INTRODUCTION

During the first year of COVID-19 pandemic our world experienced much change, firstly in our way of life. Paying special attention to hygiene became a priority in everyday life: washing hands, using special antiseptic substances, wearing facemasks, keeping social distance became a habit that many people had to intentionally develop. New reality influenced our language; words like virus, viral, pandemic, and social distancing came into everyday use. Psychological state of people in self-isolation became part of almost every conversation. For a long-time people had to stay inside their homes and entertain themselves. This gave way to much creativity, connected with the pandemic, including creativity in language. Language play has long become popular in communication, especially in the media (JAWORSKA, 2014). Language play turned well-known traditional and sometimes forgotten proverbs into witty quotes that were posted and reposted all over the media. Many jokes and puns were created on the basis of realities of new life. This phenomenon is long known in linguistics as anti-proverbs.

Both anti-proverbs and proverbs refer to a class of linguistic units called paroemias. Paroemias are texts that can be characterized by such features as regularity, traditionality, strong foundations; they reveal definite folk experience expressed as principles and maxims. In paroemias there is no specific person who performs an action, and there is no indication of the time of this action. Paroemias are a means of language play (WALTER; MOKIENKO, 2005); many of proverbs, for example, are metaphorical, and metaphors are often based on language play (HAN, 2011). Paroemias produce an emotional impact on people (ALEFIRENKO, SEMENENKO, 2009; BUTAKOVA, 2014; GORBAN, 2010; SYUTKINA, 2017; TARLANOV, 1999). The sense of a paroemia is a semantic category that has a general meaning. The text of a paroemia reflects a rather complex form of human thinking. Typical life situation or human relations are described in it a in a figurative and symbolic form, or in the form of an evaluative commentary (PODYUKOV, 1999, p. 152).

Paremiological fund of a language is a collection of folk proverbs, sayings and wisdoms that differ in time of their appearance and relevance, in structural and semantic features. They are linked by a number of specific features, such as natural origin, stability in speech of this or that period of history (HAGÈGE, 2008, p. 244). They are relatively independent of contexts and are able to retain clear inner form in any pragmatic situation. The wide use of proverbs explains existence of their numerous variants. This is a natural feature of language where all units have a number of variants (HAGÈGE, 2008).

Proverbs are the brightest representatives of paroemias. They express folk worldview and outlook, they are a source of linguistic, linguoculturological and ethnocultural information (MISIEVA, 2017, p. 27). In this regard epistemological meaning is their leading property. Proverbs are secondary linguistic signs; they are laconic, metaphorical expressions of folk knowledge. They are fixed phrases, markers of prototypical situations (VOROPAEVA, 2007, p. 24; SAVENKOVA, 2002, p. 3). Proverbs have a rich pragmatic and functional potential that they realize in a given situation. Proverbs represent practical evaluative judgment and can evaluate the whole situation through different means (ABAKUMOVA; KOROSTENSKI, 2020).
Nowadays proverbs are more and more often used in their modern twisted form. In linguistics there are various terms coined for this linguistic phenomenon: anti-proverbs, alterations, mutations, parodies, transformations, variations, wisecracks, deliberate proverb innovations, fractured proverbs (LITOVKINA, 2014, p. 326). Anti-proverbs are defined as modern versions of traditional proverbs, “new coinages created for the sake of wordplay” (REZNIKOV, 2012, p. 87). Anti-proverbs, like traditional proverbs, are short texts that represent points of view of people; they are short expressions of folk wit and social life experience. In anti-proverbs folk wisdom is more usually humorous and playful. Anti-proverbs’ coming into existence is often connected with some significant social event, and when that event loses its significance they may come out of use and be forgotten.

MATERIAL AND METHODS
Currently there are numerous anti-proverbs about COVID-19 that came into use in Russian. The material for this study is Russian anti-proverbs that became amazingly popular on the internet and are published in social media. Most of these anti-proverbs were apparently artificially made up by one or several individual authors and spread on the internet in different social media, blogs, online news outlets, etc., in the form of a list of funny anti-proverbs with a common topic – COVID-19 pandemic (MORDOVI, 2020; V-KURSE.RU, 2020; VAGANOVA, 2020). People eagerly picked these anti-proverbs up, started reposting them in their social media space, but so far very few of them actually were used in contexts. Below there are several examples of their use on news sites.

