are classified depending on the scope of their application. So, the words winnower, travois, rake, harvester, *mower, plow, plow, ripper, plow*, etc. They are included in the LSG "Agricultural machines; tools for cultivating the land" [RSS: 104–105]. It is adjoined by a small group of words under the general name "Parts of machines, tools" – *ploughshare, marker, coulter* [RSS: 105]. A significant group consists of the names of "devices for processing, drilling, crushing, pressure, impact, cutting, smoothing", among which we find such words as *hammer, hammer, grinder, scissors, saw, grater, fur* [RSS: 108–109], etc. Some of them – but not all of them – act as components of paremias.

Among the lexemes listed in the dictionary there are many that denote modern

machines and mechanisms and their parts, which casts doubt on the possibility of meeting them as part of a PU – cf.: *generator, diesel, puncher, sawmill*, etc. Firstly, the use of the names of such instruments, which are familiar to a wide range of native speakers, and not only to narrow specialists, is more typical for paremias. And here, first of all, the tools used in everyday life for manual labor, accessible to many, are important. Secondly, given the time of occurrence of the main array of paremias, it can be assumed that the names of many technical innovations could not be included in the PE due to their comparative late appearance (invention): these are, for example, such devices that work with the use of electricity and gas. Therefore, one of the steps that precede the selection of material from dictionaries was the identification of those names that appear in the composition of the PE; at the same time, the dictionary of the "Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language" by V. I. Dahl served as the main reference point.

To a greater extent, words included in the dictionary in the group "Hand tools, devices" are found as components in the composition of paremias. The simplest tools of physical labor", including some of the "devices for cutting, chopping, planing, grinding, forging, screwing, points, piercing, etc." [RSS.2: 146–150]. Russian Russian Semantic Dictionary (Volume 2) and the Big Explanatory Dictionary of Russian Nouns, edited by L.G., determined the final list of names of instruments, which formed the basis for the selection of paroemias, using the data of two dictionaries: the "Russian Semantic Dictionary" (Volume 2) and the "Big Explanatory Dictionary of Russian Nouns". Babenko, verified with the involvement of the "Explanatory Dictionary of the living Great Russian language" by V.I. Dahl.

In this paper, our attention is focused on the lexico–semantic field, the units of which are united by a common integral feature ‘the name of the tool used for manual labor in the course of production activity’. Thus, the names of, for example, musical instruments are excluded from our attention.

1.3.3. Tool–names in Chinese: The ideographic approach

To determine the list of words naming instruments in the Chinese language and making up the lexico–semantic group "names of instruments", oms also turned to

dictionaries.

The concept of "tool" is interpreted in explanatory dictionaries as follows:

Xinhua Interpretive Dictionary of the Chinese Language (1998)	A tool used in productive labor [TSCJ 1998: 597].
Source of Chinese words (1983)	Instruments used in the work [ICS 1983: 761].
The Big Dictionary of the Chinese Language (2008)	"Devices used in production labor." [BSKYA 2008: 507].

To convey the semantics of ‘tool’, ideograms such as 工具 (tool), 器具 (device), 器 (tool), etc. are used. They belong to the category of synonymous nouns. It should be noted that in the definitions of tools in the Chinese language, an indication of their purpose is necessarily given – use in work.

According to the Chinese scientist Meng Qingyan, "the relationship between tools and labor is undeniable, and tools are the basis for carrying out work" [Meng Qingyan 2006: 140]. The scientist also considers tools to be "fruits of labor." Being a product of human labor, they symbolize the power of man in practical activity. The tools of production perform an intermediary function, because with their help "people continue to cultivate and transform nature, and the area of beauty created by labor continues to expand at the expense of the products of human labor" [ibid.].

Ideas about the use of tools are widely reflected in Chinese parodies. In China, as focused in its history mainly on agriculture, a significant number of awards could not fail to appear, talking about it. On the other hand, there are more than 70 types of folk crafts in China – such as, for example, weaving, making dishes and jewelry, weaving from bamboo and straw, carving on bone, horn, jade, shells, etc., paper cutting, construction. However, the paremics mainly reflect the most typical and widely mastered tools available to many, common.

The Chinese language also has dictionaries similar to the ideographic dictionaries

of the Russian language, but the selection of Chinese paroemias was carried out differently. Cf.: 工具 (*tool*) – in the "Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Chinese language" is accompanied by the definition: 'devices used at work' [ESKYA 2009: 407]. The "Xinhua Explanatory Dictionary of Chinese" gives the following definition of the word 工具 (*tool*): 'Equipment used in productive labor' [TSKYA 2009: 407].

From the way the tools are named and described, it is clear what the purpose of the tools seems to native speakers of the language and culture. For example, 斧头(*axe*) is a tool for chopping objects, things, mainly used for chopping firewood. It was also used in ancient times as a weapon' [TSKYA 2009: 329]. 锤子 (*hammer*) – 'A tool for hammering (hammering) objects' [TSKYA 2009: 201]. The use of these words reflects the peculiarities of the use of tools for manual labor, reflected in Chinese paremics, mainly in units that speak about labor.

1.4. Resume by chapter

The study of the scientific literature concerning the material and approach stated in this work allowed us to come to the following conclusions.

The characteristic of linguoculturology as one of the directions of linguistic research indicates that it is a modern complex branch of science that arose on the basis of the interaction of linguistics and culture.

In any language, a picture of the world is formed – information that is refracted in a special way, which is accumulated by the human community: this is the experience of observing yourself and the world, and the results of understanding what you have seen. The study of the linguistic picture of the world, in which a person's ideas about the surrounding world and attitude to it are verbalized, rules and norms of human behavior are set and the experience of life in various spheres is reflected, is carried out by scientists and on the material of proverbs, i.e., in fact, the features of the already paremiological picture of the world of native speakers of a certain language are investigated.

Paremias, according to the classification of V.A. Maslova, occupy a rightful place among the nine types of linguoculturologically loaded units, which are complex units of

syntax and reflect cultural objects in their semantics. In the paroemias, the speakers noted typical situations, patterns found in what is happening around and the resulting approved or censured behaviors. Proverbs contain important prescriptions and assessments, demonstrate a system of standards and images characteristic of national thinking, thereby expressing stereotypical ideas and cultural attitudes. In this study, "cultural attitudes" are understood as judgments verbalized at the paremiological level and expressing important universal or ethnomarked prescriptions and/or fixing typical life situations that are subject to comprehension and deduction of conclusions.

Typologies of Russian and Chinese paremias proposed by researchers reveal differences in the principles of construction and the features and spheres of functioning of individual types of stable units, therefore, the classifications of paremias as a whole differ both in the number of allocated categories of units marked with certain signs and in their definitions. This, however, does not prevent the inclusion of different structural units of the Chinese language in the object of research, if it is based on the ability of units to express stereotypical representations of a linguistic and cultural nature.

The paremiological picture of the world, accumulating the wise thoughts of native speakers, reflects the stereotypical ideas of speakers and linguistic and cultural attitudes that have developed in a nationally marked mentality and are specially designed. There are many units in it that characterize activities using tools and implements for various purposes (knife, axe, hammer), including those designed to perform operations in a narrow field of activity or by people of certain professions (*hammer, plane, plow, hoe, flail, spindle, etc.*).

The appeal to the ideographic dictionaries of the Russian language shows that, in accordance with the theory of the field organization of vocabulary, the names of devices, tools and tools for performing a certain kind of work constitute a certain group in the language, distinguished on the basis of a common feature – they include the semantic element ‘use to perform this or that (mostly manual) work, which brings obvious result’. This allows us to outline the circle of paroemias that we include in the object of research.

The stereotype is recognized in this work as a kind of representation of reality

(object/situation), refracted by the consciousness of native speakers of language and culture, i.e. it is not considered as a reflection of reality. Belonging to a certain culture, stereotypical ideas expressed by linguistic means are able to show the degree of their universality – for speakers of different cultures or national specificity, which is revealed during the analysis of the proverbial material of one language against the background of another.

Extensive information about the national marking of the worldview can be obtained as a result of a study of the paremiological fund of one language against the background of an array of units of another language.

CHAPTER II. CHAPTER II. STEREOTYPICAL IDEAS REFLECTED IN RUSSIAN AND CHINESE PROVERBS WITH TOOL-NAMES AS COMPONENTS

As the collected material shows, in the analyzed proverbs the speakers express ideas about tools, linking them with several main aspects. Thus, the first aspect is an indication of the dependence of the result of labor on the presence or absence of the appropriate tool and its proper quality. The second important condition for a good result is the skill, the skill of the worker associated with the use of tools, and his or her diligence. The circumstances and conditions of tool use have a great deal to do with the quality of the final product of labor and the timeliness of its delivery. At the same time, both sayings, exclusively in the direct sense, indicating the natural conformity of the process of this or that kind of peasant labor to its result, are found. On the other hand, identified at the level of direct meaning regularity can be projected onto a wide range of phenomena from other spheres of life. So, the expression *With a scythe in hand do not wait for the weather* may refer to the work of the mower, for whom it is important not to miss the right time of mowing in anticipation of good weather. But it also serves as a recommendation to get down to business without waiting for better conditions, if everything is already ready to carry out almost any activity. The biplanarity of PE is also noted in Chinese parables, as, for example, in the saying 一锹挖不成水井, 一天盖不成罗马城 – lit. "*It is impossible to dig a well with one stroke of a shovel; it is impossible to build Rome in one day*", in the figurative sense stating the impossibility of achieving success quickly and without effort, so one should gradually and systematically move towards the goal not only in digging a well, but also in any other matter (cf. Russian: *Moscow was not built at once*).

Proverbs in this section are analyzed in stages: Russian and Chinese proverbs with the components–names of instruments that contain common (close) attitudes of culture are considered sequentially, then stereotypical ideas expressed only by Russian proverbs or only by Chinese sayings are presented.

Let us turn to the stereotypical perceptions expressed by Russian and Chinese parems with the components–names of instruments.

2.1. Stereotypes about the availability and quality of tools as a prerequisite for work and its efficiency

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2022b, Liu Yue 2022c, Liu Yue 2023].

The success of an activity is determined by the equipment (tooling), which includes tools and devices. It is no coincidence that interpretations of nominations of actions of people of certain professions often mention various types of tools used in this sphere. For example, if we are talking about carpentry work, such tools as *an axe, chisel, hammer, planer, pliers*, etc. are important for them. This is also evidenced in parables, in which the names of specific tools are absent, but there is a component that is a generalized name of the devices for work (cf. *carpenter's tackle*) – as, for example, in PU *Whoever has clean tools is a bad master (worker)*. Thus, the proverbs playfully emphasize that even primitive actions cannot be performed without an appropriate tool (*Without a tackle only to catch fleas; Without a tackle and lice will not be caught*), not to mention real work: *Without a tool and a hobble you will not weave* – although weaving hobbles also requires a certain skill.

There are also many proverbs and sayings in Chinese that verbalize stereotypical ideas about the dependence of a successful activity on the availability of a tool or device. Cf: 无梭难织布, 无针难绣花 – "*It is difficult to knit without a shuttle, it is difficult to embroider without a needle*"; 手中无网看鱼跳 – "*Without a fishing net it is only helpless to look (at the fish)*." 农具齐全, 干活周全 – "*If the agricultural implements are complete, the work can be done perfectly*," ie. i.e., good training and the right arsenal of tools help the job very much.

2.1.1. Background assumption “A craftsman cannot do without appropriate tools”

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2023a, Liu Yue 2023b].

So, the paremy states that the key to getting the job done is the tool. There is no craftsman without a tool: a tool is vital for him, and knowing how to use it is often taken

for granted: *No axe is not a carpenter, no needle is not a tailor; a lad cannot have a chisel without a chisel.* A lumberjack also needs an axe: they do not go to wood without an axe, etc. And although not all the tools used by professionals in the performance of work, act as components of proverbs, they present a fairly wide range of tools that were used in traditional craft work and are widely used in folk sayings about labor, laziness, crafts, skill and ineptitude. Cf: *A blacksmith without pliers is like a man without hands; A slashless man is not a mower; You can't cut hay without a scythe.*

The tools of a carpenter and a carpenter are most often mentioned here – first of all, an axe: *A carpenter without an axe is like a hut without a corner;* Faith is observed by fasting, and they work with an axe. The axe is spoken of as a vital tool: If God had not given an axe, it would have been time to drown long ago. He is needed in any household – a person will not be lost with him: An axe is the head of the whole business; You will pass the whole world with an axe. At the same time, it is emphasized that the tools capable of chopping can be different, but it is the axe that is designed for this in the best way: *Not everything is an axe that cuts.*

The importance of the axe as one of the most important tools for working with wood (wood) is evidenced by such Chinese sayings: 匪斧不克，匪媒不得 – "*Without the axe one cannot cut down a tree, without the matchmaker one cannot get married*"; 伐木必用斧，引线必用针 – lit. "*You need an axe to cut down a tree, and you need a needle to thread a needle*".

The importance for a carpenter of a tool for processing wood is emphasized with the help of the traditional clichéd form of the *father native* (cf. *also mother native*): *Glues and plane carpenter fathers native. Wed. PU Knife on the road comrade.*

The hard work of the farmer is also impossible without tools – *harrow, plow, plough: The farmer does not work with his tongue, but with the plough; Without plow – not a ploughman, without hammer – not a blacksmith.* Here we find a clichéd formula, traditional for the parables, indicating the connection between the toiler and his tool: *The plough is the farmer's true friend. In between the plough and the harrow you will not hide; Between the plough and the harrow you will not hide,* it is indicated, according to M.I.

Mikhelson, that "a peasant will not do without ploughing alone" [Mikhelson 1997.2: 137]; two main necessary tools for working on the land are named here.

The *hammer* and *hammer* are the main tools for working with metal (iron) and characterize primarily the work of the blacksmith: *iron would boil, but hammers will be found; It is hard for the hammer, it is hard for the anvil; Gold is not gold without having been under the hammer*. Cf. also a PE indicating the relationship of the hammer and iron, but with a different semantics – it characterizes the capabilities of a rich man: *Golden hammer and iron gates prokuyet (unlocks doors)*.

There are also other tools in PE that indicate the nature of the action performed with their help, or the profession of the figure: *There would be a hunter ('hunter'), but there would be a gun; Not all those cooks who have long knives* – this expression contains a hint of robbers, also armed with knives.

The paremics also place some emphasis on the importance of having certain tools and their parts. Cf. PE indicating great losses that occur in pursuit of the small and insignificant: *Chasing the awl, you lose the axe; Chasing the axe, but sinking the axe*; cf. also the phraseology of *replacing the awl with a soap*.

Chinese premisses the idea of the need to have to perform a specific job put the tool is implemented first, with reference to people in certain professions, they are: 没有不带锯的木工, 没有不带刀枪的士兵 – "*No carpenters, no drinking, no soldiers without guns*"; 木匠的斧子、厨子的刀摸不得 – letters. "*An axe to a carpenter, a knife to a cook*", because without them there is neither a carpenter nor a cook; 落雨天的伞, 木匠师傅的锤 – letters. "*Like an umbrella on rainy days, so is a hammer for a master carpenter*." The idea is no less often expressed in general terms, i.e., without components naming people of individual professions (blacksmith, carpenter, lumberjack, etc.). Cf. a PE with a two-part structure, typical for Chinese stable expressions, which allows the comparison of concrete and abstract phenomena: 没有铁锹挖洞难, 没有志气进取难 – "*Without a shovel it is difficult to dig a hole, without ambition (ambition) it is difficult to succeed*", where the first part creates an image basis, clear to native speakers, to deduce

the attitude in the second part.

The proverb 七分家什，三分行家 says that "*the ability to do something quickly and well depends one-third on the skill of the person (the skill of the worker), and two-thirds on the quality of the tools*". In other words, it will take considerably less effort to do the same job if the tools are available. A somewhat different proportion is presented in the PE, which also emphasizes the priority of tool versus skill: 三分手艺，七分家伙 – lit. "*Three points for skill, seven points for tools.*"

The expression 打铁先得锤子 refers to blacksmithing, working with metal: letters. "*First make a hammer before forging iron*", id est, a blacksmith in his activity can do without a hammer (hammer) – his main tool. The combination of metal and a hammer (hammer) formed the basis of many Chinese letters: 打铁还得锤子硬 – letters. "*To make iron, it is necessary that the hammer in your hand be strong*"; 好铁靠千锤，好钢靠火炼 – letters. "*Good iron depends on a thousand hammers, good steel is purified by fire.*"

It is no coincidence that the connection between the craft, i.e. the sphere of activity, and its corresponding tools is emphasized in the PE: *blacksmith – hammer, carpenter – axe, carpenter – planer, farmer – ploughshare, harrow*, etc. Similarly, the names of the tools performed by them are combined. The names of tools and actions performed with their help are combined in a similar way; cf: *Mow, scythe, while the dew is still*; Kit. 树要锯开看，人要行动看 – "*A tree must be sawn with a saw to see how wooden it is, and a man can be judged by his actions*" with the meaning '*One should not rely on superficial observations and imagination*'.

