

*Phraseology,
constructions
and
translation*

corpus-based,
computational and
cultural aspects

Edited by Jean-Pierre Colson

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and cultural aspects**

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Introduction

Phraseology in the broad sense, including many constructions or constructional idioms, as well as more traditional categories such as collocations, formulas, idioms and proverbs is still a central issue in linguistic theory and in applied linguistics.

From a theoretical point of view, phraseology is compatible with several approaches that lay stress on the importance of idiomaticity or non-compositionality, such as corpus linguistics and construction grammar. From a practical point of view, it remains one of the main stumbling blocks for learners of a foreign language, as native speakers will naturally assemble the words of their language according to principles that are often at least partly idiomatic. Discovering the subtleties of phraseology is also an opening to the culture of a foreign language.

In the case of translation, recognizing all the idiomatic aspects of a source text remains a considerable challenge for human translators, who must use their creative talent to imagine possible equivalents of phraseological constructions in the target language. While artificial intelligence and deep learning in particular have significantly improved the quality of machine translation, phraseology is typically one of the pitfalls that even the best systems cannot always avoid.

This volume is based on a selection of peer-reviewed papers that were presented at the international conference “Phraseology, constructions and translation: corpus-based, computational and cultural aspects”. The conference was held online at the University of Louvain in Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, from 6 to 9 September 2021. Originally planned to take place in September 2020, the conference was first postponed because of the coronavirus pandemic and finally had to be scheduled online in 2021.

In a world facing numerous crises, research on the complex interplay between language, culture and translation remains of paramount importance. Phraseology, devoted to the wide spectrum of fixed and idiomatic constructions, has a lot to do with culture, but it is intertwined with all the traditions and collective representations conveyed by languages. Similarly, the translation of idiomatic language poses several challenges and requires an in-depth study of both the source and the target culture. Because formulaic and idiomatic language represent such a large portion of language, they are one of the keys to understanding the true nature of meaning.

Against this background, this volume reflects the rich diversity of studies that the European Society for Phraseology (Europhras) has encouraged from the start. Following the tradition of the Europhras Society, it includes papers in English, French, German and Spanish.

A first section is devoted to paremiology, the study of proverbs, a branch of phraseology that is often considered as a discipline of its own and illustrates the interplay between complex figurative language and the representation of wisdom in different cultures.

Culture also lies at the centre of the papers presented in section two, in which fresh insights can be gained into the linguistic realization of cultural elements by means of phraseology. The Europhras conferences were initially devoted to comparisons between European languages, but it is particularly interesting to welcome in this volume contributions on languages such as Hindi, Arabic or Chinese.

Translating phraseology is also known as a daunting task, posing several theoretical, cultural and practical challenges. In section three, a selection is presented of very inspiring topics involving translation and phraseology. It concludes with two studies on a related topic, namely phraseology and language pedagogy.

In recent years, phraseology has been increasingly combined with corpora and computational tools. Section four presents selected studies involving the use of corpora and of automated techniques that are applied to phraseology.

Finally, section five is devoted to the interaction between phraseology and construction grammar. In recent years, a fruitful collaboration has emerged between researchers on idiomatic language on the one hand and construction grammarians on the other. In particular, the non-compositionality of many constructions represents a fascinating point of convergence with phraseology.

Section 1

Paremiology

Im Schnittfeld von digitaler Lexikographie und modernem Sprachgebrauch

Mehrsprachige internetbasierte Sprichwortdatenbank

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Abstract

In the multilingual Internet-based proverb database presented in this paper, authentic examples for the current usage of traditional and modern proverbs and their variants and modifications can be recorded and provided with detailed information on their source, meaning, context of usage, publication media, pragmatic functions, national or regional distribution, variation or transformation types, etc. Based on their annotation, the examples of current proverb usage can be filtered according to various criteria. In this way smaller corpora can be compiled for future paremiological studies.

The paper aims to demonstrate several selected main database features by using examples originating from the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The focus of the study lies primarily on proverbial items that occur in visual contexts, i.e. on pictures, illustrations or in videos.

Keywords

modern proverb usage, digital paremiography, proverb database, visual examples of usage, Swiss German proverbs

1. Einleitung und Zielsetzung

Genauso wie sich die Kultur einer Gesellschaft im Laufe der Zeit verändert, machen auch die in der Sprache dieser Gesellschaft geläufigen Sprichwörter als Träger bestimmter erfahrungsgesättigter Meinungen und Urteile über Welt, Menschen und Ereignisse verschiedene Wandlungsprozesse durch. Im Zuge dessen verlieren manche traditionellen Sprichwörter nach einer gewissen Zeit an Aktualität und geraten aus dem aktiven Sprachgebrauch, während andere umgeprägt werden, damit neue bzw. alternative Auffassungen, Normen und Werte versprachlicht werden können; oder aber es entstehen moderne Sprichwörter, die aktuelle Erfahrungen und neue Sichtweisen zum Ausdruck bringen (vgl. Földes und Hrisztova-Gotthardt 2016: 96).

In diesem Zusammenhang besteht eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben der modernen Parömiographie darin, den zum gegebenen Zeitpunkt aktuellen Sprichwortgebrauch innerhalb der jeweiligen Sprach- bzw. Kulturgemeinschaft zu dokumentieren (vgl. Mieder 2004: 150, 2018: 23). Demgemäß sollen in den neuen synchron ausgerichteten Sammlungen lediglich jene traditionellen Sprichwörter verzeichnet werden, die auch im Zeitalter der Postmoderne in Umlauf sind. Des Weiteren sollen solche Items lexikographisch erfasst werden, die in früheren parömiographischen Werken zwar nicht berücksichtigt wurden, jedoch die Hauptkriterien für ein (modernes) Sprichwort¹ erfüllen.

Die im Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags dargestellte mehrsprachige internetbasierte Sprichwortdatenbank versteht sich als ein flexibles und multifunktional verwendbares lexikographisches Tool, das Parömiographen ermöglichen soll, den aktuellen Sprichwortschatz diverser Sprachen zu erfassen, detailliert zu beschreiben und seine fortwährenden Veränderungen möglichst zeitnah und wirklichkeitsgetreu zu dokumentieren. In der Datenbank können Belege für die gegenwärtige Verwendung traditioneller und neuzeitlicher Sprichwörter und ihrer Abwandlungen in Form von Texten, Bildern und Videoclips gespeichert und mit verschiedenen Begleitinformationen und Kommentaren in Bezug auf Quelle, Bedeutung, Gebrauchskontext bzw. -situation, Medium der Veröffentlichung, pragmatische Funktionen, nationale oder regionale Verbreitung, Art der Transformation etc. versehen werden. Auf diese Weise soll ein umfangreiches Korpus aktuell gebräuchlicher Sprichwörter, ihrer Varianten und Modifikationen entstehen, das in einem späteren Stadium zur Beantwortung etlicher parömiologischer Fragestellungen genutzt werden kann.

Um die für die weiter oben geschilderten Zwecke relevanten Datenbankfunktionen zu demonstrieren, werden im Folgenden ausgewählte authentische Belege für den Gebrauch von traditionellen Sprichwörtern, sprichwörtlichen Modifikationen bzw. Antisprichwörtern² sowie Sprichwort-Kandidaten verwendet. Dabei soll der Fokus nicht auf sprichwörtlichen Items liegen, die in rein textuellen Kontextbelegen vorkommen, sondern auf solchen, die in visuellen Belegen, d.h. auf Bildern und in Videoclips auftreten.

2. Dokumentieren des aktuellen Sprichwortgebrauchs mithilfe einer internetbasierten Sprichwortdatenbank

Das ursprüngliche Konzept für die mehrsprachige internetbasierte Sprichwortdatenbank³, die im Folgenden kurz präsentiert wird, wurde von Hrisztova-Gotthardt zwischen 2007

¹ Laut Steyer (2012: 290) muss ein sog. Sprichwort-Kandidat folgende Anforderungen erfüllen, um als modernes Sprichwort in Betracht gezogen zu werden: Satzwertigkeit, Autonomie als Mikrotext und somit kontextfreies Verstehen, Kürze, Prägnanz und (beinahe) vollendeter Übergang vom bekannten Ursprung zum anonymen, fest geprägten Erfahrungssatz.

² Der Terminus „Antisprichwort“ wurde zum ersten Mal von Röhrich und Mieder (1977:114-115) benutzt, um ganz allgemein alle (häufig humoristischen) Parodien, Verfremdungen und Variationen von traditionellen Sprichwörtern zu bezeichnen.

³ Eine kurze Übersicht über die Ziele, Struktur und Hauptfeatures weiterer Sprichwortdatenbanken findet sich in Hrisztova-Gotthardt und Gotthardt 2020.

und 2008 im Rahmen eines einjährigen Forschungsaufenthalts am Deutschen Seminar der Universität Basel entwickelt. Die dabei gewonnenen wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse wurden 2010 in Form einer Monografie veröffentlicht und somit für ein breiteres wissenschaftliches Publikum zugänglich gemacht (s. Hrisztova-Gotthardt 2010).

Derzeit erfolgt die praktische Umsetzung des weiterentwickelten Konzepts. Einige ausgewählte Datenbankfeatures wurden bereits an der internationalen Tagung „Aktuelle Trends in der phraseologischen und parömiologischen Forschung weltweit“, die 2019 in Wrocław stattfand, vorgestellt (s. Hrisztova-Gotthardt und Gotthardt 2020). Aus Platzgründen wird an dieser Stelle lediglich auf die wichtigsten Features eingegangen. Zum Zwecke des besseren Verständnisses werden sie anhand von deutschen Sprichwörtern illustriert, obwohl in der Datenbank bereits zahlreiche Sprichwörter aus den Sprachen Bulgarisch, Ungarisch und Englisch vertreten sind.

2.1. Hochladen und Verwalten von Daten

Die Verwaltungsoberfläche der Datenbank bietet mehrere Optionen. Es besteht die Möglichkeit, einzelne Sprichwörter bzw. vorgefertigte Sprichwortlisten wie z. B. eine Liste mit deutschen Sprichwörtern hochzuladen. Die einmal hochgeladenen Einträge können jederzeit korrigiert, durch neue ergänzt oder gelöscht werden.

2.2. Annotieren von Daten

In einem nächsten Schritt können die einzelnen hochgeladenen Items mit verschiedenen lexikographischen Begleitinformationen über ihre Sprache (z. B. Deutsch bzw. Schweizer Mundart), Gebrauchsfrequenz (z. B. Anzahl der Treffer im *Deutschen Referenzkorpus*), syntaktische Struktur (z. B. eine bestimmte Sprichwortformel,⁴ die dem jeweiligen Sprichwort zugrunde liegt) etc. versehen werden.

2.3. Filtern von Daten

Die Datenbank ermöglicht es, die darin gespeicherten Sprichwörter nach jeweils einem bestimmten oder nach mehreren Kriterien zu filtern. Es besteht z. B. die Option zum Auflisten aller Einträge aus der Schweizer Mundart oder aber aller deutschsprachigen Einträge, die auf der Strukturformel *Wer A, der B* aufbauen (s. Abbildung 1).

⁴ Unter Sprichwortformeln werden in der Parömiologie vorgeprägte syntaktische Strukturen verstanden, auf denen diverse Sprichwörter und Antisprichwörter fußen wie *Erst A, dann B*, *Ohne A kein B*, *Wie A, so B* usw. (vgl. Röhrich und Mieder 1977: 60, 108, Norrick: 2007: 384, Mieder 2012: 154-155, Mac Coinnigh 2015: 121, T. Litovkina et al. 2021: 28-32).

The screenshot shows the Parcemia Multilingual Proverb Database interface. On the left is a navigation menu with buttons for SUMMARY, RESEARCHES, PROVERBS, LABELS, ANNOTATION, EXAMPLES, and VISUALIZE. The main area has a search filter set to 'Deutsch+Wer A, (der) B.' with 'Clear' and 'Copy from tree' buttons. Below the filter are tabs for 'Tree', 'Listing', 'Cross table (detailed)', 'Cross table (summary)', 'Chart', and 'Examples'. The 'Listing' tab is active, showing a table of 10 proverbs. At the bottom, there are 'Showing 1 to 10 of 31 entries' and navigation buttons for 'First', 'Previous', '1', '2', '3', '4', 'Next', and 'Last'.

No. <	Proverb	>
1	Wer A sagt, muss auch B sagen.	
2	Wer anderen eine Grube gräbt, fällt selbst hinein.	
3	Wer billig kauft, kauft teuer.	
4	Wer das Schwert nimmt, wird durch das Schwert unkommen.	
5	Wer den Pfennig nicht ehrt, ist des Talers nicht wert.	
6	Wer den Schaden hat, braucht für den Spott nicht zu sorgen.	
7	Wer die Wahl hat, hat die Qual.	
8	Wer einmal lügt, dem glaubt man nicht, und wenn er auch die Wahrheit spricht.	
9	Wer ernten will, muss säen.	
10	Wer hoch steigt, fällt tief.	

Abb. 1. Filtern von Daten

2.4. Visuelle Darstellung von Daten und Relationen

Die Datenbank fungiert unterstützend beim visuellen Darstellen von Datenmengen und Relationen zwischen mehreren Klassen und Subklassen von Sprichwörtern. So zum Beispiel kann die Relation zwischen der Klasse „Stichwörter, die in den Sprichwörtern vorkommen“ und der Klasse „Sprache der Sprichwörter“ mithilfe eines Diagramms dargestellt werden. Dabei wird zum einen ersichtlich, mit welcher Häufigkeit die Stichwörter einzelner thematischer Gruppen⁵ in den Sprichwörtern einer bestimmten Sprache vorkommen (s. Abbildung 2).

Zum anderen kann die prozentuale Verteilung der einzelnen Begriffe, die einer bestimmten thematischen Gruppe, z. B. der Gruppe „Glaube und Aberglaube“, zugehören, visuell dargestellt werden (s. Abbildung 3).

⁵ Die einzelnen Stichwörter werden während des Annotierungsprozesses der jeweiligen thematischen Gruppe zugeordnet. Zahlreiche thematische Gruppen wurden bereits im Voraus festgelegt, nach Bedarf wird ihre Liste um neue Einträge erweitert.

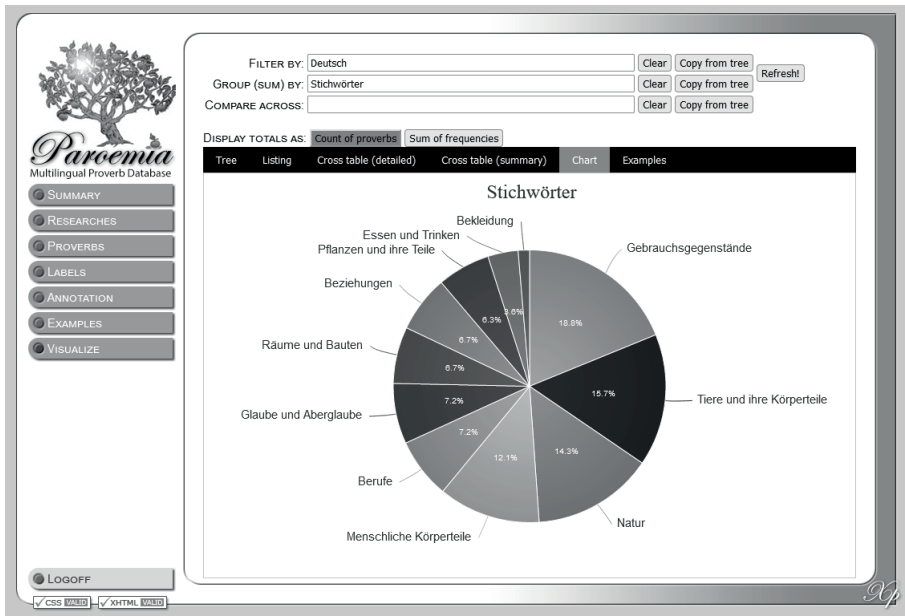


Abb. 2. Thematische Gruppen von Stichwörtern in deutschen Sprichwörtern

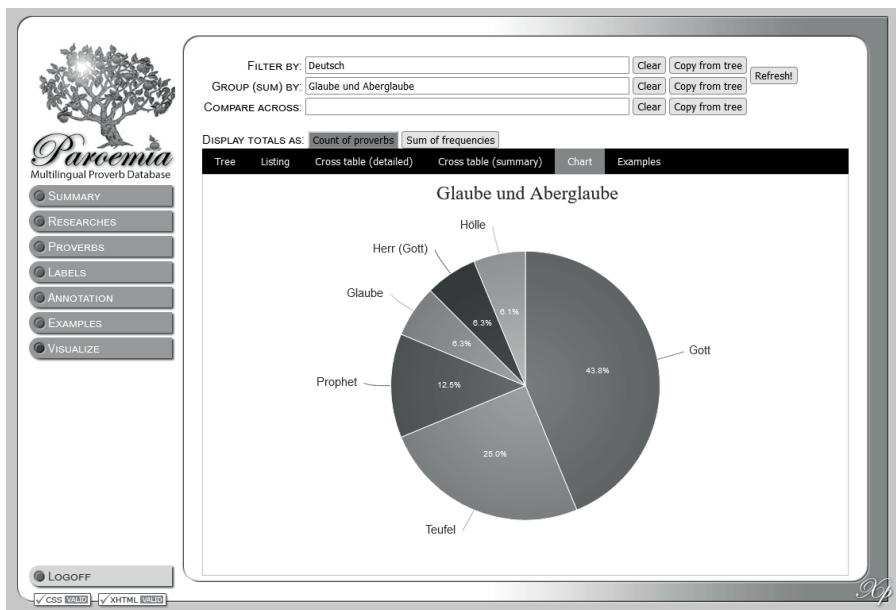


Abb. 3. Deutsche Stichwörter innerhalb der thematischen Gruppe „Glaube und Aberglaube“

3. Erfassen und Annotieren von Belegen zu traditionellen und modernen Sprichwörtern und ihren Modifikationen

In diesem zweiten und zentralen Teil des vorliegenden Beitrags soll aufgezeigt werden, wie authentische Belege für aktuell gebräuchliche Sprichwörter, sprichwörtliche Modifikationen bzw. Antisprichwörter sowie sog. Sprichwort-Kandidaten mithilfe der Datenbank lexikographisch erfasst werden können. Die Belege zeichnen sich durch zwei Besonderheiten aus: Einerseits handelt es sich um keine rein textuellen Belege, sondern um Bilder und Videoclips, die Sprichwörter beinhalten, und andererseits stammen alle Items aus der Deutschschweiz.

Die Belege wurden im Zeitraum zwischen 2019 und 2021 gesammelt und stammen vorwiegend aus der Nordwestschweiz, genauer gesagt aus den Kantonen Basel-Stadt, Basel-Landschaft und Solothurn. Sie wurden in Form von Werbeslogans oder Schlagzeilen in verschiedenen Werbemitteln wie Werbeplakaten oder Fernsehspots⁶ eingesetzt oder waren im Rahmen der Basler Fas[t]nacht⁷ als lustige oder satirisch gefärbte Sprüche auf den Laternen der Fas[t]nachtsgruppierungen künstlerisch dargestellt.

3.1. Annotieren der Belege

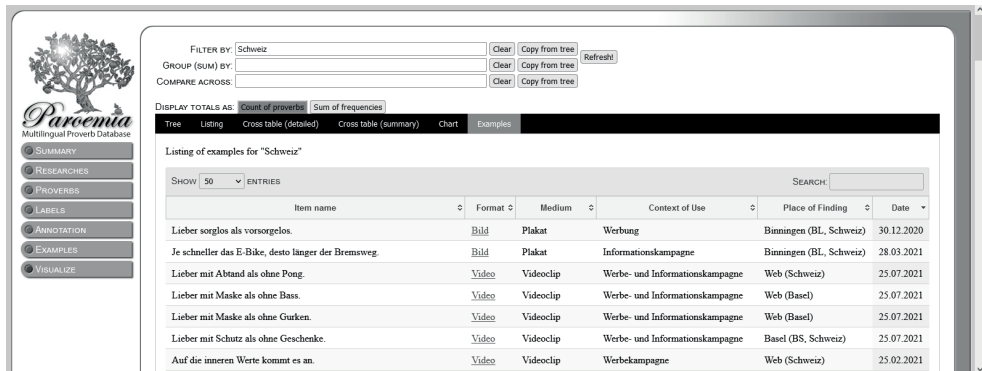
Alle Belege wurden während des Annotierungsprozesses mit folgenden Begleitinformationen versehen:

- Format: Bild oder Video,
- Medium bzw. (Werbe)Mittel: Fernsehen, Internet bzw. Werbeplakat, (Werbe)Tafel, Fas[t]nachtslaterne usw.,
- Gebrauchskontext: Werbung für ein bestimmtes Produkt oder eine bestimmte Dienstleistung, Fas[t]nacht, Informationskampagne usw.,
- Fundort,
- Datum, an dem der Beleg entdeckt wurde.

Abbildung 4 veranschaulicht, in welcher Form die annotierten Belege in der Datenbank gespeichert werden.

⁶ Zum Thema Werbemedien und -formate, Werbemittel sowie Text- und Bildelementen in der Werbung vgl. Janich (2010: 53-112).

⁷ Im Schweizerdeutschen lautet die Bezeichnung für das Basler Maskenfest „Fasnacht“ und nicht wie in der binnendeutschen Variante der deutschen Standardsprache „Fastnacht“.



The screenshot shows the Parencia Multilingual Proverb Database interface. The search results are filtered by 'Schweiz'. The table below lists examples for the search term 'Schweiz'.

Item name	Format	Medium	Context of Use	Place of Finding	Date
Lieber sorglos als vorsorgelos.	Bild	Plakat	Werbung	Binningen (BL, Schweiz)	30.12.2020
Je schneller das E-Bike, desto länger der Bremsweg.	Bild	Plakat	Informationskampagne	Binningen (BL, Schweiz)	28.03.2021
Lieber mit Abstand als ohne Pong.	Video	Videoclip	Werbe- und Informationskampagne	Web (Schweiz)	25.07.2021
Lieber mit Maske als ohne Bass.	Video	Videoclip	Werbe- und Informationskampagne	Web (Basel)	25.07.2021
Lieber mit Maske als ohne Gurken.	Video	Videoclip	Werbe- und Informationskampagne	Web (Basel)	25.07.2021
Lieber mit Schutz als ohne Geschenke.	Video	Videoclip	Werbe- und Informationskampagne	Basel (BS, Schweiz)	25.07.2021
Auf die inneren Werte kommt es an.	Video	Videoclip	Werbekampagne	Web (Schweiz)	25.02.2021

Abb. 4. Annotierte Schweizer Belege

Wie sich die Belege innerhalb der weiter oben aufgeführten Annotationskategorien prozentual verteilen, kann mithilfe von Diagrammen visuell dargestellt werden. Abbildung 5 zeigt die prozentuale Verteilung der Belege in Bezug auf das Merkmal „Format“:

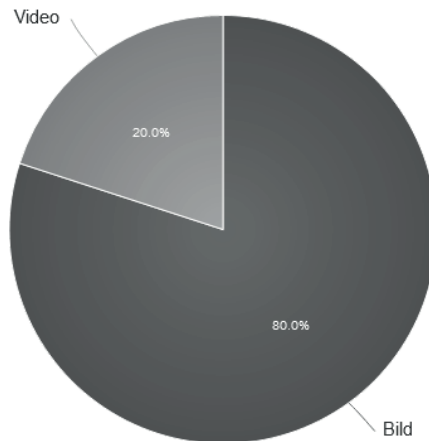


Abb. 5. Format der Belege

Der Benutzer der Datenbank gelangt nur mit einem Mausklick zum jeweiligen Beleg, der im konkreten Fall entweder die Form eines Bildes (s. Abbildung 6)⁸ eines Videoclips (s. Abbildung 7)⁹ hat.

⁸ Das Foto wurde am 12.03.2019 in Basel aufgenommen. Die baseldeutsche Variante des Sprichworts *Weniger ist mehr* wurde zum Titel des aktuellen Sujets gewählt und auf der Laterne der Fas[t]nachtsgruppierung platziert.

⁹ Die Abbildung stellt lediglich ein Bildschirmfoto dar. Der Videoclip, aus dem das Foto stammt, ist einer von mehreren Werbespots, die im Rahmen der groß angelegten Werbekampagne des Schweizer Herkunftslabels *Swiss Garantie* hergestellt wurden und im Schweizer Fernsehen bzw. im Internet zu sehen sind. Der



Abb. 6. Beleg in Form eines Bildes



Abb. 7. Beleg in Form eines Videoclips

3.2. Annotieren der sprichwörtlichen Texte, die in den Belegen enthalten sind

Es sei an dieser Stelle darauf hingewiesen, dass nicht nur die in der Sprichwortdatenbank gespeicherten Belege mit Begleitinformationen bezüglich ihrer Quelle und ihres Formats versehen werden. Die sprichwörtlichen Texte, die in diesen Belegen vorkommen, werden ebenfalls entsprechend annotiert. U. a. werden Merkmale wie die Sprache des Items (z. B.

Werbeslogan der ganzen Kampagne, nämlich *Auf die inneren Werte kommt es an*, ist seit 2021 auch auf zahlreichen Werbewänden zu sehen. Dementsprechend weist der Werbeslogan nicht nur eine recht hohe Gebrauchsfrequenz auf, sondern entspricht allen von Steyer (2012: 290) formulierten Anforderungen an einen modernen Sprichwort-Kandidaten. Aus diesem Grund wurde er auch in die Sprichwortdatenbank aufgenommen und entsprechend annotiert. Eine künftige Fallstudie soll zeigen, ob das Item in mehreren unterschiedlichen Gebrauchskontexten vorkommt und somit auch das Kriterium der Volksläufigkeit (s. Mieder 2018: 25) erfüllt.

Standarddeutsch oder Schweizer Mundart), der Itemtyp (z. B. traditionelles Sprichwort, Variante eines traditionellen Sprichwortes, Antisprichwort, sprichwortähnlicher Text, Sprichwort-Kandidat) und die Art der Transformation (Addition, Substitution, Omission, Kontamination etc.)¹⁰ festgehalten. Ferner umfasst die Annotation der sprichwörtlichen Texte, die in visuellen Belegen auftreten, im Abschnitt 2.2 bereits aufgeführte Charakteristika wie die syntaktische Struktur bzw. die Sprichwortformel, auf der das jeweilige Item basiert, die Stichwörter, die darin enthalten sind, die Frequenz, mit der dieses Item in einem bestimmten Textkorpus vorkommt usw. Aus Platzgründen ist es an dieser Stelle jedoch nicht möglich, auf alle lexikographischen Begleitinformationen einzugehen, mit denen die einzelnen Einträge versehen werden (können).

Die detaillierte Annotation erlaubt es, die Items nach bestimmten Kriterien zu gruppieren und ihre Verteilung innerhalb eines bestimmten Merkmals (z. B. Itemtyp oder Art der Transformation) visuell darzustellen. Wie der Abbildung 8 zu entnehmen ist, enthalten die Belege aus der Deutschschweiz mehrheitlich sprichwörtliche Modifikationen bzw. sprichwortähnliche Items und nicht traditionelle Sprichwörter:

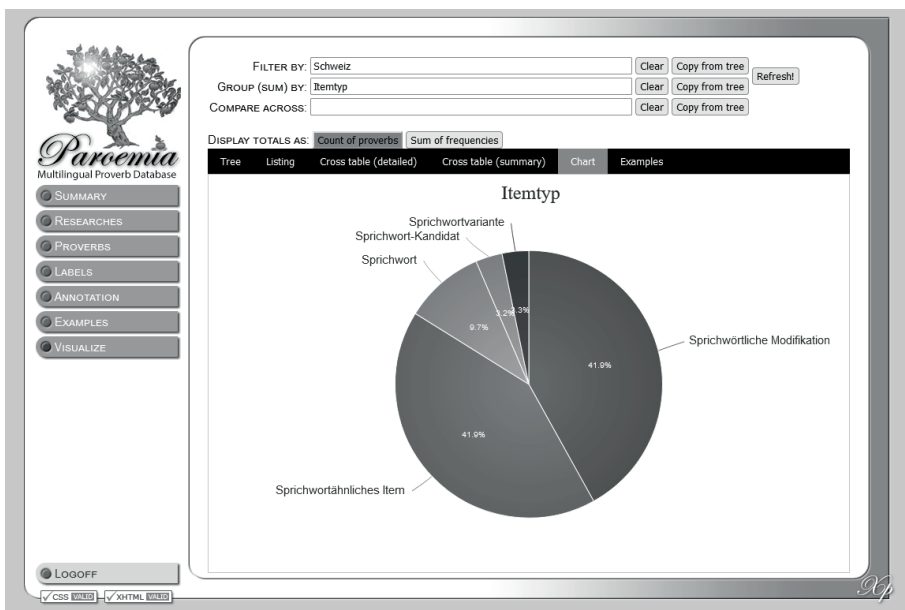


Abb. 8. Itemtyp

¹⁰ Ein Item wird mit diesem Label versehen, wenn es sich um eine Modifikation eines traditionellen Sprichwortes oder mit anderen Worten um ein Antisprichwort handelt. Die diversen Arten der Transformation von traditionellen Sprichwörtern werden in T. Litovkina et al. (2021: 53-140) ausführlich behandelt und anhand von zahlreichen deutsch-, englisch-, französisch-, russisch- und ungarischsprachigen Beispielen dargestellt.

Aus dem Diagramm in Abbildung 9 wird wiederum ersichtlich, dass die Substitution die häufigste Transformationsart ist, die zu den in den Schweizer Belegen vorhandenen sprichwörtlichen Modifikationen geführt hat.

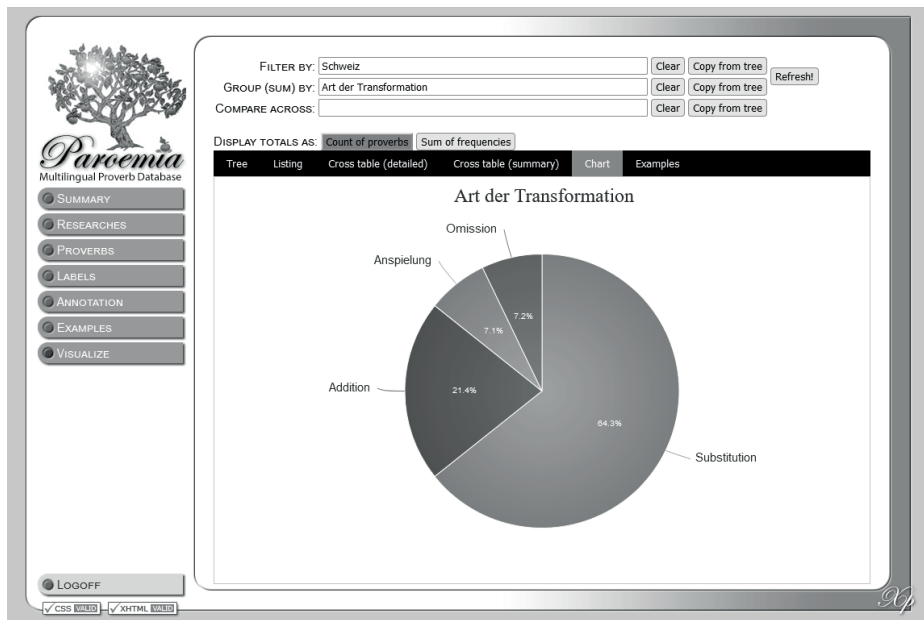


Abb. 9. Art der Transformation

4. Schlusswort und Ausblick

Wie sich in den obigen Ausführungen deutlich abgezeichnet hat, bietet eine Sprichwortdatenbank die Möglichkeit, nicht nur aktuell gebräuchliche Sprichwörter und ihre Modifikationen, sondern auch authentische Belege für ihren tatsächlichen Gebrauch unabhängig von ihrem Format und ohne wesentliche Informationseinbußen zu erfassen. Außerdem können die ausführlich annotierten Belege nach verschiedenen Kriterien gefiltert bzw. gruppiert werden. Auf diese Weise können zielgerichtet kleinere Korpora für diverse Studien in Bezug auf die Struktur und Variation der Sprichwörter, auf ihren Gebrauch in konkreten Kontexten und Situationen etc. zusammengestellt werden.

Ferner kann die Aufarbeitung von Belegen aus verschiedenen Sprachen und Sprachvarietäten dazu beitragen, die gegenwärtige parömiologische Situation in der jeweiligen Sprachgemeinschaft zu erfassen und analysieren. In diesem Zusammenhang soll die detaillierte Dokumentation von sprichwörtlichen Belegen aus der Deutschschweiz einen ersten Versuch zur Erfassung, Beschreibung und Analyse der in dieser Sprachregion aktuell geläufigen Sprichwörter darstellen und somit zum allmählichen Beheben eines wichtigen

Desiderats beitragen. Denn laut Burger fehlt es nämlich bis dato an umfassenden empirischen Daten und wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen in Bezug auf die in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz aktuell gebräuchlichen Sprichwörter (Burger 1996: 461, 2002: 19).

Die Sammlung mit Schweizer Belegen, die momentan in der Sprichwortdatenbank gespeichert sind, ist als Ergebnis einer Feldforschung entstanden. Sie soll in nächster Zukunft mittels Korpusrecherchen, u.a. im *Schweizer Textkorpus*, kontinuierlich um neue Einträge erweitert werden. Dabei sollen auch typisch schweizerische Sprichwörter ermittelt werden, die für die österreichische oder für die binnendeutsche Variante der deutschen Standardsprache nicht charakteristisch sind.

Da sich die in diesem Beitrag präsentierte Datenbank im kontinuierlichen Aufbau befindet, wird im Rahmen künftiger Tagungsvorträge und Studien über weitere Entwicklungen und neue Features berichtet.

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The issue of equivalence and the principles of creating a multilingual electronic database of idioms and proverbs

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Abstract

This paper discusses the issues of linguistic, conceptual and cultural equivalence based on idioms and proverbs comprising the semantic model “things are to be done in their fair time” in Georgian, English, Russian and French languages.

The pragma-semantic model employed for the data collection and analysis was suggested by Rusieshvili (2005). It maintains that the semantic structure of metaphoric idioms and proverbs consists of three interdependent layers. The idioms and proverbs that coincide at all layers of the model are referred to as full inter-language or cross-language equivalents. The idioms which coincide only at the middle layer are considered partial equivalents.

The data for the paper were taken from the database of Georgian idioms and proverbs (with their English, Russian, German, French, Turkish and Arabic equivalents) supported by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia and created by a group of Professors from Tbilisi State University.

Keywords

idioms, proverbs, equivalence, database

1. Introduction

As is known, idioms and proverbs reflect linguistic and cultural aspects of the cultures and languages they are created in.

Idiomacity is one of the major features constituting the semantic systems of idioms and proverbs. In terms of the degree of idiomacity, two types of idiomatic expressions may be distinguished: idiomatic expressions (phrasemes) that contain both idiomatic and non-idiomatic parts, and fully idiomatic ones (Rusieshvili-Cartledge & Dolidze 2020). This difference serves as a demarcation line for distinguishing between “idiomatic expressions”

and “idioms” (van der Linden 1992: 8) and “phrasemes” and “idioms” (Amosova 2010; Rusieshvili-Cartledge & Dolidze 2015 and many others).

Idiomatic expressions/phrasemes are partially metaphoric units. This means that they have one or more words used in their direct meaning, which assists in decoding the overall meaning of the item.

Despite structural and semantic differences, both idioms and phrasemes contain metaphors in their semantic structure which makes it possible to analyze them based on the semantic model of the metaphor, suggested by Rusieshvili (2005) as a model for exploration of a proverb metaphor.

The proverb is a part of the thesaurus, a verbal form which laconically and metaphorically expresses a deep, widely-known archetypal knowledge accumulated by the ethnic group while exploring the universal reality around us (Rusieshvili 2005; Rusieshvili-Cartledge & Dolidze 2017).

Another issue frequently mentioned regarding the meaning of idioms and proverbs is the issue of equivalence. While discussing the theory of proverbs equivalence, Škara singled out the following markers relevant to determining equivalents on the cross-language plane: grammatical markers, semantic features and phonic devices (Škara 1995). On the other hand, the problems that arise in the process of determining equivalence when translating proverbs were dealt with by several authors. For instance, Alshammari’s research was based on Nida’s equivalence theory (Alshammari 2015). El-Yasin & Al-Shehabat (2005) investigated issues of cross-language proverb equivalence in Arabic and English languages (cited in Alshammari 2014), whereas Wang (2014) studied Mongolian proverbs from an intercultural standpoint.

The database of Georgian idioms and proverbs with their equivalents in English, Russian, French, German, Turkish and Arabic languages is based on the methodology described above.

1.1. The Database of Georgian idioms and proverbs with their equivalents in English, Russian, French, German, Turkish and Arabic languages

The creation of this electronic database was supported by the Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation of Georgia in 2015-2017 (the authors of this paper are the leader and a member of the team working on the project). The database is unique for the Georgian language and culture as, along with the Georgian data, it presents idioms and proverbs from several different cultures and languages. Specifically, English is a member of the Germanic group of Indo-European languages; French belongs to the Romance languages, Russian - to Slavonic languages, Turkish - to Turkic languages and Arabic-to the Semitic family of languages. The Georgian language, unlike other languages of the research, belongs to the Kartvelian group of Iberian-Caucasian languages. Moreover, this base is innovative regarding the methodology used.

