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THE CONCEPT OF FOOD IN ENGLISH AND ARMENIAN PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

The present article is dedicated to the analysis of English and Armenian proverbs and sayings which express the concept of food. Proverbs and sayings shape different facts and phenomena of reality and express the condensed experience of the nation. A comparative analysis of the two languages has been conducted. The proverbs and sayings expressing the concept of food have been classified into semantic and thematic groups the analysis of which has revealed cultural peculiarities, similarities as well as differences between the two languages.

Key words: concept, proverb, analysis, socio-cultural value, food, semantic, conceptual metaphor, cultural peculiarities, idiom, psychological experience, behaviour, comparative, similarity.

Արեգա Հայրապետյան
Ավագ դասախոս, ԱՐՊՀ

ՄԱՌԻՆԴ ՀԱՄԿԱՅՈՒԹՅԱՆ ՎԵՐԼՈՒԾՈՒԹՅՈՒՆԸ ԱՆԳԼԵՐԵՆԵԿԱՅԵՐԵՆ ԱՌԱՍՆԵՐՈՒՄ և ԱՄԱՅՎԱԾՔՆԵՐՈՒՄ

Սույն հոդվածը նվիրված է սնունդ հասկացությունն արտահայտող առածների և ասաց-վածքների իմաստային վերլուծությանը անգլերենում և հայերենում: Առածներն ու ասաց-վածքները կադրավարում են իրականության տարբեր փաստերն ու երևույթները, խտացնում ժողովրդի կենսափորձը: Աշխատանքում կատարվել է համեմատական վերլուծություն երկու լեզուների միջև, առանձնացվել են սնունդ հասկացությունն արտահայտող առածների և ասաց-վածքների թեմատիկ-իմաստային խմբերը, որոնց վերլուծության միջոցով ներկայացվել են երկու լեզուների մշակութային առանձնահատկությունները, ինչպես նաև դրանց ու մտկանմանություններն ու տարբերությունները:

Բանալի բառեր՝ հասկացողություն, վերլուծություն, սոցիալ-մշակութային արժեք, սնունդ, իմաստային, կոնցեպտուալ փոխաբերություն, մշակութային առանձնահատկություններ, խավածք, հոգեբանական փորձ, վարքագիծ, համեմատական նմանություն:

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КОНЦЕПТ ПИЩИ В АНГЛИЙСКИХ И АРМЯНСКИХ ПОСЛОВИЦАХ И ПОГОВОРКАХ

В данной статье проводится семантический анализ пословиц и поговорок, выражающих понятие пища в английском и армянском языках. Как известно пословицы и поговорки образуются в зависимости от различных фактов и реалий, конденсирующих жизненный опыт народа. В статье были выделены тематическо-семантические группы пословиц и поговорок в английском и армянском языках, выражающие понятие пища, представлены культурные особенности двух языков, а также присутствующие в них сходства и различия.

Ключевые слова: концепт, пословица, анализ, социально-культурная ценность, пища, семантический, концептуальная метафора, культурные особенности, идиома, психологический опыт, поведение, сравнительный, сходство.

Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are.

Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755–1826)

What is food to one man may be fierce poison to others.

Lucretius (99–55 BCE)

During the last decade many linguists working in the field of linguo-cultural studies showed active interest in the theory of concepts. **Cultural concept**, which is the main unit of this science, is a multi-graded semantic formation having its expressive, valuable and notional characteristics.

The concept of food has occupied an important place in all the languages. The problem of the concept proves to be a highly complex one, requiring great care and a subtlety in the handling.

Food is the first of the essentials of life, the world's largest industry, our most frequently indulged pleasure, the core of our most intimate social relationships. For a closer investigation of the concept "food", 74 proverbs of the Armenian and 95 of the English language are used taken from the works of Bock, Gibbs, Emanation, Bediryan, Hakopyan, and others. It's very hard to imagine a positive social experience that does not involve the sharing of food – whether a simple cup of tea with an acquaintance, a lunchtime "bite" with colleagues, or a sumptuous lobster dinner with a lover. On a broader level, civilization itself is impossible without food:

with the invention of agriculture some ten thousand years ago came city states and empires, art, music, and organized warfare. Agriculture remade the world, both physically and culturally, transforming landscapes and geography, subsidizing soldiers and poets, politicians and priests.¹

The food domain is almost fully exploited in English and Armenian proverbs to conceptualize human traits and socio-cultural values. With regard to its variety and the number of experiences associated (eating, tasting, digesting, hunger, satiation, desiring, cooking, preparing etc.), the food domain is enlisted in English and Armenian proverbs to conceptualize human affairs as best manifested in describing personal traits and socio-cultural values. The first subsection presents the human traits metaphorically conceptualized in terms of food while the second presents food in socio-cultural values.

