

DOI: 10.18524/2307-4558.2022.38.269926

UDC [811.161.1+811.581]-115'373.74:398.91:141.112

**ZHANG Yiran,**

Master of the Institute of Foreign Languages, Hunan Normal University; 36 Lushan Road, Yuelu District, Changsha, 410081, China; tel.: +86 19573124201; e-mail: 1129586092@qq.com; ORCID ID: 0000-0003-1694-5722

**STEPANOV Ievgenii Nikolayevich,**

Grand Ph.D. in Philological Sciences, Full Professor, Distinguished Professor Xiaoxiang, Hunan Normal University, Institute of Foreign Languages, Russian Department; 36 Lushan Road, Yuelu District, Changsha, 410081, China; tel.: +86 17570751005; e-mail: stepanov175@163.com; ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5441-9822

**AXIOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LEFT AND RIGHT IN RUSSIAN AND CHINESE FIXED WORD-COMBINATIONS AND PAROEMIAS**

**Summary.** The *purpose* of the article is to reveal the cultural connotation and axiological characteristics of the concepts «left» and «right», which make up one of the universal binary oppositions, in Russian and Chinese fixed word-combinations and paroemias in order to determine the differences between the Russian and Chinese language worldviews in the cognitive zone of the presence of these concepts. The *object* of the research is Russian and Chinese phraseological units with the key words *left* and *right*. The *subject* of the study is the determination of common and distinctive features in the perception of traditional views and habits by Chinese and Russians regarding the use of the above-mentioned concepts in their national language worldviews. The procedures of semantic, connotative, phraseological, linguocultural, conceptual, cognitive, comparative and quantitative analysis, as well as the descriptive *method*, were used in the research process. The *results* of the study were the identification of 74 Russian and 62 Chinese phraseological units with different structures, containing indicators of the concepts «left» and «right». They are classified according to their discursive meaning, sphere of functioning, and axiological characteristics. A comparative analysis of the linguocultural principles of their use in the Russian and Chinese languages was carried out. *Conclusions* are made regarding the asymmetry of the traditional perception and functioning of the conceptual meanings of left and right in the compared languages.

**Key words:** concept, left, right, fixed word-combination, paroemias, phraseology, axiological characteristic, connotation, Russian and Chinese languages, language worldview.

**Problem statement.** Working in the Chinese audience with the Russian texts containing the lexemes left and right, we found out that the Chinese speakers, adequately perceiving the concepts of «left» and «right» as the sides of orientation in space and in the location of organs and body parts, not always react with understanding to the use of these words in figurative meanings and to the assessments that the Russians give to separate information blocks, which contain phraseological and / or paroemias with these words. In their turn, speakers of Slavic cultures, including Russian, testify to the assessments of *left* and *right*, presented by Chinese participants in different situations of intercultural interaction, which are not always clear to them — others. The duality or inconsistency of assessments in intercultural interaction is a problem that is only beginning to be developed in linguistics. The identification of cases of axiological differences in intercultural communication, their interpretation, the search for the causes and, subsequently, the possibilities and ways to eliminate the contradictions in assessments is the most important task of intercultural axiology, within which this study is carried out.

**Correlation of related problems.** The concepts *left* and *right* represent one of the universal binary oppositions recognised and used by people all over the world. The concept of «binary opposition» was introduced by the Russian linguist N. S. Trubetskoy, who first attempted to systematize the opposition. Today, binary opposition is «a universal means of rational description of the world, where two opposing concepts are considered simultaneously, one of which asserts a quality and the other denies it» [17, p. 72]. After N. S. Trubetskoy created the phonological methodology on the basis of the sense-differentiating feature, the formation of which involves binary oppositions (for example, in the Russian language *глухость* and *звонкость*, *мягкость* and *твёрдость*, *нижний* and *верхний* подъём, *передний* and *задний* etc.), the system of binary differential features began to be actively used in all areas of structural humanities research, including psychology in relation to human thinking activity.

Some observations in the field of binary oppositions can be found in Plato's dialectic and Aristotle's formal logic. Thus, in the philosophical heritage of Plato. Vyach. Vs. Ivanov argued that the binary perception of the world is due to human physiology, namely that the brain is divided into two hemispheres, each having its own function. In addition, humans have two eyes: left and right, two ears: left and right, two nostrils: left and right, the same applies to the arms and legs [4]. He also claimed about asymmetry of the brain, and in connection with it, about asymmetry of sign systems, which are binary oppositions. Among these, the scholar identified such oppositions as *we* / *objects*; *ideal* / *real*; *body* / *soul*; *fantasy* / *mind*; *being* / *aspiration*, and several others, among which the *right* / *left* binary opposition has an important place.

The *right / left* binary opposition, as well as a number of others, is very actively studied by culturologists and cognitivists. Thus, according to the authoritative culturologist and historian studying medieval A. Y. Gurevich, they are the defining categories of human consciousness, they are closely related to each other and form a kind of «world model» that helps people perceive the surrounding reality [1, p. 7]. Scientists consider the principle of binarity as the basic principle of functioning of such a model of the world. The famous French ethnologist, anthropologist and culturologist Claude Lévi-Strauss argued that «mythological logic operates with oppositions such as 'day / night', 'up / down', 'right / left', acting not in isolation but as 'bundles', 'ensembles'. He proved that they can be used to study the structure of various myths, as binary oppositions are at the heart of each myth and constitute the structure of human thinking [9, vol. 1].