The leading language of the base is Georgian. As was mentioned, currently, the database includes data from 7 languages. However, the interface allows expanding the number of languages and adding the data to the languages that are already part of the base.

The team working on the project has received positive feedback from the users of the database (translators, teachers, linguists and members of the public interested in the issues of phraseology, paremiology, translation theory, ethnology, ethnography and cultural studies). The users mention that the database facilitates contrasting and comparison of the Georgian cultural heritage of this stock to those of other languages and cultures.

The material is arranged according to the semantic groups; for instance, fear, love, and friendship. Within the group, the proverbs and idioms are further subdivided into smaller subgroups based on specific semantic traits (www.tsu.idioms).

In 2021, the database was among the five best projects presented at the meeting of Technology Transfer in Georgia.

2. Methodology

The pragma-semantic model employed for the data collection and analysis was suggested by Rusieshvili (2005). This model maintains that the semantic structure of metaphoric idioms and proverbs consists of three interdependent layers which make up the general meaning of the item. More specifically, the first layer presents the metaphoric form and meaning of the idiom/proverb, the middle layer actualizes the general meaning together with the specific contextual parameters; whereas the third layer ties it up to the cultural background knowledge and the part of the linguistic model of the world the proverb/idiom refers to. For instance, The proverb *strike while the iron is hot* (Eng) reveals the metaphoric form on the first layer of its semantic structure. The general meaning (act decisively and take your opportunities when they arise) and the contextual parameters are fixed at its middle layer. The third layer expresses the cultural model connected with the metaphoric form of the proverb, specifically, that hot iron is easier to forge.

This model proved effective when determining full and partial equivalents of idioms and proverbs. Full equivalents coincide at all layers, whereas partial equivalents share only the second layer of the model. For instance, the following proverbs ზარმაცობის ყოველი დღე უქმეაო (Geo)/ *Every day is a holiday with sluggards* (Eng)/ Ленивому всегда праздник (Rus), can be considered to be full cross-language semantic equivalents. They reveal identical metaphoric images, may be used in similar pragmatic contexts, and refer to the model of the world in which lazy people consider every day a holiday.

Partial equivalents coincide only at the middle layer of the model. For instance, idioms ლაგამის ამოდება (Geo. to snaffle a bridle), and *keep somebody beneath (under) one's thumb* (Eng) are partial equivalents. They reveal similar meanings but different images. The metaphoric image of the Georgian idiom is related to keeping the horse (figuratively, a person) under control. A similar image can be seen in the French idiom *tenir la bride courte* and, therefore, it can be considered a full equivalent to the Georgian item.

On the other hand, the idiom *keep somebody beneath (under) one's thumb* (Eng) refers to the general experience, according to which, when one is under somebody else's thumb, he/she depends on the controller. The same can be said about the idiom *to hold in leash* (Eng), which must have referred to dogs but now figuratively means keeping a person in control. The Russian idiom *Держать в кулаке* (hold sb in the fist) is also a partial semantic equivalent as it expresses the same idea but contains a different image.

3. Discussion of the material

3.1. Intra-language and cross-language equivalents of Georgian idioms and proverbs in English, Russian, French, and German languages

The material in the database is arranged in semantic models. For instance, the model “*things are to be done in their fair time*” reveals 6 proverbs in Georgian, 10 proverbs in English, 3 proverbs in French, 6 proverbs in German and 14 proverbs in Russian.

Interestingly, Georgian reveals the highest number of full intra-language semantic equivalents. Out of 6 proverbs making up the semantic model, 5 are related to the metaphoric transfer of the knowledge and skills of baking bread either in *toné*¹ or *ketsi*² (both of these are culturally specific realia).

	Georgian	English	French	German
1	სანამ თონე ცხელია, პურიც მანამდე გამოაცხვე; განელდება – აღარ გამოაცხობს (Bake bread while the tone is hot. When it gets cooler, the bread will not be baked)	Strike while the iron is hot.	Il faut battre le fer pendant qu'il est chaud. (Strike while the iron is hot).	Mann muss Heumachen, während die Sonnenscheint. (Man must make hay while the sun is shining).
2	თონე როცა ცხელია, პური მაშინ იკვრისო (Bread should be/is baked when the toné is hot)	Make hay while the sun shines	Hissez votre voile tandis que le vent est juste. (Hoist your sail while the wind is right).	Man muß das Eisenschmieden, solangeesheißist. (One must strike the iron while it is hot).

¹ A cylindrical clay bread oven used in Georgia to bake Georgian-style bread

² An earthenware bread-baking dish

3	სანამ თონე ხურს, პური ააკარო. (While the toné is boiling hot, bake bread)	Gather your rosebuds while you may.	Il faut écorcher l'anguille quand on la tient. (You have to skin the eel when you hold it)	Schmiede das Eisen so langeesglüht. (Forge the iron while it glows).
4	ცივი თონე არ დაიკრავსო. (A cold toné will not bake bread)	One of these days is none of these days		Vorgebaut ist gut. (Prebuilding is good)
5	სანამ კეცი ხურს, ცომი დააკარო. (Put the dough on while the ketsi is hot)	Take time by the forelock		Im Sommerspricht man vom Schlitten und im Winter fährt man darauf. (In summer people talk about sledges and in winter they ride them).
6	რკინა მანამ დაჭედე, სანამ ცხელიაო. (Forge the iron while it is hot)	Tomorrow never comes		Was du heute kannst besorgen, das verschiebe nicht auf morgen. (Don't put off until tomorrow what you can do today).
7		While it is fine weather mend your sails (Br.)		
8		Enjoy your ice cream while it's on your plate (Am.).		
9		Hoist up the sail while the gale does last (Am.).		
10		Hoist your sail while the wind is fair (Br.).		

Table 1. The semantic model “things are to be done in their fair time” in Georgian, English, French, German and Russian languages

In Georgian, the model is represented by 6 proverbs subdivided into two sub-models based on the metaphoric model of the world in their semantic structure. The first sub-model presents several semantically identical variants of archetypal knowledge but reveals different syntactic structures. It is connected with the knowledge that bread must be baked when the oven (or its variations, namely toné and ketsi) is hot (5 proverbs). The second sub-model is related to the knowledge that iron must be forged when it is hot (1 proverb). The latter Georgian proverb revealed full cross-semantic equivalents in all languages discussed in this paper (English, French, German, Russian). The English proverb *make hay while the sun shines* has a full semantic equivalent in German; the English *hoist your sail, while the wind is*

fair, reveals a full semantic equivalent in French *hissez votre voile tandis que le vent est juste* (*hoist your sail while the wind is right*).

As seen in Table 2, the number of cross-language partial synonyms is much higher in the semantic model discussed in the paper, which means that the members of this semantic model, metaphorically speaking, pour similar meanings in different containers or employ different semantic and formal categories. Consequently, they coincide at the middle layer of the pragma-semantic model.

	Georgian	English	French	German	Russian
1	რკინა მანამ დაჭედე, სანამ ცხელიაო (Forge the iron while it is hot)	Strike while the iron is hot.	Il faut battre le fer pendant qu'il est chaud. (Strike while the iron is hot).	Man muß das Eisenschmieden, solangeesheißist. (One must strike the iron while it is hot). Schmiede das Eisen so lang- eesglüht. (Forge the iron while it glows).	Куй железо, пока кипит. (Forge the iron while it is boiling (hot)) Куй железо, пока горячо. (Forge the iron while it is hot) 3. Когда железо кипит, тогда его и ковать. (When the iron is hot, then it should be forged)
2		Make hay while the sun shines		Mann muss Heu- machen, während die Sonnenscheint. (Man must make hay while the sun is shining).	
3		Hoist your sail while the wind is fair (Br.).	Hissez votre voile tandis que le vent est juste. (Hoist your sail while the wind is right).		

Table 2. Full Cross-language semantic equivalents of the semantic model Things are to be done in fair time in Georgian, English, French, German and Russian languages

4. Conclusion

The discussed database of Georgian idioms and proverbs (with their equivalents in English, Russian, French, German, Turkish and Arabic languages) facilitates the contrast and comparison of the cultural heritage of the languages and cultures included in the base. The methodology for selecting and grouping the material is based on semantic similarities and the study

of the semantic, thematic models of idioms and proverbs. This approach enables us to explore similarities and differences between the cultures and the factors they select and foreground while investigating the universe around them.

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The ‘coincidentia oppositorum’ as a category of proverb types

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Abstract

Matti Kuusi’s international proverb typology is a hybrid of thematic and structure-based classification (Lauhakangas, 2001). This presentation will bring up a subgroup (E1i) named “Coincidentia oppositorum, the fusion of opposites”. The essential unity of differing things is the life philosophy behind this category. It is interesting to compare G. Permjakov’s (Grzybek, 2000) way to categorize proverbs of welded opposites to Kuusi’s choice to interpret them. From the paremiological point of view, we are not so much interested in logical oppositions as in the relation of common sense to the perception of contrasts and controversial questions. The contrasted things may vary according to their cultural weight. Images of polarity and especially the fusion of opposites in proverbs are expressed from ten different human standpoints or functions in social interaction.

Keywords

classification of proverbs, typologies of proverbs, Matti Kuusi, Grigori Permjakov, fusion of opposites, functions of proverbs

1. Introduction

Dichotomies, opposites and contrasts in proverbs have occupied the minds of paremiologists not only because of the dual structure of many proverbs, but due to the deeper duality seen in paremiological worldview. “Proverbs very much reflect the dichotomies and contradictions of life”, writes Wolfgang Mieder (2001, 3), when he goes through the civil rights activist Frederick Douglass’s (1818-1895) use of proverbs. The human tendency to perceive things through opposites¹ seems to flourish in proverb lore. Izabela Dixon (2016, 400) goes so far that she sees attraction bound in expressions that describe tension. “Duality by its very nature focuses on discord, which adds spice to life; this may be the reason why people are attracted to the idea of polarities,” she writes.

¹ Folklorist Anna-Leena Siikala (2014) names the primary oppositions as structural elements in folklore around the world: female--male, old--young, day--night, hot--cold and water--fire.

We must also remember that dichotomies in proverbs are not only models of thinking, but they participate in modeling our thinking or observing. (Permyakov in Grzybek 2000) The process of proverb use can be described as a ‘to and fro’ feedback, although conventional models of thinking seem to guide observation.

Before going to the special case of dealing with fusion of opposites in proverb lore we must linger a while analyzing the complexity of proverbial contrasts.

2. The complexity of proverbial contrasts

Opposites are simple and descriptively powerful compared to detailed or conditional explanations. From a linguistic point of view the grammatical structures that typify contrasts in proverbs are manifold and differ according to cultures and languages (See e. g. Rudolph 1997 and Ershova 2017). Matti Kuusi (1963) saw that content-based contrariety is supported by typical forms of proverbs: synonymic, analogical or antithetic. Marcas Mac Coinnigh’s (2012) analysis of the juxtaposition of phrases in proverbs supports Kuusi’s forms to differentiate the relations between constituents: (i) equality or identification, (ii) cause and effect, (iii) contrast and antonymy.

In Kuusi’s international classification of proverbs² pairs of opposites are clearly present in several titles of groups and subgroups. Most of the general themes like the first one A. PRACTICAL KNOWLEDGE OF NATURE or other concrete themes like D. THE WORLD AND HUMAN LIFE, G. SOCIAL LIFE and K. SOCIAL POSITION include essential contrasts.

An analysis of Kuusi’s classification brings out at least the following pairs:

‘water and fire’, ‘earth and sea’, ‘cold – warm’, ‘human beings – animal’, ‘domestic – wild’, ‘morning – evening’, ‘night – day’, ‘darkness – light’, ‘God – man’, ‘concrete things – dreams/hopes/fantasies’, ‘small – great’, ‘external – internal’, ‘joy – grief’, ‘good – evil’, ‘pride – humility’, ‘man – woman’, ‘young – old’, ‘life – death’, ‘self – others’, ‘own people – strangers’, ‘individual – community’, ‘home – strange place’, ‘friend – enemy’, ‘action – words’, ‘superior – inferior’, ‘rich – poor’, ‘diligence – laziness’, ‘slow – fast’, ‘new – old’.

Some dichotomies have recently received striking analyses, especially the pair ‘man – woman’. Mineke Schipper (2012: 44) writes about women in proverbs. They include established rigid images of what it means not to be a man but a woman. She sees that proverbs have reinforced the prevailing hierarchies by legitimizing roles in the life for both sexes.

Dichotomies seem to maintain hierarchies. The Iranian scholars Hadi Noori and Omid Montaz (2014) have taken proverbs as examples of a genre of language that has undergone little change and has been stabilized. Without any background in paremiology they concentrate solely on texts without contexts of proverb use. They also ignore the possible anti-proverbs growing out of Iranian culture. It is still interesting to follow their analysis of

² The database <https://www.mattikuusiproverbtypology.fi/>

traditional patriarchal hierarchical system based on opposites like 'male - female', 'brother - sister' and 'boy - girl' and its connection to the hierarchy of religious authority. In these dichotomies central side is experienced and marginal side means inexperienced. For example, secrets should not be told to women and should be told to men. The keyword pair for Noori and Momtaz is 'central - marginal'. In Persian proverb texts "man is a dominant element that marginalize women and is in the center and has a strong presence (2014, 137)."

Goldo Garai (2001, 577) gives an example of a misogynistic proverb with opposite elements: *Andrea, sua eta itsasoa guztiz gaixtoa* 'Woman, fire and sea, [all are] totally bad'. It is collected in the Basque Country in the sixteenth century. Garai suggests that "a characterization of women based on properties prototypically assigned to the poles in that culture is the reason why the middle term is given first in the sequence". The other two elements are seen as poles or boundaries where the element to be defined is located. He sees cognitive process of opposition as a powerful, but not extensionally exhaustive description.

In Kuusi's international classification the central issue of 'good and evil' belongs to the main theme F CONCEPTS OF MORALITY. We have a possibility to compare Kuusi's way to classify universal proverb types of this dichotomy to Grigory Permyakov's group IIa10. Good – Bad in his corresponding thematic typology. Georgy Kapchits (2022) has applied this classification to Somali proverbs and proverbial phrases. Instead of a plain Good – Bad opposite he distinguished good and evil, happiness and grief, useful and harmful, sweet and bitter, clean and dirty things and also lucky and unlucky persons.

Permyakov has in his logico-semiotic side of the classification a class 8LAB, Interdependence – Independence (and Inseparability – Separability) of Good and Bad. He gives an example of Russian proverbs: 'There is not a bad thing without something good.' This corresponding class shows that Permyakov had arrived at similar considerations as Kuusi.

From Kuusi's typology we learn that most of the international proverb ideas share common proverbial premises. For example the inclination to favor dichotomies based on the conception of 'constancy'. In Kuusi's typology under the main theme C BASIC OBSERVATIONS AND SOCIO-LOGIC there is an assembling class C1 about Durability of X's nature / Durability of identity. The same kind of premise is behind the subgroup D1d 'eternal "antipodes", contrast'. Thus, if something or somebody is unchangeable, we are convinced that it has a counterpart, which is also predetermined. Proverbs tell what is expected and they favor stereotypes. The following proverb types are gathered under the title D1d in Kuusi's type system. We will present an English proverb and a short analysis of the proverb idea of each type.

D1d10. *The cat and dog may kiss, yet are none the better friends*
There is always tension if these opposites meet.

D1d11. *Fire and flax agree not*
These opposites can never meet without consequences.

D1d16. *The horse thinks one thing and he that saddles him another*
Their motives never meet.

D1d22. *Man is a wolf to man*
They will always compete with each other and try to repress each other.

D1d25. *Gifts from enemies are dangerous*
It is impossible to get any good from an enemy.

D1d26. *He that has a fox for his mate has need of a net at his girdle.*
You can never trust those.

The other proverb types (in D1d) not yet translated into English would continue exemplifying, how contrasts can be expressed. There can be eternal competition, disregard, enmity or fighting to death, no ‘win–win situations’ can be seen between two parties.

Some of the proverbs in the above analyzed group may carry a different message according to the situation in which they might be used. They might indicate how destructive and futile it is to struggle against each other and die together. We must remember that there are potential antiproverbs³ formed with modifications and additions that bring new things into focus and have become popular.

3. Fusion of opposites

Contrastive pairs dominate the dialectics of proverbs, but the relation between contrasts is not always simple and does not exclude the other extreme. For example, good and bad, rose and thorns seem incompatible but “the collected insights and experiences of people” (from Mieder’s definition 2001, 3) tell that they construct a fusion. Kuusi needed a special term for the fusion of opposites to describe a group of proverbs in his international typology of proverbs. ‘Coincidentia oppositorum’ is borrowed from the philosopher of religion, Nicolaus Cusanus (1401–1464). Cusanus had constructed his term theologically: The unity of incompatible things being realized in the infinite oneness of God. As a folkloristic category the fusion of opposites bases on a socially developed sense of practical reasoning (Goodwin & Wenzel 1981). Incompatible experiences drive us to strive for cognitive consistency and prefer relying on social knowledge that supports stability. Although contrasts are simple and easy to accept, personal experiences and tension evoking situations favor proverbs that “offer a general set of rational strategies for deliberating about life’s problems” as Paul E. Goodwin and Joseph W. Wenzel (1981, 158) write. They show that proverbs have developed empirically not according to all logical principles. Scholars also remind that proverbial statements bear on authority, credibility and a speaker’s ability to persuade.

³ ‘Antiproverb’ is a term that has been accepted among paremiologists to name those proverbs that seem to have grown from convenient proverbs often in order to change the old fashioned moral or stereotypical attitudes carried by those expressions. See Mieder, W. (1982, 1985, 1989)

The main theme E in Kuusi's classification is SENSE OF PROPORTION, and all groups under this theme deal with the question of 'Relativity of ranking' or 'The essential unity of differing things'. This main group means a challenge to or a possibility for seeing all things and situations differently than archaic black and white opposites.

The fusion of opposites is not the only group of proverbs that deals with closely related contrasts. For example, in the proverbs about power relations symbiosis between superior and inferior is described. Even relativity of wealth and poverty is a topic of proverbs. In the group E1h 'apparently opposite beings have basic features in common' compiles proverbs, which remind of how results are decisive like in *Crooked logs make straight fires*. In Permyakov's corpus there are examples like 'Both a tiger and a buffalo drink from the same lake'.

Two scholars of Tibetan literature challenge the criteria for international classifications of proverbs and take from Permyakov's classification an example *No rose without a thorn*. They notice that this proverb is coded to Kuusi's subgroup C6b and "is a statement about appearance and does not match the meaning of neither our Tibetan proverb nor the equivalent 'to want the rose but not the thorns'" (Sørensen & Erhard 2012, 247-248). Within Permyakov's type system, they find the similar category exemplified through a proverb 'Where there is joy, there is sorrow'. Another example is a Chuvash proverb 'Where there has been laughing there are also tears'. It is marked with Permyakov's logico-semiotic sign 9KAa – and a thematic class IIa10. The 9KAa class is described as "different things, including also fundamental ones, always appear together; the existence of one of them involves the existence of the other (at the same place and/or at the same time) (Permyakov in Grzybek 2000: 54).

Naturally, proverbs can be classified according to different aspects of the contexts of their usage. Thus, in Kuusi's typology there is a cross-reference from *No rose without a thorn* to E1b19 'No garden without its weed'. And actually yes, the previous 'joy-sorrow' and 'laughing-tears' proverb examples would better correspond in Kuusi's typology the proverb types in the group E1i "'Coincidentia oppositorum", the fusion of opposites'.

We shall now take a closer look at the extent and contents of the subgroup E1i. In the database of proverbs exemplifying Kuusi's typology there are 35 different proverb types in this subgroup (if the Finnish part is concerned). If we only look for the same elements as the global type *No rose without a thorn* we find the type E1i31b 'The thorn brings out a rose and the rose a thorn' (Greek). The second one seems to refer to opposites that follow each other like sunshine after a thunderstorm. But without knowing the real use of these proverbs it is difficult to say, how different their connotations are.

The proverb types in Kuusi's typology have originally been arranged according to their successive resemblance. Some new types had to be replenished or old types had to be merged during the development work (see Lauhakangas 2001). The following analysis binds together the most similar proverb types of the group E1i. (Cursive is used, if the proverb is in its original language.)

3.1. The world has two sides: white and black

The following Finnish proverb takes its metaphor from the most unromantic picture, a shit of a goose. The fusion of opposites appears clearest when two contractive things prevail at one time. You cannot say that one is the cause and the other the effect. The world order is fatalistically what it is and you cannot choose anything.

- (E1i12, Finnish) This world is like a shit of a goose: one end is black and the other is white
 (12, Ovambo/Afr.) In that well there is mud here, sand there
 (27) The brighter the sunshine, the darker the shadows
 (29) The taller the trees, the longer the shadows
 (26d) *Love is full of fear / Qui aime, craint / Chi ama, teme*
 (20b) Every comfort has its discomfort

3.2. God and devil are always near each other

Two main powers are near each other. The devil as a personification of bad is a way to externalize your own weaknesses, a way to cope with your feelings of guilt (Purola 2019). This fatalism about the fusion of good and bad serves well as a motivation to use these proverbs.

- (10) *Where God has a church the devil will have his chapel / Wo eine Kirche ist, da baut der Teufel eine Kapelle daneben / D'un côté Dieu poingt, de l'autre il vingt*
 (11) *God sends the corn and the devil mars the sack / Gibt Gott Fleisch, so will's der Teufel braten / Dio ci manda la carne, ma il diavolo cuochi*
 (13) *Behind the cross there is the devil / Hinter dem Kreuz versteckt sich gern der Teufel / Il diavolo si nasconde dietro la croce*

3.3. Extremes meet

- (30) *Extremes meet / Gegensätze ziehen sich an / Gli estremi si toccano*. This proverb type and those displaying a similar meaning emphasize, how unexpectedly close the moment of change between polarities can be.
 (24) There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous (The proverb got its reputation as Napoleon Bonaparte's quotation.) / *Vom Erhabenen zum Lächerlichen ist es nur ein Schritt / Le ridicule touche au sublime / De lo sublime a lo ridiculo no hay más que un paso*
 (26) The hottest love may lead to the most bitter hate
 (26b) The quickest heated cools easiest
 (14b) There is no pleasure like a short distress
 (25b) *Sweetest wine makes sharpest vinegar / Süßer Wein gibt sauren Essig / Del buen vino sale el mejor vinagre*
 (23) A play changed to earnest

3.4. Profit and loss are companions

The following proverbs are images of situations involving difficult decisions. In situations where you have to encourage yourself or someone else to interpret a risk as a possibility, it is easier to call for proverbial wisdom.

(14) Abundance and shortage are near each other

(17) Where there is an advantage there is also a disadvantage (Japanese)

Profit and loss are companions (Hebrew) / Profit is the brother of loss (Turkish) / Profits and losses walk in the same shoes (Russian) / Great profits, great risks (Chinese)

(17b) You either win or lose in a duel

3.5. Consolation or warning

The use of these kinds of proverbs serve as consolation or warning according to the situation. It relies on wisdom of experience, nothing can stay unchangeable forever. By proverb use your own decision in contradictory situations becomes explained and easier to accept (Lauhakangas 2004).

(28) *What goes up must come down / Je höher der Berg, desto tiefer das Tal / A gran salida gran caída*

(26c) After a good thing comes bad and vice versa

(25d) The one with the worst pain may get consolation of the least thing

(31b) The thorn brings out a rose and the rose a thorn

(31c) From very bad often comes very good

(29b) One militant generation is followed by ten fearful generations

3.6. Paralyzing equilibrium of polarity

These proverb types describe unsolvable situations or a somewhat pessimistic (or humorous according to the context) attitude towards life. Often the paralyzing decision situations include a coordinating conjunction, an adversative 'but' like in the proverb *Honey is sweet, but the bee has a sting*. 'But' gives a viewpoint with an opposite. It adds a special point, a new condition or point of view. In a classic of social psychology this personal need to solve the incongruity between one's inner norms and behavior is called a pursuit to decrease cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957, 14). An apt proverb can turn the proposition around and show it in a humorous light. In proverbs polarity is most often expressed without conjunctions.

(15) Lack of work brings hunger, weight of work brings gout

(16) Lack of food you cannot manage, stomach full you won't bother

(20) If you speak you will be unhappy; if you keep quiet, you will be unhappy

(18) A high price for a victory is not better than low price for a defeat

3.7. Half jest, half true

(22) *Many a true word is spoken in jest / On dit souvent la vérité en riant / Im Spass gesagt, im Ernst gemeint / Burlando si dice il vero / Ridendo dicere verum quid vetat*

The human ways to behave or communicate are often a mixture of messages. Proverbs as a speech genre are a means to manage without the necessity to tell your personal opinion.

(19b) Tell a lie to hear the truth

(22b) Lies are salt of the truth

(19) Half jest, half true.

3.8. Paradoxical truth

Proverbs might be used for warning about having a blue-eyed attitude, about being too trustful. These proverbs are a way to tell a paradoxical truth of experience. Virpi Outila interviewed Russian employees of one Finnish multinational company. She found much spontaneous use of proverbs, when interviewees wanted to make sense of empowerment. Outila chose a proverb, ‘Trust but verify’ as the title of her dissertation to represent her findings. (Outila 2016)

(34) Dread everyone and nobody

(29c) Jumping forward needs coming a bit backwards

3.9. Polarity in one person

The way to characterize the human mind as a fusion of opposites is realized in many proverbs of the group E1i.

(34b) Head in clouds, feet on the ground

(35) Man is harder than a stone and more tender than a rose

(31) A lingering tree is plenty of fruits

(25c) An oldster may have a young heart, a pauper a noble mind

(25) *Folly and learning often dwell together / Kein weiser Mann ward je genannt, an dem man nicht eine Torheit fand / Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit*

3.10. A contrast shows the value of the other pole

Dixon (2016, 395) writes about duality in proverbs: “The abstract pair ‘good and evil’ is doomed to mutual coexistence as without evil nobody would know what good is, as is transparent from the saying:

(28) *He knows best what good is that has endured evil.*”

(38) Without ordinary people you couldn’t notice great men

(37) A giant loves a dwarf

4. Conclusions

The human tendency to perceive things through opposites manifests itself in proverbs. We must still take into account that proverbs are not only models of thinking but they model our thinking or observation. This modeling happens only in real use. For example, contradictory situations become explained and easier to accept, when an adequate proverb is used.

Opposites and contrasting in imagery of proverbs are to be found in different themes and subgroups of Matti Kuusi's international typology of proverbs from metaphors of nature and social segmentation to concepts of morality. The special topic of this article, fusion of opposites was not limited to static linkage of two poles. We found ten different proverbial ways for opposites to be in fusion. The proverb types in Kuusi's subgroup E1i were discussed from each point of view.

The next question would be, how much do people in everyday discussions apply proverbs which deal with fusion of opposites. How often is the "normal" black and white -categorization questioned using a proverb or perhaps an anti-proverb? A quick search in Google (in English, French and Italian) revealed that the above introduced proverbs are not very frequent, at least in the form they are in proverb collections.

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Vernacular proverbs in an everyday context

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Abstract

The article is based on research conducted in 2004–2007. The investigation focused on Finnish vernacular proverbs used in the early twentieth century. Proverbs are small performances in spoken form. Every proverb always occurs within some social occasion. The language of proverbs outside institutions, in everyday use, is not standard language but vernacular. Moreover, people do not live in a standardized world and so the interpretation cannot rely on any assumed standard interpretation. Culture, society, historical time, people around – these all add something to the function and interpretation of the proverb used. The focus is on proverbs used by ordinary Finnish-speaking people in everyday communication. The aim of the research was to find out how the pedagogical message of a proverb was understood when heard in childhood. Vernacular pedagogical speech is a part of normal everyday life outside institutions.

Keywords

proverb, vernacular, everyday life, childhood, interpretation

1. Introduction

This article concentrates on vernacular proverbs which were used in everyday life before the Second World War. As the context of proverb performances has not been the main focus of either Finnish paremiography or paremiology, the information about the contexts, the situations the proverbs were used in, what meaning they bore and how they were understood, have not in general been documented. There are many reasons for this; one obstacle, for example, has been the collection and archiving practices of the Finnish research tradition, with its emphasis on the collection and recording of reproduction according to the historical-geographical method (also known as the Finnish method). In Finland, there is no systematic record of the performers or the presentation context of the tradition (Frog 2013, see Granbom-Herranen 2021).¹ Proverbs have been and still are difficult to pin down, record and interpret in their natural context of use (see Jason 1971, Granbom-Herranen 2015). However,

¹ On the other hand, using the Finnish method, a quite extensive collection of proverbs was compiled.

without the context it is not possible to know the meaning of what is said, the speaker's intention or the listener's way of understanding what was said.

I looked at the memories of childhood to uncover vernacular proverbs in the contexts in which they were used in Finland before the Second World War. Although Finnish writing skills (as well as paremiography and paremiology) began with humanism and the Reformation (Heininen 2007), for the majority of Finnish speakers, the era up to the Second World War was a time of unwritten information, and hence proverbs were a part of oral communication.² The current study concentrates on proverbs heard in early twentieth-century Finland, and the focus has been on determining the listener's viewpoint and understanding of the proverbs used in everyday speech as heard in his or her childhood.

The main objective of this study has been to clarify whether proverbs used in pedagogical speech (on this term see just below) reflect, in their precepts, upbringing, what is pedagogically the desirable goal, or whether, conversely, the use of proverbs in this context points to indoctrination (see Granbom-Herranen 2008a, 2014). The significance of proverbs heard in pedagogical speech relies on some theoretical foundations: first, language understood as an instrument of communication and as connected to thought (see Vygotski 1967, Devitt & Sterelny 1987), second, Gottlob Frege's (2000) principle of context, which states that the meaning of an expression is always bound to the context in which it is used, and third, in order to be understood and interpreted, an utterance should follow Paul Grice's (1975) *cooperative principles*. Hintikka and Sandu's (1994) understanding of possible worlds semantics (PWS) creates a framework to comprehend the process of how proverbs are relatively permanent expressions while the meaning of an utterance may change from one context to another. The situational interpretation relies on information about the given context.

2. Some definitions of terms

The **vernacular** nature of speech expression is a reflection of its spontaneity and the self-sufficiency of the language employed, and its everyday use (Koski & Turtiainen 2020). As Robert Howard (2019) puts it, "vernacular" refers to discourse that is non-institutional". He also places particular emphasis on the importance of proverbs as a manifestation of vernacular authority. This is akin to the concept of Charles Briggs's authority when proverbs are used in pedagogical speech (Briggs 1985, 1988). Differentiating between Finnish proverbs in the vernacular (oral tradition) and in literature was still quite easy in the early twentieth

² The first proverbs in written Finnish are to be found in the Bible. The first Bible in Finnish, *Biblia, Se on: Coko Pyhä Raamattu Suomexi*. The following revised Finnish editions appeared in 1776 and 1859, but it was not until 1933 and 1938 that the Bible was translated into the then standard Finnish language. The Book of Proverbs in the Finnish Bible can be seen as the first published collection of Finnish proverbs. Some of these have settled into the vernacular, some have been modified into Finnish proverbs detached from their origin. (Granbom-Herranen 2021.)

century. Before this period, the main spoken language of Finland was Finnish, but it was rarely the written language.³

The Finnish vernacular **proverb** displays the most commonly named characteristics of the proverb. It is a relatively short and fairly independent statement in a more or less stable form. In addition, the expression is or has been familiar among the general public within a certain temporal and geographical framework and, in this case, was most often in Finnish. A proverb can be understood as a generalizing expression. Proverbs are signs that connect thinking to emotions and feelings (Bruner 1986), and are a part of language and tightly bound to everyday culture. Inside the relevant cultural context, it is possible to use proverbs to handle topics hitherto unknown to a listener. Proverbs are expressions produced by the community's history. Proverbs do not explain any phenomenon or justify its existence; they merely indicate that some phenomenon has existed and been known during the period in question. The specificity of Finnish proverbs has been first and foremost their Finnish language,⁴ which reflects the fact that they were a part of oral communication. In the early stages of the Finnish standard language, proverbs were recorded as written notes and subsequently published.

A **life-story** is a story without an end. It might be told at any point in a life. It is not a narration of a complete life and it is not the whole story. However, a narration can be written or oral. The narrators do not tell the truth about the past, but neither do they lie; they describe the past as they remember it and as they have experienced it. Temporally, the narrators' childhoods are set in an era before the Second World War, a time when the majority of Finns spent their childhood in rural areas. Their upbringing and training normally took place at home or under comparable circumstances in households, and was still not institutionalized, at least for the majority. In everyday life children usually participated in work with grown-ups or older children. The subject of my research was the time when oral information was central to life. As the context gives an idea of how the proverb is understood and interpreted when used, the first challenge was to access proverbs in their contexts.

Pedagogical speech is based on Briggs's term "pedagogical discourse" (1985, 1988). It relates to speech that takes place in a pedagogical framework, and is included in the process of upbringing. Pedagogical speech concerns authority; it differs from speech between peers, even in the use of proverbs. Pedagogical speech is speech between unequal people, the listener being the one with lower status. Mostly it is a form of everyday language used between adults and children.⁵

³ The languages of the elite were Swedish and Russian, or in some cases German and French. The Finnish language and proverbs were mostly used orally, and they were a part of the language of the underprivileged majority and most of the farmers. Proverbs were a form of speech used by what was the minority from the point of view of social power. (Granbom-Herranen 2008a, 2016.)

⁴ Finnish proverbs exist, and have existed, not only in the Finnish language: they exist also in Swedish (nowadays Finland Swedish), Sámi (nowadays Northern Sámi, Skólt Sámi and Inari Sámi) and Romany. In contemporary use, English and mixed-English proverbs exist that are original Finnish proverbs (Granbom-Herranen 2018). In 2016, according to the **population registration**, 157 different native languages (actually several hundred) were spoken in Finland (Räsänen 2017).

⁵ Over the course of Finnish history, there has also been some form of public pedagogical discourse. For example, Finnish society reflected the reality of a unified Lutheran culture, where the church and the state were

3. Material and methods

The study was devoted to context-bound vernacular proverbs and listeners' interpretations of the intended meaning of the proverbs. I used folkloristic material to uncover vernacular proverbs used in ordinary people's everyday life. The narrative materials come from the archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki. I used two folkloristic collections, "*Perinne elämässäni*" (PE85) [Tradition in my life] and "*Karjalaiset elämäkerrat*" (KE84) [Karelian life-stories]. The narratives were collected between 1983 and 1985, the age range of the narrators being from 55 to 85 years. The data for the study was formed of the entirety of KE84 collection and two thematic areas of PE85 (*Koti ja suku* [Home and family] and *Sukupuoliroolit ja kasvatus avioliittoon* [Gender roles and upbringing for marriage]). As seen in Table 1, the memories of childhood covered some 300 episodes, including over 500 vernacular proverbs in pedagogical speech heard in childhood and recalled in adulthood. As the focus was on proverbs and their interpretation in the context where they were used, the narrators' own experiences and their interpretations of proverbs play a central role. The number of life-stories and vernacular proverbs in them is presented in Table 1.

COLLECTION	PE85	KE84	TOTAL	
Collections included	64	108	172	bindings
Bindings included	19300	22784	42084	pages ⁶
The number of life stories under review	438	722	1160	narratives ⁷
Of which proverbs were included in	160	192	325	life-stories
Life-stories with proverbs when the narrator was born before the year 1930	80	61	141	life-stories
The number of proverbs used in pedagogical speech and the narrator was born before the year 1930	367	141	508	proverbs

Table 1. Summary of the narrative material and proverbs

Along with proverbs in the narratives, I looked at the statutes concerning children and their upbringing, as well as parenting and, in particular, children's lives and standards of living in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸ The statutes gave society and local authorities the main authorities. The church used pedagogical speech with proverbs in the sermons. However, this side of life did not come up in the life-stories.

⁶ In addition to life stories, the collections included photographs (total 1 370 photos) and recordings (341 hours). These were not included in the study.

⁷ Some respondents had provided answers to both questions in PE85 (Home and family, Gender roles and upbringing for marriage), which actually leaves the total number of respondents somewhat lower than the total sum shows.

⁸ I looked at all the rules and regulations (the laws, codes, rules, regulations, the orders of the king and the tsar) which considered children and could be expected to have an influence or to be valid in the Finnish autonomous grand duchy within Russia. The scan covered the laws from 1442 up to the independence of Finland in 1917. One statute could include orders for more than one theme. As late as the 1980s there were some laws based on these earlier statutes still in force.

the ability to control everyday life. The proverbs in the narrative material, together with the statutes, allowed the meaning of vernacular proverbs to be considered in relation to the institutions' regulations.