In two Chinese PEs, 木不刨不光，人不学不明 – "*Without a chopper you cannot chop wood smoothly, and a man, if he does not learn, will not understand (become understanding)*" and 绳缺长度难打井水，人无远志难成大事 – "*It is hard to draw well water without a rope, and it is difficult for a man to achieve great success without ambition*" – the situation of the lack of a tool and its resulting consequences is projected into other areas of life for which a similar connection is also relevant. Such a construction

of sayings is very typical for Chinese paremics.

Chinese PU say that *even a skilled craftsman cannot do without tools*: 能工无梭难织布, 巧匠无钻难雕花 – “*It is difficult for a skilled craftsman to weave without a shuttle, and difficult for a skilled master to cut patterns without a hand drill*”. Continuing this thought, a Chinese parema states that even a small tool in the hands of a worker can achieve the desired result: 小木头烧得起大火, 小斧头砍得倒大树 – “*Even a small piece of wood can start a big fire, and a small axe can cut down a big tree*”.

2.1.2. Background assumption “ The efficiency of labour depends on whether quality tools are available to the worker”

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2023a].

Russian and Chinese proverbs reflect the stereotypical idea that the successful performance of work is determined by the quality of the tool, its suitability: *If you want to do a good job, first sharpen the tools; The axe is sharper*, and the case is more sporey, where the argument is ‘About work, activity: fast and successful’. The tool must have the proper shape and suitability for effective performance of work – the need for sharpness of the tool is mainly emphasized here: in the parody *On a sharp scythe*, a lot of haymaking says that a sharp scythe can cover a larger amount of work. The readiness of the tool and its owner to carry out the work is indicated both in the *Harvest is ripe, and the sickle is sharpened*. In PE, it is not the scythe that mows, but the scythe accentuates how exactly the part of the scythe should be especially sharp; the scythe is called the blade of the scythe, its cutting and sharpening part. The proverb *After the pores do not sharpen axes* indicates the importance of not only the sharpness of the axe, but also the timeliness of its sharpening. In the proverb, the *axe is sharp, and the toothy bitches* are worthy “opponents”, but indirectly it is indicated here that only a sharp axe can cope with a “toothy bitch”.

Sharp tools include a tool for piercing something – *an awl*. This quality is indicated by both paremics, talking about the professional craft – *Bee is that cobbler: An awl to*

wax always carries with him; If you chase an awl, you lose an axe, as well as expressions that emphasize the sharpness of the tip of the awl (*do not swing at the awl* with your fist and common in Russian speech *Shil in the bag will not hide the awl* – 'about a stingy man') and because of this its unsuitability for performing certain actions (*In summer, milk is eaten with a paddle, and in winter* – 'a lot of milk in summer, but little in winter'; *the awl will not heat the sea* and others).

The Chinese proverb 快刀斩乱麻 literally translates as "*Tangled hemp is cut with a sharp knife*," indicating efficiency and swiftness of action, while metaphorically it means that quick and decisive action is required in the situation (cf. cutting the Gordian knot). Sharpness is important both for a knife (人在事上练, 刀在石上磨 – "*A man practices in business, but a knife is sharpened on a stone*") and for an axe: 赶马鞭子要长, 砍树斧子要快– lit. "*The whip must be long to steer the horse and drive it, and the axe must be sharp to cut down trees.*"

It is interesting that in PE 利斧可断坚木, 闲言能伤人心 – "*A sharp axe can cut down a hard (durable) tree, but random slips of the tongue can break a person's heart*", the parallel parts do not agree in meaning – rather they contradict: what is good for an axe is bad for those involved in the conversation: 'a word can hurt' – this idea it is implemented many times by both Russian and Chinese PU.

Certain requirements are imposed on the properties of the tool. Cf.: 想牵烈马缰绳要长, 想砍大树斧把要长 – "*If you want to lead a skittish horse, the reins must be long; if you want to chop a large tree, the handle of the axe must be long.*" The sharpness of the saw is also important and is sharpened with another useful tool, the file: 多锉出快锯, 多做长知识 – "*Regularly file your saw teeth to keep them sharp; the more you practice, the greater your knowledge*".

The idea of proper quality of tools can be realized without indicating their sharpness, although for cutting tools this is usually the main condition for their suitability and effectiveness. Cf.: 宝刀不老 – "*A good knife never rusts*". This expression is similar to the Russian words, which speak about the preservation of experience and skill even in old

age: *An old horse will not spoil the furrows; An old raven will not caw by*, etc.

Chinese PEs say that as long as the tool is sharp, you don't have to worry about the difficulties you face. Having a good tool contributes to solving many serious problems. 刀快不怕脖子粗 – "*If you have a sharp knife, you need not worry about hard objects*," which figuratively indicates that you can solve a difficult problem with good skill and a quality tool. Cf. also 刀快不怕韧牛皮 – "*A sharp knife does not fear a tough hide*." 斧快不怕木柴硬 – "*A sharp axe is not afraid of hard wood*"; 锯快不怕树粗 – "*If the saw is sharp, then you should not be afraid of the thickness of the wood*." The expressions are widely used in a figurative sense, describing the right methods and approaches to deal with the most difficult situations.

The Chinese consider it important to have a proper instrument – this idea is represented very widely in proverbs, cf. synonymous PEs 手艺好还要家伙妙, 手艺好不如家什妙; 手巧不如工具好; 人巧不如家伙妙, realizing the general meaning "*No matter how good the skill (skill) is, it is best to have the right tools*," where the noun components 家伙 and 家什 denote a tool, a implement and act as synonyms. Moreover, **having quality tools may be more important than high skill**: 好手艺不如好工具 – "*Good tools are better than good skill*".

It is noteworthy that in both languages there is a mention of blunt tools that continue to be useful or dangerous. Cf. Chinese PU 快锯不如钝斧 – "*A blunt axe is better than a sharp saw*", since the axe is larger than the saw, designed for straining, trimming, shaping.

In the Russian and Chinese parables "**Even with a blunt instrument one must be careful, it can cause pain**": "A blunt sickle cuts one's hand like a sharp one". A dull sickle cuts your hand like a sharp one; Chinese. 钝刀子割肉, 越割越疼 – "*A blunt knife cuts flesh; the bigger the cut, the more painful*". It is likely that less intense, not sharp, but prolonged pain can be worse for a person. In Chinese culture, the image of a blunt knife is also used to characterize the style of human behavior: PU 钝刀子割肉 – "*A blunt knife damages the flesh*" – indicates that the case was started, but because of slowness it

cannot be completed, i.e. the action is ineffective and in vain.

As we see, the indication of the quality of the tool used also indirectly speaks about the experience of the worker, his understanding of the work performed and its specifics, readiness for work and willingness to perform it. Thus, the Chinese expression 没有钝斧子砍不了的树 – lit. “*There are no trees that cannot be chopped; there is a blunt axe*” – often used figuratively, as a reference to those who do not seek opportunities to cope with difficulties. There are no hardships that cannot be overcome—there are careless and unmotivated workers.

2.1.3. Background assumption “The tool must suit the craft, the task and the volume of work”

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2022b, Liu Yue 2023b].

The use of components in the parables – the names of tools is combined with those verbs that nominate appropriate actions with the use of these tools: *Small axe chops a large tree; Axe will chop his own; And great wood, but to beat with a spike; Without thread and needle you cannot sew a fur coat; Needle not an awl, boot not an awl*, etc. We also find these actions in PEs, which are not directly connected with the sphere of work; cf. PE *What is written with a pen, you cannot cut down with an axe* – ‘about the impossibility to change, correct what is written and what has become known to many’ [RPT: 105]; *Our sorrow and axes do not cut* – the speaker is broken about his troubles, considering them much heavier than those that fell to the lot of others.

Masters are well aware of what kind of actions are performed using each of the tools – and this is also enshrined in the expressions (*sawing with a saw – bending back*). For example, nails are hammered with a hammer or shovel: *Not the nail itself goes into the wall, it is hammered. The nail knows well how to hammer*; It is not the *nail's* fault that it goes into the wall, they **hammer** it with a shoe. In a figurative sense, these expressions may indicate a lack of freedom of action, dependence on someone stronger or more authoritative. Obuch – ‘the blunt end of an axe made of metal, opposite the sharp

blade'. It is quite heavy and strong, which is reflected in many PU, emphasizing these qualities: *You cannot beat a whip with a whip; Refusal is not a whip, there will be no bumps on your forehead; Be a friend of a fool, but keep a whip at your belt – 'You should be careful and have a tool to protect yourself from a fool'.*

The paremics also reflects the proximity of the functions of individual tools and the scope of their application. Cf. in humorous expressions placed in the dictionary of V.I. Dahl in the section "Sense is a fool" and characterizing a person who is poorly versed in tools and their use: *Not with a hammer, but with a butt; Not with a flail, but with a threshing machine* – tools for beating, hammering something, two tools for threshing are compared.

The PU may also directly indicate that it is ***impossible to arbitrarily choose tools***. A knife, for example, cannot be replaced with an axe in certain fields of activity: *Not with a knife, where the axe is laid²*. Cf. ironically sounding in PE *For a mosquito not with an axe and you can't chase a fly with a butt*, the discrepancy between an ordinary action and a willingness to use a familiar, but still too serious – professional – tool for this. A hunter cannot resist a bear using an awl instead of a slingshot: *You cannot defeat a bear with an awl*. A shoemaker, in addition to a needle, necessarily needs an awl (*A needle did not sew, a boot did not sew; A bee is like a shoemaker: an awl for wax always carries with him*).

The reference to the harrow used for spring plowing in connection with the winter season also sounds ironic: In winter with the harrow, and in summer in the riding – this refers to the use of the horse involved in spring and summer in farming work.

The Chinese proverb 宰以鸡鸭，焉用牛刀 – “*to cut a chicken or duck with a bullock slaughter knife*” is close to the above mentioned; 拴鸡绳子栓不住大象 – “*You cannot tie an elephant with a rope with which you tie a chicken*”; 钥匙不能劈柴，斧子不能开锁 – lit. “*You cannot chop wood with a key, you cannot open a lock with an axe*”; 镰刀不能砍大树，斧头不能割青草 – lit. “*You can't cut down a tree with a scythe, you can't cut down a grass with an axe*”.

The tools are designed for actions clearly defined in labor practice, and their use for other purposes is erroneous: *He chased after the ax handle, and drowned the axe* – the

parody is accompanied by a comment that they tried to catch a log floating in the water with an axe to make a new ax handle from it. The *axe* is often contrasted with the *butt* and the ax handle – important parts of the axe, although, of course, the cutting blade is more important: *The stump is not afraid of the ax handle* (cf. also: *The forest is not afraid of the ax handle* – it is clear that the stump, like any tree, is “afraid” of a sharp metal axe, not a wooden ax handle. It is often subject to replacement – with the same axe.

Interesting is the humorous and unusual at first glance russian PE *To the parable and the rake shoot*, which indicates by its inner form the performance of the rake – an agricultural tool – an action impossible for them, while the allegorical meaning consists in making fun of speakers inclined to embellish the stories they tell and to fantasize.

The order in which certain tools are used at certain stages of the labor process is also important. So, the paremia of *the plough is a sneak, and the righteous harrow* reflects the sequence of work with the plough and the harrow. If the plow was used for rough plowing of the land – it allowed to roll aside a layer of earth, then with the help of a harrow, the soil was further loosened and leveled, removing weeds from it and making it more suitable for crops. I.e., after using the plough, one can be sorry about visible flaws in the arable land, but *the righteous harrow* (‘right, without flaws’) eliminates these flaws.

The combination of the two implements, recommended for consistent use in farming, is presented in the PE *That land goes away, he who follows the sickle to the plough* (‘earlier ploughs’); *go away* – ‘to take care of, to care for sth.’ (D.4: 526). After harvesting with the sickle the land is to be thoroughly cultivated with the plough.

In PU *Harvest is ripe and sickle is firmly* connected between the period of harvesting – mainly cereals – and the tools used for this purpose.

The Chinese PU also contain indications at which stages in the cycle of work and for what individual tools are used: 犁是犁路，耙是耙路 – lit. “*The plow is used on land that should be plowed with the plow. The harrow is used on land that should be turned by the harrow.*”

Close to the russian one is the chinese paremy 谷熟用镰割 – lit. “*When the grain (bread, cereals) is ripe, it can be harvested with a sickle,*” also referring to the need to use

the tool at the right time for it.

The Chinese PE is interesting and unusual in its content, which combines the names of labor actions (plowing, hoeing) and the corresponding tools: 耕者忘其犁 – letters. *"Those who plow forget about their plows, and those who hoe forget about their hoes."* The paremia metaphorically describes a situation when workers in the fields forget about everything at the sight of a very beautiful girl.

The *harrow* and the *plough* occupy a special place among the tools included in the farming tools of Chinese culture; they are mentioned in a significant number of paremics, which together form a whole encyclopedia of the farmer. Cf. PE: 耕而不耨，不如作暴 – lit. *"If one does not go over the land with a harrow after plowing, it is a waste (waste) of the soil, and it is better to leave it"*; 三耕六耙九锄田，一季收成抵一年 – *"With three movements of the plough, six strokes of the rake and nine strokes of the hoe, one season's harvest will not yield to that of the whole year."* 秋收打谷又犁田，来年又是丰收年 *"During the autumn reaping and threshing of grain, they plow the field with a plough, so that the coming year will be another fruitful year."* From the paremics we can see that the processes of proper cultivation of the land using tools are given great attention in Chinese culture.

2.1.4. Background assumption "Every worker needs to have his own tools"

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2022b, Liu Yue 2023a].

Paremics note that the tool cannot be used alternately, it prevents successful work. So, the PE *Chop to seven, but one axe* expresses irony, assessing the situation when the performers are not ready for the work, which eliminates its productivity. Cf. also the mockery expressed in PE *Go to the woods and take one axe for three*. It is therefore logical to see the disapproval and surprise expressed by the parables at the absence of the necessary and most important tools from professionals: Russian. *The blacksmith has neither a knife nor an axe* (cf. The cobbler without boots; The blacksmith's horse is unhooked) and Kit. 铁匠家里无菜刀 – *"There is no kitchen knife in the blacksmith's*

house”. In the sphere of women's labor, the idea of the need for one's own tool is also relevant: *Take someone else's spindle, but save your own.*

In the light of the above installation, ***the presence or absence of tools in a person may indicate his material condition***: poverty is indicated, for example, *by a pen not mine, but someone else's sickle*. Probably, the zeal shown in a foreign land is also questionable.

In paremics there is often a contrast between one's own and another's, with an emphasis on the priority of one's own, even if simpler, cheaper, unattractive, etc.: *one's own bread is sweeter than another's loaf; one's own is not washed – white, not rolled – smooth; one's own biscuit is better than another's pies*. The sickle in the proverb *Better your own sickle than the handle of someone else's saber* is perceived as inferior, perhaps, in beauty to the handle of a saber, but, undoubtedly, is seen as more useful and necessary.

The presence or absence of implements in Chinese parables, too, may indicate the material conditions of the worker and his family: 田无一铧，地无一垄 – lit. “*There is not a single coulter in the field, not a piece of land for sowing*”; i.e., there is not a single tool, nor is there the very possibility of agricultural labor. ‘Of extreme poverty’). The uselessness of replacing one tool – in its absence – with another, not corresponding, is pointed out in the Chinese PE 拿着铁锹当锅使 – lit. *Having a shovel, to use it as a pot* – ‘of sb.'s beggarly situation’. Extreme poverty is indicated by the lack of space in the house even for a small tool: 无立锥之地 – lit. *There is not a speck of space, not even for an awl*. Cf. also the Chinese saying 木匠手里借斧子 – lit. ‘*To borrow an axe from a carpenter*’ (fig. ‘Of a man who has lost his job, who has lost his piece of bread’). The Chinese saying 断粮不卖磨，断炊不卖锅 – recommends not parting with your grain grinding mill: “*Do not sell your mill even without grain, do not sell your pots even if you have nothing to cook in them*”.

The quality and availability of tools, as we have said, is necessary to make the work more productive and get the desired result, but the determinant of the outcome of labor is the laborer himself. The results of the analysis in section 2.1. are presented in Appendix Table 2 (p. 147).

2.2. Stereotypes about the worker and his work with the use of tools

As the Old Testament sayings show, the efficiency of any labor, be it a farmer, blacksmith, carpenter, carpenter, tailor, logger, spinster, etc., and the tangibility of its results is determined not only by the presence and condition of the tool, but also by the manifestation in the work of the performer – his *skills* and *proficiency*, i.e. *the level of craftsmanship* and *the quality of action* – speed, thoroughness and diligence, preparation for the labor process, determined by it.

2.2.1. Stereotypes about the importance of preparing the tools for work

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2022b, Liu Yue 2022b].

As we have already mentioned, the readiness of the tool to work is an important aspect from the point of view of native speakers, and this also shows a worker accustomed to work, or, conversely, a beginner, but perhaps just a negligent or lazy worker. Cf. rus. *If you want to do a job, first sharpen the tools*, otherwise complications await the employee: *A thin tackle will not give you a rest*. Tackle acts in the meaning – ‘*A set of tools, implements, devices for some kind of craft occupation. Cooperage tackle. Carpenter's tackle*’ [SRY.4: 163].

