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**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PROVERBS ABOUT FRIENDSHIP
IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN**

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PREFACE

Friends and friendship are a vital part of human life and considered to be one of human values. Yet it can be said that understanding and representation of friendship may differ from language to language and culture to culture. Proverbs, as one of the examples of figurative and expressive language, are thought to convey valuable information about customs of a certain culture. The current thesis is focused on the analysis and comparison of proverbs about friendship in two different languages and cultures: Russian and English. The aim of the thesis is to analyze proverbs and compare the image of *friendship* and *friend* in English and Russian proverbs and make conclusions about cultural differences in terms of proverbs about friendship in English and Russian. The hypothesis is that ‘friendship’ and ‘friend’ have different image / characteristics in English and Russian and it gives an insight into culture and customs of a nation. The results of such investigation will show not only differences in cultures but also common characteristics of two different nationalities.

The paper consists of four parts: an introduction, Chapter I, Chapter II and a conclusion. The Introduction gives an overview of phraseological and figurative language, explains what proverbs are, how and where they are used, describes the difference between proverbs and other phraseological units. Chapter I and Chapter II are focused on theoretical and practical examination of proverbs: their historical background, topics and cultural aspects. These chapters provide samples of proverbs about friendship followed with analysis and discussion. The focus of Chapter I are proverbs about friendship in English and Chapter II is focused on proverbs about friendship in Russian. The Conclusion presents main point of both Chapters and comments on the hypothesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Phraseological and figurative language

It is hard to imagine a person who has never used an idiom, a phraseologism or common sayings. Often proverbs come to mind automatically in absolutely different situations, probably because of emotions and previous experience. If it is hard to imagine a person who never uses idioms, then how to imagine literature without expressive means? This seems rather impossible. Figurative language is extremely important in literature, because stories without such integral elements like simile, metaphor and hyperbola will be empty, boring and could never touch the reader's soul. However, Kruglov (1990: 27) writes that "Many of us speak standardly, inexpressively, dimly, forgetting that there is a living and beautiful, powerful and flexible, kind and malicious speech! And not only in literature." Allegorical language in literature makes the story fascinating and style of the author individual. The same happens with oral speech. Figurative language consists of several elements, the use of which allows to influence the reader or listener in one way or another. The usage of such element as inversion allows the author to emphasize the more important information, it is done by transposition of words - more important information is placed to the fore, minor comes after. Such compositional device like parallelism, which is responsible for the same structure of neighboring sentences, allows the author to draw reader's attention to the parallels between different phenomena, that effect amplifies the voltage. Quite a common element is personification, which gives human qualities to an object. Of course, any author in his/her work uses epithets, metaphors and similes, which makes the story exciting, expressive bright and saturated. That is one of the reasons why many people read a book with unflagging interest, figurative language involves imagination and allows to experience emotions and impressions during reading. To sum up, figurative language strengthens statements and makes a point more compelling and effective.

In everyday life people use figurative language to compare something to something, it diversifies our speech and allows to use creative thinking, the speaker can convey the situation to the listener in a more colorful and amusing way; the listener, in turn, can imagine everything that happens and understand the narrator in a better way. Some tools of figurative language are more often used in literature and some in spoken language but for example hyperbole is commonly used everywhere. The aim of this element of figurative language is to glossily exaggerate meaning. A similar device with opposite effect is litotes.

In addition, idioms, proverbs and phraseological units are also means of figurative

language and allow a speaker to accurately convey feelings, emotions and opinions, avoid lengthy descriptions, accurately and succinctly convey information and point of view. But it is easy to get confused among these concepts. Antrushina (2001:38) defines idioms “as a stable group of word with a completely transferred meaning and it cannot be translated to other language word by word, because than meaning will be lost”. Also structural criterion forbids to change or take away words from idioms for the same reason-meaning will be lost. This means that idiom functions as one and a whole and understanding of separate words will not help to understand the meaning of an idiom. Unlike an idiom, the meaning of a phraseological unit can be transferred completely or partially. Razumov (1957) comments that sayings and proverbs are one of the most popular genres of folk art. It can be said without exaggeration that the role of proverbs is huge in every language. They express folk wisdom, give advice it is a kind of moral message from sages. As Razumov (1957) asserts, other genres of folk poetry, in contrast to proverbs and sayings, do not have such a strong connection with the language which proverbs and sayings have. As a result of this connection, they become part of figurative language that finds a place in living conversational and written speech. Usually proverbs are literal in their meaning, but there are exceptions. For instance: *Friends tie their purse with a cobweb thread*.

What proverbs are

According to one of the definitions of a “proverb”,

Proverbs are a national sign, a system of values, a public morality, a relation to the world, to people, to other nations is displayed. Proverbs and sayings most graphically illustrate the way of life, and the geographical position, and history, and traditions of one or another community, united by one culture. (Kuanyshebekova, 2013: 13)

Snegirev (1999:19) wrote that “It seems like nothing expresses the outer and inner life of the people of all its manifestations so sharply and vividly like proverbs which are clothed in spirit, mind and character of the nation”. From this statement it becomes clear that proverbs are expressions of a truth relating to different spheres of life and they appeared much earlier than one century ago. Every nation has books with proverbs as they are the national heritage of people. Proverbs are important because they give wise advice in every situation. Norric (1985:31) provides traditional proverb definition in his book: “Proverbs are described as self-contained, pithy and traditional expressions with didactic context and fixed, poetic form”. There are different viewpoints on proverbs: the viewpoint of folklore and viewpoint of linguistics. If there is an object like proverbs in this case, then there should be a branch of science that studies proverbs. The online

Oxford Dictionary agrees that such study exists and the name of that study is Paroemiology (also paremiology). This study focuses on different aspects and features of proverbs. Folklorists combine proverbs, sayings, proverbial phrases, jokes and riddles into one large group, called folklore. From that point of view, proverbs are considered as national heritage of wisdom and part of traditional lore. Proverbs demonstrate combination of such language elements as: imagery, parallelism, syntax, prosody and lexis. A lot of people confuse proverbs and sayings and paremiology helps to solve that problem. Proverbs and sayings both appeared long time ago and are connected with folklore. The difference is that sayings do not contain deep meaning or moral lesson; they have allegorical meaning only. Razumov (1957: 10) remarks that “Proverbs consist of two parts: the first contains the allegory, the general judgment, and in the second part is the lesson-conclusion. The same author also adds that proverbs and sayings differ from idioms in that they are small literary pieces and have their own poetic characteristics that allow them to be divided into short quatrains.

Why and how proverbs are used

Assuming the idea that each proverb contains a moral lesson and a wise thought, it is easy to conclude that proverbs are commonly used in written and spoken language. For instance, in press, newspapers, TV. Krasuska (2006, para 10) acknowledges that “By means of proverbs we can depict wide range of basic people's experiences and problems of modern life in a satirical and moralizing way” and this statement confirms the relevance of proverbs for modern world. Successful usage of proverbs depends on the right understanding of the meaning, conception of proverb and suitable situation for its use. In addition to telling a history of the national character, proverbs tend to give a deeper meaning to history and attract attention to the main points, in other words proverbs perfectly place emphasis. Besides, they diversify and beautify human speech. One more important aim of proverbs is to educate people: vocabulary enrichment, close acknowledgement of value system and wisdom of a nation, expressiveness of speech. Sayings, proverbs and sayings are necessary linguistic and speech material of any course of the Russian and English language for the development of receptive skills in oral and written speech, and for the development of skills of speaking and writing.