The adults who brought up children at the beginning of the twentieth century had themselves been children in the nineteenth century, at which period they used the proverbs within their own speech. The slowness of the changes that took place both in society and everyday life strengthened the effect of traditional upbringing and the oral information used in it. Speaking and setting an example were the most important ways to raise children. In the era under consideration, the majority of children lived in rural areas and their upbringing and training normally took place at home or under comparable circumstances in other households. Agriculture was the main means of making a living, so in everyday life children usually participated in work alongside adults or older children. (Granbom-Herranen 2008a.)

In applying contemporary content-analysis, I have linked quantitative and qualitative research traditions. I have used a mixture of methods, though the emphasis has been on qualitative research. In order to differentiate between earlier ways of understanding content analysis as a quantitative method and the current use of the method with qualitative materials, Philipp Mayring (2000) uses the term *classical quantitative content analysis* for the former and Klaus Krippendorff (2004, xvii–xx) uses *contemporary content analysis* for the latter. Compared with classical analysis, the contemporary approach offers added value since content analysis is understood as a complete process (Granbom-Herranen 2018, Figure 7). Content analysis as a process of research is a cluster of methods with conclusions based on theoretical analyses. The method in processing life-stories was reading and sorting out narrative texts: text including proverbs vs. text without proverbs; proverbs used in pedagogical speech vs. proverbs in rhetorical use. This involves using the so-called empathetic method of reading narratives. Number of proverbs in life-stories when the narrator was born before the year 1930 was 508. Of proverbs I formed 97 “subject areas” and of them 36 “groups”. The final result consisted of five (5) themes. Proverbs with context in pedagogical speech are included in four (4) themes. The same kind of text sorting was carried out with the official materials. The overview of proverb material is presented in Table 2 and of the official texts in Table 3.

THEMES	FREQUENCY
The total number of proverbs	508
No context information	94
Proverbs in given context including keywords for interpretation	414
“Control of one’s own life and living with others”	143
“Work, to work, worker”	119
“Livelihood, support and care, home and upbringing”	95
“Christian way of living and ability to read”	57

Table 2. The aims of proverbs in pedagogical speech

OFFICIAL MATERIALS, ORDER OF THE FREQUENCY OF THEMES	VOLUME
The statutes from the year 1442 to 1917	thousands of statutes
Statutes including the key words	about 800 statutes
“Support: livelihood, care, upbringing”	
“Work: training to work so that everybody can support themselves”	
“Christian doctrine: membership of the congregation, Christian way of living and ability to read”	
“Citizen: to be a good Christian and a useful and honest citizen who has obligations to his/her parents, grandparents and masters”	

Table 3. The themes in statutes concerning the upbringing of children Presented in order of the frequency of mentions in statutes.

4. Results

In late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century everyday life, proverbs were transmitted by two generations, parents and grandparents, to youngsters and children. As a part of pedagogical speech, proverbs seem to be connected with women’s speech; women were the most important authorities in children’s everyday lives as mothers and grandmothers. This may not be unexpected in the context of children’s upbringing, even though proverbs have widely been seen as a part of patriarchal, masculine speech (Granbom-Herranen 2008b). The life-stories, with a few exceptions, do not contain references to the school or to books. Of books, only the Bible is mentioned. Books are, according to this childhood research, lesser sources of proverbs used in everyday life than has previously been postulated.⁹ From the private and the public spheres a picture emerges of the relationship between the interpretation of vernacular proverbs in pedagogical speech and the public expectations written in regulations (Granbom-Herranen 2008a).

5. Conclusion

Vernacular proverbs accompany a person throughout his or her life. The vernacular proverbs were a part of both written memories (life-stories) and oral tradition. Proverbs were interpreted and used according to how they were understood in childhood. The proverbs adopted from parents and grandparents are those that come to one’s mind even in adulthood.

Even though the contents of proverbs are seen to be the same as the contents of the pedagogical goals of the statutes, narrators’ interpretations reflected the *mores* of their social class and the acceptance of responsibility for one’s own life. Neither of these aspects of interpretation is included in the public pedagogical goals expressed in rules and regulations. If the connection between the public pedagogical goals and the interpreted content of the proverbs

⁹ For example, Satu Apo (1995) and Anna-Leena Siikala (1996).

is seen as the most important starting point for examining proverbial speech, we could say that the purport of proverbs in pedagogical speech repeated that of public speech. As a part of pedagogical speech, proverbs are incontestable. They include beliefs that are transmitted in uncontested form to children. Such partially unverified beliefs reflect the upbringing and training the speaker received in his or her childhood.

Although the three themes of work (work, training for work), support (livelihood, support and care, upbringing) and Christian doctrine (the Christian way of living, the ability to read) were very similar to each other, as seen in the themes in Table 2 and Table 3, yet, from the pedagogical point of view, the objectives are not coherent as a whole and cannot be considered congruent. The official laws and statutes as a whole emphasized citizenship, which was described as **submissiveness, allegiance and even humility towards** the spiritual and the temporal powers, **that is, the state and the church**. This differs from the interpretations given by narrators to the proverbs. In pedagogical speech, the main theme included a strong idea of taking responsibility for one's own life and the ability to relate to other people. The vernacular proverbs were not congruent with the laws and instructions drawn up by the state and church as reflected in institutionally accepted proverbs (for example, the "Judge's guideline" in the code of civil law, the Bible).

The use of vernacular proverbs by ordinary people opens up the possibilities of looking at proverbs as a tradition of the so-called culture of denial, a part of communication that was not understood by groups wielding power within the society. It is also possible that this is the way tacit knowledge manifests itself. The use of proverbs could also be an expression of critical attitudes towards the exercise of power in society.

What makes vernacular proverbs significant in pedagogical speech is the fact that they express the language of authority, in that they represent the very first authority in children's lives: parents, grandparents, neighbours use proverbs – unarguable expressions – as a rhetorical method. In the early twentieth century, vernacular proverbs were heard above all from mothers and grandmothers. Proverbs from childhood are mirrors of socio-cultural context, people, emotions and information in different situations. Even in adulthood, the feelings evoked by proverbs echo those felt when hearing them as a child. Although proverbs evoke a person's memories, the link with whatever was going on when the proverb was heard is more important. The most important facet of proverbs in everyday use and vernacular language is most often how the speaker experiences the proverb, not so much what the proverb in its assumed standard proverbial interpretation (SPI) means (see Norrick 1985). The use of proverbs in everyday activities and in pedagogical speech has been, and still is, more like a trip of the tongue than consciously transmitted wisdom. This is the way a child understands them.

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To the Russian paremiological vision of the world (as seen in the thematic groups of proverbs)

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Abstract

In our research we examine several thematic groups of current Russian proverbs within our Electronic dictionary of current east Slavonic proverbs. Combining a semiotic approach to paremiology by G. L. Permyakov, the type system of proverbs by M. Kuusi - O. Lauhakangas and our thematic classification of Russian proverbs, we map Russian paremiological vision of the world through description of thematic separate proverbial groups with several sub-groups inside. According to our results, the thematic subgroups with great quantity of synonyms or/and antonyms, are the dominating segments of the Russian paremiological vision of the world.

Keywords

East Slavonic languages, paremiological minimum, paremiological vision of the world, thematic group

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1. Introduction

Using the methods of sociolinguistic paremiological experiment and the descriptive and linguistic cultural studies approach alongside a semantic differentiation, it was able to identify and separate twelve thematic groups of Russian current proverbs within my multilingual dictionary of proverbs “Russian-Slavonic Dictionary of Proverbs with English Correspondences” (further – RSDP) and our new Electronic dictionary of current east Slavonic proverbs, which is now created as our research project at St. Petersburg State University by a collective of authors: N. E. Boeva, M. Yu. Kotova, V. V. Mushchinskaya, O. S. Sergienko (further – ED).

The subgroups in each thematic group are mainly based on binary oppositions (with some exclusions).

Current Russian proverbs from some thematic groups of our classification (as segments of the Russian paremiological representation of the world) in comparison with the other languages have been earlier examined in the research by A. Kolpakova (2020), M. Kotova (1998), M. Kotova and A. Kolpakova (2018b), M. Kotova and O. Raina (2020), Lee Hsin-Yun (2021), I. Zimonyi-Kalinyina (2021a, 2021b) and others.

According to our previous results (Kotova, Raina 2020), the thematic subgroups with great amount of synonyms or/and antonyms, have appeared to be the dominating segments of the Russian paremiological vision of the world. These subgroups highlight the main features of the Russian conception of life embodied in proverbs.

To get the most vivid characteristics of the Russian proverbial representation of the world we are going to present here our survey comparing Russian-Belorussian and Russian-Ukrainian proverbial parallels from our ED.

All proverbs for this paper have been excerpted from our RSDP, ED and Handbooks of a Paremiographer (Issue 4 and Issue 5). We supply each Russian proverb with literal English translation of all proverbial components and with the English proverbial parallel (if it exists). All proverbs and their parallels in our resources are supported with the sociolinguistic paremiological experiment and with the contextual illustrations from the internet. We omit illustrations here because of the paper limit.

2. The specifics of the thematic groups of Russian proverbs as part of the Russian proverbial vision of the world (in comparison with Belorussian and Ukrainian)

Let us show some of dominating thematic subgroups of our thematic classification mentioned above.

The thematic chapter I. "Coping. Work. Occupation. Learning. — Rest. Idleness. Laziness. Ignorance" includes 16 subgroups, for ex.: "Beginning — end", "Condition — effect", "Reason — consequence", "Large — small", "Success — failure" and others.

The subgroup 4. "Purpose — means" contains four Russian proverbs, including two synonyms and two antonyms:

- (1) Rus. Игра стоит свеч /lit. "The game is worth the candle"/ - Rus. Игра не стоит свеч /lit. "The game is not worth the candle"/ and Rus. Овчинка выделки не стоит /lit. "The sheepskin is not worth the manufacturing"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel The game is not worth the candle [HP-4 2018: 145]. The Belorussian and Ukrainian proverbial parallels are full equivalents, except Ukrainian Справа варта заходу /lit. The deed is worth doing it/.

The subgroup 14. “Diligence — laziness” may serve as a set of slogans for the followers of diligence:

- (2) Rus. Любишь кататься - люби и саночки возить /lit. “If you like to ride, love to carry sleds”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel He that would have eggs, must endure the cackling of hens [HP-4 2018: 75], cf. identical Belarus. Любіш ездзіць (катацца), любі і саначкі вазіць, cf. Ukrainian proverb with the different imagery Любиш поганяти – люби й коня годувати /lit. “If you like to drive, you also like to feed your horse”/)

and four proverbial slogans for the opposite, not so responsible and lazy people:

- (3) Rus. Работа не волк (не медведь): в лес не убежит / lit. “Work is not a wolf (a bear), it won’t escape to the forest”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Take your time [HP-4 2018: 136], cf. full equivalents in Belorussian Праца (Работа) не воўк, у лес не ўцячэ and in Ukrainian Робота не вовк, у ліс не втече).

There are 11 subgroups in *the thematic chapter number III - “Character. Psyche. Morality. Emotions”*, for ex.: “Modesty — bragging (boasting)”, “Stealth”, “Coldness — kindness, tenderness”, “Selfishness”, “Commitment — caution” and others. Let us pay attention on two dominating subgroups number 4 “Optimism — uncertainty” and very close semantically subgroup number 10 “Courage — fear”. Optimism and courage are manifested in such Russian proverbs as proverbial synonyms:

- (4) Rus. Где наша не пропадала! /lit. “We will not be lost”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Nothing venture, nothing have! [HP-4 2018: 123], cf. Belarus. Дзе наша не прападала, cf. Ukr. Де наше не прападало;
- (5) Rus. Не боги горшки обжигают /lit. “It’s not the gods who burn pots”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel What man has done, man can do [HP-4 2018: 170], cf. Belarus. Не адны багі гаршкі лепяць, cf. Ukr. Не святі горшкі ліплять;
- (6) Rus. Волков бояться — в лес не ходить /lit. “If you are afraid of wolves, do not go to the forest”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel He that fears every bush, must never go abirding [HP-4 2018: 71], cf. Belarus. Баючыся воўка, у лес не ісці, cf. Ukr. Вовка баятись - в ліс не ходити;
- (7) Rus. Кто смел, тот и съел /lit. “He that is brave will eat”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel He that comes first to the hill, may sit where he will [HP-4 2018: 70], cf. Belarus. Хто смелы, той і з’еў, cf. Ukr. Чия відвага, того й перемога;
- (8) Rus. Либо пан, либо пропал /lit. “Win or lose”/, cf. Belarus. Ці пан, ці прапаў, cf. Ukr. Або пан, або пропав;
- (9) Rus. Риск — благородное дело / lit. “Risk is a noble thing”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Nothing venture, nothing gain [HP-4 2018: 115], cf. the Belorussian and Ukrainian proverbial parallels with different figurativeness Belarus. Хто не

рызыкуе, той не п'е шампанскага /lit. "Those who do not take risks do not drink champagne"/, cf. Ukr. Одвага мед п'е /lit. "Brave people drink honey"/;

- (10) Rus. Смелость города берет /lit. "The brave conquer cities"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel None but the brave deserve the fair [HP-4 2018: 112], cf. Belarus. Адвага гарады бярэ, cf. Ukr. Чия відвага, того й перемога!;
- (11) Rus. Чем черт не шутит /lit. "What tricks does not the devil play"/, cf. the expanding of the image in the Belorussian and Ukrainian proverbs: Belarus. Чым чорт не жартуе, пакуль Бог спіць, cf. Ukr. Чим чорт не жартуе, поки Бог спить /lit. "What tricks does not the devil play while God is sleeping"/ and others;

vs. uncertainty and fear, declared in proverbial antonyms:

- (12) Как бы чего не вышло /lit. "It could result in undesirable consequences"/, cf. Belarus. Як бы чаго не здарылася, cf. Ukr. Як би чого не вийшло;
- (13) Rus. У страха глаза велики /lit. "Fear has huge eyes"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Fear has magnifying eyes [HP-4 2018: 58], cf. Belarus. У страху вочы вялікія, cf. Ukr. У страху великі очі.

The thematic chapter V. "Property. Owner. Guest. Wealth" is divided into six subgroups, for ex.: "House, property", "Host — guest", "Food, treat" and others. Let us see some examples from the two dominating subgroups in this chapter. Some synonymous proverbs in the subgroup 5. "Thrift — wastefulness" support thrift:

- (14) Rus. Деньги (Денежки) счет любят /lit. "Money likes to be counted"/, cf. Belarus. Грошы любяць лік, cf. Ukr. Гроші лік люблять.

The opposition "Wealth — Poverty" from the subgroup six was examined in our earlier survey (Kotova, Kolpakova 2018b), in which some pieces of lacunarity in the Bulgarian and English paremiological lore towards the Russian language were fixed. The characteristics of wealth are represented only in two proverbs of the subgroup:

- (15) Rus. Сытый голодного не разумеет /lit. "Replete man does not understand a hungry man"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel A man with a full belly thinks no one is hungry [HP-4 2018: 19], cf. Belarus. Сыты галоднаму не спагадае, cf. Ukr. Ситий голодному не вірить;
- (16) Rus. Не было ни гроша, да вдруг алтын /lit. "He had no money, but suddenly he got a lot of money at once"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel From rags to riches [HP-4 2018: 63], cf. a lacuna in the Belorussian language, cf. the Ukrainian proverbial parallel with another imagery Бог як схоче, то із грязі поставить у князі /lit. "God will make Princes out of mud as he pleases"/.

On the contrary, poverty is described with 11 proverbs, for ex.:

- (17) Rus. Где тонко, там и рвется /lit. “It tears in the weakest part”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel A chain is no stronger than its weakest link [HP-4 2018: 11], Belarus. Дзе коратка (тонка), там і рвецца, Ukr. Де коротко (тонко) - там і рветься;
- (18) Rus. Голь на выдумки хитра /lit. “Poor makes for shrewd invention”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Poverty is a mother of all arts [HP-4 2018: 124], cf. Belarus. Голь (Галота) на выдумку хітрая, cf. Ukr. Пішла голога на вигадки;
- (19) Rus. По одежке протягивай ножки /lit. “According to your clothes stretch your legs”/, cf. the English proverbial parallels Stretch your legs according to your coverlet [HP-4 2018: 135] and Cut your coat according to your cloth [HP-4 2018: 41], cf. Belarus. Па адзёжы працягвай ножкі, cf. Ukr. По своєму ліжку простягай ніжки;
- (20) Rus. Бедность - не порок /lit. “Poverty is no defect”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Poverty is no sin [HP-4 2018: 125], cf. the Belorussian parallel with another imagery Сяряга не знявага, а жупан – не вялікі пан /lit. “Cloth tunic is not a humiliation, and caftan is not a great gentleman”/, cf. Ukr. Бідність — не ганьба.

The Russian proverbs of *the thematic group from chapter VI. “Time. Patience”* were analysed through the background of their Hungarian proverbial parallels by I. Zimonyi-Kalinyina (Zimonyi-Kalinyina 2021b).

The subgroup 6. “Call for patience — impatience” represents two contradictory versions of the function of patience: ‘need of patience’ vs. ‘impossibility of the existence of the endless patience’, for ex.:

- (21) Rus. Терпи, казак, атаманом будешь /lit. “Be patient, soldier, you will become a commander”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Never say die! [HP-4 2018: 109], cf. Belarus. Цярпі, казак, атаманам будзеш, cf. Ukr. Терпи, хлопче, отаманом будеш (no contexts have been found out for this Ukrainian proverb, fixed in dictionaries) vs.
- (22) Rus. Всякому терпению приходит конец /lit. “Each act of patience gets to the end”/, cf. Belarus. Усякаму цярпенню прыходзіць канец, cf. Ukr. Усякому терпінню приходиться кінець.

The thematic chapter VII. “Love. Friendship” consists of 12 subgroups, for ex.: “Love mutual“, “Love — indifference”, “Love — hate”, “Lack of choice” and others. The dominating subgroups are three: the subgroup 2. “Love unrequited”, the subgroup 9. “Friendship — Aversion” and the subgroup 10. “Assistance of a Friend”. The last group is an example of controversial stereotypes about friendship. Positive assessments are the following:

- (23) Rus. Свои люди - сочтемся /lit. “We are close friends and will settle up”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours [HP-4 2018: 128], cf. Belarus. Свае людзі — паладзім, cf. no proverbial parallel in the Ukrainian language.

Opposite opinion is expressed in proverbs:

- (24) Rus. Доверять - доверяй, но проверяй /lit. “Trust - trust, but check”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Try before you buy [HP-4 2018: 165], cf. Belarus. Давяраць давярай, але і (сам) правярай, cf. Ukr. Довіряй, але перевіряй;
- (25) Rus. Дружба дружбой, а служба службой /lit. “Friendship is friendship, but business is business”/, cf. Belarus. Сяброўства сяброўствам, а служба службай, cf. Ukr. Дружба дружбою, а служба службою;
- (26) Rus. Дружба дружбой, а табачок врозь /lit. “Friendship is friendship, but tobacco is something else”/, cf. the Belorussian and Ukrainian proverbial parallels with another figurativeness Belarus. Служба — не дружба /lit. “Business is not friendship”/, cf. Ukr. Свій не свій, а в горох не лизь /lit. “Even my relative can’t pick my peas”/ and Ukr. Брат братом, сват сватом, а гроші не рідня /lit. “Let brother be a brother, matchmaker - a matchmaker, but money is not related”/.

The thematic chapter VIII. “The relationship between people” has got 12 subgroups, for ex.: “Good — bad person in relations with other people”, “Community — dependency”, “My own — the other”, “Superior (Boss) — subordinates” and others.

The subgroup 3. “The unity of the individual and society — the isolation of the individual from society”:

- (27) Rus. Нашего полку прибыло /lit. “Some of our regiment has come”/, cf. Belarus. Нашага палку прыбыло, cf. Ukr. Нашого полку прибуло;
- (28) Rus. Один в поле не воин /lit. “One is not able to struggle alone”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel One man, no man [HP-4 2018: 121], cf. Belarus. Адзін у полі не воін, cf. Ukr. Один у полі не воїн;
- (29) Rus. Один за всех, все за одного /lit. “One for all, all for one”/, cf. Belarus. Адзін за ўсіх, усе за аднаго, cf. Ukr. Один за всіх, всі – за аднаго;
- (30) Rus. Одна ласточка весны не делает /lit. “One swallow does not make a spring”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel One swallow does not make a summer [HP-4 2018: 122], cf. Belarus. Першая ластаўка вясны не робіць, cf. Ukr. Одна ластівка весни не робить; vs.
- (31) Rus. Живи своим умом /lit. “Live on one’s wits”/, cf. Belarus. Жыві сваім розумам, cf. Ukr. Живи своїм розумом;
- (32) Rus. За всеми не уgonишься /lit. “You can’t run after everybody”/, cf. Belarus. За ўсім не ўгледзіш, cf. a lacuna in the Ukrainian language;
- (33) Rus. На всех не угодишь /lit. “You can’t please everyone”/, cf. Belarus. Усім не дагодзіш, cf. Ukr. Усім не вгодиш.

The subgroup 5. "Generous gift — humble gift":

- (34) Rus. Дорога ложка к обеду /lit. "A spoon has a value for dinner"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel After dinner, mustard [HP-4 2018: 23], cf. Belarus. Дарагая лыжка да абеду, cf. Ukr. Дорога ложка до обіду;
- (35) Rus. Дорого яичко к Христову дню /lit. "The egg has a value for Christ's Day"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel An umbrella is needed on a rainy day [HP-4 2018: 28], cf. Belarus. Дарагое яечка да Вялікадня, cf. Ukr. Дороге яечко до Великодня;
- (36) Rus. Для милого дружка и сережку из ушка /lit. "For the dear friend even an earring from an ear"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Among friends all things are common [HP-4 2018: 26], cf. the Belorussian proverbial parallel with another figurativeness, proposed by Belorussian respondents, but not supported by any contexts from our search, Для мілага друга і апошняй кашулі не шкада /lit. "For a friend I will even give my only shirt"/, cf. no revealed Ukrainian proverbial parallel; vs.
- (37) Rus. Дареному коню в зубы не смотрят /lit. "Don't look a gift horse in the mouth"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Don't look a gift horse in the mouth [HP-4 2018: 103], cf. Belarus. Даронаму каню ў зубы не глядзяць, cf. Ukr. Дарованому коневі в зуби не дивляться;
- (38) Rus. Дают - бери, бьют – беги /lit. "If they give you, take it, if they beat you, run away"/, cf. Belarus. Даюць бяры, б'юць – уцякай, cf. Ukr. Дають - бери, б'ють - біжи;
- (39) Rus. С паршивой овцы хоть шерсти клок /lit. "Even a shred of wool is good enough if it appears from a black sheep"/, cf. Belarus. З паршывай авечкі хоць шэрэці клок урваць, cf. Ukr. З паршивої вівці хоч вовни жмут.

The thematic chapter IX. "Conflict" includes 8 subgroups, such as: "The Source of the conflict — the outcome of the conflict", "Strength — weakness", "Repentance; reconciliation" and others.

The main "antagonists" in the subgroup 4. "Compromise — stubbornness, intransigence" are two proverbs:

- (40) Rus. Худой мир лучше доброй ссоры /lit. "Better a lean peace than a good quarrel"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Better a lean peace than a good quarrel [RSPD 2000: 95], cf. not frequent Belorussian proverb with the close imagery Лепей драўляная згода, чым (жалезная) вайна /lit. "Better a wooden agreement than an (iron) war"/, cf. the Ukrainian proverb with the different imagery Краще солом'яна згода, як золота звада /lit. "Better a straw agreement than a golden quarrel"/;
- (41) Rus. Нашла коса на камень /lit. "Scythe ran against the stone"/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Diamond cut diamond [HP-4 2018: 42], cf. Belarus. Найшла каса на камень, cf. Ukr. Наскочила коса на камінь.

The subgroup 8. “Crime (offence) — disclosure”:

- (42) Rus. Вор у вора дубинку украл /lit. “The thief stole the baton from the thief”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel To deceive a deceiver is no deceit [HP-4 2018: 162], cf. a lacuna in the Belorussian language and the Ukrainian proverbial parallel with another imagery Злодій у злодія шапку вкрав /lit. “The thief stole the hat from the thief”/;
- (43) Rus. Не пойман - не вор /lit. “You cannot call someone a thief until you catch him stealing”/, cf. the English dialect proverbial parallel A blot is no blot unless it be hit [RSDP 2000: 34], cf. Belarus. Не злавіў - не злодзеі, cf. Ukr. Не спійманий – не злодій vs.
- (44) Rus. Знает кошка, чье мясо съела /lit. “The cat knows whose meat it has eaten”/, cf. full Belorussian parallel Ведае кошка чыё мяса з`ела, cf. Ukrainian proverb with a slightly different imagery Знає кіт, чие сало з’їв /lit. “The cat knows whose lard it ate”/;
- (45) Rus. На воре шапка горит /lit. The thief’s hat burns/, cf. the English proverbial parallel He that has a great nose thinks everybody is speaking of it [HP-4 2018: 72], cf. Belarus. На злодзеі і шапка гарыць, cf. Ukr. На злодієві і шапка горить.

There are nine subgroups in *the thematic chapter XII. “Fate. God”*, for. ex.: “Objective — subjective”, “Duality of phenomena”, “Truth — deception” and others.

The most interesting proverbs in the chapter 12 belong to subgroup 1. “Fatality of the past, present and future”, for ex.:

- (46) Rus. Каждый кузнец своего счастья /lit. “Every man is a blacksmith of his own fortune”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel Every man is the architect of his own fortune [HP-4 2018: 54], cf. Belarus. Кожны свайго лёсу каваль, cf. Ukr. Кожен свого щастя коваль;
- (47) Rus. От судьбы не уйдешь /lit. “You can’t escape from fate”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel What will be, will be [HP-4 2018: 170], cf. Belarus. Ад лёсу нікуды не дзенешся, cf. Ukr. Від долі не втечеш;
- (48) Rus. Судьба играет человеком /lit. “Fate plays with a man”/, cf. the English proverbial parallel No flying from fate [HP-4 2018: 110], cf. a lacuna in the Belorussian language, cf. Ukr. Доля грає людиною.

3. Conclusions

The conducted research finds evidence of the proverbial actualisation of the Russian linguistic vision of the world as a part of the common East Slavonic cultural memory. The specifics of national cultural identities in Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian have been shown

in the tri-lingual selected proverbial parallels as seen in the thematic classification of current Russian proverbs.

The Belorussian and Ukrainian languages, being genetically and historically the closest languages to the Russian language, demonstrate a minor amount of lacunae and very slight and rare imagery differences between their proverbial parallels to the Russian current proverbs and the Russian proverbs themselves.

The majority of Belorussian and Ukrainian paremiological parallels in our thematic sub-groups obtain the identical to Russian proverbs figurativeness, structure and components, i.e. they are full equivalents. In this synchronous research we have only fixed and classified the current proverbial Russian-Belorussian and Russian-Ukrainian parallels without making any attempts to reveal the reasons of this fact. This problem might become the goal of a new survey in the future.

Abbreviations

Belorus. – Belorussian

ED - Electronic dictionary of current east Slavonic proverbs (research project by M. Y. Kotova, N. E. Boeva, V.V. Mushchinskaya, O. S. Sergienko)

HP-4 2018 — Kotova M. Yu., Kolpakova A. A. Handbooks of a Paremiographer. Issue 4. English Proverbial Parallels of Russian Proverbs from Paremiological Minimum (with the corresponding Bulgarian, Slovak and Czech proverbs). M. Y. Kotova (ed.). St. Petersburg: Contrast Publ., 2018. 188 p. (In Russian)

lit. — Literal translation of all components of a proverb

RSDP 2000 - Kotova, M. Yu. (2000). Russian-Slavonic Dictionary of Proverbs with English Correspondences. Edited by P. A. Dmitriev, Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg University Publishing House. – 360 p. (In Russian)

Rus. – Russian

Ukr. – Ukrainian

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Concepts “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting” in Russian and Ukrainian proverbial vision of the world (based on the new Electronic dictionary of current East Slavonic proverbs)

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Abstract

In this research we analyze one of the thematic groups represented in the new Electronic dictionary of current active East Slavonic proverbs – thematic group №4 “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting”. It contains 34 Russian proverbs divided into 5 sub-groups: “Home. Family”, “Youth – age”, “Husband – wife”, “Children – parents” and “Desipience – disobedience”. The aim is to compare how these concepts are reflected in the Ukrainian paremiological vision of the world, to analyze the types of proverbial parallels and to find the possible lacunae.

Keywords

electronic dictionary of proverbs, Russian proverbs, Ukrainian proverbs, paremiological vision of the world, proverbial parallels

1. Introduction

One of the tasks of cultural linguistics and imagology is the representation of specific national linguoculturemes, the peculiarities of mentality and stereotypes of the proverbial vision of the world of a certain language or a language group.

The study of the proverbial vision (or representation) of the world of the three East Slavonic languages – Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian – is the main theme of the scientific research conducted since 2020 by a team of paremiologists from the Slavonic department of the St. Petersburg State University headed by prof. M. Y. Kotova. Our group is working on the new Electronic dictionary of current active East Slavonic proverbs. This dictionary represents the most common Belorussian and Ukrainian proverbial parallels of the Russian paremiological

minimum introduced in the end of the twentieth century by the famous Russian folklorist Grigory Permyakov.

2. The new Electronic Dictionary of current East Slavonic proverbs

The new Electronic dictionary continues the research undertaken in the late 1990ies by Kotova who in 2000 published the “Russian-Slavonic Dictionary of Proverbs with English Parallels” (further – RSDP) which became an important contribution to the comparative Slavonic paremiology (Kotova 2000). Kotova used 500 proverbs of Permyakov’s Russian paremiological minimum as the basis of this dictionary to which parallels in seven Slavonic languages were picked out including 826 Ukrainian proverbs and 652 Belorussian proverbs. The selection process was described in many publications by Kotova and her team (i.e. Kotova, Raina, Sergienko 2017).

The next step of the research carried out by prof. Kotova and her team was to identify the Slavonic paremiological core of the current actively used proverbs in all the seven languages. Additional sociolinguistic paremiological experiments had been carried out as well as an extensive Internet search of the use of these proverbs in modern discourse. The separation of the Russian-Ukrainian segment of the Slavonic paremiological core is part of this scientific research. The methodology of the paremiological experiments was earlier described by Kotova (Kotova, Raina, Sergienko 2017; Kotova, Sergienko 2021).

The new Electronic dictionary applies the principles and structure of the RSDP such as the basic structure of the **main part**, the **thematic index** of the Russian active proverbs introduced in the 1st part consisting of 12 thematic chapters or groups, each divided into further sub-groups, and the **alphabetical index** of all words that occur in the Russian proverbs of the dictionary. The structure of the Electronic dictionary and the thematic groups representing the segments of the Russian proverbial representation of the world are described in detail in the research by M. Y. Kotova and O. Raina *Towards a linguistic vision of the world at the paremiological level of language* (Kotova, Raina 2020).

3. Thematic group “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting”

In this research we analyze one of the 12 thematic groups represented in the dictionary – thematic group №4 “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting”. It contains 34 Russian proverbs divided into 5 sub-groups: “Home. Family”, “Youth – age”, “Husband – wife”, “Children – parents” and “Desipience – disobedience”. The aim is to compare how these concepts are reflected in the two East Slavonic languages, to analyze types of proverbial parallels and to reveal the possible lacunae.

The thematic index is organized according to the dichotomous principle, which is reflected in most of the titles of chapters and sub-groups, as well as in the disposition of proverbial

material: if certain proverbial correlations are reflected in the title of a sub-group, then the proverbs within the sub-group are arranged in two columns; if the dichotomy is the essence of the semantics of the proverb and is inextricably included in its internal form, the proverbs are located in one column in the middle of the page (Kotova, Raina 2020: 490).

The lexical dichotomy *young – old* determines a paremiological opposition in the second sub-group “Youth – old age”. In the left column we have the proverbs with a semantic dominant (main idea) *young*, and in the right column the semantic dominant is *old*. In the center we have two proverbs that refer to both semantic fields.

Молодо – зелено
/lit. ‘Young – green’/

Устами младенца глаголет истина
/lit. ‘A mouth of a baby speaks the truth’/

Старого воробья на мякине не проведешь
/lit. ‘An old sparrow is not caught with chaff’/

Старость – не радость
/lit. ‘Old age is not a joy’/

Старый конь борозды не портит
/lit. ‘The old horse does not spoil the furrow’/

Старый – что малый
/lit. ‘An old man is like a small child’/

Много будешь знать – скоро состаришься
/lit. ‘If you know too much, you will soon grow old’/

Сорок лет – бабий век /, сорок пять – баба ягодка опять
/lit. ‘Forty is a woman’s age /, at forty-five a woman is like a berry again’/

The thematic index also serves as a good illustration of **paremiological polysemy** as it shows that quite a few proverbs belong to more than one thematic group. Polysemic Russian proverbs, as a rule, receive more than one definition in the dictionary.

According to Kotova, a quarter of Russian proverbs are polysemic as 24% the proverbial material from RSDP is presented in several thematic groups at the same time (Kotova, Raina 2020: 488). Having analyzed the thematic group “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting”, we see that the share of polysemic proverbs is even higher for this group – it is 56% as 19 out of the 34 proverbs belong to more than one thematic group (at each head-word proverb entry, an arrow points to the numbers of chapters of the thematic index in which this proverb is present). The majority of these proverbs (13 out of 19) also received more than one definition in the dictionary. These definitions reflect the relationships with different thematic chapters of the dictionary to which the proverb belongs, and these relationships may either result in several proverbial meanings or comprise into a single comprehensive meaning of the proverb (Kotova, Raina 2020: 489), for example:

Два медведя в одной берлоге не уживутся (225). → IX 4); IV 3)
/lit. ‘Two bears won’t get along in the same den’/

This proverb has two meanings / two definitions and each corresponds to one of the thematic chapters to which the proverb belongs – the first definition falls under chapter 9 “Conflict”, 4th sub-group “Compromise – stubbornness, irreconcilability”:

- 1) About two strong personalities who cannot share the palm of victory among themselves. The second definition falls under chapter 4 which is the subject of this research, and specifically the 3rd sub-group “Husband – wife”.
- 2) About the spouses who cannot get along with each other, since each defends his right to be independent.

In both definitions the figurative meaning of the proverb is actualized. The semantics of the proverb comes out from the literal meaning of its key components – *two* and *won't get along*. The components *bears* and *the same den* create a vivid image. This proverb has full equivalents in some Slavonic languages (Bel. *Два мядзведзі ў адной бярлозе не жывуць*; Укр. *Два ведмеді в одному барлозі не живуть*).

Now let us look at another example where one definition covers all the thematic groups to which the proverb belongs.

Много будешь знать – скоро состаришься (146). → I 16); II 5); IV 2); VI 2)
/lit. ‘If you know too much, you will soon grow old’/

The definition states: anyone who wants to know too much risks to lose quickly the carelessness and naivety typical for youth (it is said: a) by older people to younger people or b) ironically – in a conversation between peers).

The proverb is included in four thematic chapters at the same time. 1st chapter I. “Coping. Work. Occupation. Learning. – Rest. Idleness. Laziness. Ignorance”, 16th sub-group “Learning, knowledge — ignorance, inattention”; 2nd chapter “Person”, 5th sub-group “Mind – age”; 4th chapter “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting”, 2nd sub-group “Youth – old age”; 6th chapter “Time. Patience”, 2nd sub-group “Provision of time – lack of time”.

Such proverbs are signs of the same situations, these situations, however, can be realized in different ways and can be interpreted from different points of view.

Another conclusion that can be made after analyzing the thematic index of the dictionary, is that proverbs with a **figurative form of expression** dominate among the polysemic proverbs over the proverbs with literal form of expression. In the 4th thematic chapter 13 out of the 19 polysemic proverbs have a figurative form of expression, here are some of them:

Одна паршивая овца все стадо портит
/lit. ‘One black sheep spoils the whole flock’/

Старого воробья на мякине не проведешь
/lit. ‘An old sparrow is not caught with chaff’/

Два медведя в одной берлоге не уживутся
/lit. 'Two bears won't get along in the same den'/

Яблоко от яблони недалеко падает
/lit. 'The apple doesn't fall far from the tree'/

Кошка из дому, мышки в пляс
/lit. 'When the cat leaves the house, the mice dance'/

У семи нянек дитя без глаза
/lit. 'Seven nannies have a child without an eye'/

For comparison, the following polysemic proverbs lack figurative form of expression: Много будешь знать – скоро состаришься /lit. 'If you know too much, you will soon grow old'/, Каждый по-своему с ума сходит /lit. 'Everyone goes crazy in their own way'/.

4. Ukrainian proverbial parallels to the Russian proverbs

Following a sociolinguistic paremiological experiment among Ukrainian language speakers and an extensive Internet search of the use of these proverbs in modern discourse carried out by our team, the number of Ukrainian proverbial parallels from RSDP has been narrowed considerably. The Ukrainian experiment and Internet search was described in several articles of V. Mushchinskaya (i.e. Mushchinskaya 2021). In most entries of our Electronic dictionary just one current Ukrainian proverb is now listed as an active proverbial parallel of a Russian proverb. Each Ukrainian parallel is followed by a context illustration of its usage with a link to the source of this illustration. In some cases, no contexts have been detected, however the proverb was recognized and continued by the participants of the paremiological experiment which also gives us a right to include it in the new Electronic dictionary of current East-Slavonic proverbs.