> Wuhan is the birthplace of coronavirus: what is known about this city. Wuhan is two thousand years old. The coronavirus quarantined the city, but at the same time opened it up to the world. ... Wuhan is one of the most densely populated cities in Central China. ... All roads lead to Wuhan. This is the largest transport hub in the Middle Kingdom (MI24, 2020).

> “American epidemiologist: coronavirus is not as scary as it is painted” (The headline of one of the news on Krasnaya Vesna, 2020) In our study we view anti-proverbs as linguistic units that reflect people’s cognition of the world and reflect their personal attitude to the world (HAAS; ROUSE, 2012; HONECK, 1997; COLSTON, 2000). We believe that they constitute the elements of a certain conceptual space. Thus analysis of the material may be considered as cognitive. The name of the concept that draws together all the anti-proverbs studied in this paper is COVID-19. Linguistic analysis of anti-proverbs as elements of conceptual space presupposes their organization in semantic fields and modules that function as meaningful fragments that characterize one or another part of a concept (ZUBAREVA, 2019). Semantic modules bring out the most significant characteristics of the concept of COVID-19. These semantic modules demonstrate important landmarks in people’s perception of COVID-19 and help us understand what people hold as meaningful in this concept.

However anti-proverbs interest linguists not only as fragments of reality that reveal people’s cognition, but also as a means of language play that shows language potential for creativity. Anti-proverbs as units of creative thinking are analyzed from the point of view of mechanisms used in them on different language levels (LITOVKINA, 2014; REZNIKOV, 2012; SHUSTOVA; PLATONOVA; SHALGINA, 2017). Lexical mechanisms are most common and they involve such means as lexical substitution based on synonymy, polysemy, antonymy, etc. Thanks to these mechanisms anti-proverbs gain new lexical content keeping the syntactic structure of the original proverb. Besides lexical mechanisms anti-proverbs may also be created on the basis of phonetic, morphological, syntactic and stylistic mechanisms, as well as on the effect of defeated expectancy. The study of anti-proverbs on each respective level allows us to better understand how we perceive this language play and what mechanism is more catching and efficient at spreading among language users.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
The anti-proverbs about COVID-19 that are analyzed in this paper belong to four semantic fields: disease, health, work, and internet. Semantic field of disease includes such semes as virus, bacillus, COVID-19, flu, pneumonia, sneezing, infecting, self-isolation, social distancing, quarantine, nose swab, to recover. Semantic field of health includes seems to jog, to wash...
hands, Sanitizer, facemask, anti-epidemiological measures, vaccine, WHO. Semantic fields of internet and work are less represented in the anti-proverbs under study. These two semantic fields are often so intertwined there is no line between them. Their semes include remote working, Wi-Fi, webcam, virtual friend. The list of anti-proverbs about COVID-19 consists of 33 units. We divided these anti-proverbs into four main semantic modules: 1) Disease, 2) Life in quarantine, 3) Working in quarantine, 4) Fight with the disease. These four modules describe the spheres where people’s everyday life and consciousness changes, takes a new twist with the pandemic.

1 Disease
This semantic module represents anti-proverbs that speak about the city where the virus originated from, about the virus itself - its peculiarities, the way people get infected, symptoms of the disease, organs that suffer from the virus. Thus we divide them into four micro modules: 1) State of origin of COVID-19, 2) Infection, 3) Getting infected, and 4) Symptoms. All anti-proverbs of this module are created with the help of lexical substitutions.

1.1 State of origin of COVID-19
Vse dorogi vedut v Ukhan’ (lit. All roads lead to Wuhan). Compare with the original Vse dorogi vedut v Rim (All roads lead to Rome). A proper name of the traditional proverb (Rome) is substituted by another proper name (Wuhan) in the anti-proverb. Wuhan is a Chinese city which was little known before the beginning of the pandemic, but became appellative afterwards. This substitution is easy to interpret, and it takes almost no time to catch anti-proverb’s twisted meaning.