The *right / left* binary opposition has rarely been the object of research in linguistics. Linguists have been interested in the features of functioning of these concepts in language worldviews [7], ritual practice [6], as part of terminological units [14].

Recently, the comparative study of phraseology, including Russian and Chinese phraseology, has attracted the interest of researchers in linguistics [e.g.: 15; 16]. The main purpose of such studies is to identify the historical and cultural peculiarities of national language worldviews and to develop a methodology for incorporating the results of these studies into the language and general humanities training of students when they study foreign languages.

**Task Statement.** The purpose of this article is to identify the cultural connotation and axiological characteristics of «left» and «right» in Russian and Chinese fixed word-combinations and paroemias in order to better understand the differences between Russian and Chinese social psychology and everyday language habits. Such tasks follow from this: 1) classify fixed word-combinations and paroemias with the key words «left» and «right» in Russian and Chinese languages; 2) study their axiological characteristics of meanings; and 3) conduct a comparative analysis of Russian and Chinese units. The object of our study is Russian and Chinese fixed combinations and paroemias with the key words *left* and *right*. The subject of the study is the analysis of the asymmetric connotation of left and right in Russian and Chinese. Methods for studying the material: comparative, semantic, connotative, phrase, and quantitative analysis.

**Presentation of the main material.** By sampling from dictionaries and reference books [12; 2; 3; 13; 18; 19; 20] we selected 62 Chinese and 74 Russian fixed-combinations and paroemias containing the components *right* and *left* (Chinese characters 左 / *left* and 右 / *right*), which were divided into several groups according to the semantic dominants in Russian and Chinese linguocultures.

According to V. I. Karasik, «the cultural concept in the linguistic consciousness is represented as a multidimensional network of meanings, which are expressed not only by lexical, but also by phraseological units, paroemia etc.». [5, p. 14], The term «fixed word-combination» belongs to the number of universal terms of linguistic science and is used in various linguistic disciplines (lexis, phraseology, syntax). In this article, we use the term «fixed word-combination» for phraseology in accordance with the definition of this concept in Russian and Chinese, and the term «paroemia» for proverbs and sayings in Russian and Chinese, as well as for biblical and religious sayings in Russian, thus defining the object of our article as Russian and Chinese phraseological expressions in the broad sense.

The lexemes *left* and *right* have different meanings in fixed word-combinations and paroemias. The content they embody is also different. The ability to accurately understand the meaning of idioms is related to conflict-free interpersonal communication and the ability to express oneself correctly.

In the fixed word-combinations and paroemias these words can convey their direct conceptual azimuthal meaning, as well as act in several figurative meanings, formed in the process of historical development of the Russian and Chinese nation, everyday life, culture and precedent events of their representatives. The axiology of phraseology with the key words *left* and *right* is based on contrasting evaluations of approval of some and condemnation (disapproval) of others, of permissibility by some and prohibition (inadmissibility) by others, of respect for some and censure of some others.

Of the 74 selected Russian fixed word-combinations and paroemias, 32 contain the word *left* and 59 contain the word *right*; 17 of these contain both words. During the analysis, these units were divided into six groups according to their discursive meaning and sphere of functioning.

**1. Judgement about right and wrong.** By definition, *right* means «honest», «fair», «impeccable», etc., and *left* means «wrong», so there are a number of idioms in Russian that contain *left* and *right* as symbols of the binary opposition of wrong and right, respectively. For example: *Левая сторона. Левая позиция* (Leftist ideas). *Правое мнение* (1) Right idea. 2) Correct opinion.). *Правые деньги* (1) Money for a good cause. 2) Honest money). *Наставлять на стезю правую* (To be engaged in re-educating some dishonest person). *Право дело — а в кармане засвербело!* (It is not always financially beneficial to do the right thing). *Правёхонек (правёшенек) / во всём прав, ни в чём не виноват* (Right in everything, in every little thing, not guilty of anything). *Правая дорога, прямая* (The right way of life, the straight one). *Не прямо, да право* (= и виноват, да оправдан) (Guilty but acquitted). *Бывает и виноватый прав* (A situation in which the perpetrator is acquitted). *Правого Бог правит* (God guides you to do the right thing). *Моё дело сторона, а муж мой прав* (I don't interfere in my husband's affairs, but he's

**right.**) У **правого** уши смеются, а у виноватого и язык уныл (The **right** one even has ears laughing, while the guilty one has a dull tongue). Вору не божиться — и **праву** не бывать (Just as a thief will never believe in God, so the **right** will never triumph). Виноватый винится, а **правый** ничего не боится (The guilty one is guilty, but the **right** one is not afraid of anything). Чем старее, тем **правее**; а чем моложе, тем дороже (The older, the more **right**; and the younger, the more expensive). Тем **неправ**, что «давно» (Это было давно, и (поэтому) неправда) (That is **wrong** that «long ago» / It was a long time ago and (therefore) **not true**). Чья воля старее, та и **правее** (Whose power / **right** / law is older, that is more **right**).