A good craftsman will take care in advance about the condition of his tools, because, according to the PE, *Not everything is an axe that chops; Only a saw will fix a crooked tree* – but only if it is fit for work.

By the preparation of tools and implements is most often understood the necessary sharpening. Sharpness is required by the scythe, which is specially sharpened before beginning to mow: *The scythe is sharpened, the grass is looked at; The scythe is sharpened on the grass, and the sword is sharpened on the head*. The PE repeatedly points out the advantage of a sharp axe: *Sharper axes are thicker trees*. A sharp knife – one of the most commonly used tools in the economy: *Sharp knife and without soap shaves; The hand that puts the cross, that and the knife sharpens* – figurative meaning refers to the robber, who believes in God, is able to encroach on human life (cf.: *From the righteous*

to the robber – one step). Knives are also used by people of other professions, such as the butcher and the butcher: *My bread is clean, my kvass is sour, my knife is sharp, we will cut it smoothly, we will eat it sweetly; He sharpens the knife, but says: do not be afraid (do not be afraid)*. The proverbs *Blunt Knife – the master is stingy (bad)* and *A bad master has a bad (dull) saw* speak about a negligent master, who does not keep his tools in order.

A knife is supposed to be sharp, even if this attribute is not verbalized in proverbs; cf: *You cannot cut bread without a knife; To lick a knife is to cut the tongue; Do not give a knife to a madman* – ‘a sharp object in the hands of such a person is dangerous’. In PE *Who is drowning – give me a knife, and a knife will catch hold* of means a desperate situation, when saving a drowning man may run the risk of cutting himself with a sharp knife. As we see, the circle of actions with the use of a knife in the parables is not very wide (*One will not achieve honor, and dishonor cannot be scraped off with a knife*) – in real reality, its use is much wider.

Therefore, the speakers ironically refer to ***a blunt tool, not suitable for work*** – and most often to a knife: *With this knife it is good to put the old one on the stove; On this knife – even if it is a horse and ride*. Cf. also: *He cuts me with a dull knife*, i.e. gives grief, suffering. A dull knife in the household characterizes the owner not from the best side: *What knives – such and the owner; dull knife – the owner is stupid*. The parable *Be not afraid of the knife, but of the tongue* is not the only one, where language (speech, words) is compared to a knife in sharpness and unpleasantness of consequences. The ability of the knife to wound (to act as a weapon) is also played out in the PE, which is in no way connected with the process of labor: *The word is not a knife, but a knife leads to a knife*; the *knife* here is a metaphor for a sharp argument, a fight.

According to the parables, the knife is not only a tool for work, it is also a weapon, capable of causing harm or protection: *For a ladle, so and for a knife; for a glass, so and for a fight* – ‘about those who drink and start to bully others, picking a conflict’.

The need to sharpen a tool before work, i.e. to put it in order, is also mentioned in Chinese proverbs: 工欲善其事，必先利其器 – lit. “*If a master wants to do his work well, he will first sharpen his tools*”; 镰刀不快不下田 – “*Without sharpening the sickle*

so that it cuts well, you cannot work in the field.”

It is necessary to monitor the condition of tools and prepare carefully for work – so say the paremy 与其耍花招，不如先磨刀–“*Better sharpen your knife than to cheat and resort to tricks*”. Cf. Russian: *Than to cheat, it is better to sharpen your knives*. In PE 刀不误砍柴工 (lit. “*Sharpening an axe blade will not delay chopping*”) the notion that by spending time sharpening, you will save on the time of the work itself, speeding it up.

About sharpening of axes speaks also the EPs, accentuating the importance of timeliness of such actions: *During the pore, sharpen the axes; but the pore will pass, there is no need to sharpen the axes; After the pore, do not sharpen the axes*. These PE are also used in a figurative sense, recommending the timeliness of any action.

The Chinese PEs also point out the **uselessness of a blunt tool**: 快刀刀不磨是块铁 – lit. “*A knife is just a piece of iron if it is not sharpened (not sharp)*”; 刀子不磨快难砍柴，孩子不教育难成才 – lit. “*It is hard to chop wood if the axe is not sharpened, and it is hard for children to get by if they are not educated.*”

An interesting thought about **the essential difference between one's own actions and outside help** is expressed in the Chinese saying 靠人磨镰刀背光，靠人舀饭尽喝汤 – lit. “*When others help sharpen a scythe, they often sharpen the blade on one side only; when pouring someone's soup, strangers often scoop up only the liquid and leave the guts at the bottom.*” The behavioural patterns indicated in the OuT contribute to the formation of the following meaning: ‘*one should not trust another to prepare a tool for one's work – this should be done by the worker himself*’. Cf. the Russian PE saying the same thing, but with a certain amount of self-irony: *Give, gosh, to be able to do everything yourself, but not to do everything yourself!*)

A certain stereotype is related to the fact that, in addition to preparing a tool for labor activity, the **fact of making it in compliance** with certain technological rules is important for the worker: 若不铸铁，无法作犁 – lit. “*If iron is not smelted and poured into a mold, you cannot make a plow*”; 好铁靠千锤，好钢靠火炼 – lit. “*Good iron depends on a thousand hammers, good steel is refined by fire.*”

The cited material indicates that Russian and Chinese paremics reflect stable stereotypes about *the need for timely preparation of the tool for work*. In addition, the Chinese *do not trust outsiders* to prepare their tools, while in the Russian PE such a notion is not noted.

2.2.2. Stereotypes about the importance of skills and mastery

Such Russian proverbs as a *tool works well in skillful hands; Not an axe, but a carpenter* and many others indicate that the idea of the *importance*, first of all, of *the worker and his efforts*, is verbalized in PE using the names of different tools. This applies to the worker and the tools compared with him in various professional fields; cf. PU: *The hammer does not forge iron, but the blacksmith forges; It is not the axe that feeds the peasant, but the July work – all work with the use of tools is carried out by a person*. Indirectly, the manufacturer of the action is indicated in the PE Without taking up the axe, you will not cut down the hut, emphasizing the relationship of the labor process with the use of the axe – and its result.

In the proverb *Not the needle sews, but the hands of the performer* of the action are indicated through the use of metonymy: *any work is the work of a master*. Many phraseological expressions also speak of skill: “*he will not drop an axe on his hands*” – ‘of the experienced’; “*he will not fall from his hands*” – ‘of a strong skill’; ‘he will swim across the water without a tackle’ – ‘of the possibility of achieving the desired even without a tool/apparatus’.

In almost all proverbs, the tool is hidden behind the one who uses it, i.e. the master, the performer of this or that action, the participant in the process – including in those PE, where there are no nominations of workers. It is no coincidence that the PE emphasizing the importance of individual tools, such as, for example, plow and plow, need a comment for those who do not know who and how they are used. Cf: *If you plow with a plow, the land becomes a meadow* – “The good quality of the land is the result of the use of the plow (by the plowman).” And a comfortable existence of a peasant family, to which in the proverb “*Mother's horns are golden*” metaphorically indicates the component *golden*, is possible only as a result of the hard work of the farmer and the horse as a means of

transportation, not named in the PE. It is impossible not to note in the PE *Hold on to soshenka, the crooked sheath*, recommending more attention to plowing, the manifestation in the form of its components *soshenka, soshenka of a special* – affectionate – attitude to this important tool of labor. Cf. also *plough* along with *plough* in PE *Do not be lazy with plough – you will be with pirozhok*. Chinese paremics also contain an indication of the dependence of good results on the use of tools by the worker: 鋤地耕耘，自有收获 – lit. “*Plow and hoe the ground, and you will reap your own harvest.*”

Proverbs cover different aspects of the worker's activity in sufficient detail, determining the possible results of his work and his evaluation by the speakers.

Many people can use a tool, but it is ***experience and skill that determine the final result of the work***. Not everyone knows how to use an axe, so says PE about the braggart, whose wood cannot be cut with an axe, although it is the most suitable material for chopping: *drunken man's fists chop wood, sober man's axe does not take*.

Above we have already mentioned that ***craftsmanship and experience are also manifested in the proper preparation of the tool to the work***. Let us name other proverbial ideas associated with ideas about the qualifications of the performer of the work.

Experience and knowledge are manifested, firstly, ***in the correct choice of the sequence of actions with the use of different tools*** and implements. For example, the work of the saw should precede the actions performed by the axe, so the reverse sequence of them is ridiculed: *Chopped off, but for the saw*. Similarly, a remark about improper sequence in the use of the cleaver: *After the planer with the cleaver*; the cleaver is a carpenter's tool, similar to an axe, but with a blade located transverse to the handle [D.4: 403], it is used before the processing with the planer.

In PE *After supper mustard, [that] after scobel* with an axe due to the parallelism of two close in meaning parts is also achieved by strengthening the emphasis on the error in the sequence of using tools. *Skobel* – ‘a tool in the form of a knife with handles at the ends for stripping the bark from logs and primary sharpening’ [SRJN.4:112], produced after the axe treatment.

Secondly, *experience manifests itself in the knowledge of the possibilities of application of individual tools and the special functions assigned to them*. In the PE *Nail (awl) will not heat the sea*, the small size of the tool, which prevents the implementation of the action, even if a red-hot nail is placed in water, is pointed out. Cf. also given earlier PU *Not why with a knife, where the axe is laid*.

About the useless worker is said in PE *Winter with a harrow, and in summer in the cart* – referring to the use of the horse in a special trade (in the transportation of goods and people), which seems more practical in winter, when the horse is not engaged in agricultural work. Similarly, the expression, condemning the incongruous use of agricultural tools – *With a harrow to water went, and a chain to fish*, which may characterize in a figurative sense a wide range of non-compliant actions and ways of their implementation and a person who has no experience in any case or just a crank or a fool.

Thirdly, *the knowledge of the intricacies of work in their field, the ability to use*, in addition to the basic tool, the necessary *devices*, such as wedge, used in carpentry (*Wedge is a friend to the carpenter*), when cutting firewood (*Without the wedge and the plank will not split*), etc. gives out the master. *The wedge* – “a piece of wood or iron sharpened downwards and widening upwards, which is used for splitting or cleaving sth”. [NKJV.2: 58]. The phrase “*A wedge with a wedge beats out a wedge*” is widely used in Russian – the result of the reduction of the fuller PU “*A wedge with a wedge survives, a thief with a thief is killed by a thief*”. In sewing, an important tool is, for example, thimble, which saves the fingers of the seamstress: For that thimble is made not to prick his hands. The masters use a plumb line to check the verticality of the walls being erected, as stated in the PE hope *For the eye, and check with a plumb line*, emphasizing that even experience may not be enough. Unprofessionalism is marked by paroemias in other fields of activity: *A tailor will mess up — iron will make amends; They don't measure the road with a needle* – about too long a thread stretching behind the needle.

Fourthly, recognizing the unconditional importance of tools, paremics note the need for *skill* in their intelligent use, ingenuity, because *even a high-quality tool does not guarantee a successful result*. So, in the PU *Axe is sharp, but the hands are dull points*

out the contradiction, which can explain the inefficiency of labor. Cf. mocking proverb about unskillful threshing, inept threshing, which ends in physical injuries: *not so much threshed, but the chain pounded his head*. It would seem that not the most difficult task – to grind a wooden wedge for further work – also requires skill: *Wedge to grind – the skill to say*.

To complain about the quality of tools is the destiny of unprofessionals who do not have the necessary skills: *People's awls shave, but our knives nemut* – an unskilled worker cannot cope even with a simple job which is quite accessible to others. Cf. also the Chinese saying: 技术拙劣的工人抱怨自己的工具 – “*Low skilled craftsmen complain about their tools*”, i.e. the unskilled refer to circumstances and supposedly objective conditions which do not allow them to work well.

All of this leads to the fact that the skill of the worker is determined by the totality of the components. ***The idea of the importance of craftsmanship as influencing the final result of the work is well*** illustrated by PU A man unlearned is like an axe that is not sharpened: *you can cut down a tree with it, but it takes a lot of work*. *Unlearned* – having no experience in a particular area of activity, he needs a long practice to get a solid skill. Cf. also: *Not for an awl one pays, for a rule, where a rule is a tool of a 'higher level', 'a ruler for checking the correctness of masonry'* [SRJ.3: 352] – as opposed to a relatively simple awl as a tool for piercing holes.

There is an interesting thought expressed in the parables “*If iron would boil, a hammer would be found*” and “*If there were hands, a hammer would be given (we will find it)*”. According to the proverb, it is ***more difficult to find a skilled worker than a tool***, cf. *There will be a plow, but no hands*, because if there are willing and able to work, the necessary (missing) tool will be found. And vice versa: the absence of a worker – even if there is a tool – will not yield results. Perhaps, it is the skillful hands that determine the quality of the work that are meant in the EP; it is not for nothing that the Russian PE says that the *Cause is afraid of the master*.

In the work of an experienced master there may also be difficulties, which seem quite natural and even inevitable to the speakers – so says the experience of the past: *An*

axe and a knot are flying into a bough; An axe and a knot are toothy; A sharp axe is flying into a strong bough. Getting caught in the wood knot is able to complicate the work with it – cutting, shaving, etc. The idea of the arising “conflict” may extend metaphorically to other situations (cf. *Found a scythe on a rock*). In Chinese PU the opposition and sharp contradiction are expressed using images of other instruments: 针锋相对 – ‘*needle tip to needle tip*’, i.e. ‘sharply contradict one another, *conflict*’. Cf. also PU about conflict (针尖对麦芒 – lit. “[To put] the tip of the needle to the point of the wheat”) and irreconcilability: 好石磨刀铁盆撞了铁扫帚 – lit. “*The iron basin beats with the iron broom.*”

The experience and skill of the worker is also manifested in his endurance, ability to work a lot and at full strength. It is not by chance that the paroemias compare different types of activities – physical labor, which requires exertion of strength and endurance, and other occupations: *A pen is lighter than a plow; a pen is lighter than a flail* – that is, it is easier to write than to plow or thresh.

The work of the tiller (farmer, plowman) has for centuries been recognized as one of the most time-consuming and grueling. Although it is laudable to learn to read and write, the comparison is not in favor of the pen when comparing the two activities. Perhaps this PU also characterizes the simple toiler, criticized for his illiteracy. It is interesting that the ideas about the meaning of this PU may be different: on the one hand, “it is easier to learn to read and write than to learn to work well with a plough”. The second of possible meanings is an indication that “*one cannot earn much with a literacy, unlike a plough*”: A literacy is not a plough. It is possible, as it seems to us, and one more reading: *Lumotey is not a plowman*, i.e. not a worker; he has no skill and experience – one can hardly count on him if one needs thorough efforts.

The parables also indicate that physical work is hard, it is ***exhausting and leads to loss of health, mutilation***: *sawing with a pile – bend back; Sickle does not make one rich, but one hunchback.* Cf. also: *Work does not make one rich, but one hunchbacked.* Interestingly, the Chinese PE do not see any of the tools as a threat to health, rather the opposite: 生吃萝卜喝热茶，大大夫改行拿钉耙 – lit. “*If one eats raw turnips and*

drinks hot tea with them, the doctor will have to change his qualifications, such as taking up the plow and farming.”

Chinese proverbs verbalize many of the attitudes voiced in Russian PU. Thus, a professional is well versed in the tools used, their scope and capabilities: 木匠知道到什么时候，就用什么锤子 – “*A carpenter knows when to use which hammer*”.

A learned work skill, says PE, helps in other activities: having mastered one skill or method, a worker will easily learn another (similar) skill or method as well; cf: 会推磨就会推碾 – “*If you can spin a mill, you can also push a stone roller.*”

Thus, skillfully and competently applying the appropriate tools, keeping track of them, and using them to their best advantage to achieve specific goals is the primary concern of the highly professional laborer. The results of the analysis conducted in section 2.2. are presented in Appendix Table 3 (p. 146).

2.3. Stereotypes about attitude to work and its results as represented in paroemia

2.3.1. The worker’s personal qualities (industriousness, enthusiasm, diligence, patience) and attitude to work

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2023a].

The important thing, according to Russian and Chinese paremics, besides the necessary tools and skill, is a proper *attitude to work, zeal, diligence, on which the result depends* (cf. *Deeper to plow, more bread to chew*). The parables both directly and indirectly encourage hard work and “burning out” at work, cf. the Russian PE *Patience and work will wear out everything*. A diligent blacksmith *From the hammer and anvil rings*.

There are many Old Testament sayings about sweat: “*The sweat is breaking, the reaper is doing his bit*”. *The farmer’s plow shines from the work, the field gives birth to sweat*, ie the field is watered by the sweat of a hard worker. The farmer’s tools – ploughshare and harrow – are considered the most reliable: Hold on closer to the plough

Andreevna: it will not give out; *Hold on tighter than the ploughshare and harrow.*

Work on the land can be continuous, especially at the time of plowing, planting, harvesting, threshing: *Pray to God, be strong, and hold on to the plow! To plow, don't look back – no time for rest; A man's coat warms not a man, but his chain.*

Interesting idea expressed in the PU *A good carpenter – and in the field a worker:* 'accustomed to work man works well everywhere – not only in his field.