Boysya kitaytsev, dary prinosyashchikh (lit. Fear the Chinese who bring gifts). Originated from the proverb Boysya danaytsev, dary prinosyashchikh (Beware of Greeks bearing gifts). The lexical substitution in this anti-proverb is as clear as in the previous one: a noun denoting people of one nationality is substituted by a noun denoting people of another nationality. Being as politically incorrect as it is, the idea of Chinese people being responsible for the outbreak of the infection was very widespread in the beginning of the year 2020.

1.2. Infection
Virus ne vorobey, vyletit - ne poymayesh (lit. The virus is not a sparrow, once it flies out, you won’t catch it). Originated from the proverb Slovo ne vorobey, vyletit - ne poymayesh (A word is not a sparrow, once it flies out, you won’t catch it). Compare with the English “Better to slip with the foot than with the tongue”. One-word lexical substitution consists in the change of a noun “slovo” (word) by a noun ‘virus” (virus), connected with the semantic field of disease.

Korona, chto dyshlo - kuda chikhnoosh’, tuda i vysyla (lit. Corona is like a shaft - you can turn it any way you sneeze). Originated from the proverb Zakon chto dyshlo - kuda povernyosh, tuda i vysyla (Law is like a shaft - you can turn it any way you like). Compare with the English “Every law has a loophole”; “One law for the rich, one for the poor.” In this proverb two words are substituted: a noun “zakon” (law) in the beginning of the sentence is replaced by “korona” (corona), and a verb “povernyosh” (turn) in the second part of the sentence is replaced by the verb “chikhnoosh” (sneeze). The rhyme and the rhythm of the traditional proverb are preserved in the anti-proverb. The substitution in the anti-proverb refers to the semantic field of disease.

Khorosho chikhayet tot, kto chikhayet poslednim (He sneezes best who sneezes last). Originated from the proverb Khorosho smeyotsa tot, kto smeyotsa poslednim (He laughs best who laughs last). A verb (“smeyotsa”), which is repeated twice in the proverb, is substituted in anti-proverb by another verb (“chikhayet”), which is connected with the semantic field of disease. This verb is also repeated in the anti-proverb twice, which allows keeping the structure of the original proverb.

V magazin pospeshish’ – lyudey zarazish’ (lit. In a hurry to the store you will infect people). Originated from the proverb Pospeshish’ – lyudey nasmeshish (In a hurry you’ll make people laugh). Compare with the English “Haste makes waste.” In this anti-proverb we deal with the syntactic extension of the structure of the traditional proverb – adverbial modifier “v magazin” is added. Besides, the verb in the second part of the sentence (“nasmeshish” – will make people...
laugh) is substituted by a verb which is thematically linked to the semantic field of disease ("zarazish" - will infect).

13. Getting infected

_Svoy na svoyaka chikhayet izdaleka_ (lit. A man sneezes from afar at his relative). Originated from the proverb _Rybak rybaka vidit izdaleka_ (A fisherman sees another fisherman from afar). Compare with the English "Birds of a feather flock together." In this anti-proverb the structure of the proverb it originated from is preserved thanks to the repetition of cognate words ("svoy", "svoyaka"), as it was done in the traditional proverb ("rybak", "rybaka"). Besides, the predicate of the traditional proverb "vidit" (sees) is substituted by a verb "chikhayet" (sneezes) belonging to the semantic field of disease.

_Nezvanny gost - khuzhe infitsirovannogo_ (lit. An uninvited guest is worse than an infected). Originated from the proverb _Nezvanny gost - khuzhe tatarina_ (An uninvited guest is worse than a Tatar). This anti-proverb best demonstrates the effect of defeated expectancy, because one-word lexical substitution ("tatarina" is substituted by "infitsirovannogo") in the end of the phrase and we need to wait until the end of the proverb to see its twist. The resulting anti-proverb refers to the semantic field of disease.