Standard pragmatic model (Grieco, 1975 and Searle 1979) shows that first of all people create the literal meaning of the whole phrase and after that they make an effort to create a figurative interpretation from previous context. Hanks and Giora (2012: 586) point out that “In the process of speaking, a person chooses the right proverb and then

expresses his or her thoughts”. Also, other author, Nigel E. Turner in his dissertation named *The Role of Literal Meaning in Proverb Comprehension* (1995: para 1) mentioned that in accordance with mentioned above model “A person initially attempts to understand figurative sentences such as metaphors and proverbs in terms of their literal meaning and only processes the figurative meaning when the literal meaning is found inadequate” This model illustrates that human brain constructs and perceives literal meaning first and figurative meaning comes only after. So, even when people think that proverb comes to their mind automatically that is not true. Brain works with literal meaning at the first step and after gives a familiar proverb and reverse. Rideout and Witting (1997: 12) note that “Proverbs have mobility and are in constant movement. New ones are constantly added to them and retired ones are eliminated.”

Summing up, proverbs have couple of functions:

- 1) Historical heritage. Proverbs are treasury of wisdom and reflection of people`s national character
- 2) Esthetical and educational function: to make our speech more attractive.
- 3) Communicative function. Proverbs provide accurate and faithful description of a situation or a man and provoke interlocutor`s desired reaction which is needed for the speaker.
- 4) Cognitive function. Proverbs are able to give answers to difficult questions and give smart advice.

Another interesting thing about proverbs is given by Karasuka (2012 para 6): “Proverbs are also used to sum up life experiences and let the listener draw conclusions by himself and apply them to his behavior in the future”. So, there is no need to say something literal, because sometimes it can be rude or misunderstood, but proverb can lead to a conclusion that can be made by the interlocutor himself.

Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005) acknowledge that the main feature of proverbs is the essence of a universal quantifier. Proverbs have a generalizing function because they express “a universal truth”. A lot of proverbs contain such words as *every, all, any, each, always, never, no*. These words generalizes an idea, make it common and customary.

“Despite the close proximity to the language, proverbs and sayings are characterized by their artistic originality, they differ, for example from the phrases and idioms found in the language, with greater semantic flexibility, syntactic organization and poetic structure.” (Razumov, 1957:9)

Why are some proverbs more popular and some of them less popular?

Rideout and Witting (1967: 75) affirm that “In order for the proverb to become popular, the proverb must at least demonstrate the brilliance of the mind; But in order to remain popular for a long time, it is required that it actually contain wisdom.” Perhaps this is somehow connected with the process of memorization, since too long phrases, even with deep meaning, are hard to remember and reproduce automatically or without errors.

The statements that become popular are usually compressed and informative. Rideout and Witting (1967) state that usually the most popular proverbs consist of no more than five words. It turns out that the main components of frequently used proverbs are brevity, meaning, and universality. Onufriev (2000, para 1) believes that “Those expressive means with which help memorability is achieved, deserve a mention. One of these means is an accurate and assonant rhyme.” Rhyme is very important because it plays a role in the process of perception and memorization of proverbs and therefore affects the frequency of using the proverb and, consequently, affects its popularity.

The aim of the thesis is to analyze proverbs and compare the image of *friendship* and *friend* in English and Russian proverbs and make conclusions about cultural differences in terms of proverbs about friendship in English and Russian. The hypothesis is that ‘friendship’ and ‘friend’ have different image / characteristics in English and Russian and it gives an insight into culture and customs of a nation.

CHAPTER I: British Culture and English Proverbs about Friendship

1.1 British Culture and Friendship in British Culture

J. Crowther, and K. Kavanagh (2000) wrote that there are two different opinions about the British society: some people tend to believe that they live in civilized and humanistic society where people are able to live as they want to live, be appreciated and treated fairly. Other people think that the British class system is immovable and classless society despite of the promises of British politics cannot be achieved. Also, Crowther and Kavanagh (2000: 193) note that "Britain is still class-based society, but now education, employment and money matter as much in determining people's opportunities and place in society as their family background". British society like many other societies of the world does not oblige all people to live according to one system of values. It means that different people have different priorities, but questionnaires and statistics show the main and secondary values of the people.

According to the results of Gallup Poll statistics, who conducted a survey among 1,000 British people in different areas of the country, "certain aspects of behavior had increased or decreased in last ten years" (Adapted in from Daily Telegraph, 29 April 1989). The table shows in percentage British people's beliefs about the British and their behavior. Both positive and negative aspects of life had changed. Figures illustrated that all positive aspects had changed for the worse. Politeness decreased very strongly, down to 41%, also the level of generosity and caring changed to the worst position (30% and 33 % respectively), the level of happiness in people's life had decreased too, if to compare 1979 with 1989.

Crowther and Kavanagh (2000) declare that few politicians actively advertise or popularize traditional family values but most people understand that times have changed, society is not the same and there is a need to accept other lifestyles. The same story happens in many countries; it is not surprising in the modern world. But anyway, even though the system of values has changed, it is still possible to talk about cultural priorities and tendencies as a whole. J. Crowther, K. Kavanagh (2000) state that among some young people of Britain there is an opinion that everything what they should do is only for their own profit, they prefer to avoid beliefs of society and choose to live differently. Regardless of the value system, home and family usually play a significant role in the life of every person. Although, youth of the Great Britain prefer to live far away from their parents and other family members, often in different towns. P. Bromhead (1991) affirms that facts show that relationships between parents and their children have become weaker with time. Undoubtedly, children still care about mother and father even if they are

separated by distance, they stay in touch with the help of telephone and social networks, but the really fast pace of modern life does not allow to find enough time for full-fledged communication and support. Children are often unable to give necessary help and take care of family members when they are far away. Also, the fact that young people tend to move from their parents to different towns shows that people are more interested in building of their own lives and are more self-interested than taking care of parents and staying close with them. Another confirmation of not very close relationship are situations where advice is needed. Bromhead (1991:7) notes that “When married people have difficulties they may ask for help and advice from the unpaid councillors of a private organization, the former Marriage Guidance Council, now called “Relate”” It is extraordinary, because the role of first source of help is often given to the family. Alison Park (2008) on the contrary thinks that family is extremely important to British people, also that people who are close with family members have more friends. She wrote (2008:23) that “We found some idea that friends can act like a family. Three quarter of respondents claim to have at least “one particularly close friend you can share your private feelings and concerns with”. As many as 40% have more than one such close friend, while a quarter of respondents have no particular friends.

As long as the word “British” means residents of England, Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland, that is impossible to judge people by one criterion, draw conclusion and state that “All British people are restrained and reserved”, for instance. The online newspaper “Independent” confirms the fact that inhabitants of these countries have huge difference in psychology and social behaviour, that shows a survey among 400 000 people. Steve Connor (2015, para 1) claims that “The Scots are friendly and agreeable, the Welsh tend to be open but emotionally unstable, and parts of England are populated by people who are disorderly, rebellious and indifferent, according to the first nationwide study of the British psychology.” On the basis of this information, it can be assumed that the values, preferences and needs for close relationships with family and friends in these cultures differ. Friendly and agreeable Scots may easily make friends, share their feelings but for emotionally mutable Welsh people it may be not so simple. Connor (2015, para 3) adds that:

“While Scotland tended to be populated by people who scored highly on friendliness and emotional stability, the Welsh were noted for their openness, shyness and emotional instability, the study found. The inhabitants of East England were conscientious and agreeable but not very open, while the people of London were found to be the most open group in Britain, but the least welcoming and not very conscientious” (Connor 2015, para 3)