Labor is seen as a great value, which gives the worker the opportunity to exist and improve material conditions: The plow is the farmer's faithful friend – about the tool, indispensable in cultivating the land for sowing crops; Where the soshka plows, there is a crumb of bread – work on the land gives an opportunity to earn a living.

Chinese PU also encourage hard work and perseverance to achieve a goal: 砍柴不断不丢斧，打鱼不着不收网 – "*If you cannot chop firewood, do not put off your axe; if you cannot catch fish, do not put off your net.*" We can see that even though tools are involved in the work process, its result depends on the attitude of the workers themselves. Another example: 本领是利刃，勤奋是磨石 – "*Ability is the sharp blade of a knife, diligence is the sharpening stone*"; ability alone is not enough, diligence of workers is required—just as a knife must be brought to sharpness on the sharpening stone.

Russian and Chinese proverbs represent one of the main semantic oppositions – the opposition of labor and laziness. Proverbs positively assess diligence and industriousness of a worker and condemn lazy people. Not in vain the PE *It is good on the stove to plough, but to wrap up abruptly ridicules the slacker, allegedly able to work, but not doing it.* Similarly, the PE *He would be glad to mow, but there is no one to carry the scythe.* Cf. also *What would a plough be to me if I had a balalaika; Worker with a bailer – loafer with a spoon – a toiler and a loafer have fundamentally different "tools", etc².* According to Russian PE, those who work diligently are laughed at by lazy people who neglect both work and tools: *The scythe loves the hammer, the mower loves the cold* (cf. *With bad*

² The idea of unhurried work, the possibility of postponing it "for tomorrow" is very common in Russian proverbs: *Day to evening, and work for tomorrow; Work is not the wolf – will not run away into the woods, etc.*

mowers is bad and the swath; Where the mower walks, there the hay goes to waste). Seriously condemned refusal of work only in those cases when it comes to the lazy person, who claims the fruits of other people's work: Not for work, eat. He will not grind that which he will swallow. The following PU speak of those who refuse to work that everyone else is busy with: One in the harrow, and all on the sidelines; One in the plough and in the harrow, and the other to hell and on the sidelines.

The Chinese PE also speak about people not used to physical labor: 秀才推磨, 难为圣人 – lit. "Let Xutsai³ try to turn the millstone: it will be very difficult for him" ("about the beggars, not willing to do physical labor"). Close to this is the PE 不担担子不知重, 不走长路不知远 – literally 'It is impossible to determine the gravity of a loaded beam until you carry it yourself', i.e. it is not easy for a person who is not familiar with a certain kind of work to determine its labor intensity and the efforts made by others.

The contradiction between laziness and inaptitude, i.e. lack of effort, on the one hand, and the desire to use labor, on the other: 不能耕而欲黍粱, 不能织而喜采裳, 无事而求其功, 难矣 – literally "Can't plow with a plow but want to harvest, can't weave but want to wear beautiful clothes," i.e. i.e., they want to take advantage of the results of other people's labor. In the light of Chinese PU, one's attitude is formed by his attitude to labor: 勤劳的人, 锄头扛肩头; 懒惰的人, 酒壶别腰间 – "A hardworking man carries his hoe on his shoulder; a lazy man has a wine kettle hanging from his belt".

Thus, in PU of both languages a common denunciation is not so much unwillingness to work, but the *desire to gain benefits or the benefits of life* without labor: *A fork is like a fishing rod, and a spoon is like a seine; Purely my reapers reap what they serve on the table.* Note that such a vice as laziness is treated in the Russian tradition more often derisively and ironically.

Work is contrasted with idle unencumbered chatter: If you mow with your tongue, your back will not get tired; Work with your teeth, and laziness with your tongue. Here appear the names of tools and the names of work actions – cf. In the proverbs, there are

³ Degree or title in the various systems of state certification of scientists in China.

the names of the tools and the names of the work activities: *lie (bray) – not a chain to swing, [his back does not hurt]; Bray – not to plow, bray but rest; Bray – not an axe to swing, bray – and rest, –* which allows to indicate the incomparability of the efforts and express disapproval of the chatterer.

At the same time, proverbs may verbalize ***a recommendation not to part with the tools of labor***, directly indicating or indirectly hinting at the undoubted benefit, but without specifying it, for example: *Hold on to the shovel – you will save your life; Hold on to the reel, hold on to the threshing tool, and the dudka (fun) will come by itself; the pipe –* probably, symbolizes both the opportunity to rest and the joy of accomplished work.

2.3.2. The relationship between the worker’s personal qualities and the results of work

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2023a].

One of the most important motifs realized in the paremics is the idea that a ***worker, using tools, earns for himself and his family a living*** – for food, clothing and other necessities. In other words, hard work with the use of tools and instruments gives the result necessary to maintain life – and this is the most significant linguocultural setting, reflected by the PU with components – the names of tools: *Axe is a breadwinner for a carpenter; Plow feeds, but spoils the bow; plow feeds, spindle clothes, [and taxes on the side]; plow and harrow are not rich, but they feed the whole world.* Labor in any form is for the benefit of the family (*plow feeds, crafts water, trades clothe and shoe*), but the general attitude “tool is breadwinner” is realized mainly using the images of the axe and agricultural tools: *Hold on to the plough: it is the breadwinner; Plough feeds and weeds spoil; Hold on to the plough (plough) tightly, so it will be more profitable.*

The use of other tools by the worker is also ***a guarantee of the earnings and income received***. In the PU *Axe dresses, axe shoes; Axe shoes, axe girdles the component axe* acts in metonymic function, indicating the master, who knows how to handle an axe and provide for his family. The same is the meaning of PU, treating the usefulness of women's labor: *The comb (Spinner) is not a god, but gives the shirt; I dress myself with*

the wool, I cover myself with the plough; the village stands with the needle and the harrow – ‘not only the labor on the land gives an income’. On the ability of the millstone used to grind flour to feed people says and PU *Millstones do not eat themselves, but people are fed*, although here is permissible somewhat different interpretation: with the millstone does not earn a living, and turns from inedible grain into flour for baking bread.

This PU is close to the Chinese saying 犁锄不离手，吃穿样样有 – “*The plough and the hoe do not leave your hands – you have something to eat and carry*” – therefore, you do not depend on anyone. The paremy *Not the axe feeds, but the work*, however, emphasizes that it is not the tool itself that provides a person's livelihood, but his labor.

This idea is also verbalized in PU, describing the work of the farmer: *In the field with a sickle and fork, and at home with a knife and fork – by comparing two categories of tools* – agricultural and canteen – the cause–effect relationship between work and result is realized; metonymically the names of cutlery indicate the presence of food. Here we should also mention the PU *One with a mote and seven with a spoon*, indicating the discrepancy between the number of workers and freeloaders and indirectly condemning the idlers.

In PU *No knife, no axe, no prayer, no stabbing* shows the criticality of the situation, when the lack of a tool and the opportunity to earn becomes a threat to life, although the situation itself is not necessarily determined by the personal qualities of the worker.

Proverbs show that ***the reward for labor (the result of labor) is a decent harvest, bread***: *Who is not lazy to plow, he will have bread; Without plough and harrow, the king will not find bread; As long as the chain is in hand, there will be bread in the teeth.*

The paremia also verbalize notions of careless or not skillful enough workers, who do not get, naturally, good results: *Who is lazy with the plough, the bread is bad; Who is lazy behind the plough, the whole year is bad.*

The refusal to work on the land in favor of other trades and search for earnings in other places is reflected in the PU: *You have a plough and a harrow, but I have a foreign side; I gave up the plough, harrow and my favorite side and went to the people.*

The proverb is unusual against the background of other words, *the bagpipe and the*

horn, collect our house; the plough and the harrow have ruined our houses, in which the plough and the harrow are assigned a completely different function. The bitter meaning of the PU is that, despite the hard and hard work on the land, the Russian peasant could well be in distress.

Interestingly, Chinese proverbs do not emphasize laziness and unwillingness to work – they simply emphasize the effectiveness of the exact opposite approach: **hard work**, and nothing else, is the **guarantee of high labor results**: 锄头里出黄金 – “*Gold is born from under the hoe*,” gold acts as a metaphor for the abundant harvest resulting from hard work with the hoe; 三铲三耩，粮食满仓 – lit. “Many times to level the ground with a shovel and many times to go over it with a harrow – the barn will be full of grain.” 锄头落土不亏人 – “*A hard-working man works hard with a hoe, and the earth will reward him with a bountiful harvest, relieving him from hunger*”; 稻子出在犁头上，勤耕深耕长得壮 – lit. “Rice grows on the ploughshare, diligent and deep loosening of the soil will ensure good crop growth”: fruitful is the work when the toiler spares no effort.

The idea of the connection between the skillful use of tools and the creation of good material conditions is also realized in Chinese paremics using the components–names of other tools: 拿斧的得柴禾，张网的得鱼虾 – lit. “*He who takes an axe gets firewood, he who uses a net gets fish and shrimp*.” A very expressive parody about working with a spinning wheel that provides a family with income: 纺车就是摇钱树，天天摇着自然富 – “A spinning wheel is like a money tree: if you shake it every day, money will fall from it.”

A Chinese proverb says that implements not in use cannot be a source of material wealth: 镰刀挂上壁，家里没有吃 – “*Sickle hanging on the wall, no food in the house*.”

Important in Chinese culture is the yoke – it was often used by farmers and traders to transport food and goods. Thus, the yoke as a familiar and useful device received positive coverage in PU 扁担是条龙，一世吃不穷 – “*The yoke is a treasure, to rely on it all your life is not to be poor*”.

One of the notions reflected in Chinese paremics is the idea of *the need to do the work oneself rather than shifting it to others*: 打铁要亲自把钳，种田要亲自下地 – “*To forge by iron, one must hold pliers firmly oneself; to till the earth, one must plow the earth oneself.*”

The Chinese PU also reflected the idea of the need for patience in certain kinds of work: 拉锯如抓痒 – lit. “*When you saw with a saw, do not twitch as if you were scratching an itchy spot*”; i.e., one should not rush or show impatience (from the experience of a carpenter); 一锤打不出好刀，一木搭不成好桥 – lit. “*You can't forge a good knife with one swing of the hammer, you can't build a good bridge from one piece of wood,*” i.e., you have to go to the result gradually. The results of the analysis conducted in section 2.1. are presented in Appendix Table 4 (p. 151).

2.4. Stereotypes about the conditions for work with the use of tools

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2022d].

Taking into account the accompanying conditions concerns, first of all, those activities that are part of the cycle of agricultural work: *the results of the work of a peasant*, even though industrious, showing zeal and possessing the necessary tools, *depend largely on the weather conditions and the time of certain works* – many Russian proverbs speak about it: *Kosa kosa, while dew, dosha doly – and we go home.*

In PU *It is not the axe that feeds the husbandman*, but the July work emphasizes the importance of the farming work that provides the peasant family with a harvest, bread. July and summer in general is a hot time, which accounts for the main work on the land, while the axe, symbolizing other types of work – in particular, carpentry, is applicable at any other time of the year.

The timeliness of the field work is reflected in the Russian PU with an instrumental component: *A ripe ear – a sickle daring, a red maiden – a bridegroom daring.* Note that this paremy indicates another important feature of peasant life – the end of the harvest was traditionally marked by a large number of autumn weddings in the countryside.

The Chinese paremics also reflect the notion of *the importance of the harvest*, which cannot be shifted to a desirable time for the performers. Therefore, everyone, *from small to large, participates in it*: 麦收无大小，一人一镰刀 – literally, “*When the time comes to harvest the wheat, adults and children each have a scythe in their hands, regardless of the size of the wheat crop.*” Harvesting, whether good or bad, is a common cause. Cf. the Russian PU During the harvest every man is in line; *While the grain is in the ear, don't linger in the cold.*

Other PIs also speak of *the benefits of working* together in various spheres of labor activity. Cf. The friendly neighbors have their ploughs together; also Chinese: 你一镰刀，我一斧 – lit. “*You swung the scythe and I the axe,*” i.e., a little effort on everyone's part and the result is achieved; 千斤担子万人挑 – lit. “*A beaker weighing a thousand pounds must be carried by ten thousand men.*” It is noteworthy that in both cultures the idea of the *positive impact on labor of cooperative effort relies* on an instrumental component. Proverbs note the value of such cooperation not only in farming, but also in other areas of labor activity.

2.4.1. Stereotypes about the importance of following the agricultural calendar

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2023a].

Since from ancient times, agriculture was the main occupation of the Russian people, their centuries-long experience in this area of activity is reflected in numerous PU. In winter and early spring, peasants prepared for plowing and sowing, while observing nature to determine what the year would be like and what the weather would be like. The timeliness of certain types of work is in many ways a guarantee of good results, a good harvest, because the farmer's work is seasonal and not least depends on nature and weather conditions and is largely determined by them. Cf: *In the spring a maul overnight overgrows with grass* i.e., if one is lazy, any tool will quickly fall into disrepair; In September a man is not warmed by a hut, but by a chain (about threshing grain); *December bridges without axe, without nails, without boards*, i.e. rivers are covered with ice, carts are replaced by sledges – this stereotype representation of winter is important,

because in the absence of good roads a frozen river bed was considered a convenient and safe transportation route in the old days.

The latter factor explains the presence in the language of a significant number of folklore units, constituting the “folk calendar” and reflecting the laws of nature and individual laws, generalized by native speakers: *6 weeks after the first snow with frost becomes winter; Winter does not live without three under–winter seasons; On the day of the Annunciation and the Holy Resurrection is the same weather (spring); In August before lunch – summer, and after lunch – autumn; In October for one hour both rain and snow, etc.*

Pareemics also reflect omens, which fix the results of folk observations – links of cause–and–effect nature between the presence of certain conditions and the subsequent phenomena or events: omens are ‘various signs, preserved by the people and handed down from generation to generation, indicating the forthcoming weather phenomena’. [SRYA.3: 423]. They are “speech maxims of pragmatic properties” that have a number of communicative functions and a specific construction [Sadova 2003: 26]. For example: *If bees cork early, there will be an early and austere winter, and vice versa: when they cork another time, there will be a long and warm autumn*⁴. Some of the Old Testament say about the time of tillage: As the rain in May, so will be the rye; Spring is red, and summer is suffering; July is a month of berries, green suffering; Stara – ‘the hard summer work in the fields (during the mowing, reaping, harvesting the grain), and also the time, time of such work’ [SRJV.4: 280]. Here are many important for the peasant attitudes indicating the time allocated for specific work (*June – the time of long grasses and haymaking; Who in August sleeps, he will go hungry*). Regarding autumn, it is said to be the time when all kinds of work is over: *In September, there is fire in the field and in the hut; October loves neither wheel nor goose.*

As a result of long observations, a stereotypical notion that, being *engaged in farming, one should remember certain calendar milestones and observe the nature has*

⁴ [Dahl 2017: 33]. See also a special section – “Mesyatselov” in the collection “Proverbs of the Russian people” in which certain periods and days of the year appear in connection with the need to carry out certain agricultural works.

formed. It is not by chance that V.I. Dal in the collection “Proverbs of the Russian people” dedicates a special section for omens, where one can also find parables with components – names of agricultural tools used at a certain time: *June with a scythe passed through meadows, and July with grain ran on the crops; In August sickles warm, water cools*. It should be noted, however, that in more than 50 pages of the “Monthly Calenda”. [Dahl 1879. T. 2 P. 488–534], there are only a few proverbs and omens regulating the time of peasant's work and containing a component – name of a tool. Probably, it is explained by the fact that the instrument here plays not so important role as the time parameter. In this special section of the collection of Old Testament sayings V. I. Dal cites expressions reflecting the daily peasant labor – according to the dates of Orthodox Christian holidays and remembrance days of Orthodox saints: *On Whom the scythe breaks on Ivan's night⁵, the same breaks the grass, Take out (road) scythes and sickles for Peter's ⁶day; On Yegoriy⁷ the lazy plow comes out. Yegorya lazy plow* – i.e. ‘there is no hurry to plow the land for the crops yet’.

Dahl also recorded some rituals: after the end of field work, on the first Spas⁸ women, preparing for winter household chores, used to say (rolling in the field): *Reaper, reaper, give me my snare, for a treadle, for a churn, for a thresh, for a crooked spindle⁹*. The parables also contain prohibitions on certain works: *On the Forerunner¹⁰, no cabbage is cut, no poppy is cut, no potatoes are dug, no apples are torn, and no hacker, axe or spades are taken in their hands*.

Chinese peasants have also accumulated experience in understanding the laws of nature and interpreting the seasons. However, it is important to remember here that the climatic conditions of China and the average strip of Russia are significantly different: in some regions of China it is possible to shoot not one but several harvests during the year.

In traditional Chinese culture, the agricultural year is divided into 24 periods, each

⁵ Nativity of John the Baptist, July 7 (June 24, O.S.).

⁶ Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, July 12 (June 29, O.S.).

⁷ Memorial Day of St. George the Victorious, May 7 (April 23, O.S.).

⁸ Feast of the All-Merciful Savior and the Most Holy Mother of God, August 14 (August 1, O.S.).

⁹ [Dahl 2017].