14. Symptoms

_Virus v borodu - pnevmoniya v rebro_ (lit. Virus in the beard and pneumonia in the chest). Originated from the proverb _Sedina v borodu - bes v rebro_ (Grey in the beard and a demon in the chest). Compare with the English "A grey beard, but a lusty heart." In this anti-proverb there are two nouns that reflect causal relation - "sedina" and "bes" (gray hair and a demon). This causal relation is not explicit, but it arises from the belief that getting older people become more eccentric - they are possessed by a demon. These words are substituted by nouns "virus" and "pnevmoniya" (virus and pneumonia) that are more obvious in their causal relations and are part of the semantic field of disease.

_Kovid gripa ne slashche_ (lit. Flu is no sweeter than COVID). Originated from the proverb _Khren red'ki ne slashche_ (Horse-radish is no sweeter than black radish). Compare with the English "It’s a choice between the devil and the deep blue sea". In this anti-proverb we come across a lexical substitution and a case of polysemy of a constituent of the proverb. Two elements ("khren" - horse-radish, "red'ki" - black radish) that are compared on the grounds of their main shared characteristic feature - absence of sweetness, are replaced in the anti-proverb by words from the semantic field of disease ("kovid" - COVID, "gripa" - flu). These words denote the names of diseases and have nothing to do with the sweet taste. But Russian expression "ne slashche" (no sweeter) also has a figurative meaning - no better. It activates in the anti-proverb.

_Ne tak strashen kovid, kak yego malyuyut_ (lit. COVID is not as terrible as it is painted). Originated from the proverb _Ne tak strshen chort, kak yego malyuyut_ (The devil is not so terrible (black) as he is painted). In this anti-proverb a noun "chort" (demon), that denotes the object that causes fear, is substituted by another noun "kovid" (COVID) - the name of the new disease which frightens many people.

2. Life in quarantine

This semantic module incorporates anti-proverbs that describe the realia of life during the pandemic, including the notion of self-isolation from society and the notion of quarantine as an imposed state of isolation from social life. This isolation from social life is viewed in new anti-proverbs as hard, depriving, but necessary. All anti-proverbs of this module are created with the help of lexical substitutions. We divided this module into three micro modules: 1) self-isolation, 2) quarantine, and 3) social distancing.

2.1 Self-isolation

_Samoizolyatsiyu perezhit – ne pole pereyti_ (lit. To survive self-isolation is not as easy as to cross a field). Originated from the proverb _Zhizn' prozhit – ne pole pereyti_ (To live a life is not as easy as to cross a field). Compare with the English "Life is not a bed of roses." In this anti-proverb the traditional object of the sentence ("zhizn" - life) is replaced by the noun ("samoizolyatsiyu" - self-isolation) belonging to the sphere of the semantic field of disease. Likewise, in order not to break the noun-verb collocation the original verb "perezhit" (to live) is substituted by a more
appropriate, by the collocation rules, verb “perezhit’” (to survive), which in Russian is cognate to the original word.

*Virusa boyatsya – na probezhku ne khodit’* (lit. To be afraid of the virus means not to go out for a jog). Originated from the proverb *Volkov boyatsya – v les ne khodit’* (To be afraid of the wolves means not to go to the woods). Compare with the English “He that’s afraid of wolves should keep out of the woods.” The object of the traditional proverb “volkov” (wolves) is replaced in the anti-proverb by the noun central to the semantic field of disease “virusa” (virus). The consequence of the action, expressed in the first part of the sentence, is also substituted: the adverbial modifier of direction is changed from the traditional “v les” (to the woods) to a more timely for the period of strict self-isolation “na probezhku” (for a jog). These words relate the anti-proverb with the semantic field of health.

*Virtual’nyi drug luchshe novykh dvukh* (lit. A virtual friend is better than two new ones). Originated from the proverb *Stariy drug luchshe novykh dvukh* (An old friend is better than two new ones). Compare with the English “There’s no friend like an old friend.” One-word substitution in this anti-proverb reveals the idea that during the pandemic old ways must be changed and old friends (“stariy drug”) must be kept at a distance, while virtual friends (“virtual’nyi drug”) are more preferable. The substitute of the anti-proverb belongs to the semantic field of internet.