The delicious taste of a sweet food provides an experiential model for the conceptualization of human traits. Conversely, the disgusting taste of certain food types represents an active feature in people's understanding of moral attributes. In the text of some English proverbs, human beings are featured in terms of food. These proverbs are best seen motivated by the generic metaphor *a human being is food*.²

E.g. *He is as cool as a cucumber*. This idiom is used to express a relaxed and non-emotional, not anxious person.

You are a couch potato. The speaker means that you are a very lazy person; someone who does not engage in a lot of physical activity.

She is like a hot potato. This proverb makes an impression that a person, being talked about is a very sensitive and controversial one; someone that is difficult to deal with.

To be as nice as pie means to be extremely nice and charming, so that you can fool people: "She can be as nice as pie, but don't trust her!" The similar proverb is "*Appearances are deceptive!*" *To be like chalk and cheese* means to be completely different: "*I don't know why they got married – they're like chalk and cheese.*"

On the contrary the proverb *to be like peas in a pod* means to be identical to someone: "*Those two are like peas in a pod.*"

He is a bad egg in a company. This is about someone who cannot be trusted; a bad person; a person or a scheme that disappoints expectation.

On the other hand there is another proverb which is showing the opposite meaning of the previous one; *he is a big cheese of a company*. This is about a person who has a lot of power and influence in an organization; an important or self-important person.

To be a salt of the earth means to be a person or persons of great worthiness, reliability, honesty. *He is a bad apple*. This idiom has a negative meaning that identifies a troublesome or despicable person; a negative or corrupting influence on others.³

In Armenian there are also some proverbs where human beings are featured in terms of food: *Աղվեսիբերանը խաղողի ինչի հասնում, սառում է խակէ*: When one can't achieve something downplays it.

Շունը շան միս չի ուտի: This proverb refers to the people with the same character and same behavior, who will never do harm to each other.

Ջուրը ճամբան կրճարի This idiom shows that a person with the potential to get something done, will do *Փորձված թանը անփորձ մածունի հետ չեն փոխի* means that we have to be satisfied with what we have *Քաղցր լեզուն օձին բնից կհանի*: The importance of choosing correct words while speaking.

Քեճանողին քեճ չի պակսիլ means that there should be a joy in every simple moments of our life. *He who parties, will have no lack of parties* (he who mourns, will always mourn)

Համեստ է, ինչպես բրնձի հասկ, ինչքան լցվում, այնքան խոնարհվում է means that clever people are the most modest.

Մի հոտած ձուկը զամբրուղի բոլոր ձկներին կհոտեցնի means that bad things are learned quickly.

Շրթունքներին՝ մեղր, լեզվին՝ լեղի: This proverb is about hypocritical persons.⁴

A human being is conceptualized in terms of food with the distinct feature of sweetness. In addition to its sweetness, honey is characterized by its nutritional benefit as well as its use as remedy for many health problems. Our experience with honey makes it a concrete source for conceptualizing the abstract characteristics of good behavior among human beings. Human beings are conceptualized in terms of a sweet food that should be either consumed with moderation '*If your friend is honey, do not lick all of*' or that is best tasted in the mouth *Some people are as they are and other people are like honey in the throat*.⁵

Honey is not, however, the only food type recruited to make sense of human traits. Sweet fruits are employed to characterize positive human moral attributes. While kindness and social acceptability of a person are framed in terms of a sweet food (honey, apple, and raisins), wickedness '*If your mother is onion and your father is garlic, how will you then smell good*' and social rejection

¹Diamond, *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*, London: JHU Press, 1999; 236

²Faycel, 2012 *Food Metaphors in Tunisian Arabic Proverbs*. *Rice Working Papers in Linguistics*, Manouba: Faculty of Letters, Arts and Humanities, in Manouba Press, accessed October 27, 123

³Johnson, 2013 *The Body in the Mind. The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, 327

⁴Սակայան, Դ., *Հայկական Առակներ: 2500 Հայերեն ժողովրդական Ասացվածքներ Ընտրվել և Թարգմանվել են Հայերեն*, Դեմար: Նյու-Յորք Ջրաստ., 1994, 480

⁵Mieder, 1999 and Mieder, W., *Tradition and Innovation: Proverbs in Advertising, The Journal of Popular Culture*, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977, 319p.