Stereotypes about England tells almost the same, it is generally accepted that the English people are cold-blooded and discreet. This article tells that citizens of London seems to be distinct only apparent. Language, culture and social behavior are strongly connected because all that exist in people`s life is reflected in the language. Interesting, that in the English language are combination of words like *be friends* or *keep company*, but there is no verb, that reflects process of being friends, the conception and emotional meaning, there is no equivalent in English in the Russian word “дружить” (Larina, 2013). Alike story with word “*friend*”. Larina (2013) claims that “In modern usage the English word “*friend*” covers a large number of people and is used in relation not only to friends as to close and reliable people, but also to companions and just acquaintances.” As communicative behaviour, English people prefer emotional restraint, spatial distance, polite smile, almost complete lack of tactile communication, Restrained use of facial expressions, optimism, say something that pleases the interlocutor (Larina, 2013). Nevertheless, the results of NatCen Social Research show that:

“Spending time with friends and family, going for a walk or getting fresh air, and getting more sleep are widely regarded by people as activities which help them feel more positive. The two factors that people believe have the biggest impact on their mental wellbeing are relationships with family and friends (mentioned by 54% as one of the top 3 factors) and their job or work-life balance (chosen by 42%)” (NatCen, para 7)

Such different opinions show that times is changing all the time and values of people are changing too, the same as lifestyle and attitude to different things. It can be assumed that concept of relationships with family and is differs even for people of the same nation. Friendship and close relations with family is often important for teenagers, with ages vision of such things differs and priorities changes, some people become more self-orientated, or limited in time or changing views on life and people, or something else.

1.2 Role of English Proverbs in Everyday Life

To determine which proverbs have completely disappeared from daily life is an uneasy issue, because in one part of the country people can forget about the proverb, and in the other part of the English- speaking or Russian-speaking world the same proverb can continue its existence. “There is a difference in the use of proverbs by villagers and townspeople. Those proverbs that have disappeared from use in the city continue to be used by villagers” (Rideout and Witting 1997: 6). Obviously, the frequency of the use of

proverbs is affected by the age of a person, his/her life experience and how much he or she reads. Those proverbs that can be actively used by the older generation are rarely remembered by their children, and also they are not known, completely forgotten, or simply not relevant to modern life. Rideout and Witting (1997) refer to such term as “living” English proverbs. It means that even some of them seem to be a little bit archaic for a reader, but they are still in the usage. Books with proverbs of all times can be useful and helpful for students who learn the English language as a foreign language and for those who read English literature.

1.2.1 Etymology of Proverbs

When people in any part of the world use proverbs in spoken or written speech, they usually do not think about the original sources of proverbs. So it usually happens in British culture too. Similarly to Russian proverbs, English proverbs are considered the property of the people, because they were invented a long time ago and the source of their origin was quite often lost.

According to Rideout and Whitting (1997:34) “Another important source of English proverbs is proverbs in other languages”. Some of them have successfully taken root in society, and some have not. The form and sound of the proverb influenced the process of assimilation of that proverb. In the opinion of Rideout and Witting (1997) any borrowed proverbs are used in the original language. A separate source of proverbs is the Bible. Rideout and Whitting consider the use of biblical proverbs as another type of borrowing, because “wise statements reflect the consciousness of Hebrew society.” “The context of biblical proverbs does not always tell about God and faith”. (e.g. *You cannot serve God and mammon; The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak;*)

Furthermore, some words of proverbs taken from the Scriptures w changed. (e.g. *You cannot make bricks without straw*.) There are also literary sources, such as works by Shakespeare, which serve as a source of proverbs. Rideout and Witting (1997:11) assume that “Shakespeare certainly stands second after the Bible in the number of quotes used as English proverbs”. An interesting term, accustomed among the English, is “household words”. Household words include statements from literary works which are sometimes used as proverbs, but they are not. If to think about what is the equivalent of this expression in Russian, that is not a proverb and not a quote, then the phrase “winged expression” (*крылатое выражение*) comes to mind. For instance:

- *The best is yet to be. (Browning)*
- *Even the weariest river winds somewhere safe to the sea. (Swinburne)*

- *God's in his Heaven- All's right with the world! (Browning)*

1.2.2 Sample

Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (1982), third edition edited by F. P. Wilson, was chosen as the main source of English proverbs for the purposes of the current research. This dictionary is a comprehensive, relevant, rich and reliable collection of proverbs. "This third edition was published in 1970 and remains a standard work for anyone interested in English proverbs whether for the light they throw on language and literature or for their distillation of human wisdom and observation throughout the ages." (Glasgow Herald, from the cover of the book). Proverbs are grouped under subject in alphabetical order. The reader of this book can find a lot of different proverbs, some of them have literary roots, like Shakespeare works, for instance, some of proverbs are translated from the Latin language, some of them belong to the Bible. An interesting fact is that the number of proverbs about friendship in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, a book of 930 pages, is quite small, only 31. Also, proverbs in this book appears in not a widely known form, they are changed nowadays but not much. The original form of most of such proverbs has disappeared from everyday usage.

1.2.3 Semantic Classification of English Proverbs about Friendship

To analyze British people's values and outlook on friendship, a classification of proverbs about friendship taken from the above dictionary has been done relying on their meaning and semantic content. The six semantic categories presented below show different sides of life and image of friendship as a whole (as portrayed by these English proverbs). The proverbs listed below have been taken in their original dictionary form.

1. Sharing everything with a friend / mutual assistance

1. Friends all things in common, among.
2. Friend asks, when a there is no tomorrow.
3. Friends tie their purse with a cobweb thread.

2. False friends / risks connected to friendship

4. Friend to everybody is a friend to nobody.
5. Friends are thieves of time.
6. Friends (The best of friends) must part.
7. Friend and your flatterer too, I cannot be your.
8. Friend as far as the altar (conscience permits).

3.Wise advice

9. Friend to thyself, be and others will befriend thee.
10. Friends both in heaven and in hell, it is good to have some.
11. Friend agree best at distance.
12. Friends, all are not that speak us fair.
13. Friendship cannot be without equality, perfect.
14. Friendship cannot stand always on one side.

4.Connection of souls

15. Friends in general, many one in special.
16. Friends may meet, but mountains never greet.
17. Friend is another self.
18. Friend is my nearest relation, a good.

5.Money and friendship

19. Friend at (in court).
20. Friend in court is better than (worth) a penny purse.
21. Friend in the market is better than money in the chest.

6.Testing of friendship

22. Friend is newer known till man have need.
23. Friend is not soon gotten at lost.
24. A friend in need is a friend indeed.
25. Friend that grinds at my mill, he is my.
26. Friends, have but few though many acquaintances.

1.2.4 Analysis of English Proverbs and Discussion of Results

The list of proverbs contains 26 entries; this is almost all what has been found in *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*. Five proverbs have been removed from the list, because they are too archaic and even for a native speaker the meaning of proverbs remains unclear (a native speaker of English has been asked to clarify their meaning). The above classification of proverbs has been done on the basis e of semantics. All the proverbs are very clear, informative and well-remembered. The concept of *friendship* is transparent, two proverbs about friendship declare that everything depends not only on one person, fair attitude and cooperation are significant elements (*Friendship cannot be without equality, perfect. Friendship cannot stand always on one side*). There are other proverbs