For the 34 proverbs of the 4th thematic chapter 28 have **full proverbial equivalents** in Ukrainian (that is 82%). According to Vlachov and Florin, full equivalent is a foreign proverb that coincides in semantics, vocabulary, grammatical structure, figurative and pragmatic meaning, as well as in stylistics (Vlachov, Florin 1986: 184). For example:

Не та мать, которая родила, а та, которая воспитала (222). → IV 4)

/lit. 'The mother is not the one who has given birth, but the one who has raised'/

The real parents are not those who gave birth to the child, but those who raised, fed, looked after and taught him.

Укр. *Не та мати, яка народила, а та, яка виростила.*

Яйца курицу /не/ учат (499). → IV 4)

/lit. 'Eggs /don't/ teach a hen'/

1) A spiteful remark regarding the minors (or inexperienced) who are trying to give advice to experienced people (without *don't*). 2) Strict moral to children and very young people who consider themselves smarter than their elders and give them advice (with *don't*).

Ukr. *Яйця курку не вчать.*

For the most of these full equivalents we found context illustration (examples) of usage in modern Ukrainian mass media, and these illustrations are included in the Electronic dictionary. For a few full equivalents no illustrations have been found, however they proved to be well-known to the participants of the Ukrainian paremiological experiment which also made it possible to list them in our dictionary. For example:

Ты ему слово, а он тебе десять (382). → IV 5)

/lit. 'You say one word to him, and he says ten words back'/

It is said by the parents about a child (or by the elders about the younger one), who reacts to any remark of the elders with rudeness.

Ukr. *Ти йому слово, а він тобі десять* (UE-20).

The Ukrainian parallel of this proverb was continued by 16 out of 21 Ukrainian respondents which gives us a right to consider this proverb as active in modern Ukrainian language even though no context illustrations of its usage have been found. For such cases we have a special note in the dictionary “УЭ-20” (UE-20 – Ukrainian experiment 2020-21 on Google platform, an abbreviation for the data of the sociolinguistic paremiological experiment conducted on the Internet with the participation of informants who are native speakers of the Ukrainian language).

In case that no full equivalent can be found in Ukrainian, we look either for a **relative** (partial) **equivalent**, that is a proverb that compared to the original proverb has slight lexical, grammatical or lexico-grammatical differences (Vlakhov, Florin 1986: 185), or an **analogue**, a proverb of a very similar meaning but a different form, based on a different image (Vlakhov, Florin 1986: 186). This is the case with the three Russian proverbs from the 4th thematic chapter:

Каждый (Всяк) кулик своё болото хвалит (189). → IV 1); V 1)

/lit. 'Every sandpiper praises its swamp'/

About a person who is happy with his home and native land, despite their shortcomings.

Ukr. comp. *Кожна жаба своє болото хвалить.* /lit. 'Every frog praises its swamp'/

In each case when the chosen Ukrainian or Belorussian parallels are not full equivalents of the Russian proverb in the dictionary we have a special note ср. (comp. = 'compare') which we place in front of the foreign proverbial parallel which has a different figurative basis compared to the original Russian proverb. In case of the above proverb Russian and Ukrainian use different images of a bird (sandpiper) in Russian and a frog in Ukrainian, but they both praise their swamps. The proverbs are actually very similar.

Вместе тесно (тошно), а врозь скучно (45). → IV 3)

/lit. 'They feel cramped (sick) together, and bored when they are apart'/

About a husband and wife (or lovers) who often quarrel or are burdened with each other, but when they are separated, they strive to reconnect.

Ukr. comp. *Як не бачу – душа мре, а побачу, з душі пре.* /lit. 'When I don't see, my soul is dying, when I see – the soul is rejecting'/. Dictionary version. No illustrations have been found.

However, for this Ukrainian proverb which is an analogue of the Russian proverb no example of usage was found in the Ukrainian language, it was only found in various Ukrainian dictionaries of proverbs. Most probably this proverb is no longer active in Ukrainian.

For one of the proverbs the dictionary lists three relative equivalents, and all of them proved to be active in modern Ukrainian discourse, each is accompanied with context illustrations in the Electronic dictionary.

У семи нянек дитя без глазу (262). → IV 5); I 13)

/lit. 'Seven nannies have a child without an eye'/

1) About a family where everyone spoils a child who is left unattended as a result.

2) When several people are responsible for the same work, it turns out to be unfulfilled.

Ukr. comp. *Сім баб, сім рад, а дитя безпупе.* /lit. 'Seven women, seven counsels, and a child is without a belly button'/

Ukr. comp. *Де багато баб, там дитя безпупе.* /lit. 'Where there are many women, there is a child without a belly button'/

Ukr. comp. *Де багато няньок, там дитя каліка.* /lit. 'Where there are many nannies, there is a crippled child'/

All the three parallels differ in syntactic structure from the Russian proverb and each has different lexical components.

Four more Russian proverbs from the 4th thematic chapter have several parallels in Ukrainian – both full equivalents and relative equivalents. For example:

*Кошка из дому, мышки в пляс (184)** → IV 5); VIII 12) в)

/lit. 'When the cat leaves the house, the mice dance'/

1) About children who misbehave as soon as their parents leave home. 2) About subordinates who, in the absence of the boss, do what is prohibited in his presence.

Ukr. *Кіт за пліт, а миші в танець.* /lit. 'When the cat goes behind the fence, the mice dance'/

Dictionary version. No illustrations have been found.

Ukr. *Коли миші kota не чують, то (собі безпечно) гарцюють (танцюють).* /lit. 'When the mice don't hear the cat, they (safely) gallop (dance)'/. (UE-20). No illustrations have been found.

Ukr. *Кицька з дому – миші в (у) танець (танок).* /lit. 'When the cat leaves the house, the mice dance'/. (UE-20). No illustrations have been found.

The last two variants were provided by the participants of the Ukrainian sociolinguistic experiment, none of the parallels have context illustrations.

Another Russian proverb has three proverbial parallels in Ukrainian – one full equivalent and two analogues, and each is actively functioning in modern Ukrainian language, each has numerous examples of usage in the Electronic dictionary:

Яблоко (Яблочко) от яблони недалеко падает (491). → IV 4) /lit. ‘The apple doesn’t fall far from the tree’/

A sarcastic (unfriendly) remark about the similarity of the daughter (son) and the mother (father).

Ukr. *Яблуко від яблуні недалеко падає*. /lit. ‘The apple doesn’t fall far from the tree’/

Ukr. comp. *Яке дерево – такий клин, який батько, такий син*. /lit. ‘As the tree, so is the wedge, as the father, so is the son’/

Ukr. comp. *Яке коріння, таке й насіння*. /lit. ‘As the roots, so are the seeds’/

If there are no proverbial parallels in modern Ukrainian language to a certain Russian proverb, we mark such cases as **paremiological lacunarity**. The presence of paremiological lacunae highlights specific Russian linguoculturemes, that is, the peculiarities of mentality and stereotypes of the Russian proverbial representation of the world (Kotova, Boeva, Sergienko 2020: 6881).

Of the 34 proverbs that belong to the 4th thematic group of the Electronic dictionary only 3 Russian proverbs lack proverbial parallels in Ukrainian language. The cases of paremiological lacunarity in the Electronic dictionary are marked by a note *букв.* (lit. = ‘literal’) which means that a literal translation of a Russian proverb is listed.

Let us look closer at those proverbs:

Сорок лет – бабий век /, сорок пять – баба ягодка опять! (197)* → IV 2); VII 7)
/lit. ‘Forty is a woman’s age /, at forty-five a woman is like a berry again’/

The first proverb is included into two thematic chapters of the Electronic dictionary – sub-group 2 “Youth – old age” of the 4th chapter, and sub-group 7 “Love after 40 (men – women)” of the 7th chapter “Love. Friendship”. The semantic duality of this proverb is reflected in the three definitions that it receives in the Electronic dictionary – this proverb can be a sign of three similar but yet different situations, and it is often used both in full and in parts.

- 1) It is said about a woman who has reached the age of forty, and who can no longer count on success with men (the first half of the proverb).
- 2) *hum.-iron.* It is said (about) a woman of forty who feels the departure of youth, but after a while will feel a surge of new strength and optimism (encouraging).
- 3) *hum.* It is said about/to a forty-five-year-old woman who is admired by men for her attractive appearance (the second half of the proverb).

In Ukrainian we see a literal translation: Ukr. *Літ.* ‘Сорок років – жіночий вік, сорок п’ять – баба ягідка знову’/.

The proverb is hard to translate, there is a similar English proverb *Life begins at forty* that can probably be used as a translation in some situations, but it doesn't deliver the same image. This proverb states that for a woman life starts again at forty-five. The proverb has no parallels in Ukrainian, and if we turn back to RSDP, we'll see that it has no parallels in other Slavonic languages either. So, here we can talk about a unique Russian national stereotype.

The second proverb with no parallel in Ukrainian belongs to the 3rd sub-group “Husband – wife” of the 4th thematic chapter:

Хоть не люби, только почаще взглядывай! (211)* → IV 3)

/lit. 'If you don't love me, at least look at me more often' /

It is said as a plea for at least some attention and care, when there is no more love (and usually refers to relationship between the spouses).

Укр. /lit. 'Хоч не люби, тільки частіше поглядай' /.

The proverb has a direct form of expression, there is no allegory and it has no imagery, but what makes it a proverb compared to a sentence with free meaning are such acquired features as reproducibility, expressiveness, aphoristic characteristics, didacticism and the ability to function as a sign of a certain situation (Kotova, Raina 2020: 490). In Ukrainian – again a literal translation is included. The proverb has parallels neither in Ukrainian, nor in other Slavonic languages which makes it another unique component of the Russian national paremiological vision of the world.

Finally, the third proverb appears in the 4th sub-group “Children – parents” of the 4th thematic chapter. It is not included in any other thematic groups and has no semantic duality or figurative expression and meaning.

Не в мать, не в отца, а в проезжего молодца (223)* → IV 4)

/lit. 'Not after mother, not after father, but after some traveling fellow' /

(humorously) It is said about a person's appearance who doesn't look like any of his parents.

Укр. /lit. 'Не в матір, не батька, а в проїжджого молодця' /.

This proverb, like the other two, lacks proverbial parallels in other Slavonic languages, and again this is the case of a full paremiological lacunarity.

5. Conclusion

Our analysis of the 4th thematic chapter “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting” of the new Electronic dictionary of current East Slavonic proverbs demonstrates that Russian and Ukrainian share a lot of similarities in their paremiological vision of the world – 82% of the Russian proverbs from this group have full equivalents in Ukrainian, most of these Ukrainian parallels are active in modern language and in the Electronic dictionary they are listed with context examples of their usage. Others were recognized by Ukrainian language speakers in the course of the sociolinguistic paremiological experiment. Additional 9% of the

proverbs have either partial equivalents or analogues in Ukrainian, and 15% of the proverbs have more than one parallel in Ukrainian – usually both a full equivalent and an analogue. However there still exists a certain paremiological lacunae which emphasizes that each language has a certain percentage of a unique paremiological fund which reflects the peculiarities of mentality of a nation.

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Proverbs in the modern media discourse: Iron Logic on Vesti FM Russian radio station

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Abstract

In our research we examine the use of proverbs in modern media discourse basing on the Russian radio broadcast Iron logic of the radio station Vesti FM. The author is an expert in political science, Sergei Mikheyev, alongside a presenter. The broadcast touches upon a wide range of Russian internal and international political, social matters of current interest. Our 10-month long monitoring has resulted in more than 400 cases of proverbs' application (200+ unique items). A major part of the proverbs used is included into the paremiological minimum of Russian language. We also traced Bible quotations, citations from classic and modern pieces of art, and some recently emerged popular proverbs. The use of the proverbs in the context of the broadcast ranges from argumentation and conclusion, through illustration of the discussed matter up to wit and creative expression. Proverbs proved to be an able tool in discussing different aspects of today's politics and social life.

Keywords

media discourse, Mikheyev, proverbs, radio broadcast, Russian

1. Introduction

The goal of our research is to examine the use of proverbs in the modern media discourse. As a basis we followed and transcribed the Russian Radio broadcast Iron logic. It has aired from December 2015 on weekdays at the radio station Vesti FM. The author of this live broadcast is political scientist Sergei Mikheyev, alongside a presenter as co-author. Each broadcast is approximately 1 hour 20 minutes long and touches upon a wide range of Russian internal and international political and social matters of current interest. Our monitoring of the Iron logic radio broadcast lasted from August 2020 until June 2021 and has resulted in more than 400 cases of the proverbs' application, with 200+ unique items.

“Using proverbs of your own language or dialect has a central function to be a kind of speech that strengthens the identity of the community” says Prof. Abakumova of Orjol

University (2016). In the figure of Mikheyev we have a person who openly expresses his devotion to his mother tongue and its rich means of expression like proverbs and proverb-like sayings. This is proved by the number of mentions of the terms “proverb” and “saying” in the collected material - 18 and 3 times, respectively. We can also quote Mikheyev’s own statement. Speaking about excessive tendencies in the Russian legislation Mikheyev says: “There is such a great Russian proverb, you know, I love (proverbs) very much: make a fool pray to God, he will hurt his forehead”. (Clarifying the meaning of the proverb: efforts must be taken with measure.)

Proverbs are classified by academics as a part of folklore and national wisdom. The definition given by Mieder (1993) says: “A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorisable form and which is handed down from generation to generation”). In our case we have practically three generations participating in *Iron Logic*. Mikheyev is in the middle of his fifties, his permanent co-author Korneyevsky is 34 years old, Andreyev - the substitute co-author during the period monitored - is 48 years old. Out of approximately 200 proverbs detected four belong to Andreyev, who took over the role of presenter for a short period, 46 to Korneyevsky, and to Mikheyev 150+ items. As we can see, all the three generations do not miss the opportunity to enrich their speech by proverbs.

“Why does proverb emerge into a speech situation?” – asks Outi Lauhakangas (2007) in her research *Use of proverbs and narrative thought dedicated to the people’s ways to use proverbs in the media*. “A proverb might emerge into a conversation, for example, in a situation of decision. This kind of reasoning is needed to strengthen the emotional or ethical aspect of the decision. It enables both the proverb user and the audience to hold to their own exclusive and logically “correct” ways to interpret the situation.” Lauhakangas formulates a term: “the proverb speech”. The definition is “a kind of speech where a proverb or proverb-like saying is used (inner speech included)”.

Let us see some examples of this “proverb-speech” in our material. In our case the speakers are not decision-makers, but doubtlessly they include proverbs in their speech to “strengthen the emotional or ethical aspect” and “to hold to their own exclusive and logically “correct” ways to interpret the situation”. At the very beginning we must emphasise that all the proverbs recorded in our selection either form part of the Russian paremiological minimum or of other reliable proverbs’ dictionaries. All the proverbs presented below are well-known living proverbs easily recognisable to the audience, which is essential for the performing of their role as a linguistic tool.

The scope of this article does not allow us to introduce the analysis of all the paremiological aspects of the material at our disposal. We present here only a few selected aspects, namely the fragmentation of the proverbs and their creative transformation in the modern media discourse.

2. Fragmentation

Fragmenting a proverb means building part of it into a speech context, supposing that the listener will be familiar with the entire proverb. This method enriches the language and presumes the speaker, and the listeners to share the same language.

- (1) Слышал звон, да не знает, где он /lit. He heard the bell ringing but doesn't know where it is/.

Altogether we traced the use of this proverb 8 times. In this case a fragment of the proverb is applied as an expressive tool to underline the superficial qualification of some professionals:

Mikheyev: “In any matter, in order to say something, including without special preparation, you need to immerse yourself in it. And it's even better to work in this topic, and then you will understand. And when they say “experts”, “observers”, sometimes you do not understand at all who you are dealing with. People *heard* something *ringing*, and they urgently need to be on the front page of some news...”

- (2) Цыплят по осени считают /lit. Chickens are to be counted in autumn/.

The meaning of this proverb is that the results can be evaluated at the end. This proverb appears in our selection seven times. Mikheyev breaks the proverb in two parts and builds it into his discourse:

Mikheyev: “And look at the Chinese. They said: freedom - we will give freedom drop by drop for a long, long amount of time, and first - first, the economy and production. And then came *autumn*, the time for *chickens to be counted*. And compare. Compare what China was in 1991 and the Soviet Union, and compare what the Soviet Union became, what is left of it, and China in this year 2021.”

- (3) Не рой другому яму, сам в неё попадётся / lit. Do not dig a pit for another, you will fall into it yourself/.

The meaning is generally known: if you set a trap for others, you will get caught in it yourself.

This popular proverb of Biblical origin from the book of the Christian Old Testament appears in our selection five times.

Mikheyev: “That's right, dear Americans, you are doing everything right. Any message should be verified according to the principle of party spirit. Whether it's true or not, it's all secondary. The question is whether this helps the proletarian revolution or does not help. It's the same with you. That's all. Now the circle has closed. The circle is closed, this is called *do not dig a pit for another person*. Of course, it is not necessary to print any articles about Biden, it is not useful.”

- (4) Рыба ищет где глубже, а человек - где лучше /lit. The fish is looking for where it is deeper, and the man is looking for where it is better/.

Speaking about the situation in the Post-Soviet States Mikheyev uses a fragment of a well-known proverb to describe their efforts to find a proper place among the independent states. This proverb is traced 4 times in our selection.

Mikheyev: "... all these statehoods are artificial. Therefore, they are constantly looking *for where it is deeper*; they are always looking for where to join, because they can talk as much as they want about the great Ukraine, but in fact they do not believe in it. They talk about it, but they do not believe in it, so they are constantly looking for *where it goes deeper*. And *where is deeper*, *where is better*? Now they were told that it is better in Europe. They are fed by these fairy tales; they still believe in them."

- (5) Пустяк козла в огород, он всю капусту перепортит /lit. Let the goat into the garden, he will spoil all the cabbage/. This proverb has a negative meaning, and for the speaker it is enough to use just the first part of it to express his evaluation. The proverb appears twice in our selection.

(Turkey's influence in Azerbaijan) Mikheyev: "Maybe Elkham Aliyev¹ thinks that he can easily get rid of it later, but it seems to me that there are simply no cases of such an easy deliverance. Because all these things, all these things, just let them in, as they say, *let the goat into the garden*, let them in, then you won't drive them out of there."

- (6) Кесарево кесарю, а Божие (Богово) – Бору /lit. Render to Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and to God the things that are God's/.

This proverb of Biblical origin is used in discussion about a Russian monk who created a kind of sect in his monastery, and the church authorities – Caesar in the proverb - were forced to apply sanctions against him. The reference to the proverb of Biblical origin is appropriate here.

Mikheyev: "They talked to him for a very long time, persuaded him, and so on, and so on. But when it became clear that he might turn to violent actions, they had *to give it*, as they say, *to Caesar*. Well, and now Caesar is doing his job."

Proverbs have their lifetime; they arise, exist, and sometimes disappear. The formation of proverbs is a continuous process nowadays as well. Here we have examples of some relatively recently arising Russian proverbs. "There is no doubt that most anti-proverbs are one-day-wonders in that they will never enter general folk speech by gaining a certain currency and traditionalism. However, there are at least some anti-proverbs that do express new wisdom, and which have by now been accepted as innovatively expressed wisdom based on traditional proverbial structures" (Mieder 2007, p.17). The following example proves the second option: the new proverb successfully rooted in the modern speech habits.

- (7) Поздно пить Боржом, когда почки отказали /lit. It is too late to drink Borjomi after the kidneys have collapsed/.

¹ President of Azerbaijan

This proverb, or, more precisely, its first half appears seven times in our selection, which proves its active nature.

Borjomi water is a brand of naturally carbonated mineral water from springs in the Borjomi Gorge of central Georgia discovered in 1829 on the right bank of Borjomi river. Borjomi water gained popularity for its curing effects all over the Russian Empire. The meaning of this proverb is that with a more advanced process, mild healing measures do not work.

Mikheyev: “It was necessary to be afraid of the Chinese rise thirty years ago, well, twenty, but now it is too late to be afraid of the Chinese rise, *it is too late to drink Borjomi.*”

Mikheyev: “I think the Americans in fact do not have the means to punish China in the way they may dream of. ... as they say, *it's too late to drink Borjomi*, the train has left. The American dream that China will be Americas' dogsbody, that they will use it, no longer has any foundation.”

Korneyevsky: “You see, even Macron, a globalist amongst globalists, understands how important Education is. And he is talking about personal education, not about virtual education, not about digital education. So that children can be under control. He says that from the age of three, children should go to school and be under control. Mikheyev: Well, the only thing is I'm not sure that it's *not too late to drink Borjomi*, as they say, in France. It seems to me that they have already missed so much that it will be extremely difficult to catch up.”

3. Transformation

The other creative tool used by the authors is the transformation of a well-known proverb to adapt it to the discussed matter. Wolfgang Mieder has coined the term Antispruchwort (antiproverb) for such deliberate proverb innovations (also known in English as alterations, mutations, parodies, transformations, variations, wisecracks, deliberate proverb innovations, or fractured proverbs). In our study we use the term transformation.

A group of researchers in their study *The visual representation of a Biblical proverb and its modifications in the Internet space* (2020) defines a number of techniques for proverb variation, like replacing a single word, adding new words to the actual text of the proverb, mixing of two (or more) proverbs. Using the above classification, we will present hereafter several examples of such techniques.

4. Word replacement

- (8) Из грязи в князи /lit. From dirt to princes/. This proverb appears four times in our selection. It describes a case when a lowborn person surprisingly achieves a very high social position. The word “prince” here is replaced by “the President of the People's Republic of China”

Mikheyev: “...but in the past centuries, too, this was so, because the main leaders were also far from being proletarians, peasants themselves, they all dreamed of liberating them.

Neither Lenin, nor Marx, nor Engels, no one, they were not some poor proletarians. Here in China, by the way, the situation is a little different, there were really people who came *out of the dirt, yes, from the dirt, and became the President of the People's Republic of China*. And neither in Russia nor in Europe, even in the 19th and 20th centuries this was not the case.”

- (9) Война всё спишет /lit. The war will write everything off/. This modern proverb comes from the eponymous title of book by L. Rabichev, which shares the memories of the war 1941-1945. The problematic of the pandemic period is reflected many times in *Iron Logic*. In the following example the term “Covid” replaces the word “war”, both serving as a marker of extraordinary situation.

Mikheyev: “Prices are rising, this is Covid, something else, everything is Covid. In general, they came up with a smart excuse for themselves, to be honest, for any reason. No matter what happens – well, what do you want, because now it’s Covid! We would see this Covid in a coffin, to be honest, and everything related to it. Stop making excuses and writing everything off to him. Because this is already beginning to resemble the already completely obvious companionship, when *the war, so to speak, will write everything off* for this matter. *Covid will write off everything*, let’s lay everything under Covid, and so and so. So, and what if Covid? What should we do now, go hang ourselves, go die because of this Covid?”

The period during which we followed the Iron Logic coincided with the election campaign and the elections in the USA. This is the reason why in the comments of the political scientist we met more times the name of the 46th president of the United States.

- (10) Не так страшен чёрт, как его малюют /lit. The devil is not as scary as he is painted/. Since the bilateral relations between Russia and the USA are marked by significant confrontation in our days, the arrival of the new US president put on many questions and generated worries in Russian politics. The modified proverb conveys the view of the political scientist, who removes the word “devil” and replaces it by the president’s name.

Mikheyev: “My understanding is that Oliver Stone was more for Biden than for Trump, and, well, it’s okay, Biden. *Biden is not as scary as he is painted*. We’ll see, we’ll see. I think that Biden is practically not scary anymore. It is not Biden who is scary, but those who will lead him.”

- (11) Что у трезвого на уме, то у пьяного на языке /lit. What a sober person has on his mind, a drunk person has on his tongue/.

I think, *what the White House has on its mind, Biden has on his tongue*.

The original proverb shares the observation that a drunken person can lose control and blurt out what in normal circumstances he would not. In the modified version the meaning glides to the understanding that the president is the horn (speaker) of the White House.

- (12) Вот тебе, бабушка, и Юрьев день! /lit. This Saint George Day went wrong, Grandma/.

St. George's Day was celebrated in Russia on December 9, before the abolition of serfdom. St. George's Day was established in 1497 by Tzar Ivan III. Many peasants were waiting for St. George's Day, because only on this day was it possible to move from one landowner to another. Who exactly cancelled St. George's Day at the legislative level remains unclear. Direct and complete abolition of St. George's Day is not recorded in any legislative act. The disappointment expressed by this proverb is understandable: the peasant and his family spent the whole year saving up funds in order to settle accounts with the hated owner and go under the patronage of a more humane one, and then he was told that he was not allowed to go anywhere. The transformed proverb expresses the feeling of bad surprise.

Mikheyev: "In fact, what do they say to their people? They say: yes, there is some kind of vaccine somewhere, but you can't get it. Keep dying for some time longer, until ours (shows up) ... But I'm talking about America and Europe. As for Ukraine, it is really in big trouble. *This Saint George Day went wrong, Ukrainian gentlemen.*"

5. Adding/skipping words

(13) Деньги не пахнут /lit. Money has no smell/.

Mikheyev removes the negation from this popular international proverb, which appears in our selection altogether five times, also in its entire length, and uses it in affirmative. This gives the proverb opposite meaning.

Mikheyev: "Well, what else does Lukashenko need to understand that *money smells* after all. *Money smells*. Korneyevsky: At least a little. Mikheyev: Although not strong, but *smells*."

(14) Бабушка надвое сказала /lit. Grandma said the outcome is doubtful/.

Speaking about forthcoming elections in Germany, the uncertainty, ambiguity of the situation Mikheyev adds the name of the German chancellor to the widespread proverb (we registered it three times in our selection), maybe intending her preretirement status.

Mikheyev: "Yes, the Americans will put pressure on Germany, yes, in Germany still *the outcome is doubtful said Grandma Merkel*, there may come a new green some kind of half-wit chancellor, everything can happen there. But I am serious: this will not radically change the geopolitical situation."

(15) Каждый сам кузнец своего счастья /lit. Everyone is the blacksmith of his own fortune/. Assessing the situation in Ukraine, Mikheyev supplements the popular international proverb with an antonym, arguing that both luck and unhappiness are the result of personal decisions and actions.

Mikheyev: "This is nonsense, self-deprecation, this must somehow be understood. Honestly, *everyone is a blacksmith of his own happiness and unhappiness*, and here it seems to me that this is so obvious in the Ukrainian example. It seems that even very little time has passed, but everything is so obvious."

- (16) Ложка дёгтя портит бочку мёда /lit. A spoon of tar spoils a barrel of honey/.
The above proverb signifies a situation when a minor negative factor ruins a large quantity of something positive. By this transformed proverb Mikheyev “ruins” an illusion and shares his opinion about the real goal of epidemic restrictions all around the world.

Mikheyev: “Again, there is such a thing here, I have *to pour a spoon of tar into a barrel*, as they say, *of anti-Covid honey*. To be honest, all these restrictions that are being taken in all countries of the world, in fact, why are they being taken by different states? Not because the states are so concerned about people’s health. But because they are afraid that they will simply not have enough beds, that’s all.”

6. Mixing proverbs/sayings

- (17) Куй железо, пока горячо /lit. Strike the iron at the till/. Проверьте сдачу, не отходя от кассы /lit. Check your change at the till/.

This phraseological unit is made of combination of a well-known, widely spread proverb - Strike the iron while it’s hot – and a poster generally placed at the cashbox in the Soviet shops in the last century: Check your change at the till. This combination shown up in the eccentric Russian musical comedy film “The Diamond Arm” made in 1968 by Director Leonid Gaidai and became very popular. In our selection this proverb is registered two times. The combination didn’t change the original meaning of the proverb – act in time. This is confirmed by a proverb following immediately after it: Time is money.

Mikheyev: „Lukashenko is frozen again. Again, he rakes some space with his hands, again he tries to translate everything into his long-playing format. And this means - *strike iron at the till. Time is money*. That is, you need to use it until all it is exhausted, until the snow has started, until it becomes completely uncomfortable, and so on, and so on.”

7. Conclusions

Concluding and assessing the results of the 10-month long monitoring of the modern radio broadcast Iron Logic we can say that the traditional genre of proverbs and proverb-like saying can be used, and it is used to attribute to the media discourse smartness, wit, and at the same time national character. The monitoring resulted in more than 400 cases of used proverbs. We recognised that alongside the older proverbs, newly created ones gain their place and play an active role in the modern media discourse. The participants of the broadcast often use proverbs and proverb-like sayings in their entire length, and also apply the tools of fragmentation or transformation by word replacement, adding/skipping words, mixing proverbs/sayings. The reviewed ways of proverbs’ modification prove the stable knowledge of paroemias by the media experts, their will and ability to operate them in a creative mode.

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Section 2

Phraseology and cultural studies

Hindi phraseology and culture: an interplay in the metaphor

Ideas are Food

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Abstract

My research article aims at cultural semantic analysis of the somatic phraseological expressions (PLs) of Hindi, which seem conceptually motivated by the metaphor *Ideas are Food* and its metaphorical inferences. In addition, it aspires to contribute to the discussion around the metaphorical embodiment of mind and the mind-body relation in a cultural milieu. Following Piirainen (2008: 213), the cultural-semantic exploration of PLs is accompanied by a closer scrutiny of specific phraseological constituents, phraseological constructional patterns, metaphorical imagery, and cultural underpinnings.

Keywords

Hindi phraseology, cultural linguistics, culinary culture, and metaphor

1. Introduction

Being an integral part of our everyday communication, PLs and metaphors codify our body-based interaction with the environment and reflect the images, traditions, values, norms, and habits that are specific to our culture and language community (See Colson 2008: 193). Both PLs and metaphors make up an essential part of our language about thoughts, emotions, and reason. The study of the constructional patterns of figurative vocabulary around metaphors may therefore offer some insights into the conceptual nature of human mind, ideas, and thinking. Referring to the analysis of the metaphor *Mind is Body* by Lakoff & Johnson (1999), I focus on discovering the culture- and language-specific pervasiveness of the metaphorical entailments in question.

For this purpose, I collected phraseological units from three Hindi newspapers published from January to December 2019 (*Amara Ujālā* ‘Fadeless Light’, *Dainika Jāgaraṇa* ‘Daily Awakening’ and *Dainika Bhāskara* ‘Daily Sun’) and a monolingual idiomatic dictionary. The corpus contains idioms, collocations, and proverbs with the lexemes for food items and

belongs to the domain of culinary culture. All the examples either express or describe the semantic fields of thinking and feeling. In addition, the corpus also contains PLs with the constituents denoting Hindi equivalents of English mind, including *mana* (mind, Sanskrit), *dil* (heart, Persian), *akla* (mind, Arabic), and *dimāga* (mind, Arabic). These indigenous and foreign loan words represent slightly different modalities of semiotisation and give a culturally tainted picture to the metaphorical imagery.

I categorized the entire corpus primarily in terms of five possible metaphorical inferences, namely *Nature of Ideas*, *Preparation of Ideas is Food Cooking*, *Understanding is Digesting*, *Communication is Feeding*, and *Stomach and the State of Mind*. The corpus comprises 218 PLs out of which I mentioned only a few prototypical examples for the elaboration of inferences. I am aware that neither is it reasonable to allocate a metaphorical inference to every PL, nor can one claim every PL to be motivated by a metaphor (Colson 2008: 195). From a cultural-linguistic point of view, the study is using the explanatory potential of metaphorical inferences to describe the cultural boundedness of the phraseological repository that can be clustered around the metaphor in question. This kind of corpus categorisation helps in formulating metaphorical and abstract reasoning, and guides in contextualizing the possible cultural background.

2. Hindi Phraseology and the Metaphor *Ideas are Food*

The metaphor *Ideas are Food* stems from the ontological status of ideas as edibles. Lakoff & Johnson (1999: 244) claim that “each metaphor for ideas, including ideas as foods, is a correspondence between ideas and things in the world”. Confirming the authors’ claim, the mental imagery constructed by Hindi PLs encourages the hypothesis that ideas, metaphorically referring to the visible edibles, are “external and public”. However, Hindi phraseology also advocates that the publicly available food items or ideas are not suitable for direct consumption, or mental processing, in every linguistic and cultural group. Proposing that the central concern of this metaphor is to acquire knowledge, reason, and communicate, the authors offer some epistemological and ontological entailments resulting from the abstract metaphorical reasoning.

2.1. The Nature of Ideas

Good ideas are conceptualized as healthy food items, whereas bad ideas as unnatural and contaminated foods. Establishing a cross-domain correspondence between unhealthy foods and *foolish* ideas, the idioms such as (1-2) suggest in the same way as stomach and body are contaminated by pathogens and unhealthy edibles, the mind can be led to foolishness and insanity by consuming unhealthy or unnatural ideas. The authors argue that in English, *shit* is a substance that is both unhealthy and disgusting. In Hindi, *bhūsā* ‘fodder’, *ghāsa* ‘grass’, *bhānga* ‘cannabis’, and *gōbara* ‘cow dung’ are the most unnatural foods that may contaminate the organism of human mind. The PLs characterising the habits of grass-eating animals semantically denote insanity or foolishness because, following the Invariance Hypothesis, it

can be hypothesised that the mind is not an authentic location for the unnatural edibles and living organisms.

Following Deignan (2012: 166), the entailment can be called culture-specific in the sense that different cultures may choose different experiential aspects of a source domain to highlight a particular aspect of the target domain in question. As a result, Hindi chooses many phraseological constituents from the food habits and biological characteristics of the religious animal cow to furnish the metaphorical entailment *bad ideas are unhealthy food* and articulate some specific semantic fields. However, the mapping is partially complete because its linguistic manifestations show it to go from unnatural or unhealthy foods to foolish ideas, but not from healthy foods to positive ideas.

(1) *kisī kī akla ghāsa charne jānā* ‘someone’s mind goes to graze grass’, (2) *dimāga mēm bhūsā/gōbara bhārā hōnā* ‘to get one’s mind filled with fodder/cow dung

Since the body needs healthy, appetising, and nutritious foods to stay physically fit, the mind also needs genuine, interesting, and positive ideas to stay healthy and function properly, i.e., the matter of concern, as the authors argued, “is a well-functioning mind” (1999: 241). The main concern expressed through the image schemas of Hindi PLs is indeed to keep mind “well-functioning”, but in terms of maturity, tactfulness, and ‘rich experience’ in understanding people and situations, and, that too, through the extensive use of two unique lexical components: water and salt. Water stands for ‘experience and wisdom’ and salt for ‘tactfulness and cleverness’ because of its cultural and astrological link with the planet Saturn.

(3) *sāta ghāṭōm/bahattara ghāṭa/ ghāṭa-ghāṭa kā pānī piē hōnā* ‘to have drunk water from seven Ghats/seventy-two Ghats/various Ghats’

The lexeme *Ghāṭa* stands for the consecutive steps that end in a water body, especially pond and river. Drinking water from ‘seven *Ghāṭas*’, ‘seventy-two *Ghāṭas*’ or ‘various *Ghāṭas*’ refers to attaining such an experiential state in life where one cannot be easily deceived or outwitted. The term also carries spiritual and religious nuances as it is typically used for a series of steps along the holy river *Gaṅgā* that originates from the Himalaya terrain and along whose banks most of the Hindu religious rites and ceremonies are performed. The religious mythology of Hinduism considers its water to carry divine wisdom, knowledge, and spirituality (See Sati 2021: 72).

(4) *khūba namaka khāē hōnā* ‘to have eaten lots of salt (in life)’, (5) *vahāṁ kā pānī khārā hai* ‘water of that place is salty’

The metaphorical imagery of eating lots of salt in life corresponds to reaching a level of maturity where one is not naïve and cannot be deceived easily, as one has understood to counter politics and manipulation in everyday life. However, adding salt beyond a reasonable quantity is even believed to affect the behaviour and nature of its consumer. In Northern India, the Hindi heartland, many widespread Hindi idioms reflect the folk belief that one’s nature and verbal behaviour can be evaluated on the basis of the quality of potable water in one’s locality. A person from an area that has a higher amount of salt in water is considered

to be cunning, shrewd, and unpleasant in verbal communication and behaviour. In this context, the non-finite clause (5) is used very often in the discussions on the match-making for arranged marriages and disliking a particular bride or bridegroom is often attributed to the excessive salty water in the concerned locality. Figuratively speaking, a family prefers not to bring in a bride or bridegroom who is, so to say, “smarter” or “more manipulative” than itself.

Before *ingesting* an *idea*, one can metaphorically *smell* or *see* it to make sure whether it is suitable for consumption. The unwanted ideas that *stink* or have *black impurity* or *fly* are conceptualised as disturbing and suspicious. Here, the point of interest is that any impurity, especially that of ‘black colour’ in lentil curry, can cause suspicion, i.e., something is wrong with adopting a particular idea or thought. It would not be acceptable for a well-functioning mind to eat the lentil curry having *black* suspicion. Lentil curry is among the most common edibles in India and symbolically stands for the ‘lifeline of masses’.