'Everything can be digested except the dull guest' are framed respectively in terms of a pungent bitter food with a sharp taste or heavy foods difficult to be digested. *Sweetness* of a food is conceptualized as generosity and kindness. *Bitterness* is, however, conceptualized as wickedness 'whose origin is apple never turns bitter and whose origin is oleander never turns sweet'. These proverbs are motivated by the conceptual metaphors *sweet is good* and *bitter is bad*.¹

Or the proverb *There is no use to compare apples to oranges* used as the type of two things that are inherently different or incompatible, usually in contexts implying that a given comparison is invalid.

Or another idiom *to be like chalk and cheese* which means to be completely different: "I don't know why they got married – they're like chalk and cheese."

The food domain serves to conceptualize interpersonal relations, especially relations within a family. The relationship of fraternal love is conceptualized in terms of honey tasted in the mouth 'my maternal sister is like honey in my mouth'. Sweetness serves to conceptualize the emotion of fraternal love. The relationship between a woman and her sister-in-law is however conceptualized in terms of a bitter fruit 'Bitter almonds are to be cracked and thrown in holes'.

Or the proverb *to be an apple of someone's eye* means to be the object of a person's affection or regard; a greatly cherished person or thing especially in the family. Its Armenian equivalent is *Բնչ-որ սեկի աչքի լույսը լինել*:

Another idiom about relation of family members' is *The apple never falls far from the tree* shows that a person inevitably shares traits with or resembles his or her parents or family.

For showing the close relations between two people where one of them have control over another one we can use *to have someone eat out of your hand*: "He has her eating out of his hand – it's sad."² English and Armenian proverbs describe many food experiences not only to frame human traits but also many other socio-cultural values. Because these languages deal with a huge variety of socio-cultural values, our listing of these different values will be in pairs which are not necessarily opposites.

Emotion/Reason: Sweet fruits are recruited to capture actions of a particular nature. For example, what is seemingly cruelty on the part of the beloved is positively perceived by the lover. It is conceptualized in terms of a sweet fruit 'The beating from the beloved is like eating raisins and his/her stones pomegranates'. The action is shaped by the performer and stones turn into apples 'A stone from the beloved is an apple'. Its Armenian equivalent is *սիրելիի ձեռքից կերած աղն էլ սեղը*.

Greed/satisfaction: Some proverbs describe experiences of hunger and satiation. These two physiological experiences are mapped respectively onto the mental experiences of greed and satisfaction. In fact immoderate consumption of food serves to conceptualize people's incessant desire for doing certain actions 'The one who is not satiated from the dish, can never be satiated from its licking'. This proverb maps physical hunger which cannot be satisfied onto uncontrolled desire activating the metaphor *desire is hunger*. This desire has different degrees. A greedy person is not satiated from a dish. Life turns into food to a greedier person who is never satisfied from it 'No one is ever full with life'. The greediest person is someone who is about to eat the whole life and the afterlife. There are a lot of proverbs concerning to greed and hunger.

Let us present some of them:

To eat someone out of house and home.

Eating for two.

To eat a square meal.

If you find honey, eat just enough-- too much of it, and you will vomit.

We must Eat to live, not live to eat."

If you are looking for a fly in your food, it means that you are full.