that contain a valuable lesson on the theme of friendship. One of them advises to understand yourself first, then others will be your friends. Another recommends to have a lot of friends everywhere, probably because from a mercantile point of view it is never known who will be useful in life. Likewise, one proverb admonishes to be nice and polite with everybody, not to spoil relations with people (*Friends both in heaven and in hell, it is good to have some*). Interestingly, there are proverbs that are completely contrary to the previous advice (*Friend to everybody is a friend to nobody; Friends, all are not that speak us fair; Friends in general, many one in special*). It is obvious that friendship takes time and if somebody has too many friends it is impossible to create strong relationships because of the lack of time. Proverb “*Friends are thieves of time*” confirms that fact. Despite the fact that friends really one’s attention and spending time with them, this proverb is in a way negative due to the comparison of a friend's image with a thief, it creates bad associations. To the negative aspects of friendship in the English language can be also added that friendship has restrictions and borders (*Friend as far as the altar conscience permits*). Testing of friendship is quite obvious for English people because they tend to be distrustful and detached for the first time, as discussed above. Of course, in order to go from the category of numerous acquaintances to the category of friends, desire only is not enough, it is necessary to pass a test of friendship. The proverbs in the category “Connection of souls” are quite simple but despite that these proverbs are highly expressive. Through a couple of basic words an amazing depth of meaning is conveyed. The choice from many people of one in particular states that a friend is the closest person and the equating of a friend with oneself proves that connection of souls and emotional closeness in friendship is very considerable. (*Friend is another self; Friend is my nearest relation, a good*). The overall picture of the proverbs is quite diverse: some of them characterize British people as far-sighted and kind of mercenary, self-interested. The following diagram represents the semantic categories of proverbs about friendship in English together with the number of proverbs in each category.

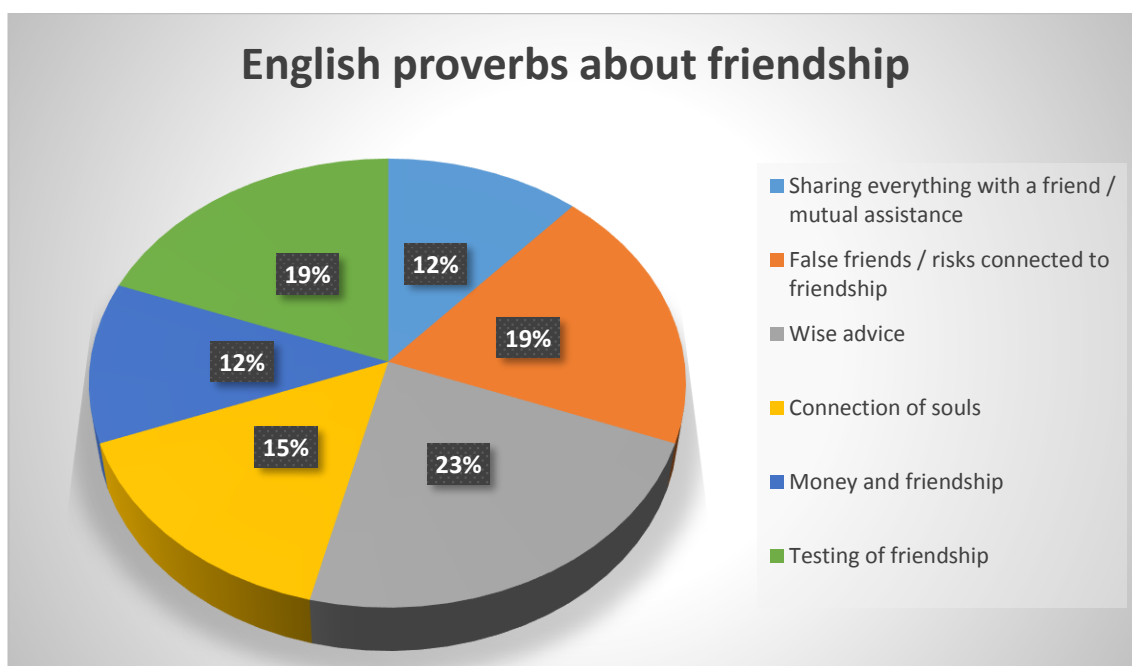


Figure 1. *English proverbs about friendship*

The leader of the chart is category “Wise advice” (23%). This is not surprising because it may be said that British people tend to think and analyze things, they are not too emotional. This category provides behavioural advice about friendship and friends. Next goes the category of proverbs about false friends and risks of friendship and friendship examination (19%). There is a rather logical connection of categories because of the experience and habits of the British to open to people after a certain period of time. Third place takes the category named “Connection of souls” (15%). This category is in the middle position of the chart, so there are no reasons to claim that connection of souls is extremely important or on the contrary, does not matter. “Money and friendship” and “Sharing everything with a friend/ mutual assistance” are in the same and actually the last position of the chart (12%). In accordance with proverbs about mutual assistance friend should always be ready to help. Proverbs about money do not tell if friends should give their money to friends or should they separate these two concepts. A large difference in the percentage of the categories proverbs is not observed, the biggest difference is 11%, between proverbs which contain wise advice and two categories which are on the last position: “Money and friendship” and “Sharing everything with a friend/ Mutual assistance.” These two categories are in equal position because in the proverbial section about money it was found out that British people expect help from their friends, they believe that when there is a situation where they need help, a friend will help. At the same time, they are ready to share their goods too, ready to help when a friend is in need. Such

honesty and willingness to help friends without a doubt deserves respect. However, it should be noted that the category “Sharing everything with a friend/mutual assistance” takes the last position in the chart, not the first place and this category is not even in the middle. This result may lead to the conclusion that cooperation and help is not a priority in the life of British people, as depicted in proverbs. The fact that the category “Connection of souls” stands only one position higher may confirm the previous thought. First three categories, such as “Wise advice”, “False friends/Risks connected to friendship” and “Testing of friendship” are of theoretical nature and experience of previous times. The situation that these categories prevail in the chart suggests that according to the proverbs the English/British are reasonable, suspicious, distrustful and prefer to stay detached. However, in the list of proverbs there are very emotional units, which speak of the great role of friends in life and of readiness to sacrifice much for the sake of friendship.

CHAPTER II: Russian Culture and Russian Proverbs about Friendship

2.1 Russian Culture and Friendship in Russian Culture

Russian philosopher Berdyaev (1990:471) calls Russian people the most sociable and communicative nation on the Planet Earth and writes that “Russians have no conventions, there is no distance, there is a need to often see people with whom they do not even have particularly close relationships, turn the soul inside out, get into someone else's life... there are endless arguments about ideological issues.” According to Larina (2013), in one-word a Russian person can be described as a collectivist because Russians always have had communality, they have never put their personal aims and interests above collective interests. Obviously, this is the reason why Russian people are considered rather sociable and family-orientated. It was so centuries ago and stays the same nowadays. Romanova (1989) writes that there is an opinion among Russians that it is much more fun to live with a big family, but separate living is more quiet. Romanova (1989) claims that a strong connection between family members exist and not only parents are always ready to help and give support to their children but also grandparents maintain close relations with grandchildren. Romanova (1989:66) acknowledges that “Connection between families is extremely strong: on a rare day do children not go to their parents, ask them to look after grandchildren and come to holidays, although they like to meet friends.”

In the Russian language, the word “friend” is emotionally deep (has an emotional connotation) and “friendship” is not just an empty word too. If somebody calls somebody a friend, it means that they can rely on each other, trust, support and understand not only when everything is fine, but especially when the friend has problems. “Friendship in Russian culture means long and strong relationship, tested by time and different situations, there is a strong spiritual connection between friends based on common interests, trust and attachment” (Larina 2013:81). The same author adds that communication behaviour actually confirms that Russians highly value sincere and emotional communication, they are characterized by tactile communication and active gesticulation, the expression of emotions and facial expressions, pessimism, they openly and honestly show their thoughts and moods. Such lively communicational behaviour does not mean that Russian people easily make friends with everybody. They really like to share their feelings and ideas with other people, even if they are not close. Larina (2013) notes that the results of a survey show that Russians cannot answer immediately the question “*How many friends do you have?*” They usually take some time to think about people whom they can call their friends and generally answer that they have two, three or

four friends, but no more than ten. Such a response may testify that Russians choose their friends very carefully and clearly divide the concept of a friend and acquaintance.