¹⁰ September 11 (August 9, O.S.). The beheading of John the Baptist.

of which is assigned to a certain month according to the lunar calendar¹¹. This is also reflected in the paremics: wise folk instructions indicating the importance of the right timing of specific agricultural activities are found in a great many sayings. For example: 到了夏至节, 锄头不能停 – lit. “*During the summer solstice (June 21–22), one should till the ground with a hoe continuously.*”

The first and the second, the second and the third, the third and the third, the third and the fourth. “*The merit of the spring plowing belongs to the hoe, and the success of the fall harvest is determined by the sickle.*” In a figurative sense, the PU may serve to indicate the importance in the case of the key position – the main tool of labor. 春来一把籽, 秋来一把镰 – lit. “*In the spring they sow the seeds; when autumn comes, with a sickle they gather the harvest.*” The harvest will be harvested by the one who works hard at all stages of the labor process.

In PU 麦凭耕得深, 秋凭锄得勤 – lit. “*For the planting of wheat the plow is supposed to plow deep, in the fall the hoe is supposed to loosen diligently*” – the key words are the components expressing the attitude of the work being done: deep plowing and diligent use of the hoe – this approach guarantees the result. 麦子下镰, 早秋锄完 – lit. “*The wheat is harvested with a sickle, and the plucking is completed in the early fall [after the wheat is harvested].*”

We also find references to a farmer's working tools in expressions describing the works recommended at certain intervals according to the lunar calendar. The spring months are the most important for the tiller: 小满暖洋洋, 锄麦种杂粮 – “*When Xiaomân comes (from May 21–22), when the climate is warm and favorable, hoe wheat and raise various grains*”. Cf. also 春犁宜浅, 秋犁宜深 – lit. “*The plowing of the plow should be shallow in the spring, and deep in the fall.*”

If the timing is right, the tool works properly. For example, a well-sharpened sickle

¹¹ These are such periods as 白露(white dews, one of the 24 periods of the year from September 8 - 9), 寒露(cold dews, from October 8 - 9), 腊月(the 12th month of the lunar calendar), 秋分(autumn equinox, from September 23 - 24, referred to the second half of the 8th lunar month), 立秋(beginning of fall, from August 8 - 9, referred to the first half of the 7th lunar month), 处暑(end of heat, from August 22 - 24), 立夏(beginning of summer, from May 6 - 7, referred to the first half of the 4th lunar month), 小满 (milk ripeness, from May 21–22, referred to the middle of the 4th lunar month), etc. д.

makes a clear and sonorous sound when cutting the grass: 白露镰刀响，秋分砍高粱 – “During the ‘white dew’ (September 8–9) the sickle [while working] rings, and at the autumnal equinox (September 23–24) it is proper to cut the sorghum with the sickle”. According to the Chinese, autumn with its cold dews is the most appropriate time for harvesting: 秋风镰刀响，寒露割高粱 – “When the sickle rings in the autumn wind and the dews are cold (from about October 8–9), then the harvest is reaped with sickle”.

Note also the relationships verbalized in Chinese paremics, established empirically between the ripening of certain kinds of fruits and the time of certain works, for example: 锄花要趁黄梅信，锄头落地长三寸 – lit. “You should hoe the cotton fields during the plum ripening season, then the cotton sprouts will grow very quickly.” 枣儿红肚，磨镰割谷 – lit. “When the dates begin to turn red, it is time to start sharpening the scythe to mow the crops.” The Russian calendar, as we have already noted, names the exact date for preparing tools for such work: it should be done by July 12, the feast day of the first apostles Peter and Paul). Note that the phases of the moon is noted and the Russian folk calendar, however, such PU in most cases are omens or superstitions, rather than a guide to the beginning and conduct of works (cf.: *On a new moon to sow – the worm will eat*).

The period when the harvest work is finished is also reflected in the paremics: 冬前锄划好处多 – lit. “It is very useful to till the ground with a hoe under the winter” –it makes the soil loose and makes future rooting of wheat easier. 立罢秋，挂锄钩，消消停停等秋收 – lit. “As autumn comes, there is no need to take care of the crops: the hoes can be removed and wait to send the crops to storage”; 秋后棉花锄三遍，絮厚绒白粒饱满 – “In late autumn you should hoe the soil three times, then the cotton will grow thick and dense next spring.”

The Chinese proverb 腊月里的镰刀闲挂 – “The scythe hangs quietly on the wall in the 12th month of the lunar calendar” indicates that no agricultural work is done in the cold winter months of the year.

2.4.2. Stereotypes about the importance of precipitation for the agricultural cycle

The undoubted importance of precipitation, mainly rain, which provides irrigation

for plants and crops, is presented quite widely in Russian parables: *Spring rain grows, autumn rain pukes; Rain is not a loss, but a find*. It is no coincidence that rain is called the breadwinner, providing the man with bread: *Rain is the breadwinner; Rain is rye to the man, and louse to the burlak; Rain raises bread in May; Rain soars in spring, and soaks in autumn*.

However, rain is not desirable at any time – it interferes, for example, with harvesting: *Here rain is expected, and it goes where they reap; Here rain is asked, and it goes where they mow*. Nature is self-willed, weather phenomena do not always coincide with the expectations of the peasant: *Rain will kill the bread, yes the grass will rise, hail will lay in a gloss; Rainy summer is worse than autumn*. If you sow under the expected rain, it promises good watering and a large harvest (*This is for the weather, you will eat bread from year to year*), and it is better to reap bread and rake (dig) straw in dry weather: *In every pile, if it is not raked in the rain, you will find a pood of honey*.

On the other hand, the parema warns that, having started mowing, one should not delay the work in the hope of other fine days; they simply may not happen anymore: *With a scythe in hand one should not wait for the weather*. Cf. *the hoe knows neither heat nor cold*. It is known that the most strenuous work of the farmer falls on summer days: *A summer day feeds the year; Not so much dew from the sky, but sweat from the face*.

However, with the significant emphasis in the PU on the importance of the tools themselves and the ability to use them in the relevant activities, Russian proverbs practically do not express ideas about the relationship of weather conditions and the use of appropriate tools. Examples of such combinations of components are few, especially since such dependence relates only to agricultural labor. Thus, in the parable-parable *There is dust behind the harrow (i.e. dry, no rain)*, there will be a pancake – it refers to the prospect of a good harvest of buckwheat, as the weather is dry. In other PU, the dependence of the harvest on the amount of moisture received by the land is outside the verbalized connection between the components: *Much snow – much bread; Winter without snow – summer without bread; More snow in the fields – more bread in the bins*.

In Chinese paremics, on the contrary, representations of precipitation are largely

related to the possibility of using tools and instruments: 三月雨，贵似油；五月雨，好动锄 – lit. “*March rain is worth expensive oil, May rain is good for hoeing*”; in March rain is important for awakening the earth, and in May for softening it and making it easy to hoe.

The lack of rainfall worries the farmer: 立夏不下，犁耙高挂 – lit. “*If there is no rain at the beginning of summer (the period from May 6–7), the plow and harrow hang high on the wall; there is no opportunity to use them.*” ***The dependence between weather conditions and the possibility of proper use of agricultural implements is reflected here:*** if there is no rain, there is no point in plowing and sowing (planting). 一犁雨 – lit. “*In spring, when it rains, the depth of water is just to the height of the plowshare,*” indicating the importance of timely and moderate spring rains for crops.

As the above examples show, the use of agricultural implements among the Chinese is tied to the peasant's working calendar, determined by the experience of various types of work. Such expressions constitute a category of peculiar units constituting, in fact, the folk calendar of Chinese farmers.

Consequently, in relation to the above-mentioned proverbs, we can talk about several linguistic and cultural attitudes:

- “keeping in mind the work calendar, you should prepare the necessary tool in advance”,
- “everything is interconnected in nature”,
- “it is necessary to be observant for the timely start of work – it is important not to miss the time”,
- “sowing, caring for the future harvest and harvesting are carried out in strictly regulated terms”,
- “precipitation (watering) is important for a good harvest.” If you follow these instructions, you can get a decent harvest”.

This conclusion is true for both Russian and Chinese stereotypes. A significant difference can be considered the fact that in the Chinese PE more attention is paid to the tools used in a certain period – especially the hoe stands out among them. The results of

the analysis carried out in section 2.1 are presented in Table 5 of the Appendix (p. 150).

2.5. Figurative/symbolic use of tool–name components in paroemia

When writing this section, we use the materials of a previously published article [Liu Yue 2022a]

A separate category is formed by proverbs, in which the component – the name of a tool or instrument is figurative, i.e. linguocultural value is not only an indication, for example, how to use an axe or a scythe, but a positive assessment of experience, effort contained in the parable, which applies not only to this particular activity, but also to any action in general. These PJs have a large degree of parables (V. I. Dahl's¹² term) and generalizations, which gives them the features of “sanctioned wisdom” (Jan Mukarzovski); cf: *Against the parable you can't argue; Meaning is not a villager: you can't unravel it with a spoon*).

We are talking about paremics, which express the metaphorical meaning explicitly. For example, *the axe*, as the most popular tool in the household, becomes in Russian paremics a *symbol* not only of male labor, but also of the *toiler* – a man, while *the spinning wheel and the spindle represent female labor* (spinning) and a *woman*. The proverb *Seven axes (Two axes) together [lie], but two spinning wheels apart (apart)* allows expressing the following meaning: "Collective labor suits men more than women". The Paremy binomial *axe – spinning wheel participates* in the characterization of men's and women's manners “*Women are less sociable than men*”; “*Women are distinguished by feisty and men by compliant*”: the spinning wheel is horny, the axe is lumpy; horny – ‘*skittish, willful, conflicted*’ (cf.: *A rich man is like a horny bull*). Cf. also FU *Humble is an axe, but the spindle is bodacious*, etc., which allows predicting difficulty or success of the work performed. The functional features of such a household¹³ item as a yoke are reflected in the characterization of a dodgy and inaccessible female mind: *a woman's mind is that of a woman's yoke: both askew, and crooked, and at two ends*. Masculinity is

¹²"Don't take out the rubbish, as every other unadulterated proverb, in which the parable consists, is direct and right, literally and figuratively: the matter is right, just look straight ahead." [Dal. naputnoe].

¹³ *Коромысло* – ‘приспособление для ношения двух ведер на плече в виде толстой изогнутой палки с крючками или выемками на концах’ [СРЯ.2: 106].

also seen in such a tool as the scythe (*Two scythes and next to each other, and in a pile, and two spinning wheels – no way*), although mowing in the peasant economy, albeit to a lesser extent, was also done by women. The paremy thought leans toward the idea that several men are more likely to find common ground and work together amicably.

Proverbs with instrumental components are able to point to different sides of human nature, character, behavior, people's relationships, the peculiarities of life of representatives of different social strata. In the vast majority of cases, proverbs of this type do not indicate the use of a tool to perform any work: only its qualities, not explicated in the PU, but well known to native speakers, are important. It is important to emphasize that the changes associated with technological progress in the field of farming and other manual labor do not cancel the linguistic and socio-cultural stereotypes of the people, developed during the formation of a paremiological picture of the world of native speakers, which makes it still relevant to study the PE with non-native language realities, such as *plow, plough, plough, scythe, sickle, hoe, spinner*¹⁴, etc. It should also be noted that the proverbs highlighting the functional purpose of various household implements and devices, in addition to farming and handicraft tools, include such items as millstones for grinding grain and turning it into flour and some other household items (e.g. *a bagman*), as well as kitchen utensils (such as *pestle, mortar, mixer and knife* – as one of the most versatile and demanded tools in everyday life).

In some PJs, *human body parts* are compared with these objects, which metaphorically denote those or character traits, features of human nature: *eyes are pits and hands are rakes* – so they speak of an envious and greedy person; cf. *eyes envious, hands raking* – from the verb rake (cf. *PJs back with a cart, eyes like a millstone, floats like a millstone*, etc.). Cf. Chinese: 石碾子脑袋 – lit. ‘A head like a stone compactor’; *metaphor.* ‘Of a person who has difficulty understanding others; hard-headed, unintelligent.’ The names of the animals used as improvised draft power also often appear in PE about the life of the peasant: *horse, ox, donkey* (*donkey – to a greater extent in the*

¹⁴ So, in particular, in the proverbs about agricultural labor, there are no words like lawn mower or combine harvester, which is natural, but the mowing processes using a scythe or sickle are marked by a number of both Russian and Chinese proverbs. In the labor practice of modern summer residents working on the land, the scythe and sickle are still in demand today.

Chinese PU).

2.5.1. The image of the axe head as an expression of stereotypical ideas

Certain instruments have a fixed circle of associations, which are realized in stable units of various types – comparisons, idioms, proverbs. In this section of the work, we will focus on those PU that contain frequent names of tools, occurring as components of PU. In this case, ideas about the functional purpose of tools, as well as their figurative perception may be realized

Obuch

So, for example, the ***Obuch*** – thickened and therefore especially heavy part of the axe, opposite to the sharpened blade, is used not for chopping, but for striking (cf. PU *Hit the tree with the shank, the hollow will tell itself*), for hammering something, etc. Cf: “To choose the right tree, *strike the axe on its trunk with the shank* – if you hear a long and resounding sound, this is what you need. ¹⁵” The severity of the shoe is also evident in its jokingly ironic equation with the hammer: *Not the hammer, but the shoe* (cf. similar expressions: *Not the chain, but the hammer; cut – no, shaved!*).

The paremia is probably *only beaten with a butt*, and even then the blunder does not indicate the purpose of the butt, but with an emphasis on the possibility of error, which is not excluded even for an experienced master.

The traditional perception of the butt as heavy and used to inflict a very tangible blow was reflected in such expressions with a figurative meaning as the comparison to *hit / beat like a butt on the head* – ‘*Expression. Suddenly, unexpectedly stun someone with some (more often – unpleasant) message, action, deed*’ [FSRL.2: 12]. ¹⁶

The paremics reflected such properties of the shoe, as durability, hardness. Thus, the basis of the phrase “*a wedge with a shoe*”, characterizing the conflict, the opposition of people in any matter, stubbornness and persistence, was the idea of using shoe by a

¹⁵ <https://iknigi.net/avtor-elena-dobrova/116-stroim-banyu-elena-dobrova/read/page-2.html>

¹⁶ The image of obukha is present in M. Gorky's play "At the Bottom", where Luka explains to Vaska the reasons for his lies: "And what do you really need... think about it! She, really, maybe a butt for you ...". Cf. modern usage: "The film hits the head with a butt, throws dust in the eyes with seemingly dry and empty beautiful pictures, hides under the thickness of a monumental director's work" (about the film "The Master" – www.kinopoisk.ru).

carpenter, driving a hard wedge to split, divide into parts of an object. Associated with the strength of the image of a shoe in PU *Shoemaw will not shake a shoe* – ‘The weaker is forced to yield; about the futile attempt to resist’.¹⁷

The weight of the butt is firmly connected in the minds of the speakers with the palpability of the blow, the feeling of pain from it. So, PU *the Refusal is not obuh, there will be no bumps on the forehead*, it suggests not to be afraid of taking the initiative for fear of rejection: unlike physical impact, verbal rebuff will not lead to serious consequences. This motive is also realized in other paroemias: *Demand is not a sin, refusal is not a problem*.

It is similar to the above and PU about speech, the word, which also may not have dangerous consequences, even if the dialogue itself is unpleasant: *The word is not a shoe, it does not strike in the forehead*.

An interesting aspect of the concept of kablokh blow reveals the parable *kablokh to a well-fed belly* – about the loss of someone's ability to perceive events, and in a figurative sense – about insensitivity of the satisfied (well-fed) and well-fed – to others' problems and experiences; cf: *The well-fed does not marvel at anything; the well-fed does not understand the hungry*. Cf. also PU *By the empty place at least by a whip*, allowing for different variants of reading.

Due to its severity, the idea of possible death from a blow is also associated with the butt. In the dictionary of V.I. Dahl, such an idiom is found: to go under the shoe – ‘to go to certain death’. In the paremica, this association manifests itself in expressions that speak of fate, the “form” of bad luck or death predetermined by it: *Happy for dinner, fatal under the butt; Who will freeze to death, you will not kill him for the time being; Who is destined to get drunk, he is not afraid of the butt* (i.e., who is lucky, everything is predetermined in advance). This motif is also realized in other Russian PU: *Whoever is destined to be hanged will not drown*.

The motive of a strong or fatal blow is realized in the saying and you will not kill

¹⁷ This is evidenced by the poetic lines of AN Pleshcheyev "Let it [the world] insidious lies entangled network – Not your cardboard sword will interrupt it, you can not pluck a whip: Live the way most people live".

(someone) with a *butt* – about a physically strong, large person. Using this standard, a figurative playful recommendation is given to a person who has a headache, to take the most extreme measures to get rid of pain: *A headache – cut naked, sprinkle with hedgehog fluff, and hit with a butt.*

The anthropocentric development of associations can also be seen in the PU, which recommends, perhaps with a certain amount of sarcasm, that we remain courageous in the face of the inevitable: *Wait like an ox for a shoe, but do not waver!*

2.5.2. The image of the awl as an expression of stereotypical ideas

Stereotypical ideas about the features of the awl as a working tool – “for piercing holes in the form of a pointed metal rod on the handle. *Prick with an awl. The awl is blunted*” [SRY.4:715] are primarily related to the property of its thin sharp end. At the same time, its unsuitability for performing other actions is emphasized (1): *you can't heat the sea with an awl*, not so much the impossibility of using an awl as a heating device is emphasized, as the disparity in size of the metal part of the awl and the sea.