**2. Assessment of a person's actions and characteristics through the symmetry / asymmetry of their paired organs.** *Left* and *right* hands, feet and eyes are sometimes used to judge a person's actions. For example: Чего **левая** рука хочет — an assessment of illogical, irrational behaviour or an individual action, which, at the same time, can be either intentional, unintentional or reckless. Сделать **левой** ногой (пяткой). — About carelessness in business; about poor quality work. **Одной левой**. — A positive assessment of a person's strength. **Правая рука** — «main helper», «most competent helper», «most trustworthy person»: **Правая рука всегда права** (The **right** hand is always **right**). **Правша** не даст **левше** выйти из себя (The **right**-hander will not let the **left**-hander lose his temper). **Не левой** ногой сморкается (за ухом чешет) (literally: He/she blows his/her nose (or: scratches behind the ear) with a non-**left** foot). — Proverbial. Humorous. Indicates that a person knows how to behave socially. **Правая рука не ведаёт, что делает левая**. — About controversial and / or unprofessional human behaviour. **Говорит направо, а глядит налево**. — About a two-faced man or woman who does inconsistent things; about a traitor; about a man who cannot be trusted. У них один брат **правша**, другой — **левша**, третий — **обруч** (They have one brother who is **right**-handed, the other is **left**-handed, the third works equally with both **right** and **left** hands.). — About different characters in one family, about the lack of unity in approaches, rules, decisions in one team, firm, bank, state. **Человек без друзей — левая рука без правой** (literally: A man without friends is a **left** hand without a **right**). — On the need for human socialisation in society. **Толковый сын — правый глаз отца** (literally: An intelligent son is the father's **right** eye). — A well-mannered and educated son will support his father in his old age. **Идти / пойти (ходить / уходить) налево** (Go to the **left**). — About marital infidelity of both husband and wife. **Пускать / пустить налево** (что-либо) (literally: Send something to the **left**). — To use something inappropriately, usually for personal gain.

**3. Human emotions and manner.** **Встать с левой** ноги (= being in a gloomy, bad mood, irritable state; literally: Get up on the **left** foot). **Как / что левая нога захочет** (= is guided only by his whim; about the feisty actions; literally: What the **left** leg will want). **Боже правый!** (An interjection that can be used in situations of surprise, fright, condemnation; **Good God!**). Also, when *left* is associated with the heart, the word is associated with positive emotions. For example: **Носить в левом** кармане (фотографию / письмо / записку / прядь волос и т. д.). — Carry in the left pocket of a shirt, jacket, that is, keep it near the heart, a photo, a letter, a note, a lock of hair, etc. — means to remember someone all the time.

**4. Omen associated with positive or negative developments.** In Russian culture there are also paroemias related to physical actions in relation to the concepts *left* or *right*. For example: **Если вы начнете надевать рубашку, куртку и т. д. с левого** рукава, ждите неприятностей. (If you start putting on a shirt, jacket, etc. with your **left** sleeve, **expect trouble**). **Если вы перед выходом на улицу надеваете любую одежду с левой** стороны, у вас будут проблемы. (If you're going somewhere and you wear any of your clothes on your **left** side, you're **in trouble**). **Жених и невеста кладут деньги в туфли в первый день свадьбы: как правило, жених кладёт их под обе пятки, невеста — только под левую** пятку. (The bride and groom put money in their shoes on the first wedding day: as a rule, the groom puts it under both heels, the bride only under the **left** heel). Putting a coin in the shoe symbolizes a desire for fame and fortune and wishes the groom «to walk on money all his life». The coin also acts as a talisman placed to the **left** of the unlucky bride to protect the vulnerable bride. **Если споткнулся на правую** ногу, если исполнилось **чётное** число лет от роду — к счастью; если же споткнулся на **левую** ногу, если исполнилось **нечётное** число лет от роду — к несчастью. (Who stumbles on their **right** foot, who has an even number birthday — **good luck**; who stumbles on their **left** foot, whose birthday is an **odd** number — **bad luck**). **Для молодой девушки ударить что-то правым** локтем — значит любимый вспомнил о ней. (For a young girl to hit something with her **right** elbow is a lover's recollection). **Курам скармливают гречку из правого** рукава, чтобы они не переставали нестись. (The hens are fed buckwheat from the **right** arm to lay earlier).

Most of these units, which inform people about omens, are modelled asymmetrically in the order in which the conceptual concepts of *left* and *right* are presented: in the first position they name what belongs to the *right*, and in the second, final position, what belongs to the *left*. The paroemias naming omens reflect positive or negative meanings, contrasting *left* and *right* sides of the same event occurring, for example, on the same part of the body: **Левой** рукой мосол (кость) держи, а в **правой** руке плеть кажи. (Hold the bone with your **left** hand and the whip in your **right** hand). **Правая** бровь свербит — хвалят, **левая** — бранят. (**Right** eyebrow itches — praise, **left** eyebrow — scolding).