### 2.2. Quarantine

*Na karantin nadeysya, a sam ne ploshay* (lit. Rely on quarantine, and do what depends on you). Originated from the proverb *Na boga nadeysya, a sam ne ploshay* (Trust in God and rely on yourself). Compare with the English “God helps those who help themselves.” One-word substitution with the word “karantin” (quarantine) that replaces the original “boga” (God) shows that the substitute belongs to the semantic field of disease.

*S infitsirovannymi zhit’ – v karantin vyt’* (lit. To live with the infected people is to howl in quarantine). Originated from the proverb *S volkami zhit’ – po volchyi vyt’* (To live with the wolves is to howl like a wolf). Compare with the English “He that lives with the wolves learns to howl.” Words that are used in the traditional proverb are zoosemic (“s volkami” – with wolves, “po volchyi” – like a wolf), and they are replaced in the anti-proverb by the words referring to the semantic field of disease (“s infitsirovannymi” – with the infected, “v karantin” – in quarantine). The rhyme of the traditional proverb is preserved in the anti-proverb.

*Koney na karantine ne menyayut* (lit. Horses are not changed in quarantine). Originated from the proverb *Koney na pereprave ne menyayut* (Horses are not changed in midstream). Compare with the English “Don’t change horses in midstream”; “Never swap horses crossing a stream.” Apparently the meaning of the resulting anti-proverb consists in the fact that during the quarantine it’s not a good idea to change employees, or means or tools of getting things done. The word that is replaced in the anti-proverb is the adverbial modifier of place “na pereprave” (in midstream), and it is substituted by the adverbial modifier of time “na karantin” (in quarantine), which is related to the semantic field of disease.

*Batsila – dura, karantin – molodets* (lit. Bacillus is a fool, quarantine is good). Originated from the proverb *Pulya – dura, shtyk – molodets* (A bullet is a fool, a bayonet is good). This phrase is usually said with irony about the art of war. “Pulya” (bullet) in the traditional proverb is considered to be an unreliable tool for killing, while “shtyk” (bayonet) is a proper tool for the job. In the anti-proverb both words that refer to the war tools are substituted by the words related to the semantic field of disease (“batsila” – bacillus, “karantin” – quarantine).

### 2.3. Social distancing

*Drug poznyayetsya na sotsialnoy distantsii* (lit. A friend is proved by a social distance). Originated from the proverb *Drug poznyayetsya v bede* (A friend in need is a friend indeed). In the original proverb the words expressing rather generalized circumstances in which one learns his friend’s virtues (“v bede” – in need) is substituted by the words referring to the specific circumstances characteristic for the pandemic (“na sotsialnoy distantsii” – by a social distance). These words are also closely related to the semantic field of disease.
3. Working in quarantine

This semantic module represents anti-proverbs that speak about the problems typical for the remote working system that was organized during the pandemic. It touches upon the change of working style, use of the internet, the problem of staying at home with children and having to work and entertain them at the same time. Only one micro module of the module “Working in quarantine” is given here. Remote working is a rather new notion that becomes highly popular during the pandemic, because it is associated with temporary shift from office work to work from home.

3.1. Remote working

All substitutions in anti-proverbs belonging to this module are words and phrases related to the semantic fields of work and internet. These anti-proverbs reflect the way the sphere of work changed in the times of the pandemic. It shows what has become important in professional domain to earn a living: stable internet connection, skills to work from home with a small child who demands attention close by.

Sem pyatnits na nedele, kogda rabotayesh iz doma (lit. There are seven Fridays a week when you work from home). Originated from the phraseological unit imet’ sem pyatnits na nedele (To have seven Fridays a week). Compare with the English “Rain before seven, clear before eleven.” This is the case of syntactic extension in anti-proverb: it adds a condition in which the provision expressed in the first part of the sentence is valid (when you work from home).

Na chuzhoy vayfay rot ne razevay (lit. Do not open your mouth to someone else's Wi-Fi). Originated from the proverb Na chuzhoy karavay rot ne razevay (Do not open your mouth to someone else's bread). Compare with the English “Cast no greedy eye at another man’s pie.” Semantic one-word substitution in the anti-proverb is explained by the need to stress the value of free Wi-Fi. Folk’s traditional value used to be “karavay” (bread), and with the coming of the pandemic Wi-Fi (“vayfay”), which has become a source of income and entertainment, is appreciated higher than anything else.