(6) *dāla mēm kucha kālā hōnā* ‘there is something black in the lentil curry’, (7) *dāla mēm makhkhī giranā* ‘to get a fly dropped in the lentil curry’

Substantial ideas are conceptualized as *meaty* ideas. The phrasemes that belong to this sub-inference have only the Persian and Arabic equivalents of *mind*, *skull*, and *blood* as components. These are the only PLs that express a non-vegetarian *taste* of ideas. The Sanskrit equivalents of *mind* such as *mana* and *buddhi* are not conjugated with the verbs *lick* and *eat*; rather they are primarily conjugated with the lexeme *grains*. For the person whose mind and brain are *licked* or *eaten*, the situation brings a state of mental exhaustion and loss of ideas. As far as temperature and freshness of *ideas* are concerned, interesting ideas, news, and rumors correspond to *tājā* ‘fresh’, *garamā-garama* ‘fresh and hot’, and *chatpati* ‘spicy’ food, while uninteresting and unappetizing news and rumors to *ṭhaṇḍā* ‘cold’ and *bāsī* ‘rotten’ food. Explicit language and jokes are termed as *nōna-vēja* ‘non-vegetarian’ whereas implicit jokes as *vēja* ‘vegetarian’.

(8) *khōpaṛī/bhējā/dimāga cāṭanā/cāṭa jānā* ‘to lick/have licked someone’s skull/brain/mind’, (9) *vēja/ nōna-vēja jōka sunānā* ‘to tell vegetarian/non-vegetarian joke’

2.2. Food Preparation is Preparation of Ideas for Understanding

This inference renders the preparation of ideas for understanding as food cooking. As phraseological segments indicate, the primary concern of this metaphorical inference is to plan something secretly, such as a scandal, create a separate ideology, and prepare a complex set of ideas or beliefs. For instance, the lexeme *khicarī* in (11-12), which was derived from the Sanskrit word *khiccā*, stands for a blended dish made from rice, peas, spices, and lentils. Modern Hindi authors and media describe Hindi or Hindustani language as a *khicarī bhāṣā* ‘blend language’ comprising English, Persian, Urdu, Sanskrit, and Arabic vocabularies. In accordance with the Invariance Hypothesis, when *khicarī* as a source domain is projected upon the blend of ideas or ideologies, they become incomprehensible or uninteresting for a language community. The metaphorical reasoning may also apply to the fact that Hindi,

despite being the 3rd largest spoken language¹ in the world, has neither been subjected to the global academic attention nor privileged by the establishment of dedicated academic chairs outside India.

The idiom (12) became popular from a classical anecdote in which Birbala, a beloved courtier of Mughal Ruler Akabara (1542-1605) in India, takes long leave from the court to cook *khicaṛī* by putting ingredients in an earthen pot and hanging it several feet above the fire. The blending of temporal (long duration) and propositional (intention to cause suspicion and teach a lesson) aspects in the idiom makes it an excessively used metaphor in the political discourse and routine conversations. Similarly, boiling the jaggery secretly in an earthen lamp (10) indicates that the secret planning that a person is trying to hide cannot be concealed from the seekers. The smell of hot jaggery and the size of the pot naturally cause suspicion and curiosity.

- (10) *kulhara mēm guṛa phōṛanā/pakānā* ‘to melt/cook jaggery in a small earthen cup’,
 (11) *siyāsī/dhōkhē kī/sājhē kī khicaṛī pakānā* ‘to cook khicaṛī of political interest/fraud/
 partnership’, (12) *Birbala kī khicaṛī pakānā* ‘to get Birbala’s *khicaṛī* cooked’

Cooking food on fire and seeing appetising dishes also incorporate specific semantic extensions, including sexuality that biologically relates to warmth and contact with others. Consequently, the warmth generated in food cooking (13) is metaphorically projected upon the biological experience of sexuality while integrating the metaphors Visual Perception is Physical Contact and Sexuality is Warmth. The ‘idea of sex’ in this blend is an externally available food item.

- (13) *kisī para āṁkhēm/nazarēm sēkanā/garma karanā* ‘to grill/heat eyes/eyesights on someone (–to imagine gratification of sexual lust while looking at someone)’

2.3. Understanding is digesting

If ideas are comprehensible, they *go down* the throat, and if they are incomprehensible, they are *regurgitated*. In Hindi PLs (14-19), the inability to ingest and the urge to regurgitate simply indicate that either the ideas are incomprehensible or one cannot keep the ideas or secrets to oneself. According to Lakoff & Johnson (1999), the process of digestion in the metaphor refers to the complete mental processing that is required for full understanding. But, owing to the application of functional attributes of the Stomach As Container metaphor, the senses of idiomatic expressions incorporate ‘concealing an idea, plan, and secret’. Hence, ‘the ability to digest an edible’ is metaphorically projected upon the ‘the ability to comprehend and conceal a secret and idea’. In an opposite situation, one’s digestion can be compromised to an extent that a person cannot even *digest water* or *smell of ideas*, or, so to speak, pettiest ideas and secrets.

¹ <https://www.ethnologue.com/guides/ethnologue200>

(14) *kōī bāta galē (na) utaranā* ‘to not get an idea slide down the throat’, (15) *saba kucha/sārī bāta ugala dēnā* ‘to have regurgitated everything/whole issue’, (16) *kisī kī bātēm sunakara ulī ānā* ‘to feel like vomit after listening someone’s words’, (17) *koi bāta pēta main (na) pacanā* ‘to (not) get an idea digested in stomach’, (18) *bāta kī gandha/pēta kā pānī (taka) na pacanā* ‘to be unable to digest (even) smell of idea/water of stomach’, (19) *auratōm kē pēta mēm kōī bāta nahīm pacatī* ‘no issue gets digested in women’s stomach’

The proverbial idiom (19) is believed to originate from an anecdote of the ancient Sanskrit epic *Mahābhārata*, in which *Yudhiṣṭira*, one of the key protagonists, gets annoyed by his mother *Kuntī* for hiding the truth that *Karṇa*, whom his army killed in the battle of *Mahābhārata*, was his elder brother born from his mother before her marriage. He then curses the whole women community that no woman will ever be able to conceal any secret or thought (See Rao 2021: 33).

After consumption of food items, the resultant emotions and thoughts are generated by *mana*, a Sanskrit concept that stands for the locus of mind inside the human body and, contradicting the Cartesian Dualism or Reason-Emotion Duality, donates metaphorical imagery to the concepts of higher order such as reason as well as that of lower order such as emotions. The classical Sanskrit literature defines *mana* as the Commander-in-Chief of human decision making and reason, and locates it in *hṛdaya* (Sanskrit, heart) (See Yogananda 2002: 997). The PLs with constituent *mana* and the figurative vocabulary based on the Indian culinary culture indicate that if *emotions* are conceptualized as *foods*, the concept of *thinking* can also be conceptualized as *feeling*. The core argument for the language-specific nature of this mapping is the location of non-physical organ *mana* in the body and the integration of various cultural norms and religious and medical beliefs.

(20) *mana kā svāda* ‘the taste of mind’, (21) *mana/dila khaṭṭā/kaṛavā/khārā hōnā* ‘to get one’s mind/heart turn sour/bitter/salty (~disappointed)’, (22) *mana mēm laḍḍū phūṭanā* ‘to enjoy bursting puddings (joyful imagination) in one’s mind’, (23) *mana mēm khyālī pulāva pakānā* ‘to cook biryani of thoughts in mind’, (24) *jaisā anna vaisā mana* ‘like grains like mind’

The proverb (24) is a teaching of *Bhāgavada Gītā*, a religious book in Hinduism, according to which the foods that one consumes affect one’s body, mind, emotions, energy, and spirituality. *Mana* becomes peaceful if a person consumes a *sātvika* diet consisting of whole grains, fruits, and vegetables, and becomes greedy, aggressive, and restless if a person consumes *tāmasika* and *rājasika* diet, which comprise strong spices, meat, alcohol, stimulants, etc. According to Yogananda (2002: 994), *Gītā* prescribes *Sātvika* diet to keep the mind conscious and spiritually awakened. The quality of thoughts and emotions in one’s *mana* and soul are directly influenced by the food that one consumes.

2.4. Communication is Feeding

The inference *Communication is Feeding* entails two epistemological concerns. First, as illustrated by idioms (25-27), *liquefying* and *gulping* serve fast memorisation or consolidation of a fixed set of ideas because these alternatives ease the processes of *chewing* and *tasting*. In this context, the idiom (27) verbalises a Hindu tradition in which an aqueous mix of Ayurvedic herbs called *janma-ghuṭṭī* ‘birth-sip’ is spoon-fed to a new-born by an old lady or man of the family. It is believed that the fixed set of ideas and beliefs that one inherits comes along with the ‘birth-sip’. Moreover, one believes that the person who feeds ‘birth-sip’ also feeds his or her nature, ideas, and character to the new-born. The first sip of herbs or *ideas* that one ingests after one’s birth is considered to have a life-long impact on one’s mental and emotional dispositions.

(25) *kōī bāta ghōṭakara pilā dēnā* ‘to have fed some words after meshing up well’, (26) *kisī kō chala pilānā* ‘to feed someone cheat’ (~to teach someone how to cheat), (27) *kōī bāta kisī kī janma-ghuṭṭī mēm paṛanā* ‘to get some idea poured into one’s birth-sip’

Otherwise, the matter of concern in the inference is feeding someone for vested interests, i.e. to manipulate or deceive someone. To deceive someone who, in a straightforward manner, would not accept your idea, you can get ideas *meshed up* and make one *drink*. In addition, one can also consider others to be a *bholī gaya* ‘innocent cow’ and make them graze the appetizing *fodder of deception* or *show them a vegetable farm* for grazing. If a consumer doesn’t find an idea appetizing, one can add *masālā* ‘spices’ or *ghee* ‘clarified butter’ to it. The deception is therefore called ‘spicy’, ‘fried’, ‘dipped in salt-chilli powder’ or ‘dipped in clarified butter’, because India has a culinary culture of eating spicy foods, and consuming clarified butter is considered a luxury.

(28) *kisī kō sabja-bāga dikhānā* ‘to show someone vegetable farm’, (29) *kōī bāta nama-ka-mirca lagākara kahanā* ‘to tell an issue after applying salt and chilli’, (30) *cikanī-cu-parī bātēm karanā* ‘to do talks dipped in clarified butter’, (31) *kisī kō bātōm kī cāṭa khilānā* ‘to feed someone Chaat (a mix of traditional savoury snacks or relish) of ideas’, (32) *kisī cīzā/film mēm sēksa/naṅgēpana kā tarākā dālanā* ‘to fry something/film with sex/nudity’

2.5. Stomach and the State of Mind

Hindi phraseology conceptualizes the semiotised body part *pēṭa* ‘stomach’ as a contained space that accommodates and keeps the publicly important secrets and ideas. According to Lakoff & Johnson (1999), the containment schema reveals constructive and destructive properties of thoughts and emotions. The metaphorical reasoning through the schema shows that the containment or expulsion of a contained entity expands across time. In line with this argument, the metaphorical imagery in Hindi PLs and the tendencies in collectivistic cultures indicate that the emotional and mental dispositions, metaphorically referring to food items sought by the seekers outside, are long-term states and precipitate in the stomach-container for a longer period. Concisely, *pēṭa*-PLs are used to denote the state of mind and the nature of

an individual, which result from the long-term *ingestion* of habitual thoughts and emotions. The cognitive-semantic account of phrasemes highlights that Hindi has not only preserved the cardio-centric orientation of life, as reflected in *mana*-PLs but has also kept alive the abdominocentrism by maintaining the currency of *pēṭa*-PLs.

(33) *pēṭa kī bāta jānanā* ‘to know the idea of stomach’, (34) *kisī kē pēṭa/āntōm sē bāta nikālanā* ‘to bring out an idea from someone’s stomach/intestines’, (35) *muñha mēm aura pēṭa mēm aura hōnā* ‘to be different from mouth and stomach’, (36) *kisī kē pēṭa mēm dāṛhī/pāñva hōnā* ‘there is beard/are legs (~cleverness) in someone’s stomach’

Hindi PLs propagate the folk belief that, unlike the real food items that transform between the stages of cooking and digestion, the ideas can be *traced back* in their originality from *pēṭa* ‘stomach’, *āntōm* ‘intestines’, and *nasōm* ‘veins’. Therefore, *pēṭa/kalējē mēm ghusanā* ‘to enter stomach/lever’ and *pēṭa kī thāha lēnā* ‘to measure the depth of stomach’ mean ‘to access someone’s ideas, intentions, and opinion’. It is an example of target domain-override or the violation of the image schema structure of the target domain. Irrespective of being *cooked, flavoured, digested, or expelled* from *the* body, an idea still preserves its originality, value, and essence. Considering all the ontological notions of ideas in Hindi phraseology, it can be assumed that they are less of transformable and more of independent and manipulable entities.

3. Discussion

The metaphor *Ideas are Food* motivates many coherent clusters of Hindi PLs. However, there are also some striking culture- and language-specific particularities in terms of selection of lexical components and pervasiveness of metaphorical inferences. The study highlights that the conceptualisation of ideas results from the blending of various cultural norms, culinary habits, the yogic tradition of diets, religious practices in Hinduism, medical beliefs of Ayurveda, and the nuances of foreign and indigenous loan words. My work does not claim that the metaphor and its phrasal exemplification are a unique appearance in Hindi; it suggests that there are some culture-specific codes in the structure of metaphor that voice themselves expressively on the landscape of phraseology. Similarly, it does not make the disputed claim, as opposed by Piirainen (2008: 220), that the phrasemes uncover the specific mentality or cultural world view of a linguistic community. Rather, it adheres to the hypothesis that the phraseological repository of each language offers a specific semantic interpretation of the source concepts available in the concerned linguistic community’s socio-cultural and physical environment.

The central concerns of the metaphor, as I have observed in Hindi phraseology, are not only “to acquire knowledge, reason and communicate” and “to have a well-functioning mind”, but also to reach an experiential state where one cannot be called naïve and stupid. Precisely speaking, to gain tactful knowledge and to be able to exert manipulation are the two central concerns in the metaphorical entailments and PLs. The facts such as the long history of repression and the everyday struggle in an overpopulated country might be assumed to have

contributed to the pervasiveness of such PLs and the culture-bound metaphorical images embedded in them.

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Unidades fraseológicas relativas al paraguas/ la sombrilla en chino cantonés

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Abstract

In this paper, based on the Conventional Figurative Language Theory by Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005), we analyse from a linguo-cultural perspective the phraseological units of umbrella in Cantonese, by exploring specifically a series of subtypes: compounds, idioms, terminological phrasemes, proverbial phrases, proverbs and two-part allegorical sayings. This study demonstrates how the Cantonese language uses the image of umbrella in phraseology by means of its particular connotations and symbolism in this language. We have observed that, on the one hand, Cantonese has peculiar phrasemes of umbrella; on the other hand, in some cases, it also uses the same or similar phrasemes from Mandarin, which reflects cultural integration and diversity, as well as the close relationship between culture and language.

Keywords

umbrella, Cantonese, Chinese phraseology, metaphor

1. Introducción

Algunas referencias lexicográficas consideran que la sombrilla y el paraguas son objetos distintos, pero otras no. Por ejemplo, en español, según el *DLE* de RAE, el paraguas no es lo mismo que la sombrilla, el primero es para protegerse de la lluvia y la segunda, del sol. En francés existe una distinción similar entre *ombrelle* (contra el sol) y *parapluie* (contra la lluvia). En cuanto al término *parasol*, designa en ambas lenguas un tercer objeto, que protege tanto del sol como de la lluvia pero de manera colectiva, ya que su tamaño y peso son mucho mayores, por lo que no lo trataremos aquí como tal. En cambio, el paraguas y la sombrilla son ligeros y de uso individual. En cambio, ni en mandarín ni en cantonés, se distingue entre el paraguas y la sombrilla. En la mayoría de los casos, al aparecer el carácter *sǎn* (傘) o el *jē* (遮) en una UF, no se puede identificar si se refiere a paraguas o sombrilla. En este trabajo, al traducir literalmente estos dos caracteres chinos, usamos un solo término “paraguas” para evitar la redundancia.

A lo largo de la historia, en China, los paraguas no solo se han usado para protegerse del sol y la lluvia, sino también para otros múltiples propósitos. Son herramientas profundamente arraigadas en la cultura tradicional. Antiguamente, eran un símbolo del poder de los emperadores, funcionarios y nobles; además, su uso estaba estrictamente jerarquizado y limitado. Posteriormente, se convirtieron en un artículo accesible para la gente común y fueron dotados de connotaciones culturales diversas, reflejando así formas de pensar, conceptos y costumbres igualmente diversos. Dicho simbolismo cultural está reflejado en las unidades fraseológicas (UF) aplicadas en diversas áreas.

El chino no es una sola lengua, sino varios grupos de lenguas unidos por un sistema de escritura común; las lenguas habladas son diferentes y muchas veces mutuamente ininteligibles (Núñez 2019: 99). El cantonés es la lengua nativa de 73,3 millones de personas que habitan en Cantón y Guangxi, así como en Hong Kong y Macao. Aunque el cantonés tiene una serie de particularidades que lo hacen un objeto de estudio especialmente interesante para la lingüística, escasas son las investigaciones sobre dicha lengua, y mucho menos sobre sus UF. Hasta ahora no ha habido ningún trabajo que se haya centrado en la fraseología cantonesa del paraguas, mientras que sí ha habido algunos estudios sobre las UF del paraguas en chino mandarín o sobre la importancia del símbolo del paraguas en China (ej. Lei 2021).

2. Bases teóricas de la investigación

Las UF codifican y transmiten los conocimientos culturales (a veces específicos), que reflejan los valores, creencias y normas sociales, así como actitudes y emociones. La metáfora es uno de los procedimientos de creación léxica más empleados por la fraseología en casi todos los idiomas para formar UF (García-Page, 2008). Muchas expresiones idiomáticas se remontan al contexto histórico o cultural en el que se originaron y reflejan las circunstancias o prácticas concretas a las que originalmente se referían y que ahora forman parte de la memoria colectiva de los hablantes (Teliya et al. 1998). De acuerdo con la semántica cognitiva, las UF están mayormente motivadas cognitivamente por la experiencia física, social o cultural de los usuarios.

Para explicar cómo los hablantes utilizan las expresiones lingüísticas para transmitir mensajes, es necesario revelar vínculos motivadores relevantes relacionados con la ‘memoria cultural’ (*cultural memory*) que se refiere a las huellas del pasado de una unidad léxica que son accesibles en el presente (Dobrovol’skij y Piirainen 2018: 8). Sabban (2008) afirma que las unidades poliléxicas o UF están culturalmente marcadas en gran medida, además, mucho más que las unidades léxicas simples (Sabban 2008: 229). Asimismo, Zykova, basándose en la semiótica de Lotman (2001), asegura que las UF son un depósito de una gran cantidad de conocimiento e información culturales. Partiendo de la noción de ‘memoria cultural’, esta autora afirma que el significado fraseológico es una estructura compleja capaz de reflejar diferentes modos históricos de cognición del mundo y, por lo tanto, de conservar información cultural (Zykova 2013: 422-424).

Aunque la metáfora conceptual basada en nuestra experiencia física tiende a expresar formas universales de pensamiento, nuestra cognición metafórica se configura de varias maneras e involucra la experiencia cultural de contextos situacionales (Kövecses 2015). La lingüística cognitiva se centra en la motivación sincrónica de las expresiones figurativas convencionales; sin embargo, la perspectiva diacrónica es necesaria para descubrir la complejidad de los aspectos culturales fijados en las UF (Sabban 2008). Aunque la Teoría Cognitiva de la Metáfora (Lakoff y Johnson 1980) puede explicar una parte importante del lenguaje figurativo, no tiene un alcance universal para revelar todos los vínculos motivadores posibles en este ámbito. En el campo de la fraseología, se deben tener en cuenta especialmente el conocimiento de las convenciones culturales con raíces históricas. La Teoría del Lenguaje Figurativo Convencional sirve especialmente para estudiar las motivaciones relevantes de las unidades figurativas convencionales, ya sean UF o unidades léxicas simples metafóricas (Dobrovól'skij y Piirainen 2005: 13, 31).

3. Objetivos y método

El primer objetivo de este trabajo consiste en analizar, desde el punto de vista linguo-cultural, la fraseología del paraguas en cantonés, y su capacidad para motivar expresiones figurativas. El segundo consiste en estudiar cómo se refleja su papel peculiar en la cultura china. Nuestro análisis se basa principalmente en la Teoría del Lenguaje Figurado Convencional de Dobrovól'skij y Piirainen (2005) y su concepto de 'imagen cultural'.

A tal fin, primero, coleccionamos la cantidad máxima posible de UF cantonesas que incluyan algún componente alusivo a este objeto; entre los cuales hemos elegido 21 UF figurativas como muestra significativa para el presente trabajo. En suma, las clases de UF que se examinan aquí incluyen: compuestos, locuciones, fraseotérminos, frases proverbiales, proverbios, y dichos alegóricos de dos partes. Luego, las clasificamos según su clase fraseológica. Finalmente, las analizamos semántica y culturalmente, mostrando sus significados literales y figurados, explicando su trasfondo cultural e histórico, así como sus orígenes y motivaciones, en caso de existir.

4. El paraguas en la escritura y cultura chinas

4.1. El paraguas en la escritura china

En chino simplificado, la grafía del paraguas es 伞 (*sǎn*), mientras que en chino tradicional, se escribe 傘 (*sǎn*) que es un ideograma representando un carro antiguo con dosel. La parte superior es como un gran dosel abierto y la parte inferior es la imagen de un asta erguida en un carro y cuatro personas sentadas dentro. Antiguamente, los carros elegantes llevaban un dosel, con forma de paraguas /s sombrilla, cuya función era proteger del sol y la lluvia, por lo

que también se le llamaba *sǎn gài* 伞盖 *paraguas tapa (tapa de paraguas) “dosel”¹ (Yin 1989: 341).

Existen varias opiniones sobre la primera aparición del paraguas en la escritura. Algunos consideran que la grafía 伞 (*sǎn*) surgió bastante tarde. En primer lugar, este carácter no está registrado en el primer diccionario chino *Shuowen jiezi* (说文解字), realizado durante la Dinastía Han a comienzos del siglo II. En segundo lugar, teniendo en cuenta la evolución de los estilos de la escritura china, el carácter 伞 (*sǎn*) no aparecía ni en la escritura de pequeño sello (*xiǎozhuàn*, 小篆) ni en la escritura cancelaria (*lishū*, 隶书). En cambio, apareció más tarde en la escritura regular (*kǎishū*, 楷书), que comenzó a usarse a finales de la dinastía Han (cf. Xie 2000: 309). Por otra parte, frente a dicha opinión, encontramos la de quien defiende que apareció muy temprano. Así, Zhou (1999) sostiene que su escritura, 伞 (*sǎn*), se encuentra ya en el primer diccionario de dichos comunes chinos, titulado *Tongsuwen* (通俗文, “Textos de dichos populares”), escrito al final de la dinastía Han del Este (25 - 220). Según dicho autor, dicho ideograma existiría desde hace más de 1500 años (Zhou 1999: 255). Otros investigadores incluso dan una fecha mucho más antigua, como, por ejemplo, Li (1991: 48), quien afirma que ya contamos con ejemplos escritos en la dinastía Qin (221 - 206 a.C.).

4.2. El paraguas en la cultura china

El paraguas también es un importante símbolo budista, siendo uno de los “ocho signos auspiciosos” del “sendero óctuple” que lleva hacia el fin del sufrimiento. En la antigua China, el uso del paraguas era un privilegio. Se trataba de un símbolo de la alta posición social y, por tanto, su uso quedaba limitado únicamente a un grupo reducido; además, se solía usar en las ceremonias oficiales. Su uso tenía reglas rigurosas con relación a los colores, tamaños y materiales, reflejando una fuerte jerarquía social (Zhou 1999: 255). Durante la Edad Contemporánea, el paraguas ya se ha convertido un objeto accesible entre el pueblo chino. En muchas regiones, este incluso es un elemento imprescindible en las ceremonias o bodas. En las bodas de Cantón, tradicionalmente se sostiene un paraguas rojo sobre la novia como una señal de bendición y felicitación (cf. Eberhard 1986: 302).

Debido a su estructura, al paraguas también se le atribuían poderes mágicos. Su cubierta en forma de arco recuerda el cielo. Sus veintiocho varillas se corresponderían con las Veintiocho Mansiones² en el Cielo. Basándose en esta asociación, el paraguas se veía como algo sagrado. Como un portador de adoración al Cielo y los dioses, se usaba en las ceremonias de ciertos sacrificios (Lei 2021: 118). Hoy en día, su magia aún tiene huellas en las costumbres del pueblo. Colocado sobre la cama de una mujer de parto, el paraguas ahuyentará a los malos espíritus (Eberhard 1986: 302).

¹ Utilizamos * para hacer referencia al significado palabra por palabra, () para el significado literal entero, y “ ” para el significado figurativo de la expresión o la frase.

² Son parte del sistema de Constelaciones chinas, formadas por 28 divisiones que constituyen el Zodíaco Lunar Chino.

5. Las UF del paraguas en cantonés

Cabe señalar que el paraguas puede tener diferentes UF y connotaciones culturales en diferentes regiones o lenguas de China. Nos conviene observar unas UF peculiares en cantonés.

5.1. Los nombres del paraguas en cantonés

En cantonés, el 傘 (*saan*, paraguas) suena igual que 散 (*saan*, separación). Para evitar esta asociación peyorativa, al referirse al paraguas, los cantoneses reemplazan 傘 (*saan*, paraguas) por 遮 (*jē*, tapar) considerando que la función principal del paraguas es tapar. Además, 遮 (*jē*) designa sin distinción paraguas o sombrilla. En caso de que se necesite designar concretamente paraguas, se añade el modificador 雨 (*yúh*, lluvia) delante de 遮 (*jē*), formando la palabra 雨遮 (*yúh jē*, *lluvia tapar, “paraguas”). El cantonés no posee una palabra que designa específicamente la sombrilla.

5.2. Locuciones y compuestos del paraguas

Aún no hay un acuerdo sobre la distinción entre locución y compuesto. Corpas (1996) propone que los compuestos son unidades léxicas formadas por la unión gráfica (y acentual) de dos o más bases, mientras que las locuciones son unidades que presentan un grado semejante de cohesión interna pero no expresan unión ortográfica. En chino, debido a su peculiar sistema de escritura, es imposible aplicar esta distinción, pues no hay ni guion ni espacio en blanco. En este trabajo tratamos estas dos subcategorías juntas.

Los cantoneses nombran a una persona tacaña (1) *sūk gwāt jē* 缩骨遮*encoger varilla paraguas (paraguas con esqueletos encogidos), por alusión a un paraguas plegable, que se abre cuando llueve, pero se encoge y se guarda cuando hace buen tiempo. Esta imagen recuerda a una persona avara y egoísta que siempre está dispuesta a conseguir y guardar dinero. En este caso, una persona tacaña es como un paraguas plegable. Dicha metáfora solamente existe en cantonés. En España existe algo parecido: una persona avara es ‘agarrada’ o ‘encogida’.

Igual que en mandarín, los cantoneses usan estas locuciones o compuestos que emplean “paraguas”: (2) *bǎohù sǎn* 保护伞*proteger paraguas, “protector”; (3) *hé bǎohù sǎn* 核保护伞*nuclear proteger paraguas, “paraguas nuclear” (Sun 1999: 339). Las metáforas derivadas de este objeto también se emplean en la biología. Así, en ambas lenguas se utilizan locuciones nominales que contienen 伞 (*sǎn*, paraguas). He aquí algunos ejemplos: (4) *yù láng sǎn* 玉郎伞*jade hombre paraguas, “tipo de hierba medicinal”; (5) *sǎn niǎo* 伞鸟*paraguas pájaro, “pájaro paraguas”; (6) *sǎn zhào* 伞罩*paraguas cubierta, “parte superior de una medusa con forma de paraguas” (OPECD 1994: 357).

5.3. Fraseotérminos del paraguas

Los fraseotérminos son secuencias polilexicales que, en un sociolecto técnico, designan un referente bien identificado, con cierto grado de fijación (Pamies 2007). En el lenguaje de la tecnología, existen muchos fraseotérminos metafóricos, pues resulta más fácil entender

comparando un objeto con otro. Tal sucede con la imagen del paraguas, que aparece en algunos fraseotérminos. Existen metáforas en las que la semejanza de los objetos comparados se inspira en su forma y en la función del objeto en sí.

En cantonés, se encuentran metáforas del paraguas en el área de la industria, atribuyéndoles nombres distintos a los que se emplean en mandarín. Por ejemplo, se denomina al pistón del coche *jē* (遮, paraguas) debido a que su forma recuerda a un paraguas. De ahí que la biela se llame (7) *jē beng* (遮柄*paraguas mango); que el aro del pistón se llame (8) *jē lihng* (遮呤), sintagma en el que, curiosamente, el primer carácter *jē* (遮, paraguas) sirve como metáfora, mientras que el segundo componente 呤 (*lihng*) no tiene significado concreto, es un préstamo del inglés *ring*³ por similitud fonética.

En el área de la tecnología, como decíamos, se han inventado numerosos términos metafóricos con el componente 伞 (*sǎn*, paraguas) basándose en su forma y/o en su función. Dichos fraseotérminos son usados tanto en cantonés como en mandarín. Citamos algunos ejemplos: (9) *jiàngluò sǎn* (降落伞*caer paraguas, “paracaídas”); (10) *dǎo sǎn* (导伞*guía paraguas, “pilotín”); (11) *sǎn yī* (伞衣*paraguas ropa, “cubierta de paracaídas”); (12) *sǎn dài* (伞带*paraguas cinta, “arnés del paracaídas”) (OPECD 1994: 288); (13) *sǎn tǎ* (伞塔*paraguas torre, “torre de entrenamiento de paracaidistas”); (14) *huáxiáng sǎn* (滑翔伞*planear paraguas, “parapente”); (15) *sǎn chǐ lún* (伞齿轮*paraguas diente rueda, “engranaje cónico”), etc. (Sun 1999: 710).

5.4. Proverbios del paraguas

El proverbio es una frase breve y sentenciosa de origen popular y de forma fija que expresa una idea, consejo o enseñanza. Además, su origen es anónimo (Pamies 2007). Debido a que el paraguas está muy relacionado con la vida cotidiana, se ha creado un importante número de proverbios recurriendo a su imagen, reflejando la sabiduría del pueblo chino.

Cantón es una de las zonas más lluviosas de China. Como consecuencia, el uso del paraguas es muy frecuente. Asimismo, entre el pueblo se suelen pedir o prestar paraguas en ocasiones necesarias y urgentes. Existe un proverbio que sugiere el cuidado de las cosas prestadas, tomando el paraguas como ejemplo.

(16) *Yúh jē m̀h pa je, ch̀n k̀èih m̀h hóu ngāp gwo yeh.*

雨遮唔怕借，千祈唔好罨过夜。

*Lluvia paraguas no temer prestar, tener que no bueno tapar pasar noche

(uno está dispuesto a prestar paraguas a otros, siempre y cuando la otra parte no deje que el paraguas cerrado mientras está empapado, porque en este caso la superficie del paraguas se pudrirá fácilmente)

“uno debe cuidar bien las cosas prestadas”.

³ En inglés, el aro del pistón se llama *piston ring*.

Antiguamente, la artesanía de paraguas de papel de aceite era relativamente sencilla y monótona, con nada más que un mango, un soporte y una superficie. Así que no había muchos trucos que pudieran hacer los paragueros particulares, casi todos parecían iguales. A diferencia de los paraguas en Jiangnan (江南), donde se dibujaban diversas imágenes en las superficies, en Cantón lo único que aparecía distinto era el mango, que podría estar hecho con diferentes materiales. Debido a ello, al llover, casi todos los paraguas que aparecían en las calles y callejones se veían iguales exceptos sus mangos. Análogicamente, el destino de la gente también suele ser muy distinto. Además, en cantonés la palabra *mehng* (命, destino) rima con *beng* (柄, mango), por lo que se compara el paraguas con la persona en este sentido, como indica este proverbio:

(17) *tùhng yàhn m̀h tùhng mehng, tùhng jē m̀h tùhng beng.*

同人唔同命，同遮唔同柄。

*igual persona no igual destino, igual paraguas no igual mango

(cada persona tiene diferente destino; cada paraguas lleva mango distinto)

“cada uno viene a este mundo con un destino distinto”.

Este también tiene una versión en mandarín, con la misma connotación.

(18) *Tóng rén bù tóng yùn, tóng sǎn bù tóng bǐng.* 同人不同运，同伞不同柄。

5.5. Frases proverbiales del paraguas

Una frase proverbial es una secuencia verbal fija, breve y conocida, gramaticalmente completa, pragmáticamente autónoma, al igual que el proverbio, pero de carácter no sentencioso (Pamies 2007).

Tradicionalmente, los matrimonios en China se hacen a través de los casamenteros, sobre todo en las zonas rurales. Algunos jóvenes con buena condición son muy solicitados. En estos casos, numerosos casamenteros van uno detrás de otro a sus casas para intentar conseguir el emparejamiento, lo cual provoca mucho movimiento en la entrada. En cantonés existe una frase proverbial que describe este fenómeno y que atestigua dicha tradición:

(19) *dāam jē dīk jáu liúh, daai mouh dīk yauh lòih.*

担遮的走了，戴帽的又来。

*sostener paraguas PART.⁴ irse PART., llevar sombrero PART. otra-vez venir

(el que lleva el paraguas acaba de irse, enseguida viene otro que lleva el sombrero)

“numerosos casamenteros vienen muy a menudo a emparejar”.

El concepto de cerrar el paraguas también puede ser un dominio fuente de una metáfora para criticar a alguien que no brinda ayuda cuando otros están en problemas.

⁴ Abreviatura de partícula.

(20) *lohk yúh sāu jē*

落雨收遮

*caer lluvia cerrar paraguas

(uno cierra el paraguas cuando empieza a llover)

“uno deja de brindar asistencia cuando surgen problemas”.

5.6. Xiehouyu (歇后语 “dicho alegórico de dos partes”) del paraguas

Los *xiehouyu* son un fenómeno lingüístico exclusivo de la fraseología china con dos partes bien diferenciadas: la primera es una metáfora (vehículo), que se suma a un mensaje intencionado (contenido). Su esquema es, por tanto, el de “metáfora + mensaje”. La metáfora que constituye la primera parte actúa como base, mientras que la segunda parte funciona como anotación. Veamos algunos casos.

Para poder sostener el paraguas, hace falta agarrar el mango. En caso de no disponer de mango, uno se ve obligado a realizar enormes esfuerzos para manejar el paraguas bajo la lluvia. Se puede usar dicha imagen para criticar la obstinación o la lucha desesperada e inútil de alguien, p. ej.:

(21) *mòuh beng jē, séi chāng*

无柄遮——死撑

*sin mango paraguas, a+muerte⁵ sostener

(uno sostiene un paraguas sin mango, aguantándose con toda fuerza)

[1] “uno se esfuerza excesivamente”;

[2] “uno no reconoce sus errores”;

[3] “aunque uno ha perdido, se niega a rendirse”.

Motivación: Se trata de un juego de palabras por la polisemia. 死撑 (*a+muerte sostener) literalmente significa “sostener algo con toda fuerza”, mientras que metafóricamente significa “esforzarse excesivamente o negarse a rendirse”.

(22) *wòh seúng dāam jē, mòuh faat mòuh tīn*

和尚担遮——无发(法)无天

*monje sostener paraguas, sin pelo sin cielo

(un monje sostiene el paraguas, ni el pelo ni el cielo se ven)

“actuar de manera desaforada; hacer y deshacer a su antojo”

Motivación: Se trata de un juego de palabras por la homofonía. La expresión 无发无天 (“ni el pelo ni el cielo se ven”) suena igual que la locución 无法无天 (“actuar de manera

⁵ Aquí el carácter 死 se usa como adverbio, refiriéndose a “[luchar] a muerte” como magnificador.

desaforada”). Se usa para hacer comentarios sobre algo indignante, exasperante, ofensivo o injusto.

Este también tiene una versión en mandarín, con la misma connotación.

(23) *Héshàng chēng sǎn, wú fā wú tiān* 和尚撑伞——无发(法)无天

6. Conclusiones

En cantonés, existe una amplia cantidad de UF figurativas asociadas con el paraguas, la mayoría de las cuales son peculiares de dicha lengua. En algunos casos, los hablantes nativos de cantonés también aprovechan las UF de mandarín para enriquecer su habla. Por regla general, los cantoneses sustituyen el 伞 (*saan*) por el 遮 (*jē*) en las UF de vida cotidiana o de uso informal. En cambio, suelen adoptar las mismas UF del mandarín en las áreas científica, técnica y académica, teniendo una importancia secundaria el que den o no lugar a asociaciones negativas. Además, hemos observado que en algunos casos, una UF cantonesa puede tener otra versión en mandarín, con el mismo significado. Este fenómeno lingüístico muestra la similitud de mentalidad y concepciones a pesar de que los hablantes hacen uso de idiomas distintos, mostrando la integración cultural de diferentes regiones del país.