**Правая нога в дороге озябнет раньше левой** — к добру. (The **right** foot gets cold before the **left** — good for you). **Правое ухо горит** — хвалят или **правое** говорят, **левое** — напраслину. (The **right** ear burns — praise, the **left** — vilification). **Левый глаз к слезам свербит, правый** — на любого глядеть. (If somebody's **left** eye itches, there will be tears, if the **right** one, his owner will see a darling). **Правый глаз чешется** — радоваться; **левый** — плакать. (The **right** eye itches — to rejoice; the **left** eye — to cry). **Правый глаз чешется к смеху, левый** — к слезам. (The **right** eye itches for laughter, the **left** for tears). **В правом ухе звенит** — к добрым вестям, в **левом** — к худым. (Ringing in the **right** ear for good news, in the **left** ear for bad news). **В правом ухе звенит** — добрый помин; в **левом** — худой. (Ringing in the **right** ear — a good memorial; in the **left** — a bad one). **В правом ухе звенит** — к теплу, в **левом** — к холоду. (Ringing in the **right** ear for warmth, in the **left** for cold). **Если левое ухо горит (жарко ему)** — плохое о тебе говорят, **правое** — хорошее. (If your **left** ear burns (it's hot) — somebody said bad things about you, your **right** ear — good things). **Правая бровь чешется** — кланяться мужчине, **левая** — женщине. (The **right** eyebrow itching is to bow to a man, the **left** eyebrow to a woman).

It is worth noting that when these omens are oriented towards «graceful» body parts (hands, ears, eyes, eyebrows), the **right** usually has positive connotations and the **left** has negative connotations. When the place of these omens is «vulgar» body parts (e.g. buttocks), the **left** one, on the contrary, has positive connotations and is evaluated positively, while the **right** one is evaluated negatively. For example: **Правая ягодица чешется** — к болезни и печали, **левая** — к корысти. (The **right** buttock itching is for sickness and sorrow, the **left** for self-interest). A similar thing is observed in regional paroemias with the word *foot*. For example, in the Nizhny Novgorod region: **Обувать прежде правую ногу** — зубы будут болеть. (Shoe your **right** foot first — your teeth will hurt).

**5. Exhortations, advice, generalised formulas of behaviour.** In this group we observe a clear line of direction away from negative qualities, emotions and actions of the object of exhortation and advice towards positive connotations and assessments. All positive things apply to the concept of the **right**. There is an asymmetry of **right** and **left** assessments. For example: **Право ходить** — душой не кривить. (To live by the **law** means not to prevaricate). **Ходи право, гляди Bravo!** (Live by the **law**, and you will look at everything with confidence). **Иди право, правым путём.** (Going the **right** way). **Право, только гляди прямо.** (**Right**, just look straight ahead). **Дракою прав не будешь.** (Fighting won't make you **right**). **Бранью праву не быть.** (Scolding will not achieve the **truth**). **Если ты прав, то не обязательно говорить громко.** (If you're **right**, you don't have to talk loudly). **Кто за правое дело стоит, тот всегда победит.** (Who defends the **truth** will always win). **Молчаньем прав не будешь** (Silence won't make you **right**).

**6. Generalised formulas for assessing justice.** This group of paroemias correlates with the first group, as it always relies on judgments about right or wrong. As in the units of the fifth group, here the **right** correlates with positive assessments, while the **left** correlates with negative ones. There is an axiological asymmetry. For example: **Правое дело** — правдивое, справедливое, законное. (**Righteousness** — truthful, just, lawful). **Виноватого оправить, правого обвинить, надо бить.** (Those who **justify** the guilty and punish the **right** should be punished). **Не всякий судит по праву, иной и по нраву.** (Not everyone judges by **law**, others by conscience, tradition or personal conviction). **Суд правый кривого дела не выправит** (а кривой суд правое скривит). (The **right** court will not **straighten** a crooked case (and a crooked court will twist the **right** one)). **Правый суд не остуда.** (A **fair** trial does not reassure). **Умная пословица о праве** — Сперва рассуди, а потом осуди. (Clever proverb about **law** — First understand, and then judge). **Бывает и виноватый прав.** (Sometimes the culprit is **right**). **Кто пораней, тот и поправей.** (Who is first is **right**). **Выворачивать на левую сторону.** (Forcing someone to confess everything without concealment).

It follows from the above analysis that in 90 % of the Russian fixed word-combinations and paroemias the **right** is assessed positively in 90 % of cases (53 units) and negatively in only 10 % of cases (6 units). The **left** is assessed negatively in 91 % of cases (29 units), and positively in 9 % of cases (3 units). In particular, **right** is a symbol of good luck, while **left** means bad luck, bad omen. This asymmetry of assessments is largely related to the original meanings of the words **left** and **right**, as well as to the cult traditions of the Slavs.

Of the 62 selected Chinese fixed word-combinations and paroemias containing the characters 左 / **left** and 右 / **right**, 55 contain 左 / **left**, 44 contain 右 / **right**, and 42 units contain both concepts. Most of these fixed word-combinations and paroemias are derived from ancient texts. All of them can be divided into six groups according to their discursive meaning and sphere of functioning.