“Collectivism of Russian people is reflected in the presence and consciousness of the concept of "collective", which is absent in English culture. *Do not have a hundred rubles, but have a hundred friends* and *Two is a company-three is a crowd*. At the same time, it is curious that an Englishman can have a hundred friends rather than a Russian, because in English a friend is not only a friend, but also an acquaintance” (Larina, 2013:57)

The deep meaning of the word *friend* shows the type of interpersonal relationships, which in turn speaks of a difference with other cultures in the value system (Larina 2013).

Although Russians’ opinion about friendship is rather clear, in English culture this concept is more complicated.

“The Russian *Ozhegov Dictionary* explains the term “friendship” as “a close relationship, based on mutual trust, affection and unity of interests.” The *Oxford English Dictionary*, however, suggests there may be two different levels of friend – of which the more common may be closer to mere acquaintance: “A person with whom one has developed a close and informal relationship of mutual trust and intimacy; (more generally) a close acquaintance ” (Larina, 2013:60)

The attitude of Russian people to friendship and their friends helps understand values and social characteristics of this nation.

2.2 Role of Russian Proverbs in Everyday Life

The use of proverbs often occurs when one person tells another about some everyday situation, then the story becomes brighter stylistically and more interesting. Furthermore, proverbs convey the thought of the speaker faster and more accurately, since five sentences can often be paraphrased into one proverb. According to Zimin, and Spirin (1996:15) “The central figure is always a man person in his various “manifestations” - in all his splendour and in all his unattractiveness.” For writers, proverbs are an important source of accurate and vivid words, and in proverbs, writers also find non-ordinary images for their work. As a result, it becomes clear that proverbs serve as adornment of speech and wisdom found in several spheres of life: routine and creative.

2.2.1 Etymology of Russian Proverbs

Razumov (1957) writes that nobody can accurately state when the first proverbs and sayings appeared, but first collections appeared in Russia in the XII century, this date is considered to be the beginning of the process of collecting Russian proverbs. The interest in proverbs and sayings gradually increased. Scientific collection of Russian proverbs and sayings began from wonderful words of L. M Lomonosov that proverbs are considered to be people's heritage, collective creativity. However, proverbs on different topics were

born in different environments. For example, a huge number of proverbs and sayings belong to the authorship of artisans, the proletariat, the trading environment. All these people have invested in proverbs their experience, views, working and living conditions. The same author asserts that “proverbs and sayings arise not only as the result of immediate life observations: they are poured into folk speech from popular poetic and literary works.” (Razumov 1957: 63). Razumov (1957) mentions that some proverbs first appeared in fairy tales, fables and anecdotes, and also appeared in a fable or an anecdote. Proverbs are used in literary works, in the same place they can change their habitual form, and in addition, new sayings are being written in literary works that replenish the national funds. (Zimin and Spirin 1996).

2.2.2 Sample

Dahl (1957:1) states that “A vivid and imaginative Russian language is especially rich in proverbs. There are thousands, tens of thousands!”. This quote is taken from a chapter called “The treasury of people's wisdom” and from this chapter begins the book of V. Dahl, that contains proverbs of the Russian people of different times on different topics. This specific collection of proverbs was chosen as the main source because this book is the richest collection and most comprehensive of proverbs. Another reason of that choice is the great number of proverbs connected with friendship that can be found in several books. A lot of them are taken from Dahl’s collection: some of them are preserved in the original form and some are paraphrased. It is possible to say that Dahl’s collection is unique in its kind in terms of the volume and diversity of the material. All proverbs and sayings are grouped by topic; It is a real encyclopaedia of well-known folk sayings, as states Razumov (1957). Dahl's book can be deservedly considered a fount of folk art of different time intervals, a classic and widely known example of a collection of proverbs. Dahl played an exceptionally large role in collecting and publishing of proverbs. Razumov (1957:8) points out that “In 1853, Dahl compiled a collection that included proverbs and sayings collected by himself and borrowed from the press, total of 30,000” This book accurately reflects the mentality of the Russian people, their spiritual structure, and their attitude to friendship. Another interesting fact is that Dahl’s collection of Russian proverbs was published only in 1862, but the work on this book started years and years earlier. In 1957 this collection was republished again. Razumov (1957:9) explains that “Proverbs collected by V. Dahl are still the most complete collection of Russian proverbs and sayings”.

2.2.3 Semantic Classification of Russian Proverbs about Friendship

Russian proverbs about friendship were taken from Dahl's book (1987). Proverbs about friendship can be divided into different semantic subcategories, since they are of a different nature. Some of them are quite clear and easy to understand, some of them are not. Moreover, some of them contradict to each other. Several proverbs need additional comments because of archaic language or double meaning, for instance.

Proverbs about friendship not only glorify purity of friendship, but give advice on what not to do, how not to lose a friend but also false friends and risks are mentioned too.

Classification of proverbs has been done on the semantic criterion. Proverbs about friendship in Russian can be also divided into similar categories on the basis of semantic criterion (i.e. their meaning, representation of various sides of friendship and life as a whole).

1. Sharing everything with a friend / mutual assistance

1. Друг другу терем ставит, а недруг недругу гроб ладит.
2. Для милого дружка и сережку из ушка.
3. Жить заодно, делиться пополам.
4. У нас с тобой и лен неделин (всё вместе).
5. Для друга нет круга. Для друга семь верст не околица.

2.False friends and risks connected to friendship

6. Скатерть со стола - и дружба сплыла.
7. Есть брага да пирожки, так есть и други (и дружки).
8. С собакой ляжешь - с блохами встанешь. = И от доброй собаки блох наберешься.
9. Свяжись с дураком - сам дурак будешь.
10. Говорить правду - потерять дружбу.= Правду говорить - друга не нажить.

3.Wise advice

11. На частую дружбу часом (часто, чаще) раздружье.
12. С другом дружись, а сам не плошись (а за саблю держись).= Дружиться дружись, а нож (а камень) за пазухой держи.
13. С другом дружись, а как недруга берегись.
14. С медведем дружись, а за топор держись.

15. Дружба от недружбы близко живет =Дружба дружбе рознь, а иную хоть брось.

4.Connection of souls

- 16. Свой своего знает (видит) издалека.
- 17. Свой своему поневоле друг. Душа душу и знает.
- 18. Рыбак рыбака далеко по плесу видит = Рыбак рыбака видит издалека.
- 19. Поп попа, дурак дурака и знают.
- 20. Больше той любви не бывает, как друг за друга умирает.

5.Money and friendship.

- 21. Счет дружбы не портит. Счет дружбе не помеха.
- 22. Чаше счет, дольше (крепче) дружба
- 23. Не давай денег, не теряй дружбы.
- 24. Раздружится друг - хуже недруга.
- 25. Богач друга не узнает. Богатому ни правды, ни дружбы не знавать.

6.Similarity of friends

- 26. Одрать с одранью и чешется.
- 27. Сапог с сапогом, лапоть с лаптем.
- 28. Два кота в одном мешке не улежатся.
- 29. Две кошки в мешке дружбы не заведут. =Два медведя в одной берлоге не улягутся.
- 30. Две бараньи головы в один котел не лезут (что-нибудь да торчит).

7.Testing of friendship

- 31. Друг до поры - тот же недруг.
- 32. Без друга - сирота; с другом - семьянин.
- 33. Друзей-то (приятелей) много, да друга нет.
- 34. Друг и брат великое дело: не скоро добудешь. (сравнение с семьей)
- 35. И всяк тебе друг, да не вдруг. =Будь друг, да не вдруг. Будь друг, да без убытку.