The awl is unsuitable and (2) as a cutlery: it is impossible for them to scoop up food: cf. the irony expressed in PU about the failure – I had enough molasses with an awl, i.e. practically nothing got into my mouth; *Do not spare the mother-in-law of goodness – chop the butter with an awl!* – a jokingly ironic assessment of a mother-in-law who shows stinginess in her relationship with her son-in-law. The same property of the awl is involved in the formation – with the help of the hyperbole technique – of the characteristics of the stingy as carrying out an unreal action: *He slurps peas with an awl, and even then he shakes them off.*

The situation when it is necessary to resort to not too appropriate means, reflected in the PU *Even the awl, just shaved* – the consent to use, if necessary, any means; *People chisel (awl) shaves, but we do not have a razor* – the speaker is sorry about their own failures or objects to someone else's self-criticism. Meanwhile, this expression can also characterize a not very skilled and experienced worker, who envies the skillful.

In Russian and Chinese parables there are many Poe indicating the meaninglessness of withholding any information, feelings or relations; the formation of meaning in them

is often based on the functional property of the awl – its ability to pierce holes with its sharp end: True, the awl in the bag is not hidden; the awl in the bag [but love in the heart] is not hidden (compare with another imagery: A crack in the pot will tell). There is a similar relation between the image of a Chinese PE and the semantics it expresses: 口袋里装不住锥子 – lit. "You shouldn't put an awl in your pocket."

In Chinese paremics there are recorded notions about different properties of the awl. So, about its sharpness and ability to prick, to hurt say such PE: 拔掉锥子忘掉痛 – lit. "It hurts when the awl pierces the flesh, but when it is taken out, the pain is forgotten" (cf. Russian: A steep mountain, but forgettable). "The awl pierces the heart" – so says the Chinese PE 锥心之痛 about mental pain, anguish, suffering.

The Chinese expression for a silent man who, no matter how hard he tries, fails to speak: 三锥子扎不出血来 – lit. "Three punctures (pricks) with an awl, and no blood"; 'you can't get words out of him.' Cf. also the expression about the need to study hard 头悬梁, 锥刺股 – lit.: 'to be tied to a beam, to stab your foot with an awl', indirectly indicating the benefit of education, which does not come easily.¹⁸

The emphasis on another feature of the awl – its straightness – is carried out in PE 饱谷穗头往下垂, 瘪谷穗头朝天锥 – lit. "The full grains hang down by their heads, but the ears from which the grains have fallen out raise their heads up (rush up into the sky) like an awl." The figurative meaning is based on the antinomy of empty and full, where the empty, light – without content – ear becomes a symbol of unreasonable arrogance, while a man of talent is modest, which is much more sensible than arrogance. The image of the empty ear (The empty ear holds high its head) is considered as a sign of the lack of content, emptiness of the soul [Shang Wenqing 2022: 111, 115]. Cf: 鼓空声高, 人狂语大 – 'The empty drum sounds loud, the madman boasts', i.e. 'the empty man shows himself off'; 饱谷穗头往下垂, 瘪谷穗头朝天锥 – 'the full ear bows his head

¹⁸ In keeping with the parables of Sun Qing, who tied himself by his hair to a beam to wake up from pain if he fell asleep at a book. To avoid falling asleep at a book, Su Qing also stabbed himself in the leg with an awl. Su Qin (Chinese tr. 蘇秦; 380 – 284 BC) was an outstanding strategist and diplomat of the Warring States (Zhangguo) period in ancient China.

down, and the empty ear carries his head toward heaven' (recall the Russian. The empty barrel rattles louder; the empty man's nose up), etc.

2.5.3. The image of the axe as an expression of stereotypical ideas

The axe symbolizes labor in the first place. Thus, the playfully ironic PE In the people lived, saw the world: an axe on his foot, axe belted up indicates a great experience of life and work: the man had to live by his work – a carpenter, a woodcutter – and earn money for food and clothing.

Probably, it is not so much about poverty, but rather about laziness that the paremy In seven courtyards there is one axe – no peasant household could do without an axe. In PE They go to the forest, but take one axe for three; Without an axe for firewood, we cannot rule out an indication of people who are not ready to work – perhaps, inexperienced – or of slackers living by other people's labor.

According to the metonymic principle, an axe may indicate a person with an axe in his hands – a master, a professional. This we see in the OE From the time to the time all axes, but the time has come – no axe – 'about people who only boast of their skill and readiness for work, but in reality are not ready for work.

Since the main virtue of the axe is its sharpness, sharpening (Oster axe – and bough toothy) and the ability to cut, chop, it seems logical that this quality is metaphorically transferred to areas not related to the professional use of the axe (carpenter, joiner lumberjack); cf: Even to chop off with an axe, only to end; Our grief and axes do not cut it. Cf. the Chinese PE 一斧子砍不倒一棵大树 – lit. "One swing of the axe is not enough to cut down a big tree" – about the need for patience and time to achieve the result (Russian. A fairy tale is told soon, but it is not done soon; you hurry, you make fun of people) and the idiom 大刀阔斧 – lit. "chopping with a big sword and a broad axe," metaphorically indicating actions with the scope of a bold and determined man. PE Not all axe that chops allows for the interpretation 'to possess a quality can be to varying degrees, so one should not overestimate one's ability to perform an action'.

The images of sharp objects involved in the characterization of speech, capable of

wounding and striking, are not uncommon in paremics: Said as an axe chopped off (as cut off) – 'sharply and resolutely, not allowing any objections. So characterizes harsh and hurtful words (From the word yes to the knife; the Word is not a knife, but brings to the knife, i.e. leads to serious conflicts, quarrels), which can lead to great trouble (The word is not a shoe, but people die from it).¹⁹ The image of the chopping axe is also present in the EP about the impossibility to return something written or said, promised – What is written with a pen, you cannot cut down with an axe, implicitly recommending to refrain from ill-considered speech. The motif of irretrievability of what is said is verbalized in PE of different figurativeness (A word is not a sparrow: you cannot take it out of your mouth; a dropped word cannot be slipped out with your tongue), including those with the axe component (A spoken word cannot be cut out with an axe) and other tool names (You cannot let a word out, you cannot drag it in with a fork). Chinese sayings have similar meanings: 口是伤人斧, 舌是肉刀 – lit. "The tongue is like an axe: it stabs to death; the tongue is a sharp cutting tool (one can cut oneself)." The motif of the wounding word is quite relevant for the Chinese PE: 刀伤易治, 口伤难医 – lit. "Cut wounds are easy to heal, but word wounds are hard to heal."

The axe can be a serious weapon in the hands of man. This is reflected in the following parables: Be friends with a bear, but hold on to an axe – with the help of an axe one can defend oneself even against a bear. The axe also becomes a symbol of an attempt on one's life in the Poe about a physically strong person, who is not afraid of this tool (weapon): So healthy that one may cut down with an axe – you will not get down.

The components axe and hatchet form in the paremiological space a stable binom – a pair that passes from one PU to another and is understood depending on the context. Thus, in the Poe Is and hatchet, but no hatchet (in the absence of the main chopping part hatchet is useless) they verbalize the semantic contract 'important' – 'unimportant'; cf. also Stole an axe, and hatchet into the oven – for uselessness, although the Poe allows a dual

¹⁹ Cf. a PE of similar semantics, but with a different image (the saber wounds the head, but the word wounds the soul) and the winged expression Evil tongues are scarier than the gun (Griboedov. Woe from Wit).

attitude to this action – both approval of the logical action and censure of the haste shown. This contrast of value and lack of value is most vividly presented in the PÉ sinking – the axe promised; pulled out – and the axe pitied, expressing censure, on the one hand, of human ingratitude, and on the other – of the easy abandonment of one's words and promises.

The severity, weight of individual tools is often used to emphasize the feature 'strong, powerful' when characterizing a blow: (someone) beats like a hammer; Beat your wife like a hammer – you will make her gold; fist (at someone) is like a changeless stone; Like an axe: not cut, so it will stab – thus it may refer to both physical strength and rudeness, harshness in conversation. Similar is the association realized in the Chinese expression 杵倔横丧 – lit. "A man who is like a [kitchen] pestle" – 'of a person with a mean, tough character and rude manners.

Other instruments are represented by a smaller number of units.

2.5.4. The image of the hammer as an expression of stereotypical ideas

The *hammer* and its smaller variant hammer are part of PE, which speaks mainly of professional activities. Work with a hammer, as it is known, requires great effort and is not accessible to everyone, since the hammer is a heavy tool (*Not a hammer, but a shoe*), and work with it consists of repeated strong blows on metal – on the anvil and on the object being made: *It is heavy for the hammer, it is heavy for the anvil; The hammer makes the anvil ring; The nail makes the hammer squeal, the nail makes the wall crack*. The sound effects accompanying the actions of the blacksmith are also recorded here. The anvil – "*a special device, a support made of iron or steel, on which forging of metal products is made*" [SRJN.2: 362], being the object on which the smith is striking with the hammer, it can appear in the figurative meaning in the role of the object of using physical force: it is better to be a hammer than an anvil – "better to be an attacker, criticiser, than an object of attacks".

Interestingly, the sound association is also verbalized in Chinese PU 千锤打锣, 一锤定音 – lit. "*When forging a gong, one strikes the hammer a thousand times; the last strike serves to establish the right musical tone*. The sound of the gong is determined by

the last blow, which gives the following figurative meaning: 'Many are involved in the discussion, one makes the final decision.'

The *hammer* acts as a verbalizer of notions of physical strength and in PU *Gold is not in the gold without having been under the hammer*, which can be taken as an explanation of the causal relationship between, for example, increased educational measures taken on someone and the end result of education. *Gold* is a common symbol indicating the value of an object.

2.5.5. The images of the plough and the harrow as an expression of stereotypical ideas

The main and most demanded tools of a grain grower are a plow and a plow. Some differences between these two types of agricultural equipment are explained by the interpretation of their meanings offered by explanatory dictionaries: a *plow* is defined as a '*primitive agricultural arable tool*', as well as a measure of land, which was a 'unit of tax (tax) taxation' (in the old days in Rus') [SRYA. 4: 212]. Let us note the emphasis on the primitive feature present in this definition – cf. an expression from a plow (colloquial) – 'from peasants (by origin)' [FSRLYA:]. The meaning of the word plow is interpreted somewhat differently: 'Agricultural tool with a wide metal plowshare or disc for plowing the land' [SRYA.3: 146]. The plow, as a tool made of wood, probably lost to a metal plow, however, judging by the proverbs, this difference did not have a special effect on their functioning as part of the PU – cf. *Hold on to the plow (plow) tighter, so it will be more profitable*. On the other hand, in proverbs that arose against the backdrop of technical progress in the field of agriculture, the ongoing changes were also reflected: There was a plow – and life was bad; the tractor appeared – the harvest increased tenfold; Rest, fry, – said grandfather Timoshka, – *now is not your hour: we have a tractor*.

The main circle of associations, verbalized in the PU, is associated with the use of plow and plough as tools necessary for plowing. Their functional purpose practically coincides – they are the main seasonal tools of the farmer and are used in the hottest period of the spring harvest: *the plow shines from work, the field gives birth from sweat. Only the lazy plow comes out on Yegorya* (i.e. it is still possible not to rush with the

plowing). That is why they are associated with the idea of hard, long-lasting labor. The importance of these implements for the peasant is recorded in PJs with diminutive suffixes: they are included among the hard-working, reliable and respected helpers: *Mother's broom has golden horns; Stay close to Andreevna's plough; If there were a field, we would find a broom*. Cf. the PI with the plough component: Don't be lazy with the plough, you'll be with the cake; The plough is the farmer's true friend. The components plough and plough, thus, realize the idea of closeness, a kind of kinship, spiritual relations, cf: *We and the ploughshare have twisted together (about friendly neighbors)*.

Nevertheless, their inclusion in such paremics as Socha not a plough, mate not a friend and New friend, that unsteady plough (unreliable; cf. Spring ice is deceptive and new friend not reliable) demonstrates differences in their perception – perhaps this was characteristic of a certain stage of mastering the plough as a new tool of labor.

Since both tools provide an important stage of work, on which the harvest depends, they, although to a greater extent the plough, are perceived as breadwinners (Sokha and harrow are not rich, but they feed the whole world; The plough feeds, but the bow spoils. The paremy expresses the attitude to them as irreplaceable, valuable – cf. e.g. FE For a dear friend and horses from the plough, expressing the idea of readiness to sacrifice for a friend a vital tool, which without horses is unfit for work.

By virtue of the stability of the cycle of agricultural work performed from year to year, the tool – plough, plough and harrow – become symbols of a certain immutability, lasting connection between the peasant and his tool and, perhaps, hopelessness: I left my plough, harrow and my dear side – I went to the people; No mustache, no beard, no plough or harrow; You plough and harrow, but I have a foreign side; I will plough, but no hands (cf. The same is true of the other words: "I have gone to the people", "I have no beard, no harrow, no beard", "He has a harrow and no beard".)

Nevertheless, their inclusion in such paremics as Socha is not a plow, buddy is not a friend and New friend²⁰, that the unstable plow (unreliable; cf. Spring ice is deceptive

²⁰ Fragments of PE such as not a friend, not a brother, not your brother, not a sister, etc. are not uncommon in PE as a means to emphasize priority, preference; cf.: The razor is sharp, but not a sister to the sword; Elen is fast – not a sister to the horse.

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Some details of work with the plough and ploughshare are also reflected in the Ps: Woe is not a plough, but a furrow (i.e. wrinkles) he makes (juxtaposition with the plough, making a furrow).

The images of plough and harrow are also used to nominate idlers and drones: A wolf to the plough, and he to the meadow; A rascal will not take up the plough; A plough is nothing to me, a balalaika would be enough; A worker with a bough, but a loafer with a spoon.

The appearance and the material from which the tools are made, practically do not fall into the field of view of the speakers – probably because they know it well. Otherwise, it would be unclear what, for example, the expression to step on the same rake or proverbs *To step on the tines – a rake to the forehead*; Either a piece of hay, or a pitchfork to the side (sharp) mean. In this connection, it is impossible not to bring an ironic paremy The child falls – God mats a featherbed; the old man falls – the devil sets a harrow, where the

image of the harrow is as causing extremely unpleasant sensations when falling on it²¹ (i.e. *children fall does not cause pain, while the fall of an old man can lead to serious consequences*).

In Chinese parables, the PU with the components *plow* and *plow* are mostly in direct meaning: as a tool necessary for preparing the land – 光叫拉犁，不给吃草 – lit. "Constantly making the oxen pull the plow, but not giving them grass (food)"; 秋收打谷又犁田，来年又是丰收年 "During the autumn reaping and threshing of grain, they plow the field with a plow so that the coming year is another productive year," and as a guarantee of the resulting harvest: 不能耕而欲黍粱，不能织而喜采裳，无事而求其功，难矣 – letters, "Can't plow with a plow but want to harvest, can't weave but want to wear beautiful clothes." The importance of its availability and use under all conditions is emphasized by the involvement of the image of a dog in the EP: 无马狗牵犁 – lit. "If there is no horse, use a dog to pull the plow."

The images of a rabbit and a hare pulling a plow allow us to ironically emphasize the importance of skill, the ability to handle a heavy and difficult to use implement: 兔子拉犁，寸步难行 – lit. "The rabbit pulls the plough, but cannot take a step"; 兔子拉犁，装老黄牛 – lit. "The hare pulls the plow, pretending to be a workhorse."

The plow also appears in Chinese PU as a symbol of the end result of effort: 若不铸铁，无法作犁 – lit. "If you do not melt iron and pour it into a mold, you will not make a plow" (cf. the Russian PU *Without labor you will not catch a fish out of a pond; Not tert, not mint, will not kalach*).

The aggregate of the parables thus forms a generalized image of the plough as a symbol of hard, but necessary labor.

2.5.6. The image of the sickle as an expression of stereotypical ideas

The sickle is marked in the Russian parables, first, as a tool of agricultural labor – it is associated with the idea of practical use in the field work: *In the field with sickle and*

²¹ A harrow is an agricultural tool that consists of a frame and tines on it that point vertically (<https://agroexpert.kz/articles/tehnika/borona-v-sx>).

fork, and at home with a knife and fork. Hence the conclusion about the possible consequences of hard work: sickle does not make you rich, but hump. Secondly, it is a tool, without which the farmer could not do, so it becomes a symbol of a necessary thing in the PU: Better your own sickle than the handle of someone else's saber. Third, the sickle must certainly be sharp: The harvest is ripe, and the sickle is sharp.