**1. Assessment of the location of a person or object from a spatial feature.** All units in this group of phraseological units are characterised by the transfer of meanings of directions 左 / **left** and 右 / **right**, and the emotional connotation is more evident. For example: 1) 水置座右. — In ancient China, people used to put valuable paintings and calligraphy on the right side of their chair. If you put 水 / **water** in this place, it shows that your mind is like water without greed and are able to be content. This paremia indicates a person's ability to be content. 2) 错臂左衽; 披发左衽 — walking around with loose hair and wearing left-scented clothes (a custom of non-Chinese tribes). 披发 and 左衽 are the attire of eth-

nic minorities. The character 衿 denotes the lapel of the garment. The left front lapel covers the right armpit lapel, covering the right lap from the inside, i.e. it is the right lap and the opposite is the left lap. In ancient times, the lapels of Hanbok (traditional Chinese clothing) were placed on the right side. Thus, 左衽 ethnic minorities outside the Central Plains mean «backward» and «uncivilised». 3) 虚左以待 — Indicates to wait on someone with an empty seat to show respect to the guest. Warfare before the Han dynasty was mainly fought in chariots, with three men standing sideways on a chariot, except for the chariot of a monarch or commander-in-chief. In their chariots the honourable man was on the left. The reason for this was mainly that the man in the middle usually rode with the whip in his right hand, which caused some disturbance to the man on the right. The left position, on the other hand, was relatively calm, hence the fixed word-combination used to express respect.

There are other fixed word-combinations with similarly strong emotional and evaluative connotations: 无出其右; 左券之操 (稳操左券、可操左券、如持左券); 江左夷吾, where — 江左 refers to the area east of the Yangtze River; 夷吾 refers to Guan Zhong, a wise Qi minister during the Spring and Autumn periods, and is now used figuratively to refer to someone who can help the country, save people, that is, perform heroic deeds and under.

**2. Assessment of a person by his qualities and characteristics.** In this group, the fixed word-combinations 左 / *left* and/or 右 / *right* are used in connection with a surname or in combination with a body part to denote a person by their inherent qualities and characteristics, condition, and style of doing something. For example:

左家娇女 — A beautiful pretty girl.

情同羊左 (羊左之交) — Deep friendships.

强宗右姓 — The surname 右 / *You* belongs to a wealthy and influential family.

*Left* and *right* in these kinds of units refer to the meaning of the surname.

Thus, 左膀右臂, where 膀 means «shoulder»; 臂 means «hand». (*The left shoulder — the right hand*).

In general, this phraseology positively evaluates a person by his qualities of a capable helper.

In this group we also include persistent combinations: 如左右手; 左提右挈 (左挈右提); 左书右息; 左支右调.

**3. Assessment of the generalised meaning of the equivalence of the participants in an event and the events themselves.** This group of fixed word-combinations and paremias most often has the model: «左 A 右 B». The main meaning they convey is that of equivalence, which is most often reduced to conveying the meaning of «The left side as well as the right side...» or «Both this and that...». The meaning of this and that. *Left* and *right* in these idioms are deprived of their orientational spatial meaning and are mostly used figuratively to express a general meaning. For example:

左邻右舍 (左邻右里) — *Neighbours on the left and right* — The general location of neighbours, but in speech this idiom serves as a metaphor for other concepts that are close to each other, i.e. this unit conveys a generalised meaning of the proximity of objects or people in space.

左旋右抽 — *On the left a soldier turns the battle chariot, on the right another soldier kills the enemy with his sword*. Denotes that the army is bravely and successfully defeating its enemies on the battlefield.

There are other phraseological units based on this model and conveying a generalised spatial meaning with different assessments of events: 左冲右突; 左文右武; 左宜右直; 左宜右有; 左支右拙 (左右枝梧、左支右梧、左支右吾); 左萦右拂; 左推右挡; 左右逢源 (左右逢原); 左顾右盼; 右翦左屠; 左右为难; 左躲右闪; 左对孺子, 右顾稚子; 左耳进, 右耳出; 顾左右而言他 (左言他顾); 左右两难; 不左右袒; 左手画圆, 右手画方。

**4. The repetition of actions and the multiplicity of things.** This group of fixed word-combinations and paroemias is also formed according to the model: «左A 右B», but differs slightly from the third group in that the general meaning of the idiom is a repetition of an action or number of things. For example: 左思右想 — Reflecting on many different things, actions, events; thinking about several options, aspects. 左图右史 — Lots of books in the room. There are also similar units: 左拥右抱; 左右开弓; 左史右经; 左来右去; 左顾右盼.

**5. Assessment of incorrect.** For example: 1) 左道旁门 (旁门左道) — Once used to refer to witchcraft, but now is talk about the unrighteous way of dealing with a problem. 2) 意见相左 — About those whose views, opinions differ. 3) 左建外易 — About a person who, by deceitful and illegal means, establishes his power, changes the laws of the state (usually for the worse).

**6. Exhortations, advice, generalised formulas of behaviour.** As in Russian, Chinese also has paroemias containing the words *left* and *right* or their synonyms to reveal assessments in the form of omens, advice, generalised formulas of behaviour, but they are much fewer than in Russian. Emotional connotations are also evident. For example: 左手不托右手 — Keep your money to yourself and don't entrust it to people close to you. 左眼跳财, 右眼跳灾 — The left eye twitches for riches, the right eye for trouble.