8.Culture of drinking

- 36. Одному и пьяно, да не мило; с другом и хмельно, да умно.

37. Пьешь у друга воду слаще меду.
38. У друга пить воду лучше неприятельского меду
39. На пиру много друзей. У пива, у бражки все дружки.
40. Пиво не диво, и мед не хвала; а всему голова, что любовь дорога.

2.2.4 Analysis of Russian Proverbs and Discussion of Results

Russian proverbs about friendship are full of emotions and expressiveness. They are so vivid and lively that a reader can easily feel the mood and moral lesson of the proverb. Most proverbs about friendship are literal in their meaning, almost every proverb is short and specific.

Interestingly, the image of a friend is opposed to a foe in some proverbs. (*Другу терем ставит, а недруг недругу гроб ладит; Раздружится друг - хуже недруга;*) In such a bright contrast, the image of a friend is especially light and positive, and the foe's image is dangerous and unfavorable. Furthermore, it is possible to say that a friend who causes wonderful emotions can become a very undesirable person in somebody's life and cause very unpleasant emotions or even hate. An extreme importance of friendship in the life of Russian people is confirmed by the fact that in proverbs friends are compared sometimes with family members. (*Без друга - сирота; с другом семьянин; Друг и брат великое дело: не скоро добудешь; Друзья прямые — братья родные.*) Comparison of a friend with family suggests that after passing through time and complex situations, a friend becomes very close, because family members are the closest people. Blood relation is the strongest one, people are ready for everything for the sake of their family and when someone is taken into a family, this means that friends play a huge role in each other's lives. Connection of souls is also a very significant category that shows value of a friend and the inextricable connection that exists between friends, friendship should be strong and something not practical but spiritual. (*в недруге стрела, что во пне, а в друге, что во мне; Эка дружба! Топором не разрубишь; Свой своему поневоле друг. Душа душу и знает.*) Everything is put inside proverb (*Больше той любви не бывает, как друг за друга умирает*) There is love - the strongest feeling, there is a friend - the closest person, there is death - the end of life, terrible and unexplored. Death can be not only physical, it can be spiritual and a friend can suffer and feel sorrow for a friend, feel spiritual pain for other person. True friend can sacrifice much for the sake of a friend, even his own life. This proverb perfectly illustrates the high degree of love and spiritual connection between friends. Proverbs tell that in friendship there is no

place for selfishness, because there comes a time when a friend must forget about him or herself for the sake of his/her friend.

According to Russian proverbs, similarity of friends is a contradictory advantage. Some proverbs declare that friends should be alike, because common interests and characters lead to understanding and similar characters will not harm each other (*Сапог с сапогом, лапоть с лаптем; Ворон ворону глаза не выклюнет. Блоха блоху не ест.*) But other proverbs related to similarity of friends state that likeness is not good for friends and leads to quarrels and irritation and as a result friends can't stand each other. (*Два кота в одном мешке не улежатся; Двум шпагам в одних ножках не ужаться*).

Such proverbs do not contradict each other, but in peremiology such things happen, because one situation can lead to a different end and for both outcomes there will be a suitable proverb. Testing of friendship is very important because friendship means a lot to the Russians. It is necessary to trust and be safe with a friend, important to know that friend can always come to help, to support. Moreover, it is very important to know that there is understanding and emotional connection between friends. A person who does not correspond to such qualities is called an "acquaintance", it means that nothing more than polite talk will unite these people. It is a well-known fact that culture of drinking takes a certain place in life of Russian people. Drinking with friends is a separate category in proverbial section, where it is said that everything is better when a friend is near. In this section about culture of drinking, love for a friend is mentioned, what is more love is above everything. Presumably, such sociable and sincere people as Russians prefer to drink with friends because they really love their company and while drinking they discuss everything: from personal life to philosophy and open their mind to each other, which can be difficult without alcohol sometimes. (*Одному и пьяно, да не мило; с другом и хмельно, да умно; Пьешь у друга воду слаще меду; Пиво не диво, и мед не хвала; а всему голова, что любовь дорога.*) Summing up, collection of Russian proverbs about friendship is very rich. Some of them are alike, there is changed word order only or a couple of words; some contradict each other to show one situation from different angle, but all proverbs have specific and exact value, provide wise advice and life lesson of our ancestors.

The following diagram shows the semantic categories of Russian proverbs about friendship and their proportions.

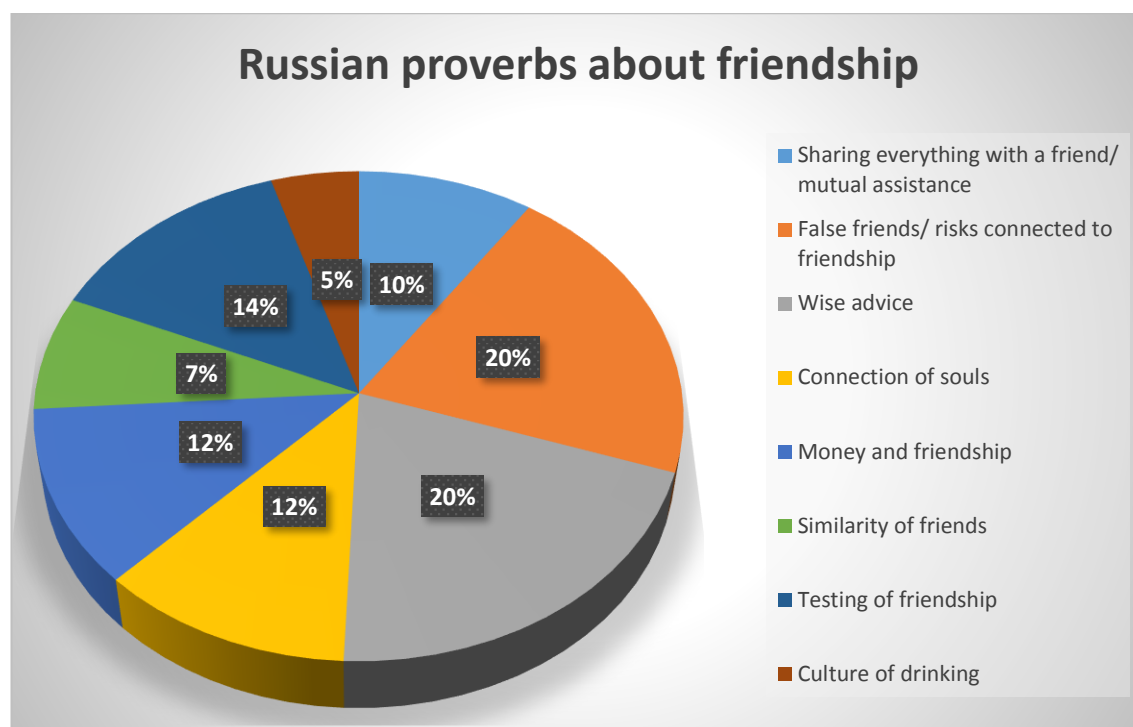


Figure 2. *Russian proverbs about friendship*

In Dahl's book, a lot of proverbs praise virtues of friendship but many of them advise to treat friends with caution and not to be too trustful. The negative experience of people is rich enough, the number of proverbs on the subject of false friendship occupies the leading position (20%). The category "Wise advice" divides the first place with the category "False friends and risks connected to friendship". There is behavioral advice about how not to lose a friend, about friendship that does not lead to anything good, besides, importance of old friends tested by time and finding true friends is mentioned too. Next place takes the category "Testing of friendship" (14%). It is logical, taking into account the experience, and the previous two categories which are in the dominant position. Serious attitude towards friendship makes Russian people test friends and not to be too confiding.