El análisis de las UF derivadas del paraguas deja al descubierto las huellas de dichos valores culturales, positivos o negativos; asimismo ayuda a una mejor comprensión y un mayor acercamiento al mundo cantonés. El presente estudio muestra la productividad de esta imagen cultural, revelando sus importantes características culturales idiosincrásicas. Por un lado, este culturema refleja los estereotipos, el *modus vivendi*, la mentalidad, la moral y las costumbres de los hablantes cantoneses. Y, por otro, en la medida en que, a pesar de que el paraguas es un culturema común en China, tiene la capacidad de generar diferentes asociaciones y valores en cantonés. Se trata por ello de un ejemplo óptimo para mostrar la diversidad cultural de China, a través de la relación entre la lengua y la cultura.

Además, debido a los *componentes de imagen* subyacentes, las UF del paraguas solo adquieren su sentido verdadero relacionándose con un determinado valor extralingüístico cultural. En este sentido, se trata de un buen ejemplo de *memoria cultural*.

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Phraseological units with إضافة (*ʿidāfah*) structure in Modern Standard Arabic

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Abstract

The basic and essential feature of phraseological units (PUs), along with their complex semantics, is their non-compositional structure. These two aspects of PUs are related in terms of both agreement and contradiction.

In this paper I intend to describe a significant group of PUs in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) with a structure known as إضافة (*ʿidāfah*), defined as ‘genitive construct, annexation structure’. Furthermore, I offer an analysis of how the structural features and characteristics of these PUs maintain their semantics and how they help us understand their meaning and use in discourse. In order to achieve this goal, special attention is paid to recently coined PUs with the same structure. I have selected two إضافة (*ʿidāfah*) expressions that are often used in Arabic online media discourse. The two expressions, with their abstract general denotations, prove able to accommodate a great variety of meanings used in different contexts.

Keywords

phraseological units, genitive construct, semantic productivity, idiomatic creativity

1. Introduction

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is “the modern descendant of Classical Arabic (CA), unchanged in the essentials of its syntax but very much changed, and still changing, in its vocabulary and phraseology. This unified, codified pan-Arab variety of Arabic is used for virtually all writing in the Arab world and nowadays, in its spoken form, also dominates the airwaves and the television channels of every Arab country” (Holes 2005: 5).

With very few exceptions, PUs in MSA do not show any grammatical or structural irregularities. The structural patterns used to create PUs are the same that existed in CA and still exist in MSA for creating free collocations; PUs make use of most of the available possibilities. Among the noun phrase structures the most common is the pattern of the genitive construct (GC), إضافة (*ʿidāfah*), with components from all possible classes of words such as nouns, adjectives, participles (active and passive) and verbal nouns.

The إضافة (*ʾiḍāfah*), variously translated as the ‘genitive construct’ or ‘annexation structure’, is one of the most productive, distinctive, and frequently occurring noun phrase-types in Arabic. It is used to indicate an entire range of meaningful relationships between entities, from possession (the teacher’s office) to identity (the city of Baghdad), to determination or quantification (all the teachers), to measurement (half a cup), to composition (a statue of gold), to contents (a cup of coffee), and even to activities (the arrival of the minister). Grammar books of Arabic language are more detailed and give up to fifteen different meanings of this syntactic structure (Cantarino 1975). Modern researchers further provide fine-grained semantic descriptions of GC (Hawwari et al. 2016: 3575-76). The meanings assigned to an إضافة (*ʾiḍāfah*) are “wide-ranging, and occasionally the categories are hard to delimit” (Versteegh 2006: II 297a). Beeston (1970: 46) calls this the “semantic polyvalency of the annexation structure”. The “essential logical notion behind the NP-internal ‘possessive’ construct is that of connection” (Ryding 2014: 122-3). The first term ‘governs’ the second in the genitive case and, as head of the construction, takes the case required by its syntactic function in the sentence. This term can neither have the definite article, nor nunation; meaning that it is unmarked for definiteness or is in ‘construct state.’ Thus, “the two terms are tied together in a close-knit structure. Other morphosyntactic restrictions apply as well” (Ibid.). The binding between these two nouns is so strong that they cannot be interrupted by any other word, except for a demonstrative pronoun modifying the second term. Any modifiers must follow the entire إضافة (*ʾiḍāfah*) structure (Ibid.).

The two terms can be modified by pronouns, adjectives, and participles. In addition, the construction may express a more complex relationship among items such as وصول ملكة الأردن (*wuṣūlu malikati l-ʾurduni*) – the arrival of the queen of Jordan.

This wide range of meanings that the grammatical pattern itself conveys, gives great possibilities for creating collocations with new intricate meanings. Many of these collocations become set phrases or PUs, thus expanding certain parts of the lexicon. The new polylexical units may demonstrate different degrees of semantic fixedness and figurativeness. Nevertheless, in most cases the phraseological meaning can be determined from the meaning of the constituents and the grammatical pattern.

The PUs with إضافة (*ʾiḍāfah*) structure can be divided into several groups according to the part of speech which is the first or the main component of the phrase. This division is closely related to the integral semantics of PUs. The number of the word-components can be different, but most PUs have two components. There are also patterns in which the إضافة (*ʾiḍāfah*) structure itself is one of the components.

The first and most numerous group consists of PUs which are “false” إضافة (*ʾiḍāfah*) phrases with an adjective as the first component and a noun as the second component. These PUs can accommodate either positive or negative meanings of characterizing human qualities or features of character. Whether this quality will be positive or negative depends on the semantics of the adjectival first component in the phrase. The second component, a noun, specifies the meaning, namely what this quality is. Very often the noun is a part of the human body, or something related to it.

Only a limited number of adjectives are used and there is clearly a tendency to use adjectives with antonymous meanings. Then the PUs also have antonymous meanings.

الظل \ الدم \ الروح \ ثقيل الروح (*thaqīlu l-rūḥi/l-dami/l-zilli*) – unpleasant, disagreeable (of a person)
(lit., heavy-spirited/with heavy blood/shadow)

الظل \ الدم \ الروح \ خفيف الروح (*khaḥifū l-rūḥi/l-dami/l-zilli*) – likable, nice, charming, amiable, cheerful (lit., with light [of weight] soul/blood/shadow)

The إضافة (*ʿidāfah*) phrases with an active/passive participle as the first component and a noun as the second component form the second group of PUs similar to those mentioned above.

The rest of the PUs with an إضافة (*ʿidāfah*) phrase structure have a homogeneous lexicogrammatical character of their word-components. These word-components are nouns which form “real” إضافة (*ʿidāfah*) phrases and determine the semantics of PUs and their function in discourse.

وقود الحرب (*waqūdu l-ḥarbi*) – cannon-fodder (lit., firewood/fuel for war)

على كف عفريت (*ʿalā kaffi ʿifrītin*) – in an unsure, volatile situation (lit., on the palm/in the hand of a goblin)

The meaning of this group of PUs varies from denoting objects or entities to indicating abstract denotata. Nevertheless, the great majority of them have their own specific connotations and expressiveness due to the metaphorical image of their inner form. Most of them are motivated. This type of phrase is the object of investigation in this paper.

2. Methodology

2.1. Data

The data of this study are taken from leading Arabic websites and online newspapers such as الجزيرة (*al-Jazīra*), العربية (*al-ʿArabiyya*), الأهرام (*al-ʿAhrām*), المصري اليوم (*al-Maṣrī l-yawm*) and others. In addition, several Arabic phraseological dictionaries were consulted.

Media Arabic is often used by researchers as the major source of data. Arabic news is a “written (and broadcast) prestige standard” and “widespread phenomenon, especially in multilingual, diglossic, and multi-dialectal societies” (Ryding 2005: 8). News covers many different topics and reflects Arab editorial and public opinion (Ibid: xix). In such kinds of discourse, metaphorical structures are expected, as well as, needed in order to communicate knowledge and experiences, and offer models for analyzing political, social, and cultural phenomena. According to Abdou (2012: 26) using newspaper Arabic as data provides the means to see the “process of idiom creation or re-creation in action.”

2.2. Method

A small corpus (ca. 50 000 words) of media texts was read and many expressions with إضافة (*ʿiḍāfah*) structure were identified. To select the ones with metaphorical meaning that could be considered fixed expressions or PUs the metaphor identification procedure (MIP) proposed by Pragglejaz Group (2007) was applied (see also Steen et al. 2010). Several phrases with the first component of the إضافة (*ʿiḍāfah*) being عصب (*ʿaṣabu*) (nerve; tendon; vein; artery; sinew) and ظل في ظل [(*fī*) *zilli*] (under the shade, shadow; shelter, protection, patronage) were chosen. The latter phrase is used only with the preposition في (*fī*) (in; at; on; within; about; because of; concerning; with regard or respect to). Without the preposition إضافة (*ʿiḍāfah*) with ظل (*zilli*) as a first component have other meanings, but such cases are not part of this study.

The selection of these two phrases is to some extent subjective. In my opinion their transparency that gives rise to creative elaborations and their deliberate employment in various contexts make them novel and creative, and good candidates for becoming lexicalized and eventually PUs (Urquidí 2015; Steen 2011).

2.3. عصب (*ʿaṣabu*)

First, I looked for expressions with عصب (*ʿaṣabu*) in an academic Arabic-English dictionary, then in Arabic phraseological dictionaries. H. Wehr (1994) does not list any expressions with this word. M. E. Sieny et al. (1996) do not list any expressions with عصب (*ʿaṣabu*) as a component. For the first time Dāwud (2003: 366-7) lists عصب (*ʿaṣabu*) as a first component of a fixed expression and provides the same explanation and example as in his later dictionary. Here he does not make any remarks as to whether the expression is old or new. In his Encyclopedic Dictionary Dāwud (2014 vol. 2: 1030b) writes: “عصب (*ʿaṣabu*) ... modern expression meaning the basis on which something is constructed or relies on.” Dāwud lists the word in ‘construct state’ indicating that it is always the first component of an إضافة (*ʿiḍāfah*). He gives only one example:

- (1) النفط عصب الصناعة والتكنولوجيا (*al-naftu ʿaṣabu l-ṣināʿati wa-l-tiknūlūjiya*)

Oil is the backbone (lit. nerve) of industry and technology.

A search in the above-mentioned Arabic sources for examples with *ʿaṣabu* as a first component yielded a great number of expressions.¹

¹ Unfortunately, it is difficult to list even an approximate number of cases since every occurrence should be checked manually to be sure it is the type of expression this paper is concerned with. Thus, the electronic newspaper *المصري اليوم Al-Maṣrī l-yawm* from the news section gave 773 occurrences. After a random check many of the cases were the targeted *ʿiḍāfah*-s but some were uses of عصب (*ʿaṣabu*) in its literal meaning and one a proper name. Google search produces millions of cases for all studied expressions, but again many of the occurrences are the literal use of the word. Moreover, there are many repetitions. Still the results are impressive. For example, for عصب الاقتصاد (*ʿaṣabu l-iqtisādī*) the number of cases were 6890000 (accessed 16.04.2022).

Examples from the corpus:

- (2) يشكل البريد الإلكتروني عصب الاتصالات على الإنترنت (yushakkilu l-barīdu l-iliktrūniyyu ʿaṣabu l-ittiṣālāti ʿalā l-intirniiti.)
E-mail is the backbone (lit. the nerve, vein, artery, tendon) of Internet communications.
- (3) والكفاءة والمقدرة عصب المحاماة (wa-kafāʿtu wa-l-maḡdarutu ʿaṣabu l-muḡāmāti)
and competence and ability are the backbone (lit. the nerve) of the legal profession
- (4) الشباب هم عصب الحياة (al-shabbābu hum ʿaṣabu l-ḡayāti.)
Young people are the backbone of life.
- (5) مرفأ بيروت عصب تجارة لبنان يتعافى من آثار الحرب (marfaʿu bayrūta ʿaṣabu tijārati lubnāna yatāʿāfā min ʾāthāri l-ḡarb.)
The port of Beirut, the nerve center of Lebanon’s trade, is recovering from the effects of the war.
- (6) الاقتصاد هو عصب الأمان والاستقرار في مصر (al-iqtisādu huwa ʿaṣabu l-ʾamāni wa-l-istiqrāri fī miṣr.)
The economy is the backbone of safety and stability in Egypt.
- (7) البحث العلمي عصب التنمية الاقتصادية والنهضة الصناعية (al-baḡthu l-ʿilmīyyu ʿaṣabu l-tanmiyyati l-iqtisādiyyati wa-l-naḡdati l-ṣināʿiyyati.)
Scientific research is the backbone of economic development and industrial revival.

In addition, there is a whole online news channel called “Assab International News Network” (asabnews.com) which utilizes the إضافة (ʾiḍāfah) pattern and the metaphoric meaning of عصب ʿaṣabu in a rather new and creative way. The headings are titled (here I give only the literal translation since it corresponds to what all news networks would have without the ‘nerve’ part): ‘nerve of the world’, ‘nerve of Egypt’, ‘nerve of art’, ‘nerve of the economy’, ‘nerve of miscellaneous (topics)’, ‘nerve of lifestyle’, ‘nerve of health’ and ‘nerve of sports.’ The aim of this rather unusual approach of employing deliberately novel unconventional metaphors is to attract the attention of the readers to central and important news topics in different fields. Even though عصب ʿaṣabu is employed in إضافة (ʾiḍāfah) phrases similar to many other phrases which can be considered PUs, it is not likely that the above-mentioned expressions will be lexicalized and become PUs. They seem too unusual. The examples show that native speakers acquainted with conventional, already lexicalized إضافة (ʾiḍāfah) PUs with عصب ʿaṣabu as first component intuitively understand the potentials of such combinations, even if certain restrictions must be observed.

2.4. *(fī ḡilli)*² في ظل

H. Wehr (1994) lists *في ظل* (*fī ḡilli* (with foll. genit) as: “under the protection or patronage of, under the auspices of.” M. E. Sieny et al. (1996: 99a) list three expressions with *في ظل* (*fī ḡilli*) as a first component and give meanings of “protection and care.” In his early phraseological dictionary *Dāwud* (2003) does not register any expression with *في ظل* (*fī ḡilli*) as a first component of إضافة (*ʿidāfah*). In his later dictionary *Dāwud* (2014 vol. 3: 1140b – 41a) he presents *في ظل* (*fī ḡilli*) as follows: “*في ظل* (*fī ḡilli*) ... modern expression with two meanings:

1. To express an event accompanying another event.

- (8) نحتاج إلى الوحدة في ظل الظروف الحالية أكثر من ذي قبل (*naḥtāju ʿilā l-waḥdati fī ḡilli l-ḡurūfi l-ḥālīyyati ʿakthara min dhī qablin.*)

We need unity under (lit. the shade of) the current circumstances more than before.

2. To express protection and care.

- (9) في ظل أسرة متماسكة ينشأ الأطفال أسوياء (*fī ḡilli ʿusratin mutamāsikatin yanshaʿu l-ʿatfālu ʿaswiwāʿa*)

In (lit. the shade of) a close-knit family, children grow up normally.

The author explains that ‘shade’ is used metaphorically in (8) as if the first event is like a tree casting a shade on the second event. In (9) ‘shade’ is used to express the care and protection a tree’s shade offers from the sun.

Dāwud lists the word in ‘construct state’ indicating that it is always the first component of an إضافة (*ʿidāfah*) phrase. The preposition is a compulsory part of these PUs.

Examples from the corpus:

- (10) في ظل حالة الطوارئ لمواجهة فيروس كورونا (*fī ḡilli ḥālāti l-ṭawāriʿi li-muwājahati fīrūsa kūrūnā*)

in the (lit. shade of) state of emergency of fighting the Coronavirus

- (11) في ظل موجة الأمطار والثلوج (*fī ḡilli mawjati l-ʿamṭāri wa-l-thulūji*)

under the wave (lit. under the shade) of rain and snow

- (12) في ظل حالة عدم اليقين (*fī ḡilli ḥālāti ʿadami l-yaqīni*)

in the midst (lit. under the shade) of political uncertainty

- (13) في ظل الاضطرابات العالمية (*fī ḡilli l-iḍṭirābāti l-ʿālamīyyati*)

in the light (lit. under the shade) of global turmoil

² As with *عصب* *ʿaṣabu* to estimate the frequency is difficult. For exp. في ظل حالة الطوارئ (*fī ḡilli ḥālāti l-ṭawāriʿi*) the number of cases were 3860000 (accessed 18.04.2022).

- (14) في ظل تنامي عدد السكان والحاجة لمشروعات زراعية ضخمة
(fī ḡilli tanāmī ʿadadi l-sukkāni wa-l-hājati li-mašrūʿātīn zirāʿiyyatin ḡakhmatīn)

in light of/considering (lit. under the shade of) the growing population and the need for large agricultural projects

3. Findings and Discussion

The examples from (1) to (7) are only a small sample of similar expressions where *عصب* *ʿaṣabu* is the first component of إضافة (*ʿiḍāfah*). The syntactic pattern's general meaning of belonging and connection, and the literal meaning of the second constituents, make the expressions semantically transparent and the figurative meaning they have, easy to infer. These PUs are clearly motivated if we define motivation as a “possibility of an interpretation of the mental image in a way that makes sense of the use of a given word or word combination in the meaning conventionally ascribed to it” (Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen 2005: 81).³ A link between the lexical forms of the expressions in their literal reading and the actual figurative (idiomatic) meanings is undoubtedly present. This link is metaphoric in nature based on similarity between *عصب* *ʿaṣabu* – lit. nerve, tendon, as a basic, crucial and very important internal organ in humans (or any living creature) and the new meaning of ‘backbone, basis’ of something bigger, often abstract and more or less systematically organized in resemblance to the human body. As the examples show this can be industry, investment, trade, wealth, life, fighting, humanitarian work, activity, communication, development, nation, security etc. The body-part term contributes significantly to the motivation of the expression because the reference is not to the body part itself but to the functions it performs.⁴ Hence, the image created by the systematic relation between literal and actual figurative readings of the lexical structure of the expression has to be preserved if any new PUs are to be coined. This image is also a source of different connotations that arise in any specific PU. They may include, besides importance, strength, development, forward/upward movement, substance, value.

In specific contexts, speakers and writers interpret composite (metaphorical) expressions and see the possibility of a constituent to be replaced with another different notion. The numerous examples with *عصب* (*ʿaṣabu*) demonstrate the lexical flexibility of the second component, i.e., substituting words in the PU creates “new idiomatic meanings” (McGlone et al. 1994: 169). They underline that “[T]his is not simply an example of lexical flexibility; it is an example of semantic productivity” (1994: 170). The new PUs can be seen as elaborations and developments of the potential embedded in the meaning of the first component. On the other hand, “the choice of particular lexical items for particular idiomatic meanings” is not arbitrary but “governed by an underlying conceptual metaphor” (McGlone et al. 1994: 181).

Our bodies influence the ways we think and speak (Gibbs 2006: 1). The human body being composed of both external body parts and internal body organs is a source of metaphors

³ Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005: 90) term this kind of motivation ‘*iconic*.’

⁴ In Medieval medicine nerve and tendon were often confused and ‘nerve’ still has connotations of support or basic structure of human body. (nerve | Etymology, origin and meaning of nerve by etymonline)

created as a reference for the external world. Body parts are also used as a system of symbols for this outside world. Modern society, new environments and situations require new attitudes and new conceptualizations. Thus, the presented series of PUs are grouped into a metaphoric model reflecting an abstract correspondence between a source domain (the literal meaning of the phrase and specifically the meaning of *عصب* (*aṣabu*) and the target domain represented by the actual figurative (idiomatic) meaning of the PUs. See (1), (6) and (7) above. In addition, the function of nerves is to receive and send signals to the brain and this active role is also anticipated in the idiomatic meaning of some of the PUs. See (2) and (4). It is possible to formulate the cognitive metaphor as ‘Important entities are organisms.’ It should be added that it includes the verticality schema as well, which “emerges from our tendency to employ an UP-DOWN orientation in picking out meaningful structures of our experience” (Škara 2004: 186b).

It has to be noted that examples (5) and (6) have a more complex syntactic structure because the first component *عصب* (*aṣabu*) has two dependent coordinated nouns connected with *و* ‘*wa*’ – and. This points both to exploiting the possibilities of the syntactic pattern and extended re-creation of the inner image of the PU.

The communicative function of most of these PUs appears to be a qualifier, whether as an attribute in a collocation or as a predicate in a nominal clause. This is the way they achieve their communicative purpose understood as “a mechanism for the transmission of knowledge in specific conditions of social interaction” (Dobrovolskij & Baranov 1996: 410).

The series of PUs with *في ظل* (*fī ḡilli*) are similar in many respects to the PUs with *عصب* (*aṣabu*) discussed above. PUs with *في ظل* (*fī ḡilli*) are more culture-dependent even though users might not always be aware of this fact. ‘Shade’ is an important and positive notion in Arabic considering the hot desert climate. Modern use often ‘ignores’ the positive connotations since media texts are more concerned to report what is happening and under what circumstances. Since these phrases are semantically transparent and the figurative meaning is easy to deduce, they can be used as a source for creative or novel metaphors employed in various contexts. A metaphoric link between the literal reading of the expressions and the actual figurative (idiomatic) meanings is clearly present. This link is based on an imagined spatial range of a tree shade and a concrete or abstract entity, or event in real life. These PUs introduce figuratively conditions and contexts of different events, so as to explain consequences or outcomes. As shown by the examples the syntactic structure is often more complex, *في ظل* (*fī ḡilli*) may govern more than one noun. The cognitive metaphor underlying these PUs can be ‘shade is a framework’. Expressions with *في ظل* (*fī ḡilli*) as a first component of *إضافة* (*ʾiḍāfaḥ*) construct are highly conventionalized transparent metaphors and might be considered one of the many media clichés.

4. Conclusions

New figurative expressions are created in discourse where they convey new ideas and express opinions or are made to fill gaps in the lexicon. On the other hand, in order to continue

their recurrent employment in context, “propagation and eventual lexicalization of new meanings in the language system”, these creative figurative expressions “must fulfill structural and pragmatic requirements” (Urquidi 2015: 235). From the examined cases it is evident that إضافة (*ʿidāfah*) phrases with first component عصب (*ʿaṣabu*) and في ظل (*fī ḡilli*) can be “manipulated” to respond to specific communicative needs. They are well-functioning structures able to present (new) knowledge and users’ experience in a relevant and coherent way.

The presented PUs prove Langlotz’s (2006: 192) idea that “[I]diomatic creativity thus amounts to a form of figurative-language competence. It involves the ability to manipulate a linguistically pre-coded, figurative cognitive micro-model to adapt it to the communicative purposes of a specific usage-event. Systematic creative adaptations are supported and restricted by the specific semantic and formal characteristics of this micro-model.”

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From head to hoof

A classification of Croatian somatic idioms

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Abstract

The two most represented groups of idioms in Croatian phraseology are somatic and animalistic idioms. The collective human experience is weaved into their creation and motivation, and they reflect the relationship of people towards themselves – their body, as well as their relationship to the environment – other living beings.

In this paper the new three part division of somatic idioms is represented: 1. anthroposomatisms, 2. zoosomatisms and 3. phytosomatisms and their further classification. This paper examines the interplay of these groups of idioms since the collected corpus of idioms shows different possibilities of their classification.

Keywords

somatic idioms, anthroposomatism, zoosomatism, phytomatism, Croatian

1. Introduction

The interest of the global scientific community in cultural animal studies is followed by a rising interest in zoonym idioms, along with somatic idioms that are confirmed to be the most numerous in the Croatian phraseological fund.

An intensified study of zoonyms reflects the bond between humans and the animal world – animals living in habitats close to us, as well as distant, foreign, and dangerous animals. The culture of storytelling and reading, especially fables, from the earliest age onward undoubtedly forms a relationship between the human and animal world.

The study of animal phraseology in Croatia resulted, as a crowning achievement, in the *Croatian Dictionary of Animalistic Idioms*, the first thematic dictionary published in 2017 containing 1454 idioms that have animal terms and animal or human body part terms as their components, as well as terms for different key objects and places in the animal world. The *Croatian Dictionary of Animalistic Idioms* differs from similar phraseological dictionaries

of this kind because, among other things, it does not only include zoonyms, e.g., the bilingual Czech-Polish and Polish-Czech dictionary with a zoonym component (E. Mrhačová, R. Ponczová (2003) *Zvířata v české a polské frazeologii a idiomatice. Česko-polský a polsko-český slovník*. Ostrava: Filozofická fakulta Ostravské univerzity a nakladatelství Tilia) and the Russian ideographic idiom dictionary with animal terms by T. V. Kozlova (Т. В. Козлова (2001) *Идеографический словарь русских фразеологизмов с названиями животных*. Москва: Издательство «Дело и Сервис»).

2. Classification of idioms with zoonym component

Zoonym idioms are metaphorical multi-word expressions that have an animal term or an adjectival derivative in their composition (**vjeran kao pas** (lit. loyal as a dog) ‘very loyal’, **žedan kao deva** (lit. thirsty as a camel) ‘very thirsty’; **imati lavlje srce** (lit. to have a lion’s heart) ‘to be brave’). Simile structure is present in a significant number of such idioms. They are motivated by real animal characteristics (**labudi vrat** (lit. swan’s neck) ‘a long and elegant woman’s neck’, **brz kao zec** (lit. fast as a rabbit) ‘very fast’), lifestyle and habits (**ustati/ustajati se (dignuti se/dizati se) s pijetlovima** (lit. to get up¹ (to rise) with the roosters) ‘to wake up early’), behavior (**gurnuti/gurati (zabiti/zabijati i sl.) glavu u pijesak <kao noj>** (lit. to bury (to shove etc.) the head in the sand <like an ostrich>) ‘to purposefully ignore the truth, to close one’s eyes when confronted by facts’) or by attributed characteristics (**ljubomorán kao pas** (lit. jealous as a dog) ‘very jealous’).

Zoonym idioms are part of the animalistic phraseological fund, along with idioms composed with a body part term, animal body parts (**pasti (dopasti) u kandže koga, čega (komu, čemu)** (lit. to fall into *sb’s, sth’s* claws) ‘to fall under sb’s power, to become sb’s prey (victim), to lose one’s freedom’, **imati konjske zube** (lit. to have horse teeth) ‘to have large and prominent teeth’), but also human body parts (**čuvati (hraniti, nositi i sl.) zmiju na prsima (na srcu, u njedrima)** (lit. to keep (feed, carry etc.) a snake on the chest (heart, in the bosom)) ‘to show care towards a person who is ungrateful in return’), as well as idiomatic structures whose components are related to the animal world (**držati na kratkoj lajni koga** (lit. to keep *sb* on a short *leash*) ‘to keep *sb, sth* in blind obedience, to have *sb, sth* under control’; **pustiti/puštati mozak na pašu** (lit. let one’s brain to the *pasture*) ‘to not think about anything’, **vrvi/vrije kao u mravinjaku <gdje>** (lit. it is bustling like in an *anthill* <*where*>) ‘it is crowded and loud’ and so forth (see RHAF 2017).

Zoonym idioms with a somatic component, human or animal, stand out among animal idioms. Therefore, with regard to their abundance we conclude that zoonym idioms, when we look at the big picture, fall into the category of somatic idioms. Somatic idioms are phraseological units that contain at least one body part term on the formal plane, and such idioms are the largest group of the language fund. Definitions offered by phraseologists do

¹ Croatian has aspect marked on verbs by means of prefixes or suffixes. Such aspectual alternations are provided in Croatian examples in the form Verb.Perf/Verb.Imperf. For the sake of brevity, literal English translations will contain only one verb translation per aspectual pair, which can be read as, for example, **ustati/ustajati** ‘to get up/to be getting up’.

not always and completely coincide with one another because some phraseologists consider somatic idioms to be idioms with a human body part component (Čermák 1998: 112), while others include idioms with an animal body part component (Krohn 1994: 20; Földes 1985: 21; Veljanovska 2014). However, we believe that the definition of somatic idioms should cover idioms with both human and animal body parts (e.g., **izgubiti/gubiti glavu** (lit. lose one's head) 'to be confused, to not be able to manage something', **dobiti nogu** (lit. to get the leg) '1. to be broken up with /after a romantic relationship/, 2. to get fired', **okititi se/kititi se tuđim perjem** (lit. to adorn oneself with somebody else's feathers) 'to take credit for somebody else's ideas (actions), to plagiarize', **stati na rep komu, čemu** (lit. stand on the tail of *sb, sth*) 'to prevent sb, sth from an action, to outsmart sb'), as well as those idioms which are connected to human and animal physicality (e.g., **imati dvije lijeve <ruke>** (lit. to have two left <hands>) 'to perform a task clumsily, to be clumsy (unskilled) in a task /performed manually/', **dignuti sve četiri <noge> u zrak** (lit. to raise all four <legs> in the air) 'to be idle, to lounge around').² On the semantic plane these are idioms that indicate emotional and mental abilities of people, states in which they are found regardless of whether these states are the result of their own or other people's actions, as well as models of behavior and interpersonal relationships. Regarding novel phraseological-theoretical and phraseographic insights, the term **somatic idiom** can be considered as a hyperonymic term to three groups of idioms with somatic components. These idioms are: 1. anthroposomatisms – terms for at least one human body part³, 2. zoosomatisms – terms for at least one animal body part and 3. amphisomatisms – a common term for at least one human and animal body part.

Besides zoonym idioms, whose definition based on phraseological research (Vidović Bolt 2011; Barčot 2017) and phraseographic practice (Vidović Bolt, Barčot, Fink-Arsovski, Kovačević, Pintarić, Vasung 2017) was presented at the beginning of the paper, the study of somatisms in Croatian phraseology (Kovačević 2012) showed that there are 72 somatisms in a representative corpus of around 800 idioms and that the most numerous idioms are idioms with components *glava* 'head', *ruka* 'hand', *oko* 'eye' and *noga* 'leg'. These results lead us to conclude that external anthroposomatisms, those visible to the naked eye, are more commonly represented than body parts without a clear image, i.e., internal body parts (e.g., *jetra* 'liver', *pluća* 'lungs', *bubrezi* 'kidneys', *crijeva* 'intestines'). The only exception is *srce* 'heart' because of its traditional symbolic significance and imageability (Hrnjak 2005: 20; Kovačević 2012: 120, Vidović Bolt 2016).

3. Classification of idioms with zoonym somatic component

The minimal criterion for identifying a somatic idiom is the presence of one body part component (external or internal). Somatic idioms with anthroposomatisms can be divided

² Also, some authors exclude internal body parts from the group of somatic idioms, i.e., parts not visible on a living human body, while others include idioms with components *duša* 'soul' or *um* 'mind'.

³ A healthy human body is taken into consideration. Therefore, idioms with components such as *grba* 'hump', *mrena* 'cataract' are excluded.

into two basic formal groups: 1. idioms with only one anthroposomatism and 2. idioms with two anthroposomatisms.

Idioms with one anthroposomatism are mostly verbal idioms with an image component (i.e., phraseme background image) indicating that they refer to human body and the anthroposomatism as a noun component, e.g., **sijeda (bijela) brada** (lit. grey (white) beard) ‘a wise beard’, **pljunuti u dlanove** (lit. to spit in the palms) ‘to prepare for hard work’, **biti oštra jezika** (lit. to be of sharp tongue) ‘to be unpleasant towards your interlocutor’, **koljena klecaju (dršću) komu** (lit. *sb*’s knees are shaking) ‘*sb* is very afraid’, **imati debelu (tvrdu) kožu** (lit. to have thick (hard) skin) ‘to be insusceptible to insults’, **plave krvi** (lit. blue blood) ‘of noble (aristocratic) birth’, **ustati/ustajati na lijevu nogu** (lit. to get up on the left foot) ‘to be in a bad mood since morning without reason’, **prste <k> sebi <!>** (lit. fingers to yourself <!>) ‘don’t touch <!>, leave it <!>’, **desna ruka čija (komu)** (lit. *sb*’s right hand (*to sb*)) ‘<main> assistant to somebody, *sb*’s support’, **začepiti (zavezati) usta komu** (lit. to shut (tie up) *sb*’s mouth) ‘to silence *sb*, to interrupt *sb*’, **uzeti/uzimati na zub koga** (lit. to take *sb* on the tooth) ‘to be angry at *sb*, to start harassing *sb*’. Some idioms contain idiomatic terms, e.g., **biti (postati) slijepo crijevo čega** (lit. to be (become) an appendix (lit. blind intestine) *of sth*) ‘to be (become) a secluded (neglected) place’. In idioms with more noun components the anthroposomatism can be the primary component (e.g., **udariti/udarati šakom po stolu** (lit. to hit the fist on the table) ‘to oppose *sb* decisively’, **biti do grla u dugovima** (lit. to be in debt up to the throat) ‘to be in debt (over-indebted)’ or secondary component (e.g., **uhvatiti boga za bradu** (lit. to catch god by the beard) ‘to do something thought to be unrealistic’, **visi mač nad glavom komu** (lit. a sword is hanging over the head *of sb*) ‘great danger is threatening *sb*’). The terms primary and secondary components refer to the order of noun components in an idiom. In Croatian phraseological dictionaries such idioms are indexed under the primary noun component, while in specialized somatic dictionaries their main component entry is always the somatism (cf. Kovačević 2012). Also, some idioms in which the somatism is the secondary noun component can syntactically alternate with idioms in which the somatism is the only somatic component (**bogu iza leđa** (lit. god._{Dative} behind back) ‘very far away, in a remote place’, **bogu za leđima – iza božjih leđa – za božjim leđima** ‘god._{Dative} behind back. Instrumental – behind god’s._{Genitive} back._{Genitive} – behind god’s._{Instrumental} back._{Instrumental}’), while in some cases the somatism is the facultative part of the idiom bearing the location information, and its omission does not change the meaning of the idiom (e.g., **posuti se/posipati se pepelom <po glavi>** (lit. to spill ashes <on the head>) ‘to repent, to feel guilty because of a mistake’, **baciti/bacati rukavicu <u lice> komu** (lit. to throw a glove to *sb* <in the face>) ‘to challenge *sb* directly’. In idioms **imati dvije lijeve <noge>** (lit. to have two left <legs>) and **imati dvije lijeve <ruke>** (lit. to have two left <hands>) the omission of the somatic component leads to homonymy of the two expressions, and the meaning can be resolved only through context. Although both idioms describe a clumsy person, the idiom **imati dvije lijeve <ruke>** (lit. to have two left <hands>) refers to a person that is clumsy or unskilled in a task performed by hands and the idiom **imati dvije lijeve <noge>** (lit. to have two left <legs>) is restricted in use to describe a person who is a clumsy dancer, i.e., a person with bad coordination.

More recently both idioms are used in the domain of sport. The adjectival component plays an important part in the formation of the meaning of these two idioms. Whereas in somatic phraseology the right hand indicates dexterity, something that is good and useful, the left hand indicates clumsiness, something that is negative and bad (cf. Kovačević 2012).

In idioms with two somatisms one is in the primary and the other in the secondary position, regardless of whether the same somatism is duplicated (e.g., **dok udariš (lupiš) dlanom o dlan** (lit. when you hit (strike) palm against palm) ‘quickly, in no time’, **s koljena na koljeno** (lit. from knee to knee) ‘from generation to generation’, **oči u oči** (lit. eye to eye) ‘facing each other’) or there are two different somatisms (**imati mozga u glavi** (lit. to have brain in one’s head) ‘to be smart’, **od glave do pete** (lit. from head to heel) ‘completely, in its entirety, with all the details’ **udarila je (jurnula) je krv u glavu komu**⁴ (lit. blood hit (rushed) to sb’s head) ‘sb was upset’). Some lexical variation between one somatism and its synonym components is possible without the change in meaning or image component (**dati nogom u dupe (guzicu, stražnjicu) komu** (lit. to give the foot to the ass (bottom, behind) to sb) ‘to chase sb away, to get rid of sb in a bad manner’).

Some idioms have two equally important somatisms as components and they are positioned equally within the independent link, i.e., they are both primary and equally relevant (e.g., **<sama> kost i koža** (lit. <all> skin and bones) ‘very skinny’, **glavom i bradom** (lit. head_{.Instrumental} and beard_{.Instrumental}) ‘personally, himself/herself’, **od krvi i mesa** (lit. from blood and flesh) ‘ordinary, with all human traits (weaknesses)’, **biti kao prst i nokat** **<s kim>** (lit. to be like finger and nail **<with sb>**) ‘to be in friendship (a close relationship) **<with sb>**’, **bez glave i repa je što** (lit. *sth* is without head and tail) ‘sth is inconsistent, there is no order in sth’). Anthroposomatisms in Croatian idioms can be secondary because of the nature of the link with the first somatism or simply because they are facultative (**ledi se (sledila se) krv <u žilama> komu** (lit. blood is freezing (froze) **<in the veins> of sb)** ‘sb is in great fear’, **može se na prste <jedne ruke> izbrojiti (prebrojiti i sl.) koga, što** (lit. *sb, sth* can be counted on fingers **<of one hand>**) ‘sb is in small numbers, there is few of sth’). A somatic idiom with a primary facultative component is **ići <ruku> pod ruku** **<s kim, s čim>** (lit. go **<hand>** in hand **<with sb, sth>**) ‘to be connected, to go well with sb, sth’.