**Conclusions.** Thus, as a result of the study carried out, 62 Chinese and 74 Russian phraseological units (fixed word-combinations and paroemias) were selected from dictionaries, which differ significantly in their content. Out of the 74 units in Russian, 32 contain the word «left» or words derived from it, 59 contain «right», and 17 units of the total number contain both words or words derived from them.

At the same time, of the 62 units in Chinese, 55 contain 左 / *left*, 44 contain 右 / *right*, and 42 contain both characters (concepts). Both Russian and Chinese phraseological units were classified according to their discursive meanings and spheres of functioning and categorized into six groups. However, the cognitive asymmetry of perception and functioning of the concepts 左 / *left* and 右 / *right* in the Chinese and Russian language worldviews is manifested not only in the structure of units and the degree of participation in them of the exponent of one or both concepts, but also in the evaluative characteristics of qualities, actions, judgments, emotions, beliefs of a person, his participation in this or that event, location in a certain place, his social position. In addition, there are both common and different spheres of human existence in which the assessment of the right and the left takes place.

In Russian, the conceptual binary opposition of *left* and *right* within phraseological expressions correlates with the conceptual binary opposition of *evil* and *good*. In the Russian language worldview, the right is associated with the idea of luck, correctness, and the left with failure, mistake, bad. In the religious consciousness of the Russians, the person behind the right shoulder has a good spirit-guardian, and behind the left shoulder — an evil spirit-discuser. 91 % of assessments of everything associated with the left in Russian phraseological phrases are assessed negatively (connotations of derogatory, alien, strange, hostile, dangerous, erroneous and evil), while 90 % of assessments of the right are positive (correct, stable, respectful, praiseworthy and good). In the Old Russian period *left* and *right* had meanings different from the modern ones, they denoted directions, not sides. The sides were denoted by the words *шуйй* — *left*; *десный* — *right*. Their original meanings influenced the praise and criticism of «left» and «right» in the later period.

In Chinese, the conceptual binary opposition 左 (*left*) and 右 (*right*) is present simultaneously within 49 % of phraseological units, performing the function of unifying the opposites rather than the axiological function of unambiguous positive or negative assessment. These units are modelled on the formula: «左A右B». In most cases, 右 and 左 are opposed and appear in figurative metaphorical meanings. In the Chinese language worldview, 右 (*right*) is evaluated positively and 左 (*left*) is evaluated negatively, if they characterize anything related to administrative, official, social-status discourse, the sphere of literature and art and some other spheres. If something related to military or transport discourse is evaluated, the *left* one is used to evaluate positively and the *right* one to evaluate negatively. Another peculiarity of the Chinese language is the use of the surname opposition 左 / *left* and 右 / *right* in the phraseology to evaluate a person or an event.

**Prospective** in the study of this topic is further search for extra-linguistic reasons for this significant axiological imbalance of *left* and *right* in the Chinese and Russian language worldviews.

#### References I

1. Гуревич А. Я. Категории средневековой культуры. 2-е изд., испр. и доп. Москва : Искусство, 1984. 350 с.
2. Даль В. И. Пословицы и поговорки русского народа. URL : <http://rus-yaz.niv.ru/doc/proverbs-dal/index-tema.htm/> (date of access: дата обращения: 4.10.2022).
3. Даль В. И. Толковый словарь живого великорусского языка. URL : <https://slovardalja.net/> (date of access: 4.10.2022).
4. Иванов Вяч. Вс. Чёт и нечет : Асимметрия мозга и знаковых систем. Москва : Сов. радио, 1978. 185 с. URL : <https://gtmarket.ru/library/basis/6567/6568?ysclid=laz40qr4jh993044286/> (date of access: 5.10.2022).
5. Карасик В. И. О категориях лингвокультурологии. *Языковая личность: проблемы коммуникативной деятельности* : Сб. науч. тр. Волгоград : Перемена, 2001. С. 3–16.
6. Качуренко Р., Качуренко С. «Правый — левый» в народной традиции и обрядовой практике. *Вера предков* : газета. 2011. № 6 (22). URL: <http://www.verapredkov.info/174mmirovozzr/mkultura/rodolad222/> (date of access: 3.10.2022).
7. Киселёва И. В. Левый и правый в русской языковой картине мира : дис. ... канд. филол. н.: 10.02.01. Москва, 2012. 196 с.
8. Колесов В. В. История русского языка в рассказах. Санкт-Петербург : Азбука-классика Авалонъ, 2005. 224 с.
9. Леви-Стросс К. Мифологии : в 4 т. / пер. с фр. З. А. Сокулер, К. З. Аюпян. Москва — Санкт-Петербург : Университетская книга : Культурная инициатива, 2000. Т. 1. Сырое и приготовленное. 399 с.
10. Малый академический словарь / под ред. А. П. Евгеньевой. URL: <http://feb-web.ru/feb/mas/mas-abc/default.asp/> (date of access: 2.10.2022).
11. Маслова В. А. Когнитивная лингвистика. 3-е изд., перераб. и доп. Минск : ТетраСистемс, 2008. 272 с.
12. Мокшенин В. М., Никитина Т. Г. Большой словарь русских поговорок. Москва : Олма Медиа Групп, 2007. 785 с.
13. Ожегов С. И., Шведова Н. Ю. Толковый словарь русского языка. 4-е изд., доп. Москва : ООО «А ТЕМП», 2006. 944 с.
14. Рехельс Т. Правое и левое. *Проза.ру*. URL : <https://proza.ru/2012/01/19/588?ysclid=lazm5evvrc947463048/> (date of access: 30.09.2022).
15. Степанов Е. Н., Ма Синьюэ. Русская и китайская «гардеробная» фразеология: лингвокультурологический и сопоставительный аспекты. *Мова* : науково-теоретичний часопис з мовознавства. Одеса : Астропринт, 2020. № 34. С. 67–75. DOI : 10.18524/2307-4558.2020.34.219519.
16. Степанов Е. Н., Ма Синьюэ. Лингвокультурное своеобразие русских и китайских фразеологизмов с прагматонимами. *Мова* : науково-теоретичний часопис з мовознавства. Одеса : Астропринт, 2021. № 36. С. 22–28. DOI : 10.18524/2307-4558.2021.36.249728.