Chem by ditya ne teshilos, lish by v veb-kameru ne lezlo (lit. It doesn’t matter what the child is amused with, as long as he does not get to the webcam). Originated from the proverb Chem by ditya ne teshilos, lish by ne plakalo (It doesn’t matter what the child is amused with, as long as he does not cry). Compare with the English “Let a person do what he wants as long as he is satisfied.” In this anti-proverb semantic substitution is accompanied by syntactic extension: a verb from the traditional proverb is replaced by a whole qualifying phrase; the sentence becomes longer but doesn’t lose its ties to the original proverb. The extended phrase is related to the semantic field of work.

Odin pashet, semero na karantine plyashut (lit. One is working hard, seven are dancing in quarantine). Originated from the proverb Odin s soshkoy, semero s lozhkoy (One with a plough, seven with a spoon). Compare with the English “One beats the bush, and another catches the bird.” Semantic substitutions in this anti-proverb are more extensive than in previous anti-proverbs. The structure of the modified proverb contains only two words left from the original proverb – the numerals that denote numbers of people involved in the action (“odin” – one, “semoro” - seven). It describes the situation when during the pandemic restrictions a small number of people worked in their offices and others stayed isolated at homes feeling bored and entertaining themselves.

4. Fight with the disease

This semantic module represents people’s ideas about how to avoid the infection, what measures should be taken to prevent spreading the infection, what governments do to stop the pandemic. We divided the module into five micro modules: Hygiene, Personal protective equipment, Anti-epidemiological measures, COVID-19 treatment, Vaccine. Most anti-proverbs of this module are created with the help of lexical substitutions. These substitutions are related to the semantic field of health.

4.1. Hygiene

Na boga nadeysya, a ruki - pamoy (lit. Trust in God, and wash your hands). Originated from the proverb Na boga nadeysya, a sam ne ploshay (Trust in God and do what depends on you).
Compare with the English “God helps those who help themselves.” The Russian traditional proverb is based on opposition: God is almighty but you have to take care about yourself. In the anti-proverb the whole second part, which expresses what is not in the power of God, or what God won’t do for you, is substituted. The modified proverb insists on the necessity to wash hands (“ruki – pamoy”) and hints at the fact that God will not save you from the virus if you don’t do that.

Mal sanitayzer, da dorog (lit. Small Sanitizer, but very valuable). Originated from the proverb Mal zolotnik, da dorog (Small coin, but very valuable). Compare with the English “Good things come in small packages”. Few Russian people know what the word “zolotnik” means; it is out of use nowadays, but the proverb itself is rather popular. In anti-proverb the unfamiliar word is substituted by the word “sanitayzer” denoting liquid with anti-bacterial effect used to disinfect hands. At the beginning of the pandemic little bottles with this liquid became very expensive. The word “sanitayzer” refers to the semantic field of health.

4.2. Personal protective equipment
Lyubish katat’sya – lyubi i masochki nosit’ (lit. If you like to ride [your toboggan] you should like to wear facemasks). Originated from the proverb Lyubish katat’sya – lyubi i sanochki vozit’ (If you like to ride, you should like to pull up your toboggan). Compare with the English “If you want to dance, you have to have the piper.” A typical children’s winter merry-making - tobogganing, assumes that in order to slide down the hill several times one must climb up the hill carrying the toboggan (“sanochki vozit’”) which is not so much fun. In the anti-proverb this unpleasant activity is replaced by another unpleasant burden - wearing facemasks (“masochki nosit’”), which is obligatory during the pandemic. The newly borrowed words from the anti-proverb belong to the semantic field of health.