Chinese PU, in addition to the idea of the sickle as a working tool ("*Without sharpening the sickle so that it cuts well, you cannot work in the field*"), use its image to express the idea of cunning and duplicity of man: 嘴上说得蜜蜜甜, 心头藏把锯齿镰 – lit. "*In the mouth is sweet-sweet, but on the heart is a serrated sickle.*" This contradiction is metaphorically realized in PE with the component knife: 脸上带笑, 袖里藏刀 – "*There is a smile on the face, a knife in the sleeve*"; 面带三分笑, 背后暗藏刀 – "*There are jokes on the lips, but a knife behind the back*". Cf. the Russian PE Which hand puts the cross, that hand also sharpens the knife; Be a friend, but keep the knife behind your back. The motif of hypocrisy and deceit in demonstrating disposition towards someone is also actively verbalized in Russian: *On the lips is honey, but on the heart is ice; softly lies, but hard to sleep, etc.*

The sharpness of the sickle is probably associated by the Chinese with the sharpness of the mind; cf: 三把镰刀, 总有一把利 – lit. "*Of the three sickles, one is always the sharpest,*" i.e., among similar people there is always one that is better and more noticeable than the others.

2.5.7. Stereotypes about the knife

In terms of frequency of use in figurative and symbolic meanings, the component **knife** occupies the first place: it is found in more than a hundred Russian and Chinese PU. However, if in the Chinese language knife, along with sickle, is considered a subject (including) agricultural implements, in the Russian language it has no such meaning: it is, first, 'a tool for cutting, consisting of a blade and handle, as well as the cutting part of the production tool. A table knife, a penknife, a Finnish knife, a plough knife. [SRJA.2: 506–507] (cf. 庸医杀人不用刀 – lit.: "*To die because of the incompetence of a doctor who*

did not use a knife in time"). Further, the dictionary cites several stable expressions with the component in question: *Sharp knife – about what causes great trouble; To cut without a knife (to put someone in a difficult, hopeless situation; colloquial); To stick to the throat with a knife (to proceed); To be on knives with whom – 'irreconcilably feud', etc.*

The studied material has shown that in Chinese proverbs the knife often acts as a military weapon, i.e. is not associated with the economic, farming tool: 兵不血刃 – lit. "There is no blood on the edge of the knife" ("Victory is easy"); 刀不出鞘, 弓不上弦 – lit. "No need to bare the knife, no need to draw the bow (keep the knife and bow with you)," i.e., to try to do without using force and bloodshed.

The knife, being a fairly simple tool, can be used in quite a variety of ways – it can be a kitchen knife, a robber's knife, a shoemaker's knife, etc. Stabbing and cutting (edged) weapons in Russian are denoted by special lexemes, in particular by the words *saber, dagger, dirk, sword* and some others. Cf. *saber wounds the head, but the word wounds the soul; <...> A sword is dearer than a sheath; Two swords in one sheath do not live.* Note that Russian parables reflect the use of the knife not only in domestic use, but also as a means of protection: *Knife is a friend on the way; Be a friend, but keep a knife behind your back, and also as a tool, which threatens robbers: Not all the cooks walk with long knives (but there are also robbers); The hand that puts the cross, that sharpens the knife. The knife seems dangerous: Give no knife to a madman.*

The knife is an object of everyday use. Not by chance Russian omens, superstitions and customs are associated with it, about which writes in his dictionary V.I. Dahl: *Knife fell from the table – there will be a guest; spoon or fork – a guest.* Also according to the Russian custom it is forbidden to give sharp and cutting objects – and including knife: *Images [icons] and knives do not give, but change; Knife, scissors do not give, but you can buy for a penny).* Note that this custom has been preserved in the Russian environment to this day.

In addition to the already mentioned PU, we can cite units where the component knife is involved in characterizing a person and the various spheres of his activity. So, a willless man is compared to a poor quality knife: *A man without will is like a knife without*

steel. Cf. Chinese. 缩着脖子挨刀 – lit. '*Standing with head in shoulders and falling under the knife,*' '*Of a helpless, unable to stand up for himself.*'

The sharpened knife also becomes a symbol of punishment, retribution and even death in the PU: *He sharpened the knife on himself; the boyar's son rasteshilsya: se to the knife, se to the stake, se to the gallows.* Cf. 钢刀虽快, 不斩无罪之人 – lit. "*Though the steel knife is quick to kill, it does not kill the innocent,*" i.e., '*the law may be harsh, but it does not punish the innocent,*' and 刀锯斧钺 – lit. "*To have weapons available: a knife, a saw, an axe, and an axe. They are used together for punishment*").

The following proverbs speak of the importance of proper behavior "in public" (as a guest): *Not your knife, not any piece* – a succinctly expressed rule of conduct: "you can't do anything arbitrary when you are a guest at the table. *Eat your porridge, but do not cut it with a knife!*

The sharpness of the knife is also reflected in the expression "*You'll be cut on knives!*" – These words are said to someone in anger and irritation during a quarrel.

For a knife, suitable for use only if it is well sharpened (*You can't peel a feather without a knife*), it is sharpness that is the most important property. It is perceived as the optimal quality of the object and therefore becomes a symbol of suitability, value. Cf. "*Not to sharpen a knife – it will rust; not to study – it will fall behind* – it accentuates the importance of education, constant work on oneself.

On the other hand, it acts as a symbol of danger – this is manifested, including in PU about the "sharpness" of the word, which can hurt and cause a lot of trouble: *the Word is not a knife, but brings a knife; Do not fear the knife, but the language.*

Interestingly, the knife as a necessary tool in any home, professional, handicraft, activities can be perceived as secondary: Not khoto with the knife, where the axe is put – the knife with the axe is not comparable. Cf. *the complete absence of any sharp tools: No knife, no axe, no prayer, no stabbing.*

PU with the component knife verbalize ideas about different sides of human relations. For example, a PE ironically speaks of disappointment and rejection: Glad to the lady that honey is on the knife (addition: lick it, and cut it off); of negligence: Crack

on the knife, stubble on the dick; of distrust: Even on the knife, I do not want so.

Another emphasized detail of the knife in Chinese PU is interesting: the hilt: 刀把子送给别人攥着 – lit. "*Let someone else hold the handle of your knife*" (i.e., it's time to give power to someone else). Cf. Russian: *What is a knife in the hands of a raging man, it is power to the evil one.*

The degree of participation of the names of individual tools and implements in the expression of stereotypical perceptions by the paremy can be presented as a whole in the table (Table 1), which also demonstrates the quantitative and percentage ratio of the Russian and Chinese PU including the names of the working tools.

Table 1. Quantitative ratio of Russian and Chinese paremias containing components – names of certain tools

Name of tools	the number of Russians by	percent age ratio	Number of Chinese paremias	percenta ge ratio
sokha	45	11.1%	19	8.9%
plow	12	2.9%	6	2.8%
harrow	30	7.4%	7	3.3%
sickle	11	2.7%	21	9.9%
braid	21	5.1%		
shovel	22	5.4%	11	5.1%
rake	5	1.2%	3	1.4%
hoe	3	0.7%	18	8.4%
millstone	17	4.2%	21	9.9%
axe	34	8.4%	18	8.4%
obuch	12	2.9%	1	0.4%
hammer	35	8.6%	17	8%
knife	45	11.1%	15	7%
saw	13	3.2%	15	7%

wedge	23	5.6%	3	1.4%
pest	7	1.7%	4	1.8%
rocker arm	6	1.4%	11	5.1%
awl	26	6.4%	6	2.8%
chain	5	1.2%	0	0%
chisel	6	1.4%	2	0.9%
plane	5	1.2%	1	0.4%
ticks	4	0.9%	1	0.4%
spine	17	6.4%	12	5.6%
Total	404	100%	212	100%

Thus, the activity of reflection in Russian paroemias of ideas about the role of an axe, hammer, knife, plow, harrow, etc. is quite obvious. In Chinese expressions – with a similar picture in relation to a plow, a knife, an axe – the activity of using the image of a sickle (scythe) attracts attention.

2.6. The image of the human being as represented in the Russian and Chinese paroemia with tool-names as components

The analysis of the material shows that the components-names of instruments are involved in indicating, within the boundaries of the paremic sense, the traits of character and properties of a person. Here are examples of such explicitly and implicitly represented characteristics that illustrate them.

Thus, the main in the characteristics of a worker, master is (1) ***diligence and diligence***: *The plow shines from work, the field gives birth from sweat; In the field with sickle and fork, and at home with knife and fork; Plow feeds, but bow (weapon) spoils; Day to day, axe to stump.* It is interesting that there are no direct references to such characteristics in the Russian PU – unlike the Chinese, where the benefits of industriousness are often emphasized: 锄头落土不亏人 – "A hard-working man works hard with a hoe, and the land will reward him with a bountiful harvest, relieve him from

hunger"; 犁锄不离手，吃穿样样有 – "*The plough and the hoe never leave your hands – you have something to eat and carry*".

Endurance is a necessary property for doing many kinds of work, it is important both for the plowman and the blacksmith: To plow – don't look back; If you can't sew with gold, then hit with a hammer! To saw with a saw is to bend with your back. Cf. the ironic PU *All his prowess is to sweat over a spoon; A feather is lighter than a chain*. We have not found any Chinese PU of similar semantics.

In Russian and Chinese proverbs other numerous characteristics of the man are also noted – they are presented below as Table 2.

Table 2. Human characteristics and traits reflected by Russian and Chinese paroemias.

Character trait, property	In Russian paroemias	In Chinese paroemias
About a handy, skilled person	<i>He won't drop an axe on his hands; And crookshanks, but the flail doesn't fall out of his hands.</i>	_____
Foresight	<i>Don't stock up on gear, don't wait for sweets! A slantless one is not a mower; Axes are not sharpened after a pore; You cannot sharpen a pen without a knife.</i>	镰刀不快不下田 – «Without sharpening the sickle so that it cuts well, you will not be able to work in the field».
Thrift, diligence	<i>A needle and a pin, and not an empty bench; The young man</i>	只有勤没有俭，好比有针没有线 – «To be hardworking,

	<i>has not without a chisel; And a shilce, and a soap, and a diamond.</i>	<i>but not to be thrifty – how to do sewing, but without thread».</i>
Physical strength	<i>In the Russian (peasant) belly and the chisel will rot</i>	——
Courage, fortitude	<i>Wait like an ox, and don't flinch!</i>	龙头锯角 – «Sawing off the dragon's horns with a saw»
Extraordinary	<i>The thread was staring, but the needle pulled behind it</i>	三把镰刀，总有一把利 – «Of the three sickles, one is always the sharpest»
Generosity	<i>Millstones do not eat themselves, but people are fed</i>	——
Dignity (iron.), self-criticism,	<i>We live in the forest, we reap in a fist, we bow to the song, we pray to the shovel</i>	——
Hypocrisy, deceit	<i>Which hand puts the cross, that sharpens the knife; Make friends, and keep the knife in your bosom.</i>	嘴上说得蜜蜜甜，心头藏把锯镰 – «It's sweet and sweet in the mouth, and there's a jagged sickle on the heart»; 脸上带笑，袖里藏刀 – «A smile on his face, a knife in his sleeve ».
Greed, avarice	<i>He slurps peas with an awl, and even then he shakes them</i>	一个钱看得磨盘大 – «One penny looks bigger than a millstone».

	<i>off; He threshes rye on the butt, he won't drop the grain.</i>	
Bragging rights	<i>The pest boasted that he had eaten oatmeal in a mortar; And he would be glad to mow, but there is no one to wear a scythe</i>	关公面前耍大刀 – «Don't brandish a knife in front of Guan Yu», 鲁班门前弄斧, 孔夫子门前卖经 – «A man in front of the Lu Banyan gate brandishes an axe».
Laziness	<i>A feather is lighter than a flail; It's good to plow on the stove, but it's cool to wrap; Tit, go thresh! – My belly hurts. – Titus, there's some jelly. – Where's my big spoon?</i>	不能织而喜采裳, 无事而求其功, 难矣 «They don't know how to plow a plough, but they want to harvest, they don't know how to weave, but they want to wear beautiful clothes»
Negligence	——	靠人磨镰刀背光, 靠人舀饭尽喝汤 – «When others help to sharpen the scythe, they often sharpen the blade only on one side; when pouring soup to someone, strangers often scoop up only liquid, and leave the grounds at the bottom».
Extravagance, extravagance	<i>What the father raked with a spatula, the son threw with a</i>	脚像钉耙, 手像蒲扇 «Legs like rakes, hands like fans».

	<i>cane.</i>	
Arrogance	_____	牛无力气拉横耙，无理说横话 – « <i>When oxen do not have the strength to walk in a straight line, they pull the harrow diagonally, and a person behaves impudently and unreasonably, showing arrogance</i> ». 饱谷穗头往下垂,瘪谷穗头朝天锥 « <i>The ears full of grain hang down with their heads, the empty ear holds its head up like an awl</i> ».
Stupidity, stupidity	<i>A man was looking for a knife, but he found a hedgehog</i>	碓杵脑袋 – бyкв. « <i>The brain is like a wooden pestle</i> »
Inconsistency, illogicality	<i>After dinner, mustard, [what] after scraping with an axe</i>	丢下耙儿弄扫帚 – « <i>Throwing the rake, take up the broom</i> »;
Obsession, importunity	<i>You can't get rid of him with a cross or a pestle;</i>	_____
Pugnacity	<i>Live, beat, across the river, but not a foot to us!</i>	_____
Live, beat, across the river, but not a foot to	_____	门后边耍大刀 – бyкв. « <i>Brandishing a knife from behind doors</i> », 挑着担子过河 – « <i>Cross</i>

us!		<i>the river with a loaded yoke», 'trembling with fear at every step'.</i>
Unprofessionalism	<i>Fedot plows with his mouth agape, but it's no use for a needle</i>	剪刀的口，木杵的手 – «Mouth like scissors, hands like a wooden pestle»
Impulsivity	<i>I had enough molasses with an awl.</i>	三肿三消东一锄头，西一耙子 – быкв. «A hoe from the east and a rake from the west»
Haste, haste	<i>Don't put a wedge under an oatmeal pancake: it will fry, it will fall off itself</i>	会打锤不在头三下 – «If a person knows how to work with a hammer, then the first three strokes are not an indicator of his ability to handle this tool»
Evasiveness, insincerity	<i>Vertyav: you can't hit him in a mortar with a pestle</i>	推磨绕圈子 – «Rotate the millstone and walk around the millstone»
Talkativeness	<i>An empty mill and grinds without wind</i>	_____
Slanginess; gossip	<i>The harrow side: what it doesn't know, it buys</i>	«A word spread among people can turn what was once small, like a sesame seed, into something big, like a millstone»
Rudeness	<i>It's like an axe: if it doesn't cut off, it will kill you</i>	杵倔横丧 – «A rude person is like a [kitchen] pest»
Unsightly, unsightly	<i>Legs like bipods, a belly like a bagpipe</i>	_____

As we can see, the range of positive characteristics of a person, conveyed by proverbs with "instrumental" components, is significantly narrower than the negative ones.

Recognizing the fair comment about the possibility of an ambiguous reading of proverbs, let us note that some of the aforementioned paremics may also serve to illustrate other perceptions.

2.7. Resume by chapter

The analysis of idioms with the component – the name of a tool – has revealed the peculiarities of the stereotypical perceptions and linguocultural attitudes they express.

The Russian and Chinese PU demonstrate a wide range of stereotypical perceptions associated with the use of tools and implements – the importance of having a tool in a person who owns a craft, as a pledge of labor productivity (Without a ploughman is not a ploughman, without a hammer is not a smith; Kit. "As an umbrella on rainy days, so is a hammer for a master carpenter"), about the importance of the quality of tools (On a sharp scythe there is much haymaking; Kit. "The same is true for the master carpenter, and the importance of the quality of the tools (A sharp axe is not afraid of hard wood) and their correspondence to certain actions (You cannot defeat a bear with an awl; Not with a knife, where an axe is put; Kit. "You cannot cut down a tree with a scythe, you cannot cut down a grass with an axe").

A significant category is composed of PEs describing a doer, a craftsman, who is required of:

- skill and professionalism (Not an axe hears, but a carpenter; People have an awl and shaves, but we have knives neumut; Kit. "Low skilled craftsmen complain about their tools"; "A carpenter knows when to use what hammer"),

- serious approach to the work ahead and preparation of the tool (A man unlearned is like an axe not sharpened: you can cut down a tree with such, but a lot of work; "If you have a sharp knife, you should not worry about hard objects"),

- diligence and patience (The plow shines from work, the field gives birth from sweat; whale "Skill is a sharp knife blade, diligence is a sharpening stone"),

– the ability to use various devices (You must rely on the eye, but check the plumb line; Without the wedge and plank you will not split; Wedge is a friend to the carpenter), etc.

Much attention in the EP is paid to the skill that comes with experience, because the person, not the tool, is decisive (Not the needle sews, but the hands). Therefore, the attempt of the not-so-skilled worker to complain about his tools is discouraged (People have an awl shaving, but we have knives nemut; Kit. "Low skilled craftsmen complain about their tools." Although not excluded is the recognition of possible difficulties even for a skillful person: *A sharp axe came upon a sturdy bough; Kit. "An iron basin beats an iron broom."*

Both Russian and Chinese PJs about labor rarely sound neutral, which seems quite logical: they are oriented in general to approval of the hard worker who spares no effort, expression of disapproval of hasty or untimely actions, laziness, mockery of unskilled actions and lack of mastery of tools, unjustified or unjustified expectations of results – without applying effort, etc., but the differences between the speakers of the two cultures are also obvious.