Armenians often express greed by saying:

Ամենափսեհրեզերնունի:

Բակլաեցանել, լոբիմիսպասիր:

Հարևանիքերը քառատեղերում :

Սեղըն էլ անուշ է, շատ ուտողին կվնասի:

Քաղցր-քաղցր ուտելուն դառը-դառը փաղել կա:

Սովածմարդը կյանքնավելի է հասկանում:

Փոքրափսեհցմեծգալով չենուտի:

Հացուպանիք, կերուպարիք:

Կուշտ մարդու համար համով ճաշն էլ անհամ է:

Ամբողջ կերակուրն ուտելուց հետո, ասաց կերակրից վատ հոտ է գալիս:

Երբ կշտացավ, սոված լինելը մոռացավ:

Սոված մարդը ուտելիքի մեծ անճշիփն տրի:

Patience / Reward: Some food proverbs structure knowledge about food to describe the nature of the experience of patience. This experience involves surviving difficult situations and overcoming hardships without giving up one's objectives. The physical experience of eating a bitter food is mapped onto the psychological experience of suffering difficult situations associated with patience. Patience is framed in terms of food experiences. Apart from taste, patience is viewed as one type of food in its first stage of preparation. Like bread, it is kneaded by the person who tastes it 'the kneader of patience tastes it'. Similarly the reward of patience

¹B. and W. Mieder, 1977; 308-319

²Gibbs, 1994

is highlighted in proverbs and captured in terms of food experience *'Patience is bitter, its fruit is sweet'*.

"To be full of beans", "To be your bread and butter".¹

In Armenian it will be:

Գարնանգառնագովական, աշնանհավը:

Մինչևաղնէկալ, մատաղըվերցալ:

Ովաշխատի նակուտի:

Տերտերնամեննորգաթայիուտի:

Ամառըմիտորհանգստանաս, ձմեռըտաւորսովածկմնաս:

Value / Worthlessness: English and Armenian proverbs frame the importance of a given object in terms of water and food. An important useful object must be preserved *'Do not spit into the well: you may have to drink out of it'*. The importance of a given object may be not valued at all, hence using it without acknowledging its importance:

It's no use crying over spilled milk.

It's his cup of tea.

Life is just a bowl of cherries. –life is easy and uncomplicated.

If you can't feed a hundred people, then just feed one.

One cannot think well, love well, sleep well, if one has not dined well.

Give a man a fish, you have fed him for today. Teach a man to fish, and you have fed him for a lifetime.

There is no sincerer love than the love of food.

At the table with good friends and family you do not become old.

Whose bread I eat, his song I sing.

In Armenian describing the value of food we can use the following:

Աշխարհնաղով, աղնէլհամով:

Բերանկահացկա, հացկաբերանչկա:

Թողիմիտրըկուշտըլնի, թողասեն՝ անոթիշուն:

Հեռուտեղենեկածհավլենշերեփովկուտեն:

Մեղրըծախողըմատրկլպստի:

Որտեղհացենտեղկաց, որտեղգինի, էնտեղքնի:

Որտեղորգնասսէներկրիգրակըծածկէ:

Ումսելինկնստի, նրահորովելըկկանչի:

Open-handedness / Economy: Open-handedness is associated with consuming food in huge quantity. Economy is associated with preserving food or consuming a small quantity. In fact economy is associated with wisdom and openhandedness is associated with foolishness *'If the fool eats a lot, the wise must not give him much food'*. Wisdom is associated with consuming little food and preserving food. Such behaviour is the route to safety *'The one who eats as much as a raisin will never know a tragedy'* and self-respect. Open-handedness should not be seen like generosity. The latter is positively viewed in proverbs. Generosity is framed in terms of food experience. The generous person will never be subject to hunger *'the generous hand will never starve'*. Hunger serves to conceptualize need. The hand metonymically corresponds to the generous person *hand for person*. This person will never be in need because of his generous behaviour.²

You can't have your cake and eat it, too.

Միսրձեզի, ոսկորըինձի:

The notion of open-handedness and generosity is best shown in some Biblical expressions which have both English and Armenian equivalents:

Whatever a man sows, that he will also reap.

Բնչ-որ ցանես, այն էլ կհնձես:

Բնչ-որ բրդես ամանը, այն էլ կգա բերանը: What you crumble onto your plate that will go into your mouth.

Բնչ-որ բրդես ամանը, այն էլ կգա բերանը:

Give, don't be sorry; take, don't be ashamed.

Տուր, մի ափսոսա, առ, մի ամաչիր:

Հացըհացվորինտուր, միհատելավելտուր.³

Sacrifice/Selfishness: Edibility is the main feature of the food frame involved in conceptualizing sacrifice and selfishness.