17. Трубецкой Н. С. Основы фонологии / пер. с нем. А. А. Холодовича. Москва : Аспект Пресс, 2000. 352 с.  
 18. Фразеологический словарь русского литературного языка / сост. А. И. Фёдоров. Москва : Астрель, АСТ. 2008. 878 с.  
 19. 汉语大辞典 (Большой китайский словарь онлайн) [Электронный ресурс]. URL: <http://www.hyded.com/> (date of access: 5.10.2022).  
 20. 温端政 中国谚语大辞典 上海辞书出版社 2011年. 1371 页. [Уэнь, Дуань Чэн. Большой словарь китайских пословиц. Шанхай : Шанхайское словарное издательство. 2011. 1371 с.]

## References II

1. Gurevich, A. Ya. (1984), *Categories of medieval culture*, 2nd ed., rev. and add. [*Kategorii srednevekovoy kul'tury*, 2-ye izd., ispr. i dop.], Iskusstvo Publishing House, Moscow, 350 p.  
 2. Dahl, V. I. (2022), *Proverbs and sayings of the Russian people* [*Poslovitsy i pogovorki russkogo naroda*], URL : <http://rus-yaz.niv.ru/doc/proverbs-dal/index-tema.htm/> (date of access: 10/04/2022).  
 3. Dahl, V. I. (2022), *Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language*: in 4 volumes [*Tolkovyy slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo yazyka* : v 4 t.], URL : <https://slovardalja.net/> (accessed 10/04/2022).  
 4. Ivanov, Vyach. V's. (1978), *Even and odd : Asymmetry of the brain and sign systems* [*Chot i nechot : Asimmetriya mozga i znakovykh sistem*], Sovetskoye Radio Publishing House, Moscow, 185 p. URL : <https://gtmarket.ru/library/basis/6567/6568?ysclid=laz40qr4jh993044286/> (date of access : 10/05/2022).  
 5. Karasik, V. I. (2001), "On the categories of linguoculturology", *Linguistic personality : problems of communicative activity* : Collection of scientific works ["O kategoriyakh lingvokul'turologii", *Yazykovaya lichnost' : problemy kommunikativnoy deyatel'nosti* : Sb. nauch. tr.], Peremena Publishing House, Volgograd, pp. 3–16.  
 6. Kachurenko, R., Kachurenko, S. (2011), "«Right — Left» in folk tradition and ritual practice", *Faith of ancestors* : newspaper ["«Pravyy — levyy» v narodnoy traditsii i obryadovoy praktike", *Vera predkov* : gazeta], 2011, No. 6 (22). URL : <http://www.verapredkov.info/174mmirovozzr/mkultura/rodolad222/> (date of access: 10/03/2022).  
 7. Kiseleva, I. V. (2012), *Left and right in the Russian language picture of the world* : Thesis [*Levyy i pravyy v russkoy yazykovoy kartine mira* : dis. ... kand. filol. n. : 10.02.01], Moscow, 2012. 196 p.  
 8. Kolesov, V. V. (2005), *The history of the Russian language in stories* [*Istoriya russkogo yazyka v rasskazakh*], Azbuka-klassika Avalon Publishing House, St. Petersburg, 224 p.  
 9. Levi-Strauss, K. (2000), *Mythology* : in 4 volumes / transl. from Fr. by Z. A. Sokuler, K. Z. Akopyan [*Mifologiki : v 4 t.*], University Book : Cultural Initiative, Moscow–St. Petersburg, Vol. 1, *Raw and cooked* [*Syroye i prigotovlennoye*], 399 p.  
 10. *Small academic dictionary* (2022) [*Malyy akademicheskyy slovar'*], A. P. Evgenieva (ed.), URL : <http://feb-web.ru/feb/mas/mas-abc/default.asp/> (date of access : 10/02/2022).  
 11. Maslova, V. A. (2008), *Cognitive linguistics*, 3rd ed., rev. and add. [*Kognitivnaya lingvistika*, 3-ye izd., pererab. i dop.], TetraSystems Publishing House, Minsk, 272 p.  
 12. Mokienko, V. M., Nikitina, T. G. (2007), *Big dictionary of Russian proverbs* [*Bol'shoy slovar' russkikh pogovorok*], Olma Media Group, Moscow, 785 p.  
 13. Ozhegov, S. I., Shvedova, N. Yu. (2006), *Explanatory dictionary of the Russian language*, 4th ed., add. [*Tolkovyy slovar' russkogo yazyka*, 4-ye izd., dop.], LLC «A TEMP», Moscow, 944 p.  
 14. Rehel's, T. "Right and left", *Proza.ru* site ["Pravoye i levoe", *Proza.ru* : sayt], URL : <https://proza.ru/2012/01/19/588?ysclid=lazm5evvrc947463048/> (date of access: 09/30/2022).  
 15. Stepanov, Ie. N., Ma, Xinyue (2020), "Russian and Chinese "Garment" phraseology : linguocultural and comparative aspects", *Mova / Language* ["Russkaya i kitayskaya "garderobnaya" frazeologiya : lingvokulturologicheskiy i sopostavitel'nyy aspekty", *Mova*], Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Astroprint Publishing House, Odessa, vol. 34, pp. 67–75. DOI : 10.18524/2307-4558.2020.34.219519.  
 16. Stepanov, Ie. N., Ma, Xinyue (2021), "Linguocultural features of Russian and Chinese phraseological units with pragmatonyms", *Mova / Language* ["Lingvokul'turnoye svoeobrazie Russkikh i kitayskikh frazeologizmov s pragmatonimami", *Mova*], Odessa I. I. Mechnikov National University, Astroprint Publishing House, Odessa, vol. 36, pp. 22–28. DOI : 10.18524/2307-4558.2021.36.249728.  
 17. Trubetskoy N. S. (2000), *Fundamentals of phonology*, transl. from Germ. by A. A. Kholodovich [*Osnovy fonologii*], Aspect Press, Moscow, 352 p.  
 18. *Phraseological dictionary of the Russian literary language* (2008) [*Frazeologicheskiy slovar' russkogo literaturnogo yazyka*], A. I. Fedorov (comp.), Astrel, AST Publishing House, 878 p.  
 19. *Big Chinese Dictionary Online* (2022) [*Hàn yǔ dà cí diǎn*], URL : <http://www.hyded.com/> (date of access: 10/05/2022).  
 20. Wen, Duan Cheng (2011), *A large dictionary of Chinese proverbs* [*Zhōng guó yàn yǔ dà cí diǎn*], Shanghai Dictionary Publishing House, Shanghai, 1371 p.