4.3. Anti-epidemiological measures
Parshivaya ovtsa vse protivoepidemiologicheskiy mery portit (lit. One scabby sheep spoils all anti-epidemiological measures). Originated from the proverb Parshivaya ovtsa vse stado portit (One scabby sheep will mar the whole herd). Compare with the English “One scabbed sheep infects the whole flock”; “The rotten apple injures its neighbors”; “One drop of poison infects the whole tun of wine.” Lexical substitution in the anti-proverb is accompanied by semantic expansion. The noun “stado” (herd) is substituted in the anti-proverb by a noun with a modifier “protivoepidemiologicheskiy mery” (anti-epidemiological measures) that refer to the semantic field of health. In this anti-proverb the words “parshivaya ovtsa” (scrabby sheep) gain figurative meaning which is usually absent in the traditional proverb. The zoonym ‘ovtsa” also means “silly girl” (ABRAMOVA, 1999), and in an offensive way may be used towards silly people in general.

U semi doktorov patsiyent bez maski (lit. Seven doctors have a patient without a facemask). Originated from the proverb U semi nyanek ditya bez glaza (Seven nannies have a baby without an eye). Compare with the English “Too many cooks spoil the broth.” Half of the words in the traditional proverb are substituted by the words from the semantic field of disease: nannies are replaced by doctors, and a baby without an eye is substituted by a patient without a facemask. The syntactic structure of the anti-proverb stays recognizable regardless of all the substitutions.

4.4. COVID-19 treatment
Sday, sverchok, svoy mazok! (lit. Have your nose swab collected, cricket!). Originated from the proverb Znay, sverchok, svoy shestok! (Have your limits, cricket! / Know your place, cricket!). Compare with the English “Stay on your own side of the fence”; “The cobbler should stick to his last.” This anti-proverb is based on the two mechanisms: semantic substitution and rhyming substitution. The original noun “shestok”, which denotes a place in a Russian stove where crickets can hide themselves, is substituted by a noun “mazok” – a nose swab taken to test COVID-19. Rhyming substitution is a specific semantic substitution which is accompanied by rhyme: Russian verbs “znay” – “sday” rhyme.

A VOZ i nyne tam (lit. And the cart is still there). The proverb means “And nothing has changed”; “Things are right where they started.” Originated from the homonyms: voz - a cart, and VOZ - abbreviation for Vsemirnaya organizatsiya zdravoookhraneniya (World Health Organization).
This anti-proverb is based on a phonetic mechanism of homonymy and the change is only recognizable in writing.

4.5. Vaccine

Ne khvalis’ vaktsinoy v pustoy izbe (lit. Do not boast about the vaccine in an empty hut). Originated from the proverb Ne khvalis’ pechyu v netoplenoy izbe (Do not boast about the stove in an unheated hut).

Compare with the English “Do not shout until you are out of the woods.” The syntactic structure of the modified proverb is quite recognizable, though two of the key words (“pechyu”, “netoplenoy”) of the traditional proverb are substituted, and the original proverb itself is not very popular, because it describes outdated realia. The first semantic substitution (“vaktsinoy” - vaccine) creates clear connection of the anti-proverb with the semantic field of health. The reason for the second substitution is different: the word “netoplenoy” (unheated) is substituted by “pustoy” (empty) to better demonstrate the inner logic: empty house has nothing including any vaccine, whereas unheated house is semantically not connected with absence of any object which the speaker wants to single out.

Obeshchannoy vaktsiny tri goda zhdut (lit. One has to wait for three years for the promised vaccine). Originated from the proverb Obeshchannogo tri goda zhdut (One has to wait for three years for what is promised). Semantic expansion in this anti-proverb brings the word vaccine in it. The original noun (“obeshchanogo”) with abstract generalizing meaning (the promised) is transformed into an adjective modifying a noun – the promised vaccine. The anti-proverb belongs to the semantic field of health.

4.6. Immunity

Perebolela – gulyay smelo! (lit. If you recover from the disease, you are free to go out!). Originated from the proverb Sdelal delo - gulyay smelo! (If you finished your work, you are free to go out!). Compare with the English “Work is done, time for fun.” The first two words from the first part of the traditional proverb are substituted by one word “perebolela” (recover from disease). The substitute in the anti-proverb changes the ending to indicate feminine in order to keep the rhyme of the first and the last word of the anti-proverb which existed in the traditional proverb, too. The anti-proverb belongs to the semantic field of disease.