¹Emanation, 1995; 163-182 *Metaphor and the Expression of Emotion: The Value of Cross-Cultural Perspectives. Metaphor and Symbolic Activity*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995.

²Faycel, 2012 *Food Metaphors in Tunisian Arabic Proverbs. Rice Working Papers in Linguistics*, Manouba: Faculty of Letters, Arts and Humanities, in Manouba Press, accessed October 27, 2014, 123

³Հակոբյան, Գ., *Պայմանական Փոխաբերություններ: Ճանաչողական Հետազոտում*, Փարիզ: Վեցերորդ Միջազգային Համաժողովի Նյութեր, ՄԼԱՀիրատ., 2003, 243

Sacrifice is associated with bearing a difficult situation for the sake of someone else. Undergoing such a difficult situation is captured in terms of eating a tasteless food *'Because of oil we eat the olive pulp'*. Similarly selfishness is captured in terms of food experiences. Selfishness consists in realizing one's interest even if it was at the expense of others. This interest is framed in terms of eating forbidden food. Eating other people's food serves to conceptualize people's selfish behaviour *'Hey, eater of people's food, put yours on the road'*. While sacrifice is conceptualized in terms of eating an unpleasant food, selfishness is framed in terms of eating other people's food.

Forbidden fruit is sweet.

Արգելված պտուղը քաղցր է:

The eye knows no being full.

Աչքը կշտանալ չունի:

God has given two ears and one mouth to listen a lot and eat a little.

Աստված մարդուն երկու ականջ, մեկ բերան է տվել, որ շատ լսենք, քիչ ուտենք:

He that has a bountiful eye shall be blessed; for he gives of his bread to the poor.

Խեղճին հաց տվող չի լինի, համա խրատ տվող շատ կլինի:

When the cup fills up, it will overflow.

Բաժակը, որ լցվեց, կթափվի:

Dependence / Independence: An independent person is someone who relies on his own capabilities to achieve his objectives. In fact relying on one's capabilities is captured in eating one's own food *'If you like meat, slaughter your camel'*. Conversely, dependence consists in relying on other people's capabilities. This is framed in terms of eating other people's food *'the one who relies on his neighbour's food passes the night without dinner'* or using other people's organs to eat food. *'He eats onion with someone else's mouth'*. In this case food corresponds to the objective to be achieved. Dependence is negatively perceived in proverbs. That is why someone who relies on other people will never achieve his *'the one who does not eat with his own hand will never be satiated'*.¹

The neighbor's fruit is always sweeter.

Հարևանի բերքը առատ է երևում:

Without wish there is no dish.

Ուրիշի հացով տոնախմբություն չի արվի:

Sufferance / Unconsciousness: The food domain serves to conceptualize sufferance and unconsciousness. While a suffering person turns into food for time *'Time eats him and keeps some of him'*. *Incompatibility / Harmony:* The route to express incompatibility is to describe food experiences contrasted with particular behaviour. In fact food consumption is conditioned by a situation of rest. Incompatibility arises when food is presented in a difficult situation *'The hanged person lacks nothing except eating sweets'*. Being hanged is a difficult situation that does not correlate with the moment of joy captured in terms of eating sweets. Incompatibility is a situation in which there is a discrepancy between the owner and his possession. The owner corresponds to the eater and the possession corresponds to the food *'God gives beans to those who don't have teeth'*. Conversely, harmony is a situation in which the owner corresponds to his possession captured in terms of food experience where the eater corresponds to the food *'a bean with a weevil found by a one-eyed crow'*.²

God gives beans to those who don't have teeth.

Բերան կա հաց չկա, հաց կա բերան չկա:

Ծառի տակ պառկողին՝ բերանդ տանձ չի ընկնի: *Hardworking people will never have a stomachache.*

When the fox can't reach the grape, he says it's unripe.

Աղվեսը բերանը խաղողին չի հասնում, ասում է՝ խակ է:

One cannot think well, love well, sleep well, if one has not dined well.

Երբ փորը կուշտ է, սիրտն էլ է ուրախ:

You will not eat a fish, if you don't know how to fish.