Unlike the formal approach to somatic components that describes idioms as belonging to anthroposomatic, zoosomatic or amphisomatic groups, a focus on the image component in which we see man and his/her body, or an animal and its body, is crucial in determining idiom group membership. Therefore, such idioms require the presence of a human or animal subject. The image is clearer with idioms that have a clear distribution of components because some exclusively refer to humans (e.g., *guzica* ‘ass’, *stražnjica* ‘behind’, *dlan* ‘palm’, *brada* ‘beard’, *koljeno* ‘knee’, *kosa* ‘hair’, *lakat* ‘elbow’, *šaka* ‘fist’, *palac* ‘thumb’, *peta* ‘heel’, *prst* ‘finger’, *rame* ‘shoulder’, *usna* ‘lip’) and some refer to animals (e.g., *kljun* ‘beak’, *kopito*

⁴ Idioms with abstract concepts related to the inner life of man (*duša* ‘soul’, *um* ‘mind’) and idioms with bodily secretions (*znoj* ‘sweat’, *suza* ‘tear’) were not included in the corpus for this study. However, idioms with the somatic component *krv* ‘blood’ were included because of the function blood serves in a living human body.

‘hoof’, *krilo* ‘wing’, *pandža* ‘claw’, *papak* ‘hoof’, *perje* ‘feathers’, *pero* ‘feather’, *pipak* ‘tentacle’, *ralje* ‘jaws’, *rep* ‘tail’, *rog* ‘horn’, *šapa* ‘paw’, *šija* ‘nape of the neck’, *škрге* ‘gills’, *vime* ‘udder’). Although somatisms *faca* ‘face’ and *dupe* ‘ass’ are restricted to humans, they occur in two idioms which unify zoonym and anthroposomatic components: an idiom with a nominal categorial meaning, **majmunška faca**: (lit. monkey face) ‘1. a person with an ugly face; 2. a facial expression which indicates limited intellectual abilities’ and an idiom with an adverbial categorial meaning, **kad vuku dupe zaraste** (lit. when the ass of the wolf closes shut) ‘never’.

A common ground for zoonym (animalistic) and somatic phraseology are idioms that have a zoonym in combination with an anthroposomatism on the formal plane, e.g., **imati mušice (muhe, bube, bubice) <u glavī>** (lit. to have midges (flies, bugs, beetles) <in the head>) ‘to be stubborn’, **imati crve u guzici (stražnjici)** (lit. to have worms in the ass (behind)) ‘to be restless, to not be able to stay in one place’, **pojela je (popapala je) maca jezik komu** (lit. cat ate *sb*’s tongue) ‘1. *sb* is persistently silent /usually a child/; 2. *sb* is refraining from commentary’, **gladiti perom po stražnjici koga** (lit. to stroke *sb* with a feather on the behind) ‘to pamper (please) *sb* too much’. One group that stands out are idioms with a zoonym and an animal body part present, which is an amphisomatism on the formal plane: **držati vuka za uši** (lit. to hold the wolf by the ears) ‘to put oneself in danger’, **stati zmiji na vrat** (lit. to stand on the neck of a snake) ‘to remove danger, to get out of trouble’; **pačjega mozga** (lit. duck’s brain) ‘intellectually limited’, **oko sokolovo** (lit. eye of the hawk) ‘1. good eyesight; 2. a person who sees well and notices the slightest details’.⁵

In some idioms there is a body part term, which is an amphisomatism on the formal plane, alongside a zoonym – **ptice su mozak (pamet) ispile (popile) komu** (lit. the birds have drunk (drank up) the brain (the smarts) of *sb*) ‘*sb* has gone mad, has poor judgement’.

Common features can be seen in parallel idioms of two somatic subsystems (zoosomatic and anthroposomatic), e.g., **baciti (ubaciti) u usta** što (lit. throw *sth* in(to) the mouth) and **baciti (ubaciti) u kljun** što (lit. throw *sth* in(to) the beak) ‘to eat something small in a hurry’. The verbal idiom **baciti (ubaciti) u usta** što describes a person who ate a small meal in a hurry. The anthroposomatic component *usta* ‘mouth’ can vary lexically with the zoosomatic component *kljun* ‘beak’ – **baciti (ubaciti) u kljun** što. This jargon marked idiom emphasizes the small quantity of food with the noun *kljun* ‘beak’ and the small and quick bites while consuming the food since the idiom is motivated by the image of the size of the bird and the quantity of food it is consuming (e.g., *jesti kao ptica* (lit. eat like a bird), *jesti kao ptičica* (lit. eat like a birdie), *jesti kao vrabac* (lit. eat like a sparrow) (usp. Fink 2002: 54, Kovačević 2012: 202)).

These examples are part of the animalistic phraseological fund with a noticeable number of phraseological units without a zoonym component, but with a zoosomatic one: **disati na škrge** (lit. to breathe on the gills) ‘1. breathe with difficulty, 2. have a difficult life, barely surviving’, **dobiti/dobivati krila** (lit. to get wings) ‘1. to feel zestful; to be delighted <by

⁵ Based on the classification of the authors of the *Croatian dictionary of animalistic idioms*, a zoonym component can be a zoonym adjectival derivative.

sth>; 2. to become conceited; 3. to gather courage <for sth>', **držati (imati) u <svojim> šapama koga, što** (lit. to hold (have) *sb, sth* in <one's> paws) 'to have power over sb, sth, to manipulate sb, sth'.

Idioms with a formal amphisomatism, which can belong to the human and animal world, testify to the importance of the image component. For example, in the idiom **veži (objesi i sl.) mačku o (za, na) rep što** (lit. tie (hang etc.) *sth* around (by, on) the tail of the cat) 'it is worthless, it is all for nothing', there is a somatic component that is perceived as a zoosomatism. In idioms **staviti/stavljati glavu lavu u ralje** (lit. to put the head in the jaws of a lion) 'to enter into great danger, to consciously put yourself at risk', **dati/davati nogama (petama) krila** 'to give the legs (heels) wings; to run away at great speed' – one part refers to an animal body part (*ralje* 'jaws', *krila* 'wings') and the other refers to a human body part (*glava* 'head', *noga* 'leg').

The image component is essential in idioms without a zoonym component because it clarifies the motivation and meaning and signalizes which animal (or several animals) the idiom is referring to. Even the verbal component itself can be essential: **busati se u (o) prsa** (lit. to hit oneself in (on) the chest) 'to brag excessively about your merits, to show off', **skinuti staru kožu** (lit. to take off old skin) 'to change, become a different person', **dignuti se/dizati se (stati, postaviti se i sl.) na stražnje (zadnje) noge** (lit. to rise up (stand, place oneself etc.) on rear/hind legs) 'to protest against sth', **dočekati se/dočekivati se na sve četiri <noge>** (lit. to land on all four <legs>) 'to successfully get out of an awkward situation', **držati glavu u pijesku** (lit. to keep the head in the sand) 'to purposefully ignore the truth, to close the eyes when in front of facts', **iskesiti/kesiti zube** (lit. to bare the teeth) '1. to laugh/smile mockingly; 2. to get/be angry', **mogao bi tko držati u zubima koga** (lit. *sb* could keep *sb* between the teeth) 'sb is by far bigger and stronger'.

4. Instead of conclusion

The tripartite typology of somatic idioms along with the basic and often crucial relevance of the image component of phraseological units has opened up avenues for new investigations and expansions of extant research results of the somatic phraseological fund in Croatian. At the same time, another group of somatisms became prominent – phytosomatisms – terms for plant "body parts", as evidenced by many idioms with a phytosomatic component in the Croatian phraseological fund, e.g., **u cvijetu mladosti** (lit. in the flower/blossom of youth) 'in the best period of youth', **naše gore list** (lit. the leaf of our hill) 'our compatriot (countryman)', **pasti na niske grane** (lit. to fall on low branches) 'to become poor, to decline materially or morally', **presjeći (sasjeći, zatrti i sl.) u korijenu što** (lit. to cut (chop down, extinguish etc.) *sth* in the root) 'to destroy sth, to prevent sth in its inception', **drhtati (tresti se) kao list <na vjetru>** (lit. to shiver (shake) like a leaf in the wind) 'to shiver with cold (excitement, fear)', **smokvin list** (lit. fig's leaf) 'to cover (mask) negative occurrences', **mlad kao pupoljak** (lit. young as a bud) 'very young', **trn u oku (peti) komu** (lit. a thorn in *sb*'s eye (heel)) 'a great nuisance to sb, that which is repelling to sb'.

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Tabuisierung als Quelle von phraseologischem Wandel

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Abstract

Language taboos often trigger the emergence of phraseological units. Metaphoric expressions primarily circumvent the taboos of fear, delicacy or propriety as in the euphemistic expressions related to death, sexuality, drunkenness, etc. (e.g. *close one's eyes forever; sleep with somebody, look at the bottom of the glass, take one's drops*, etc.). However, tabooization does not only happen via metaphoric euphemisms. Elliptic expressions may also be used euphemistically (e.g. Ger. *oben ohne*, Hung. *Nyald ki!* 'lick it', *Kapsz egyet!* 'you'll get one', etc.). Tabooization may accompany both primary and secondary phraseologizations. In the latter case, new expressions arise from the modifications of already existing phraseologisms, including the tabooizing elements (cf. e.g. Hung. *Ki kell mennem a WC-re* 'I need to go to the toilet' → *Ki kell mennem*) or replacing certain components with acceptable ones (cf. e.g. *knee deep in shit* → *knee deep in trouble*).

Keywords

historical phraseology, phraseologization, language taboos, language change

1. Einleitung

Historische Aspekte der Phraseologie sind relativ wenig erforscht. Die Ursachen dafür rühren von mehreren Seiten her: die historische Sprachwissenschaft hat den phonologischen und semantischen Wandel der Lexeme ziemlich gründlich erforscht, aber kaum Interesse für den Wandel von phraseologischen Wendungen gezeigt. Es wurde höchstens nach dem metaphorischen bzw. metonymischen Hintergrund dieser Wendungen geforscht, meistens jedoch nur von Folkloristen und Kulturhistorikern. Aber auch die – im 20. Jahrhundert wesentlich erstarkte – Phraseologie zeigte wenig Interesse an der Beschreibung des historischen Wandels von Phrasemen. So sind in der Forschung in den letzten Jahrzehnten Stimmen lauter geworden, die sich eine verstärkte Zuwendung zu sprachhistorischen Fragen der Phraseologie gewünscht haben (vgl. z. B. Burger 1977: 1–24; Hadrovics 1995: 15; Burger – Linke 1998: 743–755; Mokienko 2002: 231–232; Filatkina 2007: 224; Burger 2012: 1–20). In den

letzten Jahren habe ich meine Forschungen auf diese Aspekte fokussiert und die Ergebnisse in einer längeren Monographie zusammengefasst (Forgács 2021). Ein großer Teil meines Buches beschäftigt sich mit historischen Fragen der Phraseologisierung. In diesem Vortrag möchte ich von den Ergebnissen meiner Forschungen einen Teilaspekt vorstellen: die Rolle der Sprachtabus bzw. der Tabuisierung in der Entstehung und beim Wandel von phraseologischen Einheiten. Das Phänomen werde ich mit Beispielen aus dem Deutschen und dem Ungarischen veranschaulichen.

2. Tabuisierung als treibende Kraft bei der Entstehung metaphorischer und metonymischer Phrasemen

Es ist bekannt, dass es Themenbereiche bzw. semantische Felder gibt, die von den Sprachteilhabern am liebsten mit Phrasemen ausgedrückt werden. Solche sind z. B. Dummheit, Faulheit, Müßiggang, sinnlose Handlungen, Betrug, Täuschung von anderen, Trunkenheit, Tod, körperliche Fehler usw. (vgl. auch Mokienko 2002: 236). Dabei spielt neben dem Streben nach einer expressiveren Ausdrucksform meistens der **tabuvermeidende Euphemismus** die größte Rolle.

Aus diesem Grund kann man in den phraseologischen Subsystemen von Sprachen oft eine große Anzahl synonymmer Phraseme finden. Laut Dobrovoľski (1988: 47) ist die Synonymie in den phraseologischen Systemen sogar stärker vertreten als in den einfachen lexikalischen Systemen. Daraus folgt, dass man in Sprachen manchmal ganze Reihen von praktisch gleichwertigen phraseologischen Synonymen findet, während absolute Synonymie bei einfachen Lexemen äußerst selten ist (vgl. auch Černyševa 1980: 74 ff.).

Sehen wir einige Beispiele vom Themenbereich 'Tod'. Dieses hat schon eine Reihe von Synonymen in Form von Lexemen (z. B. *abscheiden, krepieren, ableben, verbleichen, abfahren, abschnappen, abtanzen, entschlafen, entschlummern, heimgehen, hinscheiden, hinübergehen, hinüberschlummern* usw.), aber die Synonymie ist bei den phraseologischen Verbindungen noch umfassender, z. B.

- (1) *ans andere Ufer gehen*
aus dem Leben abberufen werden
aus der Welt gehen/scheiden
bei Petrus anklopfen
den Abflug machen
den Arsch zukneifen
den großen Abgang machen
den letzten Schnaufer tun
den Weg allen Fleisches gehen
die letzte Reise antreten
die Seele aushauchen
die Seite wechseln
einen Flachmann bauen

in das Reich des Todes eingehen
in den ewigen Frieden eingehen
in die ewigen Jagdgründe eingehen
in die Ewigkeit heimgehen
in die Glückseligkeit eingehen
in eine bessere Welt gehen
in einer anderen Welt sein
in ewigem Frieden ruhen
ins ewige Leben eingehen
ins Jenseits abberufen werden
jmds. Augen brechen
jmds. Uhr ist abgelaufen
seine/ihre letzte Reise antreten
über den Jordan gehen
vor Gottes Richterstuhl treten usw.

Im Zustandekommen dieser Redensarten (die nur einen kleinen Querschnitt darstellen) spielt die sprachliche Tabuisierung eindeutig eine große Rolle. Nach der Tabuklassifizierung von Ullmann (1973: 259) gehört der Begriff des Todes zu den Tabus des Taktgefühls (taboo of delicacy), weshalb viele der tabuvermeidenden Formen schon auf der Ebene der bloßen Lexeme angewendet werden. Auf der phraseologischen Ebene gibt es aber noch viel mehr Ausdrucksweisen sowohl unter den ameliorativen, tabuisierenden (z. B. *sanft und selig einschlafen*, *Abschied nehmen*, *zu Staub und Asche werden*, *seine Seele aushauchen*, *die ewige Ruhe finden*) als auch unter den pejorativen, tabubrechenden Redewendungen (z. B. *das Gras von unten wachsen sehen*, *ins Gras beißen*, *die Augen auf Null stellen/drehen*, *den Löffel abgeben*, *in die schwarze Kiste springen*, *alle viere von sich strecken* usw.)

Auch Trunkenheit wird in der Sprache häufig tabuisiert, daher gibt es auch zu dieser Thematik viele Redewendungen, hier nur eine kleine Auswahl:

- (2) *[eine] Schlagseite haben*
den Kanal voll haben
doppelt sehen
einen abhaben
einen Affen [sitzen] haben
einen auf der Lampe haben
einen in der Krone haben
einen sitzen haben
einen weghaben
ganz schön geladen haben
nicht mehr gerade stehen können
schief geladen haben
zu tief in den Becher / ins Glas geguckt/geschaut haben usw.

3. Tabuisierung als Auslöser elliptischer Phrasenbildung

Aber nicht nur durch die metaphorischen Euphemismen kommt Tabuisierung im phraseologischen System zur Geltung. Es gibt auch Phraseme, die durch die **Aussparung von gewissen Elementen** entstehen. Munske spricht in diesen Fällen von **situativ motivierten Phrasemen**, da man für ihr Verständnis etliche nicht explizit genannte, aber durch die Situation implizierte Komponenten benötigt. Eine bedeutende Anzahl dieser elliptischen Ausdrücke hat auch euphemistischen Charakter (z. B. *Du kannst mich mal!, einen heben* usw.), somit hängt ihre Entstehung auch mit der Tabuvermeidung zusammen.¹ Auch viele Grußformeln und Sprüche lassen sich durch Ellipse erklären. Bei diesen Phrasemen fördert sogar die Fixierung der elliptischen Nomination den Idiomatisierungsprozess.

Im Ungarischen findet man z. B. einige gekürzte Phraseologismen, in denen entweder die Komponente mit der Bedeutung 'Gott' völlig fehlt, oder mindestens gekürzt ist. Das sind Wendungen, die der nachdrücklichen Beteuerung oder Schwur dienen, wie z. B. *a Teremtő engem úgy segéljen* bzw. *Isten engem úgy segéljen* 'so wahr mir der Schöpfer/Gott helfe'. *Aus diesen wurde dann Teremt' úgyse* bzw. *engem úgyse*. Der Grund für diese Kürzung kann wohl sein, dass die Sprachteilhaber dem Gebot (*den Namen Gottes sollst du nicht umsonst in den Mund nehmen*) folgen wollten:

- (3) Hányadik már a pohár? ... csak Ötödik? *Teremt' úgyse!* becsületes Müködik [Wie viele Gläser gab es schon? ... Nur Fünf? So wahr mir (Gott) helfe, es wirkt!] (vgl. Hadrovics 1995: 153)
- (4) *ha hazudtál, engem úgy se!* guzsba kötöttek [Falls du gelogen hast, lasse ich dich – so wahr mir (Gott) helfe – fesseln] (ebda.)

Als einen Fall **elliptischer Phrasenbildung** betrachtet Munske (1993: 504) den Ausdruck *oben ohne*. Hier haben wir tatsächlich mit einer Ellipse zu tun, da in dem Ausdruck die Komponente *Büstenhalter* bzw. dessen Akronym *BH* wirklich fehlt. Der Grund für die Ellipse ist auch hier die Tabuvermeidung. Tabus, die mit der Sexualität oder Sinnlichkeit zusammenhängen, gehören laut Ullmann (1973: 260) zu den Tabus der Schicklichkeit (*taboos of propriety*), genau aus diesem Grund wird das Wort *Büstenhalter* häufig durch sein Akronym ersetzt (*BH*), aber auch deswegen wurde im Englischen dessen Bezeichnung aus dem Französischen entlehnt (*brassiere*), da – wie man weiß – zur Tabuvermeidung häufig Fremdwörter benutzt werden, man denke nur an die lateinischen Bezeichnungen von Krankheiten. Später wurde sogar das Wort – als eine weitere Möglichkeit zur Tabuvermeidung – abgekürzt (*bra*), diese Form wurde dann von anderen Sprachen, so auch vom Deutschen übernommen.²

Noch besser sieht man die **tabuvermeidende Ellipse** in solchen obszönen Ausdrücken wie *Du kannst mich mal! / Er/sie kann mich mal!* Mit diesen drückt man aus, dass man mit jemandem oder etwas nicht zu tun haben möchte. Die ziemlich derben Ausdrücke drücken

¹ Diese kann sogar in etlichen Fällen der sekundären Phraseologisierung eine Rolle spielen, da sie zum Wechsel von Komponenten führen kann, siehe später.

² Der phraseologische Ausdruck *oben ohne* wurde auch direkt ins Ungarische entlehnt, er wird jedoch auch als Kalk verwendet (*felül semmi*).

eine starke Ablehnung aus, genauso wie deren ungarische Entsprechung *Nyald ki!* Der deutsche Ausdruck wurde aus der vollständigeren Form *Du kannst mich mal am Arsch lecken!* abgekürzt, wie auch aus dessen ungarischem Äquivalent die Komponente *segg* 'Arsch' elliptiert wurde. Der deutsche Ausdruck hat auch eine anders abgekürzte Variante (*Leck mich!*): in diesem kann man das Verb (*lecken*) noch finden, aber die wirklich obszöne Komponente *Arsch* ist auch hier elliptiert.

Laut Munske (1993: 504) werden in gewissen Fällen die elliptierten Hauptverben durch Hilfsverben ersetzt, z. B. *Ich muss mal; Mir kann keiner; Dann wollen wir mal*. Damit bin ich jedoch nicht ganz einverstanden. Meines Erachtens geht es nämlich hier nicht um Komponentenaustausch, sondern um einfache Ellipse, da in allen drei Fällen die Modalverben auch in der vollständigeren Version vorhanden sind, nur die Vollverben und deren Ergänzungen werden elliptiert, vgl.

- (5) *Ich muss mal **Pipi machen**.*
- (6) *Mir kann keiner **etwas anhaben/vormachen**.*
- (7) *Dann wollen wir mal **anfangen/beginnen**.*³

Nahe zur Ellipse stehen laut Munske (a. a. O.) jene Fälle, in denen anstelle des fehlenden konkreten Elements entweder **der unbestimmte Artikel oder ein anaphorisches Pronomen in der Konstruktion erscheint**, z. B. *Ich habe den Eindruck, ihr Mann hebt gern einen*. Hier bleibt die Komponente *Glas* weg, der Grund dafür ist wahrscheinlich auch hier die Tabuisierung, da das Thema **Trunkenheit** auch zu den Sprachtabus zählt. Dafür gibt es in vielen Sprachen Beispiele, so auch im Ungarischen, vgl. die Ausdrücke *a pohár fenekére néz* 'zu tief ins Glas gucken' [den Boden des Glases anstarren] oder *bevette a hatvan cseppet* 'wörtl.: die sechzig Tropfen geschluckt haben', siehe auch die synonymen Phraseme zum Thema Trunkenheit oben.

Eine ähnliche Bedeutung hat auch der deutsche Ausdruck *einen in der Krone haben*. Bei letzterem ist es nicht eindeutig, welche Komponente aus dem Ausdruck fehlt: es könnte auch ein *Edelstein* sein, aber auch die Komponente *Schwips*, wobei dann die *Krone* eine Metapher für *Kopf* ist.

Ähnliche Beispiele mit elliptierten Komponenten sind noch aus dem Deutschen folgende Redensarten:

- (8) *jmdm. eins auswischen* 'eine kleine Racheaktion verüben; jemandem schaden'
- (9) *einen draufmachen* 'kräftig feiern'
- (10) *einen gewischt bekommen/kriegen* '1. einen elektrischen Stromschlag bekommen; 2. geohrfeigt werden'
- (11) *eins auf den Kopf/Hut bekommen* '1. einen Schlag auf den Kopf bekommen'; 2. eine Rüge erhalten; zurechtgewiesen werden' usw.

³ Die Wendung *Ich muss mal Pipi machen* hat auch andere durch Euphemismus „verfeinerte“ Varianten: *Ich muss mal für kleine Mädchen bzw. kleine Jungs* (vgl. www.redensarten-index.de).

Der letzte Ausdruck hat auch mehrere Varianten mit anderen Körperteilen, aber diese bedeuten nur konkreten Prügel und keine Rüge, so z. B. *eins auf die Finger bekommen*, *eins auf den Hintern/Arsch bekommen/kriegen*. Auch die ungarischen Äquivalente dieser Ausdrücke zeigen, dass Ellipse in diesem Zusammenhang auch in anderen Sprachen häufig ist, vgl. z. B. ung.

(12) *Kapsz egyet!* 'wörtl.: Du kriegst einen!'

(13) *Kapsz a pofádra/seggedre/fenekedre!* ['wörtl.: Du kriegst auf deine Backe /deinen Arsch/deinen Hinterteil!']

Eine ähnliche Ellipse findet man auch im umgangssprachlichen deutschen Ausdruck *jmdm. eine/eins reinsemeln*. Dieser hat laut redensarten-index.de zwei Bedeutungen: '1. ein Tor schießen; 2. jmdn. scharf zurechtweisen, hart herannehmen'. In der ersten Bedeutung ist sicherlich die Komponente *Tor(schuss)* elliptiert, die zweite Bedeutung ist jedoch durch Bedeutungswandel (konkret → abstrakt) entstanden, ähnlich wie oben im Ausdruck *eins auf den Kopf/Hut bekommen*.

Munske erwähnt es zwar nicht, aber ein schönes Beispiel für elliptische Phrasenbildung ist auch der im Deutschen prädikativ gebrauchte Ausdruck *nicht (ganz) ohne*, wie auch dessen ungarischer Pendant *nem semmi*. Mit der deutschen Wendung drückt man vor allem aus, dass 'jmd. oder etw. nicht zu unterschätzen sei, gefährlich werden kann', z. B.

(14) *Fahr langsamer; bald kommt eine scharfe Kurve, die ist nicht ohne!*

Der ungarische Ausdruck kann auch in diesem Sinne gebraucht werden, er kann aber auch anerkennend verwendet werden, z. B.

(15) *Miért hívott meg Barabás Lajos 40 éves vállalkozó a Zöld Ász nevű vendéglőjébe háromszor kétszáz embert karácsonyi ebédre? Az ebédjegyeket a Vöröskereszt kőbányai ingenyonyháján osztják, amelynek a titkára boldogan mesélte: ilyen emberek is vannak. Mert hatszáz ebéd – nem semmi!* (Tageszeitung Magyar Hírlap, 23. Dezember 1994., 8)

[Warum lud Lajos Barabás, der 40 Jahre alte Unternehmer in seine Gaststätte Grüner Ass dreimal zweihundert Leute zum Weihnachtsessen ein? Die Tickets werden beim Roten Kreuz verteilt, dessen Sekretär fröhlich erzählt: es gibt auch solche Menschen. Denn sechshundert Mittagessen *sind nicht ohne!*]

Laut Röhrich (1991: 1111–1112) ist in dieser schon seit dem 17. Jahrhundert gebräuchlichen elliptischen Redensart „das von der Präposition *ohne* abhängige Substantiv (,Grund‘, ,Nutzen‘, ,Zweck‘, ,ein Körnchen Wahrheit‘, ,ein Schein von Recht‘, oder was sonst zu ergänzen sein könnte) eingespart“.⁴

Eine partielle Ellipse ist auch möglich: so etwas finden wir in der ungarischen Wendung *(Ej.) mi a kő?* 'was gibt's, wörtl.: 'was ist der Stein', deren ursprüngliche Form die

⁴ Benutzt man das ungarische Äquivalent *nem semmi* in anerkennendem Sinne, dann kann es mit Komponenten wie *teljesítmény* 'Leistung', *eredmény* 'Ergebnis' usw. ergänzt werden.

Komponente *mennykő* 'Donnerwetter [Stein aus dem Himmel]' besaß, aber aus religiöser Tabuvermeidung die Komponente *menny* 'Himmel' ausgespart wurde.

Genauso fehlt in einer anderen Konstruktion, die auch beim berühmten ungarischen Dichter János Arany vorkommt, die Komponente *isten* 'Gott':

(16) *Hogy a nyilába tudsz alunni délbe?* [Wie zum Teufel kannst du zu Mittag schlafen?]

Im Ungarischen steht hier *nyilába* für *istennyilába*, was etwa 'Pfeil Gottes' bedeutet, vgl. auch Hadrovics 1995: 71.

4. Tabuisierung als treibende Kraft sekundärer Phrasembildung

Tabuisierung kann aber nicht nur bei der originellen Entstehung von Phrasemen eine Rolle spielen, sondern auch bei der **sekundären Phrasembildung**. Es ist bekannt, dass feste Wendungen manchmal modifiziert werden, um ihre Einbettung in einen Kontext zu ermöglichen oder zu verbessern. Aber auch **Tabuvermeidung kann zu einer Modifikation führen**. So kann z. B. vorkommen, dass Phraseme, die im Wörterbuch stilistisch als derb gekennzeichnet werden, eine oder mehrere „salonfähigere“, euphemistische Variante(n) entwickeln.

Das kann man im Ungarischen z. B. anhand des ironischen, sprichwortähnlichen Spruchs *Mindig az erősebb kutya baszik* [etwa: Beim Ficken gewinnt immer der stärkere Hund] beobachten. Das hat die Bedeutung: 'meistens gewinnen in einem Wettbewerb die besser positionierten oder zur Macht näher stehenden Personen' und hat unterschiedliche – meistens okkasionelle – euphemistische Varianten, wie z. B.

- (17) ...miért van az úgy, hogy az erősebb kutya él intenzívebb nemi életet! [etwa: Warum ist das so, dass der stärkere Hund ein intensiveres Geschlechtsleben hat] (Tageszeitung Magyar Hírlap, 16. April 1996., 7)
- (18) Az idős ember még fiatal korában azt tanulta, hogy lelassíthatja az idő sodrát, ha tiszteli a bölcös aranyszabályt: „Mindig az erősebb kutyáé a kutyakisasszony”. [Der alte Mensch hat noch in seiner Jugend gelernt, dass er den Strom der Zeit verlangsamen kann, indem er sich an die weise goldene Regel hält: *das Hundefräulein gehört immer dem stärkeren Hund an.*] (Tageszeitung Magyar Hírlap, 23. Dezember 2000., 9)
- (19) A gyakorlat azonban azt mutatja, hogy mindig az erősebb kutya írja a történelmet, s az természetesen az erősebb kutya történelme lesz. [Die Praxis allerdings zeigt, dass immer der stärkere Hund die Geschichte schreibt, die dann natürlich die Geschichte des stärkeren Hundes sein wird.] (Tageszeitung Magyar Hírlap, 27. Oktober 1999., 7)

Diese sind aber eher nur okkasionelle Modifikationen, sie können nicht als kodifiziert betrachtet werden. Trotzdem benötigt man nicht den Kontext, um sie zu verstehen, denn der Großteil des ursprünglichen Ausdrucks kommt auch in der modifizierten Form vor und auch ihre Bedeutung ist mit dem des Originals identisch.

Es kommt aber auch vor, dass selbst **die durch Tabuvermeidung entstandene Variante kodifiziert wird**. Im Ungarischen gibt es z. B. zwei derbe Ausdrücke mit der Komponente *szar* 'Scheiße':

(20) *benne van a szarban* [etwa: 'jmd. ist in der Scheiße']

(21) *kihúz a szarból* [etwa: 'jmdn. aus der Scheiße ziehen'].

Für diese existieren heute schon kodifizierte Modifikationen, in denen für die derbe Komponente *szar* 'Scheiße' die Elemente *szoaré* 'Gesellschaftsabend, Soirée' bzw. *kakaó* 'Kakao' vorkommen.⁵

(22) Várniuk kell tehát vagy egy jótét lélekre vagy a többiek szolidaritására (ez csak egy ideig megy), vagy egy újabb örültre, aki időlegesen *kihúzza őket a szoaréból*. [Sie müssen entweder auf einen guten Geist warten, oder auf die Solidarität der anderen, oder sogar auf einen neuen Irren, *der sie vorläufig aus der Soirée zieht*.] (MNSzt.; Index Forum)

(23) Nem volt előtte, a vécébeli tanácskozást kivéve, egy árva próba! Most aztán *benne vagyunk a kakaóban*. [Es gab davor mit Ausnahme der Besprechung keine einzige Probe. *Jetzt stecken wir aber richtig im Kakao*.] (MNSzt.; Digitale Literaturakademie)

Höchstwahrscheinlich haben wir die ungarische Wendung *ingben, glóriában*, die eine Variante für *ingben, gatyában* ist, auch dem tabuvermeidenden Euphemismus zu verdanken. Beide Ausdrücke haben die Bedeutung 'mangelhaft bekleidet, in Unterwäsche'. *Ingben, gatyában* bedeutet wörtlich: 'in Hemd und Unterhose', in der Variante *ingben, glóriában* wird *gatyá* 'Unterhose' durch *Glorie* ersetzt. Früher haben wir schon gesehen, dass zu den Tabus der Schicklichkeit auch solche mit dem Thema Sexualität bzw. Körperlichkeit gehören. Daher werden auch für Bezeichnungen von Unterwäsche häufig tabuvermeidende Ausdrücke verwendet, man denke nur an die schon erwähnten euphemistischen Bezeichnungen für *Büstenhalter* (*brassiere* bzw. *bra*). Zu diesen Tabus gehörte sicherlich auch die *Unterhose* und überhaupt die mangelnde Bekleidung, deswegen wurde die zweite Komponente des obigen Ausdrucks (*gatyá*) durch *glória* 'Glorie' ersetzt, vgl.

(24) A házigazda [...] félművelt módján mezítláb s *ingben, gatyában* jött be az ágyból. [Der Hausherr ist [...] als ein halb Zivilisierter *in Hemd und Unterhose* bekleidet aus dem Bett gekommen.] (Zeitschrift Nyugat 1930., Nr. 21.)

(25) ... most itt állunk, *ingben-glóriában*, várjuk, miként döntenek sorsunkról az arra hivatott hivatalnokok. [... jetzt stehen wir hier *in Hemd und Glorie*, und warten, wie die zuständigen Beamten über unser Schicksal entscheiden.] (MNSzt.; Romániai Magyar Szó, 12. August 1999.)

Wahrscheinlich aus ähnlichen Gründen ist im Deutschen die Redensart *Hals über Kopf* entstanden. Diese hatte früher vollständigere Varianten, wie *über Hals und über Kopf*, *über Hals und Kopf*. Laut Röhrich (1991: 632) liegt dem Bild dieser Redensart „die Stellung des Halses

⁵ *Szoaré* 'Soirée' klingt der Komponente *szar* 'Scheiße' ähnlich, so eignet es sich hervorragend zur Tabuvermeidung. *Kakaó* klingt dagegen nicht der Komponente *szar* ähnlich, sondern seinem Synonym *kaka* 'Kacke'.

gegenüber dem Kopf zugrunde; sie meint eigentlich den Hals vor den Kopf setzen und sich so überschlagen“. Röhrich wirft aber auch die Möglichkeit auf, dass der heutigen Form der Redensart vielleicht eine frühere, derbere Form zugrunde liegt, „wie folgende Wendungen vermuten lassen: »über ars und kopf bürzlen« (bei Johann Fischart), westfälisch ›Ärs öewer Kopf‹, schweizerisch ‚Haupt über Arsch‘, mecklenburgisch ‚Oever Kupp un Nars‘. Vielleicht ist das anstößige Wort, das sich in allen mundartlichen Formen der Redensart noch findet, erst hochsprachlich durch *Hals* ersetzt worden“ (ebda.).

5. Fazit

Für meinen Beitrag habe ich ein Thema gewählt, das zur historischen Phraseologie gehört. Im Fokus meiner Untersuchung stand die Frage, inwieweit Sprachtabus bzw. sprachliche Tabuisierung auf die Entstehung bzw. auf den Wandel von phraseologischen Einheiten auswirken.

Aus meinen Untersuchungen auf der Basis von deutschen und ungarischen Phraseologismen ist eindeutig zu sehen, dass Tabuisierung und die damit verbundene euphemistische Ausdrucksweise in mehreren Formen der Phrasenbildung in Erscheinung treten.

Zum einen initiiert die Tabuvermeidung überhaupt die **Entstehung** vieler metaphorischer und metonymischer Phraseme. Es gibt sogar einige Themenbereiche, wie z. B. Tod, Dummheit, Trunkenheit, Faulheit, in denen das Streben nach Tabuisierung eine ganze Menge synonymmer Phraseme zustande gebracht hat.

Zweitens gibt es im phraseologischen System auch Ausdrücke, die durch die **Aussparung von gewissen Elementen** entstehen. Für das Verständnis dieser situativ motivierten Phraseme benötigt man etliche von der Situation „mitverstandene“ Komponenten. Eine bedeutende Anzahl dieser elliptischen Ausdrücke hat auch euphemistischen Charakter, somit hängt ihre Entstehung auch mit der Tabuvermeidung zusammen.

Drittens kann Tabuisierung nicht nur bei der originellen Entstehung von Phrasemen eine Rolle spielen, sondern auch bei der **sekundären Phrasenbildung**. Bei diesem Prozess entstehen Abwandlungen von originellen Phrasemen. Das kommt meistens durch die Einbettung des Phrasems in einen gewissen Kontext vor, aber auch **Tabuvermeidung kann zu einer Modifikation führen**, vor allem dann wenn Phraseme mit derben Komponenten „salonfähigere“, euphemistische Varianten entwickeln. Das kann auch okkasionell auftreten, aber manchmal werden solche euphemistischen Varianten auch kodifiziert.

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Edad y sexo, ¿factores esenciales para la competencia fraseológica?

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Abstract

Sociolinguistic factors can also be decisive in phraseological research. Variables such as sex and age could influence the phraseological competence of young native German and Spanish speakers.

Studies on contrastive phraseology often rely upon corpus from literary works and their translations. But this research offers a new perspective because it grounds on a bilingual corpus of idioms selected for this specific aim that meets the requirements of representativeness, adequacy and equivalence.

Based on this corpus, the linguistic research was designed and carried out, following theoretical and methodological premises: the survey was prepared, data collected and finally an analysis was conducted using statistical tools.

The research aimed to test the validity of a previously proposed hypothesis: the interaction between age and sex variables are statistically significant to explain phraseological competence.

Keywords

phraseological competence, age, sex, German, Spanish.