Thus, in the PE of both languages, common is the censure not so much of unwillingness to work, but of the desire to ***gain benefits or the benefits of life without labor***: *a fork is what a fishing rod, and a spoon is what a seine; Purely my reapers reap what they serve on the table*. Note that such a vice as laziness is treated in the Russian tradition more often derisively and ironically.

Work is contrasted with idle unencumbered chatter: *If you mow with your tongue, your back will not get tired; Work with your teeth, and laziness with your tongue. Here appear the names of tools and the names of work actions – cf. The following words are used here as names of tools and the names of labor activities, e.g.: To lie (to bray) is not to swing a chain, [his back does not hurt]; To bray is not to plow, to bray but to rest; To bray is not to swing an axe, to bray and to rest, – which allows to indicate the incompatibility of efforts and to express disapproval to the chatterer.*

The Chinese PU are more oriented to practical advice – this, in particular, refers to

the frequency units with calendar reference points. At the same time, the Russian PU include the dates tied to the church calendar, and the Chinese folk calendar is very detailed and names the days and weeks of months according to the lunar calendar and the phases of ripening of individual crops. (*Rook scythes and sickles by St. Peter's Day; Chinese. "At the end of the heat wave (from August 22–24) the spring wheat crop is harvested with strokes of a sickle"*).

The analyzed material shows that the paremy with the tool component includes units that differ in their ability to convey figurative meanings. Some P.U. indicate only the peculiarities of the labor process with the use of a tool (tool), conjugating the tool with the appropriate action: *axe – to chop, hammer – to forge, shovel – to dig, plow (plow) – to plow, etc. (cf. (cf. sawing – to bend back; roundabout – not to grind with a chain)*. This is explained by the thematic focus of the material. Other expressions are characterized by biplanarity – the ability both to reflect real actions with tools and to characterize activities in other professional spheres and/or situations not connected with professional activity (*After dinner mustard, [that] after a cleaver with an axe; A small axe chops a large tree; He would be glad to mow, but there is no one to carry a scythe*).

Of all the spheres of peasant labor, including the labor of the carpenter and carpenter, mower, plowman, blacksmith, swordsman, mower, thresher, etc., the tools they use are not equally represented in the PU. Nominations of axe and ploughshare – in their literal and figurative uses – significantly exceed other units of the tool code. Let us also note the frequency of the use of the component knife as the name of a tool used in life in the widest way.

The parables take part in characterizing the qualities and deeds of a person – negative (Like an axe: it will not cut, but will stab; Kit. "*A man who is like a kitchen pestle*" – in both cases, '*about an evil, cruel, rude man*') and positive (*Wait like an axe, but do not tremble! Keith. 'To cut in two with one stroke of the knife'* – about courage).

Both Russian and Chinese PU with an instrumental component in figurative meanings indicate different patterns of behavior and situations. They speak of gratitude/ungratefulness (*drowned – the axe sul'd; pulled out – and the axe is pity;*

Chinese. "When you eat rice, respect the hoe"); about the meaninglessness of withholding information (The truth that the awl in the bag is not concealed; Kit. "You should not put the awl in your pocket"); about determined, but not always justified actions (Stole the axe, so the axe into the oven; Kit. "To chop with a great sword and a broad axe"); about wealth and poverty (There is one axe in seven yards; "A beam is a treasure, to rely on it all your life is not to be poor"); about the fallacy of hasty conclusions (Not everything is an axe that chops; Kit. "If a man can handle a hammer, the first three blows are not an indication of how skilled he is with the tool"), the futility of complaining about the quality of tools, etc.

All this indicates that the units of the instrumental code constitute an important stratum of units for the bearers of each culture, which allows for versatile comprehension as part of the stable units.

CONCLUSION

An appeal to the paremics containing the units of the instrumental code – the names of the tools familiar to the working man, shows that in the course of their use there is a stable idea of this or that object, its functional and other features – of the nature of their use, of their own properties, of the person in whose hands they are, i.e. the images of tools and implements are relevant in Russian and Chinese PU first of all to show the sphere of professional actions and skills and the attitudes associated with them.

The associative and imaginative perception of individual tools, which is formed in the minds of speakers, is also reflected in the paremics. Thus, an *awl* is presented in the PU as a small tool – straight, sharp, wounding, penetrating, with a point end (tip) – necessary for piercing, but useless as a tool for eating, and a *shank* – a heavy, blunt part of an axe, used for a hard blow and therefore associated even with death.

The importance of the images of these tools is also illustrated by the fact that they are projected onto a person, participate in the characterization of the qualities and actions of a person (*drowning – the axe promised, surfacing – and the axe is sorry*), various life situations. As in the whole paremiological space, the incomparability of positive and negative is manifested here: the range of positive human characteristics, conveyed by paremics with "instrumental" components, is significantly narrower than that of negative ones.

In the Chinese and Russian proverbs we find many common attitudes and ideas – about the importance of the experience of the worker, about remuneration for work, about the importance of the right choice of tools and many others. However, the tables in the appendix clearly show the gaps due to the peculiarities of comprehension of labor and working conditions, the worker and his tools, priorities and values. At the same time, even a coinciding attitude in two languages can differ in the details of its expression. Thus, in Russian there are quite a few ironic PU, only indirectly indicating the need to work (cf. *in summer with a fishing rod, in winter with a purse, i.e. begging with a purse*).

One cannot ignore the peculiarities of construction of many rather lengthy Chinese proverbs with two-part structure, where the same model of behavior is illustrated by two

examples from different spheres of life, but revealing close logic ("*When others help to sharpen a scythe, they often sharpen the blade from one side only; when pouring soup for someone, strangers often scoop up only the liquid, but leave the guts at the bottom*"). Or the paremy consists of two parts, expressing the same idea directly and metaphorically: "*When the oxen have no strength to walk straight, they pull the harrow diagonally, and man behaves impudently and unreasonably, showing arrogance.*"

The considerable similarity in the attitudes expressed by the parables of the two languages (cf.: "An experienced master does not violate the correct sequence of using different tools", "The reward for labor is a decent harvest, bread", etc.) is not contradicted by the linguistic and cultural differences. They are found in several aspects: first, in the nomenclature of the tools that appear as components of the PU: if the *harrow* and the *plough (ploughshare)* in the PU of both are very representative, the Russian parables with the component *hoe* are almost absent, while it is one of the most frequent tools in the Chinese proverbs. Neither does the *shoe* appear in the Chinese PU.

Secondly, differences can also be seen in the degree of activity of the verbalization of individual attitudes. Thus, in Russian PU the importance of the worker is repeatedly emphasized, because the tool "works" in the hands of the master: *Not the axe is hewn, but the carpenter*; *Not the hammer forges the iron, but the smith forges it*; *Not the needle sews, but the hands*. The implementation of this accent in the Chinese PU is done differently – simply on the work with the use of a tool, without the emphasis on the primacy of the worker.

Thirdly, the ethno-marked specificity consists in the absence in one of the languages of certain attitudes and perceptions. There are no expressions in Chinese about the harm of labor, and in Russian, on the contrary, there is no PU about the benefits of labor for health. The common view on the dependence of availability of results in the form of food, clothing – on the very process of labor (*Do not be lazy with the plow – you will be a pie*; Kit. "*The plow and hoe do not leave your hands – you have food and something to wear*"), the Russians have an emphasis on sponging (*One in the harrow, and all on the sidelines*; *Worker with a scoop – slacker with a spoon*). Only in Russian PU

with the component "tool" one speaks of the kindness, wisdom, endurance of the toiler; only in Chinese paremics – of cowardice, stupidity, inability to see one's faults.

A similar analysis with the involvement of the Russian and Chinese proverbs, containing as components the names of other tools, will expand and clarify the picture of the speakers' understanding of an important sphere of life – the sphere of manual labor with the use of tools and implements.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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APPENDIX

Table 2. Stereotypical representations in Russian and Chinese about the requirements for tools

	Performance in the paremia	Russian proverbs	Chinese proverbs
The actual tool	A person who owns a craft cannot do without a tool	<i>You can't mow hay without a scythe</i>	«To cut a tree, you need an axe, to thread a needle, you need a needle»
	Even a skilled craftsman cannot do without tools	—	«It is difficult for a skilled craftsman to weave without a shuttle and it is difficult to cut patterns without a hand drill»
	The availability of high-quality tools may be more important than high skill:	—	«The ability to do something quickly and efficiently depends on a third of a person's skill, and two-thirds on the quality of the tools»
The actual tool	The employee's tool must be of high quality	<i>The axe is sharper, and the matter is more sporey</i>	«A sharp knife is not afraid of a strong hide»
	Even with a blunt instrument, you should be careful, it can cause pain	<i>A blunt sickle cuts your hand harder than a sharp one</i>	«A blunt knife damages the flesh»
	You cannot arbitrarily select tools	<i>The needle did not sew, the boot did not sew</i>	«A plow is used on land that should be plowed with a plow. The harrow is used where the harrow needs to be used»
	The order of application of certain tools is important	<i>The plough is a tattletale, and the harrow is a righteous one</i>	«During the autumn harvest and threshing of grain, the field is plowed with a plow so that the coming year becomes another fruitful year»

	Each master should have his own tool	<i>Take someone else's spindle, but save your own</i>	«Do not sell your mill even without grain, do not sell your pots, even if you have nothing to cook in them».
	The presence or absence of tools in a person may indicate poverty	<i>The field is not mine, but someone else's sickle (about poverty)</i>	

Table 3. Stereotypical ideas in Russian and Chinese about the instrument in the hands of the master

	Performance in the paremia	Russian proverbs	Chinese proverbs
A tool in the hands of a master	A good master takes care of the condition of his tools in advance	<i>After the pores do not sharpen axes</i>	«If the master wants to do his job well, he first sharpen his tools»
	A blunt instrument is not suitable for work	<i>On this knife – even on horseback and at a gallop</i>	«A knife is just a piece of iron, if it is not sharpened (not sharp)»
	Your own actions differ significantly from someone else's help in preparing the tool	—————	«When others help to sharpen the scythe, they often sharpen the blade only on one side; when pouring soup to someone, strangers often scoop up the liquid, and leave the grounds at the bottom»
	Making a tool requires effort	—————	«If the iron is not melted and poured into the mold, you will not make a plow»
	Work with the use of tools is	<i>It's not the axe that does the</i>	«Plow and loosen the ground with a hoe, and you

	carried out by a person, by the hands of a master.	<i>rubbing, it's the carpenter</i>	will harvest your own crop»
A tool in the hands of a master	An experienced master does not violate the correct sequence of using different tools	<i>Cut off, yes for a saw; After scraping with an axe</i>	_____
	The master's experience is manifested in the knowledge of the possibilities of using tools and the special functions assigned to them.	<i>You can't heat the sea with a nail (awl) In winter with a harrow, and in summer in a carriage; Not with a knife, where the axe is laid</i>	«The carpenter knows when which hammer to use».
	Masters are given knowledge of the subtleties of work, the ability to use, in addition to the main tool, other necessary devices.	<i>You can't split without a wedge and a block</i>	_____
	The master needs skill, ingenuity in using the tool; without this, even a high-quality tool does not guarantee a successful result.	<i>The axe is sharp, but the hands are blunt; The thimble is made so that the hands are not impaled</i>	_____
	Complaining about the quality of tools is the lot of non-professionals	<i>У людей и шило бреет, а у нас и ножи неймут</i>	«Craftsmen with low qualifications complain about their tools»
	The skill of the employee is of exceptional	<i>An ignorant person is like an inaccurate axe: you</i>	_____

importance for the final result of the work	<i>can cut down a tree like that, but there is a lot of work.</i>	
It is harder to find an intelligent worker than a tool	<i>If there were hands, they would give you a hammer (we will find it)</i>	_____
Difficulties are also possible in the work of an experienced master	<i>Naletaet and Topor on Suk; Oster Topor–yes and Suk toothed</i>	_____
The experience and skills of the worker are manifested in his endurance, ability to work a lot and at full strength.	<i>The plow shines from work, the field gives birth from sweat</i>	«Let xiucaï try to turn the millstone: it will be very difficult for him»
Having mastered one skill, an experienced master can easily master another profession	<i>A good carpenter is also a worker in the field:</i>	«If you know how to turn a mill, you can also push a stone roller».
Physical work is hard, it is exhausting and leads to loss of health, injury	<i>The sickle does not grow rich, but humps</i>	_____
The diligence and diligence of the employee are positively evaluated.	<i>From the hammer and the anvil rings</i>	«If you don't know how to chop wood, don't put the axe down anyway, if you don't know how to fish, don't put the net down»
Lazy people are blamed	<i>He would be happy to mow, but there is no one to wear a scythe</i>	«They do not know (do not want) to plow with a plough, but they want to harvest, they do not know

			how to weave, but they want to wear beautiful clothes»
	Chatting is easier (easier) than working	<i>To lie (to lie) – not to wave a flail, [back does not hurt]</i>	_____
	The master is recommended not to part with tools	<i>Hold on to the shovel – you will save your life</i>	«Do not sell your mill even without grain, do not sell your pots, even if you have nothing to cook in them».

Table 4. Stereotypical ideas in Russian and Chinese about the dependence of labor results on the use of a tool by a master

	Representation in PU	Russian proverbs	Chinese proverbs
The tool, the craftsman and the result of the	The work of a craftsman ensures that he or she earns a wage, an income	<i>The axe is the carpenter's breadwinner.</i>	«The plow and hoe do not leave your hands - you have something to eat and something to carry»
	Lack of tools and the ability to earn money is life threatening	<i>No knife, no axe, no prayer, no stabbing.</i>	_____
	The reward for labor (result) is a decent harvest, bread	<i>As long as the chain is in the hands, so is the bread in the teeth VS He who is lazy with the plow, his bread is bad too</i>	«A hard-working man works diligently with a hoe, and the earth will reward him with a bountiful harvest, saving him from hunger" VS "The sickle hangs on the wall, there is no food in the house»
	Hard work is the key to high labor results	<i>The axe makes splinters fly,</i>	«A spinning wheel is like a money tree: if you shake it every day, money

		<i>taxes are paid.</i>	will fall from it»
	You need to do the work yourself and not delegate it to others	<i>One with a stick and seven with a spoon.</i>	«To forge iron, one must hold the pliers tightly oneself; to till the land, one must plow the land oneself».
	Patience is required for some jobs	_____	«When sawing with the saw, don't twitch as if you were scratching an itchy spot»

Table 5. Stereotypical perceptions in Russian and Chinese PIs about the conditions of labor activity with the use of tools

	Submission in PU	Russian proverbs	Chinese proverbs
activities	The result of labor in farming depends on the timing of certain activities	<i>It's not the axe that feeds the man, it's the work of July.</i>	«The merit of spring plowing belongs to the hoe, and the success of fall harvesting is determined by the sickle»
	The harvest cannot be moved to the time desired by the workers (so everyone, from small to large, participates)	<i>A ripe ear - a lucky sickle, a red maiden - a lucky groom.</i>	«When it comes time to harvest wheat, adults and children alike - everyone has a scythe in their hands, regardless of the size of the wheat crop».
	Working together helps to achieve a positive outcome in the workplace	<i>Friend ly neighbors and ploughshares have been</i>	«A thousand-pound paddle must be carried by ten thousand men.»

		<i>hanging together.</i>	
Tools and conditions for carrying «Calendar»	Farming should be guided by calendar milestones	<i>June went through the meadows with a scythe, and July ran through the fields with grain</i>	«During the summer solstice, you should work the land with a hoe continuously».
	Keeping the work calendar in mind, the necessary tools should be prepared in advance	<i>Get (rook) scythes and sickles for Peter's Day</i>	«When the dates start to turn red, it's time to start sharpening the scythe to mow the crops»
	Everything in nature is interconnected	<i>In August, the sickles are warming, the water is cold</i>	«Cotton fields should be hoed during the plum ripening season, then the cotton seedlings will grow very quickly»
	You need to be observant to start work on time - it is important not to miss the time	<i>A lazy sohakha rides out on Egoriy. Egoriy the lazy biped</i>	«During the period of "white dew" the sickle [while working] rings, and at the fall equinox it is supposed to cut sorghum with the sickle».
	Sowing, care and harvesting of future crops are carried out within strictly defined timeframes	<i>In September, it's not the hut that warms a man, it's the chain</i>	«The beginning of autumn is reserved for preparing grass for the cattle for the winter, and at the end of the heat, the spring wheat crop is harvested with the sweep of the sickle»

Weather conditions	Dependence of the result of agricultural works on the time of day	<i>Mow the scythe while it's dewy, dewy away</i>	_____
	Weather conditions should not affect the farmer's labor	<i>Don't wait for the weather with a scythe in your hand</i>	_____
	Timely precipitation (irrigation) is important for good yields	<i>Dust behind the harrow (dry, no rain), there will be a pancake (buckwheat)</i>	«March rain is worth expensive oil, May rain is good for hoe work»
	The possibility of using implements depends on the weather: if there is no rain, there is no point in plowing, sowing and planting.	_____	«In the spring when it rains, the water depth should be just at the height of the plowshare».