Two categories divide the third place in the chart: "Connection of souls" and "Money and friendship" (12%). That is a rather strange coincidence, in view of the semantic diversity of these categories. Proverbs about connection of souls are very emotional and tell about friendship that seems eternal. This category of proverbs opens the fact that friends are something inseparable, but the other category which divides the third place denies it. As for money and friendship, here half of proverbs give advice not to confuse these two concepts because otherwise there is a threat of losing a friend. Other half of proverbs claims that money and friendship are not a hindrance to each other and to help a friend is a matter of honor, because friends are more important than money. The

fact that this category is on a rather high position indicates that not only the soul, but also money have great importance for Russian people and warns of high risk to lose friendship over money. On the other hand, proverbs which give advice about money and friendship can be moved to the category “Wise advice” and then they can be considered just a part of bad experience and theoretical advice on this basis. 10% in the chart belongs to category “Sharing everything with a friend/importance of mutual assistance”. This is not a very high result, but proverbs in this category tell that a friend should be ready to share with you both grief and joy and always help each other, that means real friendship. Then goes “Similarity of friends” (8%), proverbs in this category contradict each other and occupy the last position in the chart. The smallest category is “Culture of drinking”, only 5%. This category seems to be not so important in Russian people`s lives but it is mentioned because they seem to love spending time and drinking with friends, because friendship is something magical and even “*friend`s water is tastier than honey*”. Finally, it can be said that friendship is an integral part of Russian people`s lives, however, the testing of friendship and principles of friendship are very important too. Russian people relate to friendship very responsibly and require the same attitude from a friend, they are not trustful or very open people; they prefer to keep long friendship with old and trusted friends and believe that this is better than new acquaintances.

CONCLUSION

After analysing and comparing the proverbs about friendship from two reliable and equivalent sources in English and Russian, the following conclusions can be drawn: the number of proverbs in the sources is very different. In the collection of Dahl, it is possible to find more than 140 proverbs connected to friendship, while in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, the quantity of proverbs about friendship is smaller than 35.

- 1) Both English and Russian proverbs about friendship are subject to the same criteria of semantic classification, the results of which allow analyzing the mentality of English and Russian people, finding similarities and differences in these two cultures.
- 2) Russian proverbs about friendship allow for more semantic classification criteria than English proverbs.
- 3) The classification of the proverbs and the diagram constructed on its basis allow to examine in detail the components of friendship, determine the dominant category and, on the basis of this knowledge, draw conclusions about the most important cultural values and stable representations of two different nations on the concept of friendship, the importance of communication and the role of friendly relationships in life.

The conducted research and the semantic analysis of proverbs make it possible to draw conclusions that friendship has a high value for Russian people. Russian people invest their soul in friendship, they take this concept very seriously, the concept of "friendship" includes mutual assistance, trust, support and common interests, which speaks about collectivism, emotionality and the high degree of need for communication and really close relations. However, the result of the distribution of proverbs by semantic categories indicates the importance of testing friendship and the high number of risks associated with friendship. Also, a lot of practical advice on friendship is given, which indicates the seriousness and versatility of this concept. Based on this, it can be said that Russian people treat their friends with caution and have a considerable number of expectations connected with friendship. The analysis of English proverbs shows that the concept of "friendship" represented by them is different from Russian proverbs. Wise statements and warnings about false friends are primary in English proverbs. The meaning of proverbs very often warns of the dangers associated with friendship. This is a confirmation of the pedantry and rationality of the English. They are often thought to be dominated by logical thinking, not the emotional side of life. In both cultures

friendship takes a long time to build, and it is possible to conclude that for both cultures it is really important to discern true friends from false ones. Friends are those who have passed the test of time or adversity, friends should overcome all adversities together. There are no proverbs that it is good to have many friends in Russian culture, but such proverbs are present in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*. Also, in the English dictionary of proverbs there is a proverb about friends and distance with meaning that distance is good for friendship. In Dahl's collection of Russian proverbs there are no proverbs with such meaning. On the contrary, Russian people prefer to be close to each other, the benefit of distance for friendship is not mentioned. That attitude to friendship is a vivid example of the difference in the character of collectivists and individualists. There is a difference in the attitude to money and friendship too. As for Russian culture, they provide a lot of different situations in their proverbs, and in English proverbs people try to find benefit from their friends; they consider that favorable contacts are even better than money. In Russian proverbs, there are a lot of comparisons with animals, with houseware, there is a special category called "similarity of friends". In *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* there are no proverbs about similarity of friends or comparison of people with animals or objects; proverbs about drinking with friends are absent too. Russian people seem to be not so practical in terms of friendship as English/British people, they are trying to find soulmates, not useful acquaintances. But it is interesting that the English are not obsessed with friends who hunt for their money. They are not afraid to associate these two concepts with each other, what cannot be said about Russian people.

The image/characteristics of a friend and friendship as represented in the proverbs differ in these two cultures but also coincide in some points. Both cultures believe that everybody needs a special friend with or a soulmate. Both cultures think that friendship should be tested, that there are risks, if you trust somebody too much. Since semantics of proverbs is often different, the mentality of English and Russian people differs too. English people are pretty often concentrated on their interests more while Russians are ready to forget about themselves if there is a need, but some English proverbs claim that English people are ready to share with friend everything too, they compare a friend with "another self" and "nearest relation". Undoubtedly, proverbs help to understand culture better. In conclusion, it can be said that proverbs give insight into culture and customs of a nation and friendship has different image/characteristics in English and Russian but at the same time they have a lot of common characteristics.

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SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

Vanasõnad väljendavad rahvatarkust kirjalikus vormis. Samuti võib neid pidada poeetiliseks ja tähendusrikkaks rahvuslikuks pärimuseks. Vene ja inglise kultuurides kannab rahvakunst, sõprusest rääkivate vanasõnade näol, mitmete põlvkondade poolt kogutud informatsiooni, mis aitab paremini mõista mõlemat kultuuri, sõpruse rolli ühiskonnas ja elus ning suhtumist sõpradesse.

Bakalaureusetööl on mitu eesmärki. Analüüsida ja võrrelda sõprusest kõnelevaid vanasõnu nii vene kui inglise kultuuris, tuua välja sarnasusi ja erinevusi sõpruse mõiste tähenduses ning teha järeldusi saadud informatsiooni alusel – kas on märgatavaid erisusi või sarnasusi vaadeldud kultuurides. Uurimistöö koosneb sissejuhatusest, kahest põhiosast ning kokkuvõttest. Sissejuhatus annab ülevaate fraseoloogilisest ja kujundlikust keelest, selgitab vanasõnade tähendust, samuti kirjeldab, kus ja kuidas neid kasutatakse, ning toob välja erinevuse vanasõnade ja teiste fraseologismide vahel. Esimene ja teine peatükk keskenduvad vanasõnade teoreetilisele ja praktilisele uurimisele: nende ajaloolisele päritolule, teemadele ja rahvuslikele eripäradele. Peatükkides on välja toodud sõpruse teemalistest vanasõnadest näited, millele järgnevad arutlus ja analüüs. Esimeses peatükis on kirjeldatud ingliskeelseid sõpruse teemalisi vanasõnu ja teises peatükis on kirjeldatud venekeelseid sõpruse teemalisi vanasõnu. Kokkuvõttes on esitatud mõlema peatüki põhiideed ning kommentaarid hüpoteesi kohta.

APPENDIX 1. List of Russian proverbs about friendship.

Для друга и пост разрешается.