**ЧЖАН Іжань,**

магістрантка Інституту іноземних мов Хунаньського педагогічного університету; 36, Lushan Road, Yuelu District, Changsha, 410081, Китай; тел.: +86 19573124201; e-mail: 1129586092@qq.com;  
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-1694-5722

**СТЕПАНОВ Євгеній Миколайович,**

доктор філологічних наук, професор Інституту іноземних мов Хунаньського педагогічного університету; 36, Lushan Road, Yuelu District, Changsha, 410081, Китай; тел.: +86 17570751005; e-mail: stepanov175@163.com;  
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-5441-9822

**АКСІОЛОГІЧНА ХАРАКТЕРИСТИКА ЛІВОГО І ПРАВОГО В РОСІЙСЬКИХ І КИТАЙСЬКИХ СТАЛИХ СЛОВОСПОЛУЧЕННЯХ І ПРИСЛІВ'ЯХ**

**Анотація.** *Метою* статті є виявлення культурної конотації та аксіологічної характеристики концептів «лівий» і «правий», які складають одну з універсальних бінарних опозицій, у російських і китайських сталих словосполученнях і пареміях задля визначення відмінностей між російською і китайською мовними картинами світу в когнітивній зоні присутності цих концептів. *Об'єктом* дослідження є російські та китайські сталі словосполучення і паремії з ключовими словами *лівий* і *правий*. *Предметом* дослідження є визначення спільних і відмінних рис у сприйнятті китайцями і росіянами традиційних у їхніх національних мовних картинах світу поглядів і звичок щодо використання вищеназваних концептів. У процесі дослідження було вжито процедури методів семантичного, конотативного, фразеологічного, лінгвокультурологічного, концептуального, когнітивного, зіставного та кількісного аналізу, а також описового методу. *Результатами* дослідження стало виявлення різних за структурою 74 російських і 62 китайських фразеологічних одиниць, які містять показники концептів «лівий» і «правий», їх класифікація за дискурсивним значенням, сферою функціонування, аксіологічними характеристиками, а також проведено зіставний аналіз лінгвокультурологічних засад використання в російській і китайській мовах. Зроблено *висновки* щодо асиметричності традиційного сприйняття та функціонування концептуальних значень *лівого* та *правого* в зіставлених мовах.

**Ключові слова:** концепт, лівий, правий, стале словосполучення, паремія, фразеологізм, аксіологічна характеристика, конотація, російська та китайська мови.

*Статтю отримано 10.10.2022 р.*