CONCLUSION

Anti-proverbs about COVID-19 reflect the main spheres of people’s life that were changed during the pandemic of this disease. On the one hand, these anti-proverbs help people to live through hard times keeping some sense of humor, on the other hand they single out most important things in the new way of life connected with the pandemic, and they single out the problems and hardships that arise before people. The semantic fields that are involved in the creation of anti-proverbs - disease, health, work, and internet - show what domains bother people more than anything else. The anti-proverbs that we studied seem to be artificially created but they are to the point, witty and catching. The mechanism of their creation is mostly lexical substitution. Less often lexical expansion is used, and there are only few anti-proverbs with the mechanism of inner rhyme, polysemy and homonymy.

We believe that the study of anti-proverbs expands our understanding of linguistic game and creativeness. It also helps to understand what social problems are acute in the world, and what bothers people’s minds at a given period of time.

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Covid-19 anti-proverbs in russian

Anti-provérbios Covid-19 em russo

Covid-19 anti-proverbios en ruso

Resumo
No artigo, os autores analisam antipro provérbios russos sobre o COVID-19 que se tornou popular na internet durante a pandemia. Os antipro provérbios em estudo descrevem as partes mais importantes da vida das pessoas que foram alteradas durante a pandemia: a nova doença, a vida em quarentena, o trabalho em quarentena e o combate à doença. Estas cinco esferas permitiram dividir todos os antipro provérbios em cinco módulos semânticos com os mesmos nomes. Os substitutos nos antipro provérbios estão semanticamente relacionados aos quatro campos semânticos: doença, saúde, trabalho e internet. O terreno teórico para o estudo dos antipro provérbios baseia-se na ideia de que são unidades sintaticamente independentes que expressam certa sabedoria e são usadas como meio de jogo linguístico. Elas produzem um impacto emocional nas pessoas e, assim, se tornam uma ferramenta para influenciar a opinião social. Os mecanismos de criação dos antipro provérbios são estudados no artigo e os mecanismos mais utilizados são revelados.

Palavras-chave: Covid-19. Módulos semânticos. Campos semânticos. Unidades independentes. Mecanismos de criação.

Abstract
In the article, the authors analyze Russian anti-proverbs about COVID-19 that became popular on the internet during the pandemic. The anti-proverbs under study describe the most important parts of people’s lives that were changed during the pandemic: the new disease, life in quarantine, working in quarantine, and fighting with the disease. These five spheres allowed dividing all the anti-proverbs into five semantic modules bearing the same names. The substitutes in the anti-proverbs are semantically related to the four semantic fields: disease, health, work and internet. The theoretical ground for the study of anti-proverbs is based on the idea that they are syntactically independent units that express certain wisdom and are used as means of language play. They produce an emotional impact on people and thus become a tool for influencing social opinion. The mechanisms of the creation of the anti-proverbs are studied in the article and the most widely used mechanisms are revealed.

Keywords: Covid-19. Semantic modules. Semantic fields. Syntactically independent units. Mechanisms of creation.

Resumen
En el artículo, los autores analizan los anti-proverbios rusos sobre el COVID-19 que se popularizó en internet durante la pandemia. Los anti-proverbios en estudio describen las partes más importantes de la vida de las personas que cambiaron durante la pandemia: la nueva enfermedad, la vida en cuarentena, el trabajo en cuarentena y la lucha contra la enfermedad. Estas cinco esferas permitieron dividir todos los anti-proverbios en cinco módulos semánticos con los mismos nombres. Los sustitutos en los anti-proverbios están semánticamente relacionados con los cuatro campos semánticos: enfermedad, salud, trabajo e internet. El fundamento teórico para el estudio de los anti-proverbios se basa en la idea de que son unidades sintácticamente independientes que expresan cierta sabiduría y se utilizan como medios de juego del lenguaje. Producen un impacto emocional en las personas y se convierten así en una herramienta para influir en la opinión social. Los mecanismos de la creación de los anti-proverbios se estudian en el artículo y se revelan los mecanismos más utilizados.

Palabras-clave: Covid-19. Módulos semánticos. Campos semánticos. Unidades sintácticamente independientes. Mecanismos de creación.