Что есть вместе, чего нет, пополам.

Дорожка вместе, табачок пополам (солдатск.).

Для друга выпрягать из плуга.

Для друга все не туго (не тяжело и не скудно)

Не в службу, а в дружбу. Для друга выпрягать из плуга.

У нас с тобой и лен неделен (всё вместе).

Буде меня любишь, так и собаку мою не бей (люби).

Дружба не служба; а кому дружить, на того служить.

Друг другу терем ставит, а недруг недругу гроб ладит.

Для милого дружка и сережку из ушка.

Жить заодно, делиться пополам.

У нас с тобой и лен неделен (всё вместе).

Для друга нет круга. Для друга семь верст не околица.

Пили, ели - кудрявчиком звали; попили, поели - прощай, шелудяк!

Так друга любит, что для него последний кусок хлеба сам съест.

На частую дружбу часом (часто, чаще) раздружье.

Горевал, пока брагу сливал; а брагу слил, так всем стал мил.

Услужливый дурак опаснее врага (с басни Крылова).

Подсидел у друга муху (с басни Крылова).

Черный день придет - приятели откинутся.

Называется другом, а обирает кругом.

Брат Кондрат, пойдем кошек драть: мне шкура, тебе мясо.

Надсаженный конь, надломленный лук, да замиренный друг.

Хлеба нет — друзей и не бывало.

Кто кому надобен, тот тому и памятен.

Дружбу водить — так себя не щадить (себя надсадить).

Другу сноровить — себе (всем) досадить.

При пире (поре), при бражке — все дружки; при горе, кручине — нет никого.

На обеде все соседи; а пришла беда, они прочь, как вода.

Как при пире, при беседе — много друзей; как при горе, при кручине — нет никого.

Сапог лаптю не брат (не дружка, не чета, не ровня).

Не сошлись обычаем, не бывать дружбе.
Глупый умного, а пьяница трезвого не любят.
Хлеба нет — друзей и не бывало.
Кто кому надобен, тот тому и памятен.
Двое — не то, что один: подумаем, да и лошадь продадим (насмешка над требованием посоветоваться с другими).
Скатерть со стола - и дружба сплыла.
Есть брага да пирожки, так есть и други (и дружки).
С собакой ляжешь - с блохами встанешь.
И от доброй собаки блох наберешься.
Свяжись с дураком - сам дурак будешь.
Говорить правду - потерять дружбу.
Правду говорить - друга не нажить.
Скотина чешется бок о бок, а люди врознь.
Больше друзей — больше и врагов. Бойся друга, как врага.
Такие друзья, что схватятся, так колом не разворишишь.
Он с ним - лей, перелей. Сливочки, переливочки.
Не видишь - душа мрет; увидишь - с души прет.
Для друга нет круга. Для друга семь верст не околица.
Один ум - пол-ума; три ума - полтора ума; два ума - ум.
Их сам черт лычком связал.
Словно их черт веревочкой связал.
Эка дружба! Топором не разрубишь.
Старый друг лучше новых двух.
В недруге стрела, что во пне, а в друге, что во мне.
Свой своего знает (видит) издалека.
Свой своему поневоле друг. Душа душу и знает.
Рыбак рыбака далеко по плесу видит = Рыбак рыбака видит издалека.
Поп попа, дурак дурака и знают
Друзья прямые — братья родные.
Счет дружбы не портит. Счет дружбе не помеха.
Чаще счет, дольше (крепче) дружба
Деньги найдут друга; денежка найдет дружка.
Бедный знает и друга и недруга.
Не держи сто рублей, держи сто друзей.

Жив друг — не убыток. Друга держать не убыточно.
Пота дружба, пока нужда. Нужда сдружает.
Нужда сдружила, приволье раздружило.
Люби Ивана, а береги кармана.
Доброе братство милее богатства.
Друг денег дороже. Друга на деньги не купишь.
Счет дружбы не портит. Счет дружбе не помеха.
Чаще счет, дольше (крепче) дружба
Не давай денег, не теряй дружбы.
Богач друга не узнает. Богатому ни правды, ни дружбы не знать.
Без Ивашки не выпьешь бражки.
Одному и пьяно, да не мило; с другом и хмельно, да умно.
Был я у друга, пил я воду слаще меду.
Пьешь у друга воду слаще меду.
У друга пить воду лучше неприятельского меду
На пиру много друзей. У пива, у бражки все дружки.
Был я у друга, пил я воду слаще меду.
И всяк тебе друг, да не вдруг.
Не люби друга потаковщика (поноровщика), люби встречника.
Шуту в дружбе не верят. В дружбе правда.
Не узнавай друга в три дня, узнай в три года.
Друг неиспытанный, что орех нерасколотый.
И собака к собаке не подойдет, не обнюхав ее.
Не окрикнув, и к лошади не подходят.
Не изведен — друг; а изведен — два.
Без беды друга не узнаешь. Друг познается в несчастьи.
Друг познается на рати да при беде.
Коня в рати узнаешь, а друга в беде.
Друга узнать — вместе пуд (куль) соли съесть.
Изведен друг, козь соли вместе съевши.
Не сложив (не поживши), друга не узнаешь.
Друг до поры - тот же недруг.
Без друга - сирота; с другом - семьянин.
Друзей-то (приятелей) много, да друга нет.
Друг и брат великое дело: не скоро добудешь.

И всяк тебе друг, да не вдруг.
Будь друг, да не вдруг. Будь друг, да без убытку.
Другу не дружи (не поддакивай, не потакай)=(не потворствуй), недругу не груби.
С пьяным не бранись (не дерись), с богатым не тянись.
Пеший конному не товарищ. Иноходец в пути не товарищ.
Стоячему с сидячим трудно говорить (младшему перед старшим).
С чужим не бранись, а со своим не вались.
Жалеть мешка - не видать (не завести) дружка.
Нет друга, так ищи: а нашел, так береги.
Друга иди, а найдешь — береги.
Своих друзей наживай, а отцовых не теряй.
Новых друзей наживай, а старых не утрачивай.
Не держи сто рублей, держи сто друзей.
Жив друг — не убыток. Друга держать не убыточно.
Нет друга, так ищи: а нашел, так береги.
Друга иди, а найдешь — береги.
Лучше не свыкаться, коли (чем) расставаться.
Своих друзей наживай, а отцовых не теряй.
Новых друзей наживай, а старых не утрачивай.
В поле пшеница годом родится, а добрый человек всегда пригодится.
Будь знаком, а ходи дальше (ходи кругом)
Лычко с ремешком не связывайся.
Недруг поддакивает, а друг спорит.
Лучше найдешь — забудешь; хуже найдешь — вспомнешь.
Был бы сам хорош, так бы люди не испортили.
Будь знаком, а ходи дальше (ходи кругом)
На частую дружбу часом (часто, чаще) раздружье.
С другом дружись, а сам не плошись (а за саблю держись).
Дружиться дружись, а нож (а камень) за пазухой держи.
С другом дружись, а как недруга берегись.
С медведем дружись, а за топор держись.
Дружба от недружбы близко живет
Дружба дружбе рознь, а иную хоть брось.
Одрань с одранью и чешется.

Сапог с сапогом, лапоть с лаптем.

Два кота в одном мешке не улежатся.

Две кошки в мешке дружбы не заведут.

Два медведя в одной берлоге не улягутся.

Две бараньи головы в один котел не лезут (что-нибудь да торчит).

Чешися конь с конем, вол с волком, а свинья с углом.

Чешися конь с конем, вол с волком, а свинья в кол, коли не с кем.

Стрелец стрельца видит издалика.

Двум шпагам в одних ножках не ужиться

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