Անճարը կուտիբանջար:

Սովածը հաց կտեսնի երազում, ծարավը ջուր:

Կիրակի օրվա փլավը երկուշարթի էլ կուտվի:

Աղյուծի ճաշի մնացորդները բորենուն կհասնի:

Experience / Lack of

experience: Experience and lack of experience are two concepts structured in terms of food experience. An experienced person is someone who ate different types of food and even passed nights without food. *'We ate it salted and tasteless and we passed nights without food'*. Conversely, lack of experience is captured in terms of the inability to eat and even taste food *'I have nothing to taste in this market'*. In these two proverbs life corresponds to food and human actions correspond to eating. This is captured in the two conceptual metaphors *life is food* and *experiencing is eating*.

¹Bock, 1980; 59-72

²Gibbs, 1992; 572-77

Kindness / Ingratitude: Proverbs frame a kind person in terms of a sweet food. They also frame kind behaviour in terms of giving sweet food. Proverbs highlight that this kindness may be met by an ungrateful attitude ‘*While I give him an apple, he puts me a stick in the eye*’.

Feeding someone serves to conceptualize kind behaviour while hurting the feeder corresponds to ungrateful behaviour ‘*He bites the finger that feeds him honey*’.

The cow died, the lot ended.

Կովը մահացավ, խուփը վերջացավ:

Do goodness and throw it into the water; it will appear in front of you. Լավությունն արա, ջուրը ձգիր, դեմդ կեղնի:

Do goodness and cast onto the waters; if fish don’t know, God will.

Լավությունն արա, ջուրը գցի, ձուկը չիմանայ, Աստուած կ’իմանայ:

Նույնիսկ գետի ափին էլ ջրով հյուրասիրելը շնորհակալության է արժանի:

If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink.

Նախ հաց, հետո հարց:

A guest is from God.

Ղոնաղն Աստծունն է:

If you can’t feed a hundred people, then just feed one.

Եթե չես կարող կերակրել հարյուր հոգու, կերակրիր գոնե մեկին:¹

Reality / Appearance: Whether by focusing on the shape of the food type ‘*Not all that is round is cake*’ or by comparing a human being to diverse food types ‘*he thought of himself raisins, however he is soup. Հոգուտ մեռնեմ թանապուր, դո լել դարձար կերակուր: Դարտակ կարասը մեծ ձեն կտա:*’, the food domain serves to conceptualize distinct situations representing the difference between appearance and real.

Forbidden fruit is sweet.

Արգելված պտուղը քաղցր է:

Man does not live by bread alone.

Մարդը միայն հացով չի ապրում:

A sound tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor can a bad tree bear good fruit.

Ծառի դատնությունից պտուղն էլ չի ուտվի:

We must Eat to live, not live to eat.”

Պետք է ուտել ապրելու համար, այլ ոչ թե ապրելու տելու համար:

To believe that the moon is made of green cheese.

The apple never falls far from the tree.

Պտուղը ծառից հեռու չի ընկնում:

Ձուկը գլխից է հոտում:

Մի հոտած ձուկը զամբյուղի բոլոր ձկներին կհոտեցնի:

Մի վատ խնձորը այգու անունը կարատավորի:²

The survey of English and Armenian proverbs showed that in almost one in six proverbs we find at least one food-related term. This abundance is significant with respect to the different domains discussed in these proverbs. Proverbs deal generally with human affairs through describing familiar situations. Dealing with food is one of these concrete experiences abundantly present in English and Armenian proverbs. This clear presence of the food domain is accounted for by the nature of proverbial expressions. Because these expressions are mostly defined short expressions to describe familiar situations and since food is vital to human existence and people experience daily many of its patterns, such a highly experienced domain is more likely to be met in proverbs.

¹ Հակոբյան, Գ., *Պայմանական Փոխաբերություններ: Ճանաչողական Հետազոտում*, Փարիզ: Վեցերորդ Միջազգային Համաժողովի Նյութեր, ՄԼԱՀիրատ., 2003, 243

² Բեդիրյան, Պ., *Հայերեն Թևավոր խոսքեր: Բառարան: Միջազգային Գործածություն և Ունեցողներ Ռուսերեն, Անգլերեն Համարժեքներով*, Երևան: Լույսձրատ., 2007, 430