1. Introducción

La fraseología es una disciplina plenamente consolidada tanto en su vertiente teórica como aplicada, y esto se manifiesta en la diversidad de perspectivas que aborda el estudio de las expresiones fraseológicas. La fraseología contrastiva, marco metodológico en el que se circunscribe el presente estudio, no es ajena a esta tendencia, pues ha experimentado un auge considerable en los últimos tiempos a tenor de los numerosos congresos y publicaciones dedicados a esta vertiente de la fraseología.

Esta incesante actividad alrededor de la fraseología en general y de la fraseología contrastiva en particular presenta otra característica de la disciplina en la actualidad: el talante colaborativo y globalizador de los estudios. Una vez diversificadas las investigaciones sobre la disciplina en diferentes enfoques, el predominio entre ellos de los estudios de carácter aplicado parece dar por superada la fase inicial predominantemente teórica, como afirma Castillo (2015).

Los estudios sobre fraseología contrastiva basados en corpus se fundamentan mayoritariamente en una selección realizada a partir de obras literarias y de sus respectivas traducciones, y a partir de ellos se analizan las unidades fraseológicas (en adelante UF) en las lenguas de origen y traducción. Sirvan como ejemplo los trabajos contrastivos español-alemán de Segura (1998) o López (2002). También suelen ser frecuentes los estudios que se basan en agrupaciones conceptuales o temáticas de UF, como el de Larreta (2001).

La presente investigación analiza la competencia fraseológica de los jóvenes españoles y alemanes desde una nueva perspectiva respecto al corpus, pues ha sido creado *ad hoc*: un corpus bilingüe español-alemán de UF que cumple requisitos de representatividad, adecuación y equivalencia.

2. Descripción de la investigación

El objeto del presente estudio sería la constatación de la influencia de unos determinados factores en la competencia fraseológica de los jóvenes hablantes, como son la edad y el sexo. Investigaciones previas mostraban indicios de que determinadas variables sociológicas podían influir en la competencia fraseológica, por lo que la presente investigación pretendía realizar un estudio de estos aspectos.

Para desarrollar la investigación se parte de una revisión previa de premisas teóricas y metodológicas tanto de aspectos lingüísticos como de metodología sobre la investigación sociolingüística.

La investigación llevada a cabo presenta las siguientes características:

- Se trata de un estudio empírico
- Aúna enfoque contrastivo y sociolingüístico
- Plantea una hipótesis de trabajo
- Parte de un corpus bilingüe elaborado *ad hoc*
- Dirige el *focus* de la investigación sobre el hablante

Puesto que es un estudio empírico, la finalidad es la obtención de datos para, a partir de ellos, realizar una descripción de una situación lingüística, en este caso, la competencia fraseológica. En segundo lugar, además del enfoque contrastivo interlingual español-alemán, la investigación tiene en cuenta variables específicas de las investigaciones sociológicas, como son la edad y el sexo. En tercer lugar, plantea una hipótesis de trabajo previa, que había que corroborar o refutar a partir de la investigación. En cuarto lugar, el corpus no venía dado, sino

ha sido seleccionado para tal finalidad. Y, por último, centra el *focus* de la investigación en la tipología de hablante nativo joven.

3. Fases de la investigación

El proceso de la investigación se desarrolló en diferentes fases: el planteamiento de la hipótesis, la elaboración del corpus, la redacción del cuestionario, la selección de informantes y el análisis de los datos obtenidos, para finalmente poder realizar la interpretación de estos con herramientas estadísticas.

3.1. Planteamiento de la hipótesis

En investigaciones previas se observó que existía cierta incidencia en la competencia fraseológica de los jóvenes atendiendo a variables sociales, por lo que se enunció una hipótesis previa que tendría que ser corroborada o refutada. La hipótesis previa de la que se parte es: la interacción entre las variables edad y sexo es significativa para explicar la competencia.

3.2. Elaboración del corpus

Como se indica en la introducción, para la realización de este estudio se elaboró un corpus específico de UF, basado en criterios de representatividad, adecuación y equivalencia. El primero de los criterios, la representatividad, fue verificada en estudios previos que mostraban un grado de competencia superior al 50%, porcentaje de conocimiento relevante que defienden autores como Tarnovska (2004). La adecuación de la forma elegida se comprobó en diferentes fuentes fraseográficas, con el propósito de utilizar la forma más usual o ‘canónica’, según Conca y Guia (2014). En cuanto al tercer criterio, la equivalencia, se procedió también a la verificación en fuentes lexicográficas, a fin de disponer de un grado de equivalencia aceptable.

A continuación, se muestra el corpus formado por cincuenta expresiones fraseológicas en español y alemán (Cuadro 1):

Cuadro 1. Corpus de UF español/ alemán

UF1 poner los cuernos≈ Hörner aufsetzen
UF2 poner la mano en el fuego≈ die Hand ins Feuer legen
UF3 como el perro y el gato≈ wie Hund und Katze
UF4 no tener pelos en la lengua≈ kein Blatt vor den Mund nehmen
UF5 ponerse los pelos de punta≈ jemandem die Haare zu Berge stehen
UF6 descubrir la pólvora≈ das Pulver erfunden haben
UF7 tirar la casa por la ventana≈ das Geld zum Fenster hinauswerfen

UF8 sonar a chino≈ Spanisch vorkommen
UF9 ser todo oídos≈ ganz Ohr sein
UF10 hacerse la boca agua≈ das Wasser im Mund zusammenlaufen
UF11 llamar a las cosas por su nombre≈ die Dinge bei ihrem Namen nennen
UF12 echar leña al fuego≈ Öl ins Feuer giessen
UF13 pagar con la misma moneda≈ mit gleicher Münze heimzahlen
UF14 no tener pies ni cabeza≈ weder Hand noch Fuss haben
UF15 matar dos pájaros de un tiro≈ zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe schlagen
UF16 faltar un tornillo≈ nicht alle Tassen im Schrank haben
UF17 ser amor a primera vista≈ Liebe auf den ersten Blick sein
UF18 tener algo en la punta de la lengua≈ etwas auf der Zunge liegen
UF19 nadar en la abundancia≈ im Geld schwimmen
UF20 perder hasta la camisa≈ bis aufs Hemd ausziehen
UF21 meter la cuchara≈ seinen Senf dazu geben
UF22 estar en el séptimo cielo≈ im siebten Himmel sein
UF23 ser la oveja negra de la familia≈ das schwarze Schaf der Familie sein
UF24 ser un lobo con la piel de cordero≈ ein Wolf im Schafspelz sein
UF25 tener sangre azul≈ blaues Blut haben
UF26 no ser carne ni pescado≈ weder Fisch noch Fleisch
UF27 nadar a contracorriente≈ gegen den Strom schwimmen
UF28 saber dónde le aprieta el zapato a alguien≈ wissen, wo einen der Schuh drückt
UF29 tender un puente de plata≈ eine goldene Brücke bauen
UF30 perder el hilo≈ den Faden verlieren
UF31 jugar con las cartas boca arriba≈ mit offenen Karten spielen
UF32 llevar los pantalones≈ die Hosen anhaben
UF33 hacer la corte a alguien≈ jemandem den Hof machen
UF34 llevar una venda en los ojos≈ ein Brett vor dem Kopf haben
UF35 ser el cuento de la lechera≈ eine Milchmädchenrechnung sein
UF36 estar en boca de todos≈ in aller Munde sein
UF37 estar hasta las narices≈ die Nase voll haben

UF38 construir sobre arena≈ auf Sand bauen
UF39 poner la zancadilla a alguien≈ jemandem ein Bein stellen
UF40 ponerle los nervios de punta a alguien≈ jemandem auf die Nerven gehen
UF41 hacer una montaña de un grano de arena≈ aus einer Mücke einen Elefanten machen
UF42 tener gato encerrado≈ die Katze im Sack kaufen
UF43 levantarse con el pie izquierdo≈ mit dem linken Fuß zuerst aufstehen
UF44 sacar las castañas del fuego a alguien≈ jemandem die Kastanien aus dem Feuer holen
UF45 coger el toro por los cuernos≈ den Stier bei den Hörnern packen
UF46 ser pobre como una rata≈ arm wie ein Kirchenmaus sein
UF47 echar tierra en los ojos a alguien≈ jemandem Sand in die Augen streuen
UF48 encontrar un pelo en la sopa≈ ein Haar in der Suppe finden
UF49 meter las narices en todo≈ die Nase in alles stecken
UF50 enseñarle los dientes a alguien≈ jemandem die Zähne zeigen

3.3. Redacción del cuestionario

Atendiendo a las fuentes sobre metodología en investigación sociolingüística, el método elegido para obtener los datos fue el cuestionario, una de las posibilidades que sugiere Moreno Fernández (1990).¹ Este consta de una parte lingüística, que sirve para obtener los datos relativos al conocimiento de las unidades fraseológicas, y una parte sociolingüística, que recoge los datos relativos a las variables sociológicas que nos interesan: la edad y el sexo.

3.4. Selección de informantes

La selección de los informantes,² los sujetos de la investigación, no se hizo de forma manipulada en lo que respecta a ninguno de los factores sociológicos implicados en la investigación, las variables independientes edad y sexo, aunque se establecieron unas premisas basadas en la similitud de los niveles educativos a los que pertenecían los jóvenes. Se trata de estudiantes de un rango de edad entre los 14 y los 17 años, en ambos casos alumnado preuniversitario. La distribución por edades de los informantes se puede consultar a continuación (Tabla 1).

¹ Entre las técnicas de recogida de datos, se hace una primera distinción entre técnicas de observación o técnicas de encuesta. Este segundo tipo se diferencia a su vez entre técnicas de encuesta directas o indirectas. Dentro de las directas se sitúan la entrevista o el cuestionario (Moreno Fernández 1990: 94).

² Respecto a la cantidad de datos necesaria, se parte del principio de la 'homogeneidad de la conducta lingüística', al que se refiere Moreno Fernández (1990), según el cual un número reducido de datos puede ser representativo.

Tabla 1. Edad de los informantes

EDAD	14 años	15 años	16 años	17 años	TOTAL
ESPAÑOL	14	15	15	1	45
ALEMÁN	16	16	5	8	45

Como puede observarse, ambas muestras resultan bastante homogéneas respecto al nivel educativo al que pertenecen los sujetos, de manera que los jóvenes que cursan la enseñanza obligatoria en la muestra alemana suman 31 informantes y 29 informantes en el caso de la española. También es similar la cantidad de alumnos en la postobligatoria en ambas comunidades, pues suman 13 en la muestra alemana y 16 en la muestra española. En este caso, con la salvedad de que la distribución por edades en cada muestra es parcialmente diferente: en la alemana hay más sujetos de 17 años (8), mientras que en la española hay más de 16 años (15).

El mismo criterio de no manipulación se siguió respecto a la variable sexo, sobre la que hay que puntualizar que fue considerada en sus dos opciones tradicionales de género hombre-mujer. A continuación, se presentan la distribución de informantes (Tabla 2).

Tabla 2. Sexo de los informantes

SEXO	mujeres	hombres	TOTAL
ESPAÑOL	21	24	45
ALEMÁN	25	20	45

Como se puede observar, hay una pequeña diferencia respecto al número de informantes mujeres y hombres: las mujeres suman 46 y los hombres 44.

3.5. Análisis de los datos

Una vez elaborado todo el proceso de investigación, seleccionados los informantes y obtenidos los datos, se procedió al análisis de estos. Para ello fue necesario utilizar herramientas estadísticas que facilitan la interpretación de los resultados obtenidos. El programa utilizado fue el *Statistical Package for Social Sciences*, pues se trata de un programa especialmente utilizado en investigaciones relacionadas con las ciencias sociales, en las que los datos estadísticos interpretados se relacionan con variables sociales.

Las variables que se manejan en este tipo de investigaciones pueden ser de dos tipos, variables independientes o variables dependientes. La variable independiente es aquella que viene ya dada en el sujeto y es la que puede condicionar la variable dependiente. En la presente investigación, la edad y el sexo son las variables independientes. La variable dependiente es aquella que no viene dada en el sujeto y puede estar condicionada por la variable independiente. La variable dependiente es en este caso la competencia fraseológica. Así pues, el presente estudio pretendió dilucidar qué incidencia tienen las variables independientes edad y sexo sobre la variable dependiente, la competencia fraseológica.

Para poder observar además si los valores obtenidos eran significativos, se utilizó el método estadístico T-Student, con el que se obtuvieron los siguientes datos (Tabla 3).

Tabla 3. Coeficientes de la ecuación de regresión

Modelo	Coeficientes no estandarizados			
	B	Error estándar	T	Sig.
(Constante)	-23,333	16,059	-1,453	,150
SEXO	52,083	21,803	2,389	,019
EDAD	3,354	1,059	3,167	,002
COMPUTE sexXEdad=SEXO * EDAD	-3,229	1,442	-2,240	,028

El modelo de regresión utilizado arrojó resultados significativos, especialmente si se incluía la interacción de variables, del que resultaba un cambio significativo: los coeficientes del modelo indican que la interacción sexo y edad resulta significativa, pues el resultado ($\text{sig} = 0,028$, inferior a $0,05$) se considera significativo estadísticamente.

El comportamiento de la competencia fraseológica pronosticada desde la interacción de las variables puede visualizarse en la siguiente imagen (Figura 1):

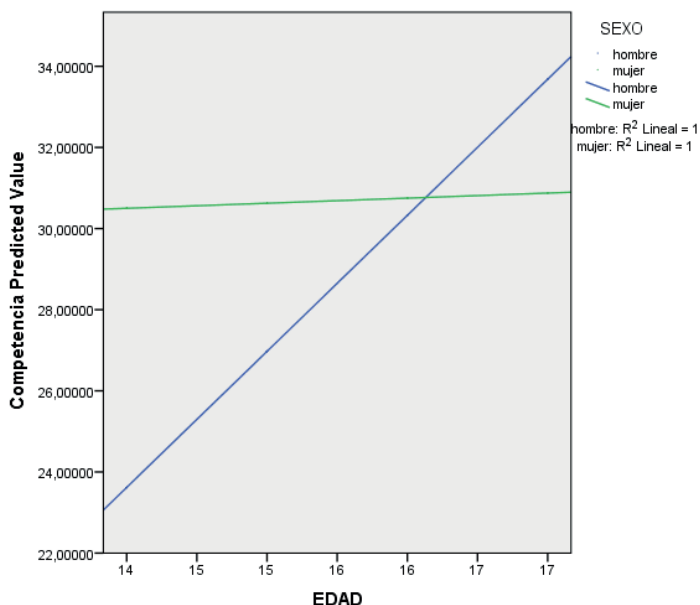


Figura 1. Interacción de las variables edad y sexo en la competencia

Los resultados de la investigación validaron la hipótesis previa, que planteaba que la interacción de factores sociales como son la edad y el sexo podía ser calificada de determinante para la competencia fraseológica de los jóvenes, de manera que a partir de los datos se podría concluir que la interacción entre la edad y el sexo sí afecta a su competencia. De forma muy elocuente se observa en la muestra estudiada (Figura 1) que los hombres parten de una menor competencia fraseológica y evolucionan ascendentemente, mientras que las mujeres poseen una madurez fraseológica ya a los 14 años, manteniéndose estable hasta el período preuniversitario.

4. Conclusiones

La investigación pretendía comprobar la validez de la hipótesis planteada: la interacción entre las variables edad y sexo es significativa para explicar la competencia, y como se ha visto en la presente investigación dicha hipótesis ha sido corroborada.

A partir de las conclusiones obtenidas, surgen diferentes retos de cara al futuro y nuevas exigencias en el estudio empírico de la competencia fraseológica, para los que se plantearía una ampliación de las muestras y una revisión de aspectos teóricos y metodológicos.

Este tipo de investigaciones ponen el foco en los propios hablantes y sus resultados nos acercan más a ellos, de manera que un conocimiento más exhaustivo de la competencia en sus lenguas maternas ayudará también al desarrollo de herramientas digitales más exactas, aplicables a la traducción o a la didáctica de lenguas.

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La fraseología especializada en la metaforización de la política por el fútbol

Un enfoque de la espacialidad en corpus periodístico rioplatense

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Abstract

This paper reports an analysis of soccer terms and specialized phraseological units in metaphorization processes with the target area of politics. The object of study is the metaphorization of the more abstract field of politics, based on specialized phraseological units from the more concrete domain of soccer. Our research object is a journalistic corpus in *rioplatense* Spanish, which we collected from the Sunday opinion column entitled *Humor Político*, written by Alejandro Borensztein and published in the Argentine newspaper *Clarín*. Specifically, based on certain phraseologies formed with adverbs of place (*abajo, arriba, adentro, afuera, adelante, and atrás*), we analyze different types of spatiality relations. The use of computer programs for lexical analysis typical of Corpus Linguistics research has made it possible to identify and extract terms and specialized phrases found in the corpus.

Keywords

specialized phraseological units, conceptual metaphor, corpus linguistics, spatiality

1. Introducción

Este trabajo nace como un recorte y desdoblamiento de nuestra investigación postdoctoral, desarrollada en la Universidad Federal de Rio Grande do Sul – UFRGS, bajo la supervisión de la Profa. Dra. Cleci R. Bevilacqua, y vinculada al *Projeto Terminológico Cone Sul – Termisul* (Novodvorski, 2020, Novodvorski y Bevilacqua, 2021). Como objeto de estudio, abordamos la metaforización del ámbito más abstracto de la política, a partir de Unidades Fraseológicas Especializadas (UFE) del dominio más concreto del fútbol. Nuestro objeto de investigación es un corpus periodístico en español rioplatense, que recopilamos a partir de la columna de opinión dominical titulada *Humor Político*, escrita por Alejandro Borensztein y publicada en el diario argentino *Clarín*.

El corpus de estudio, al que denominamos *Corpus AleBores*, cuenta con más de 400 textos y abarca un periodo de 10 años de publicaciones, entre 2009 y 2019, con más de 450 mil vocablos. El marco teórico reúne Terminología, Fraseología especializada, Metáfora conceptual y Lingüística de Corpus (LC). La metodología contempla tanto el enfoque y los procedimientos como el uso de las herramientas *WordList*, *KeyWords* y *Concord*, del programa de análisis lexical *WordSmith Tools* (WST), versión 7.0 (Scott, 2016), en sus diferentes funcionalidades, así como algunos recursos propios de las investigaciones con corpus, disponibles en línea para su consulta: *Corpus del Español* (Davies, 2016), versión dialectal. A partir de la identificación y del análisis descriptivo de las UFEs propias del fútbol, buscamos establecer relaciones metafóricas en la representación de enredos políticos en Argentina.

Tomando como punto de partida a Cabré (2002), hipotetizamos que en los textos confluyen aspectos cognitivos, lingüísticos y pragmáticos, englobados en una dimensión cultural más amplia, de tal modo que desde el dominio fuente del fútbol se transfieren características más concretas, que pasan a ser asimiladas para la comprensión del dominio meta más abstracto del campo de la política. Es decir, el reconocimiento de ciertas marcas lingüísticas en los textos, concretamente las UFE, dispara en la memoria del lector el dominio del fútbol y transfiere características de ese ámbito, que pasan a ser asimiladas para la comprensión del dominio metaforizado, el ámbito de la política.

Por un lado, tal percepción es necesaria para que el lector comprenda los usos especializados de determinadas unidades fraseológicas del ámbito futbolístico en el contexto de la trama política. Por otro lado, la comprensión también depende del conocimiento sociohistórico y cultural, dada la alusión a hechos que deben desencadenar relaciones o recuerdos en la memoria de los lectores, así como llamar la atención hacia los aspectos pragmáticos implicados, fundamentales para el establecimiento de relaciones en la construcción de significados, incluyendo los valores humorísticos subyacentes. Como señala en diversas oportunidades el propio autor de la columna *Humor Político*, en los textos que integran el corpus, “el fútbol lo explica mejor” o “digámoslo futbolísticamente”.

Además de ilustrar en este trabajo los procedimientos que adoptamos desde la recopilación y el tratamiento del corpus hasta la identificación de las relaciones metafóricas en las UFE encontradas, abordaremos específicamente determinadas fraseologías formadas entre verbos sintagmáticos y adverbios de lugar (abajo, arriba, adentro, afuera, adelante y atrás), en ocurrencias tomadas del corpus, con el objetivo de cubrir diferentes tipos de relaciones de espacialidad. El siguiente ejemplo, ya abordado en Novodvorski y Bevilacqua (2021), introduce la relación sintagmática de verbos a los que se les suma un adverbio de lugar, o un sintagma preposicional con función adverbial, y apunta hacia el recorte abordado en este trabajo:

- (1) También le pasó a Scioli en 2015. Se la dejaron abajo del arco y la tiró por arriba del travesaño. (Borensztein, *Clarín*, 22/04/2018)

Para una comprensión y un análisis fraseo-metafórico de las combinatorias “Se la dejaron abajo del arco y la tiró por arriba del travesaño”, partimos afirmando que las unidades *dejársela abajo* y *tírarla por arriba* son verbos sintagmáticos que forman frasemas (Pamies,

2019), una vez que cumplen las condiciones necesarias para que sean considerados UF: están formados por más de un lexema, aunque puedan presentarse bajo una única forma susceptible de separabilidad (*dejársela, tirarla*); presentan fijación confirmada por la frecuencia de uso; e idiomaticidad, dado que el sentido resultante, en estos casos metafórico, no deriva de la suma de los significados de cada una de las partes. Por otra parte, registran carácter especializado, siendo por tanto UFEs, ya que el núcleo es un término en el contexto de uso, aunque a veces figure en su forma pronominal (*dejársela, tirarla* > la pelota).

Cabe recuperar brevemente el contexto, en el ámbito sociopolítico argentino. Daniel Scioli fue candidato a la presidencia argentina por el Kirchnerismo, en el final del segundo gobierno de la expresidenta Cristina Kirchner. Las UFEs destacadas en el ejemplo anterior ilustran una jugada de fútbol, en la que un jugador le dejó la pelota a otro “abajo del arco”, es decir, dándole la posibilidad para que nada más pateara para convertir el gol. Sin embargo, ese jugador pateó la pelota afuera, “por arriba del travesaño”. ¿Cuál sería la necesidad de ilustrar una situación del mundo de la política, por medio de la imagen de una jugada de fútbol?

Estas unidades fraseológicas características del campo del fútbol (“dejársela [a alguien/la pelota] abajo del arco” y “tirlarla [la pelota] por arriba del travesaño”), a través de una imagen más concreta, metafORIZAN una situación más abstracta del medio político, en la que un candidato perdió las elecciones presidenciales, pese a que le habrían dejado bastante facilitado todo el camino, listo para que ganara las elecciones. En lenguaje futbolero, *malogró un gol que le dieron servido*.

Desde una perspectiva metafórica, tales fraseologías actúan como vehículos de la metáfora lingüística, por formar parte del ámbito fuente del fútbol. De hecho, textualmente constatamos que se trata de una pelota, que le dejan a otro jugador abajo del arco, y que este la tira por arriba del travesaño. Ya el elemento que funciona como tópico, por estar en el dominio meta de la política, se refiere al nombre propio (Scioli) de un candidato a la presidencia, que se encontraba en plena campaña electoral, como participe en las jugadas descritas por los fraseologismos, que realizan las metáforas conceptuales subyacentes: POLÍTICA ES FÚTBOL, POLÍTICOS SON JUGADORES DE FÚTBOL.

En consulta a la versión dialectal (2000 millones de palabras) del *Corpus del Español* (Davies, 2016), tomando *abajo* como palabra de búsqueda y *arco* en coocurrencia, en un alcance de cuatro palabras a la derecha, obtuvimos 60 resultados. De esos, 37 correspondieron a Argentina, siempre con la forma exacta *abajo del arco* y principalmente junto a los verbos *comerse, morfarse, errar, fallar, perderse un gol (abajo del arco)*, con el sentido de desperdiciar una oportunidad de gol. Por ejemplo, *se comió 3 abajo del arco, erramos muchos goles abajo del arco*. Le siguieron a Argentina en frecuencia México y Uruguay, registrando 5 resultados cada uno para esa misma búsqueda. Estos resultados confirman por la frecuencia de uso que se trata de una UFE característica de la variante argentina, rioplatense, correspondiendo a la jugada de fútbol mencionada, tanto en sentido literal como metafórico, en referencia al ámbito político.

Como vemos, uno de los principios básicos en el campo de la metáfora conceptual es que las metáforas lingüísticas realizan metáforas conceptuales (Deignan, 2005). Es decir,

las relaciones metafóricas subyacentes se materializan en el plano textual. La identificación de las metáforas lingüísticas permite el alcance interpretativo de las metáforas conceptuales que, de hecho, son las que facultan las diferentes ocurrencias que funcionan como claves metafóricas. Así, una metáfora lingüística vehicula el significado literal del dominio de origen (concreto), que llega a significar en el dominio de destino (abstracto) como tópico. Llegados a este punto, es pertinente destacar el importante papel que juega el uso de las herramientas de la LC como aliadas en la inferencia del procesamiento mental metafórico, a partir de análisis empíricos de instancias concretas de uso en corpus. La identificación de las metáforas lingüísticas conduce a un análisis introspectivo sobre la existencia de metáforas conceptuales a nivel cognitivo. Según Berber Sardinha (2007), este camino se ha convertido en un reto significativo y una oportunidad especial para el potencial teórico de la LC.

Bajo esa idea, la percepción tanto de los candidatos a términos como de las eventuales fraseologías y dominios que confluyen en los textos es fundamental, por un lado, para la comprensión lectora de los usos especializados de las UFE. Por otro lado, el conocimiento sociohistórico y cultural es también esencial para la comprensión que se alcanza, mediante la extracción de datos apoyada en las herramientas de la LC, aliada a un análisis introspectivo, en el que intervienen aspectos fácticos, pragmáticos, valores irónicos subyacentes, implicados en la construcción de significados.

Con respecto al carácter de especialización de un determinado texto, es importante observar que lo confiere la propia instancia comunicativa. Cabré (1993) señala que las lenguas especializadas se caracterizan según el tema, los hablantes y las situaciones comunicativas. Complementa esto afirmando que áreas como el comercio y el deporte también forman parte de la especialización, produciendo tipos de textos que se distinguen de los textos considerados de uso general. Es decir, los ámbitos especializados no serían exclusivos de las materias científicas o técnicas. Así, desde el punto de vista léxico, los textos se especializan por la especificidad de la terminología y de la fraseología utilizadas, fundamentalmente por la función semántica de las unidades terminológicas que las integran.

Por otro lado, basándonos en la autora, corroboramos que los aspectos pragmáticos, si se comparan con los aspectos gramaticales o funcionales, son los que permiten distinguir con mayor claridad los usos más generales o especializados del lenguaje, debido a que permiten diferenciar los términos de los vocablos. La distinción entre términos y vocablos se produce, por tanto, teniendo en cuenta aspectos pragmáticos, a saber: por los usuarios, por las situaciones de uso, por la temática y por el tipo de discurso en el que suelen aparecer.

Presentamos en esta publicación, además de los procedimientos desarrollados para la identificación de las UFE y para la interpretación de las relaciones metafóricas encontradas, un conjunto de resultados marcados por relaciones de espacialidad, en concreto, fraseologismos que unen verbos sintagmáticos a partículas adverbiales locativas.

2. Corpus y metodología

Como ya apuntado en la Introducción de este trabajo, integran el *Corpus AleBores* textos publicados en la columna de opinión *Humor Político*, escritos por Alejandro Borensztein¹. La tipología del corpus presenta: (a) modo escrito, electrónico; (b) contemporáneo y diacrónico, de 2009 a 2019; (c) selección definida por el género (opinión: humor político); (d) extensión en textos (406), con 466.800 ítems o vocablos totales (*tokens*) y 31.759 formas diferentes (*types*), que corresponden a 6,8%, según la razón forma/ítem (*type/token ratio*), en datos estadísticos de la herramienta *WordList*; (e) contenido especializado, marcado por el campo socioprofesional (política); (f) monolingüe, español rioplatense; (g) de autoría única, lengua nativa; y (h) para fines de investigación. La próxima tabla presenta los datos cuantitativos del corpus.

Año	Nº textos	Tokens (f)	Types (f)	T/T ratio (%)
2009-2010	08	9.698	2.824	29,12
2011	41	37.774	7.508	19,88
2012	37	35.954	7.262	20,20
2013	47	52.658	9.227	17,52
2014	47	52.022	9.215	17,71
2015	47	52.363	8.445	16,13
2016	42	46.529	8.426	18,11
2017	44	57.300	9.522	16,62
2018	47	62.471	9.785	15,66
2019	46	60.032	9.370	15,61
TOTALES	406	466.800	31.759	6,80

Tabla 1. Extensión del Corpus AleBores

Algunos de los procedimientos metodológicos aplicados durante los análisis fueron: (i) Planificación, recopilación, preparación y almacenamiento del corpus; (ii) Tratamiento del corpus con las herramientas y funcionalidades del programa WST; (iii) Extracción de listas de palabras y listas de palabras clave del corpus de estudio, relacionadas con los diferentes campos semánticos del fútbol y de la política; (iv) Identificación y extracción de los candidatos a términos, en el dominio del fútbol; (v) Identificación, extracción y descripción de las UFE metafóricas del fútbol, con respecto a la política, a partir del análisis de las líneas de concordancia; y (vi) Análisis y descripción de las relaciones metafóricas, a la luz de las UFE extraídas, entre los dominios del fútbol y de la política. La próxima figura ilustra las etapas de identificación, extracción y descripción de UFE, con auxilio de la herramienta *Concord*, para análisis de las líneas de concordancia.

¹ Disponible en: https://www.clarin.com/autor/alejandro_borensztein.html.

The image shows two screenshots of the Concord tool interface. The top window, titled 'ABAJO.cnc', displays a concordance table with 10 lines of text. The word 'abajo' is highlighted in red in several instances. The bottom window, titled 'ARRIBA.cnc', displays a concordance table with 10 lines of text. The word 'arriba' is highlighted in red in several instances. Both windows have columns for line number (N), concordance text, Set, Tag, Word #, and File.

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	File
1	que viene hace años con un 5 a 0 abajo . Ahora 5 a 1. De acá al	1		349	20170507.txt
2	contra la oposición que estaba 2 a 0 abajo . Cambiaste la historia, Balcarce	1		139	20161218.txt
3	. Por ahora el partido sigue 3 a 0 abajo , ya empezó el segundo tiempo	1		170	20190915.txt
4	tres décadas después estaría 5 a 1 abajo , contando sólo las	1		372	20131027.txt
5	Central. Remontamos el 0 a 1 abajo (gol del flaco Landucci en el	1		626	20140907.txt
6	ahora en todo el país, estás 40 a 20 abajo . No es el mejor momento del	1		255	20170910.txt
7	tiempo y el gobierno está 0 a 3 abajo con goles de Boudou, Irán y	1		296	20150705.txt
8	pasó a Scioli en 2015. Se la dejaron abajo del arco y la tiró por arriba del	2		229	20180422.txt
9	ni más afuera. Ni más arriba ni más abajo . El vuelo de la bocha a ese	3		78	20140615.txt
10	de Lilita. Calladito y al pie. Era por abajo , Martín . Así como en 2015	4		457	20170423.txt

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	File
1	clásicas: 1. Darle fuerte para arriba y después que los	4		78	20170624.txt
2	del segundo tiempo, ibas 2 a 0 arriba y se te pusieron 2 a 1.	1		284	20180630.txt
3	ver si alguien puede pescarla arriba y meter una contra. Este	3		134	20191020.txt
4	Perón, te la toca por arriba y tenés que sacar del	6		611	20180429.txt
5	, si bien estás dos puntos arriba , tenés un partido chivo	1		263	20170820.txt
6	el arco en cero. Después , arriba siempre vas a tener una.	3		797	20190210.txt
7	todos. Sin embargo, sigue arriba . Se ve que cuando jugás	1		877	20190303.txt
8	. Salieron del laberinto por arriba . ¿Qué dirigente argentino	6		1.131	20181229.txt
9	no tenés uno bueno para poner arriba , preferible poner a	5		652	20180422.txt
10	, un enganche y un punta arriba para ver si pesca una	5		864	20150412.txt

Figura 2. Líneas de concordancia con ABAJO / ARRIBA

A seguir, procedemos al análisis de UFE marcadas por relaciones de espacialidad y valores metafóricos.

3. Resultados

El análisis cuantitativo general de la investigación apuntó los siguientes datos en el *Corpus AleBores*: de 355 candidatos a término, identificamos la pertinencia de 338 unidades terminológicas del ámbito futbolístico, con una frecuencia de 5.179 ocurrencias, distribuidas en 998 combinatorias léxicas. A continuación, analizamos específicamente un resumen de las unidades formadas por verbos sintagmáticos con partículas adverbiales locativas.

3.1. ABAJO / ARRIBA

El corpus reportó 70 ocurrencias para *abajo* y 72 para *arriba*, de las cuales se confirmaron 11 y 30 resultados en el ámbito futbolístico, respectivamente, distribuidos en diferentes combinatorias, que organizamos en la columna *set* de la funcionalidad *concordance* de la herramienta *Concord*. Con el valor semántico de *un equipo/club estar perdiendo*, como resultado

desfavorable, identificamos las estructuras: *estar / seguir / venir* (con un) / *remontar* (un / el x a x [resultado]) + *abajo*:

- (2) Se están jugando los últimos 10 minutos del segundo tiempo y el gobierno está 0 a 3 abajo con goles de Boudou, Irán y Hotesur.
- (3) Por ahora el partido sigue 3 a 0 abajo.
- (4) Un país que viene hace años con un 5 a 0 abajo.

Como se observa, las UFE reflejan resultados contrarios para el gobierno o para el país, representados como equipos de fútbol que disputan partidos. En (02), por ejemplo, los goles se los ha convertido el propio gobierno, serían en contra, una vez que sus autores formaban parte como vicepresidente (Boudou) o como nombres de causas judiciales por supuesta corrupción atribuidas a quienes gobernaban Argentina en esa época. Con valor semántico de jugadas o estrategias de fútbol, encontramos *dejársela* (la pelota a un jugador) + *abajo* (del arco), ya discutida en la Introducción, y *ser* (la pelota / el pase / el tiro) + *por abajo*, que indica por dónde debería ser una jugada que salió mal y en política equivaldría a una mala estrategia o maniobra:

- (5) Se la dejaron abajo del arco...
- (6) Era por abajo, Martín...

Con el valor semántico de resultado favorable o victoria de un equipo/club, obtuvimos UFE formadas por: *estar / ir / seguir* + x a x [resultado] + *arriba*, en alusión a momentos específicos o situaciones positivas por las que atravesaría el gobierno o país:

- (7) Después de las elecciones del año pasado, el gobierno estaba 2 a 0 arriba cómodo.

Otras combinatorias representan diferentes tipos de jugadas características del fútbol, utilizadas en referencia figurativa hacia la política: (jugador) *andar / ir* (bien / mal) + *de arriba* = *cabecear*; (jugador) *pescarla / tenerla* (la pelota) + *arriba* = *dominio en ataque*; *darle* (a la pelota) + *para arriba* = *alejarse un peligro*; (jugadores) *pasársela* (la pelota) / *ponérsela / tirársela / tocársela* + *por arriba* = *de (la) cabeza*. Algunos ejemplos son:

- (8) ...un grandote por el medio que ande bien de arriba.
- (9) ver si alguien puede pescarla arriba y meter una contra.
- (10) Darle fuerte para arriba y después que los delanteros se las arreglen.
- (11) ...no pueden atrapar la bocha porque el gobierno y el kirchnerismo se la pasan entre ellos por arriba.

3.2. ADELANTE / ATRÁS

Con *adelante* y *atrás* obtuvimos 72 y 105 ocurrencias, de las cuales respectivamente 8 y 12 se confirmaron en referencia al dominio del fútbol. Las UFE reportan situaciones con valor

semántico de jugadas, que metafóricamente representan maniobras de ataque o de defensa, en el mundo político. Algunas de las combinatorias son: (jugador) *patear / darle* ((a) la pelota) + *para adelante* = *alejar un peligro*; (jugador, equipo) *ir* + *para adelante* = *atacar*; (técnico) *ponerle* (al arquero, una defensa) + *adelante* = *defender*. Entre los fragmentos del corpus, ejemplificamos con:

- (12) tirar un rato más, pateando la pelota para adelante.
- (13) Balcarce, vos dale para adelante.
- (14) ...le ponen garra, apuestan y van para adelante.
- (15) Ponele adelante una línea de cuatro y trató de que no le lleguen.

Con sentido de jugadas de defensa o de remontada de resultados contrarios, observamos: (equipo, jugador) *correr* + *de atrás* = *intentar remontar un resultado*; (jugador) *bajar* (a otro jugador) + *de / desde atrás* = *derribar al adversario*; (equipo, jugador) *dejar atrás* (a otro equipo / jugador) = *superar al rival*; (equipo, jugador) *tirarse* + (*para*) *atrás* = *defenderse*.

- (16) En principio digamos que, por primera vez, el kirchnerismo corre de atrás.
- (17) ...Y cuando por ahí se te escapa alguno lo bajás de atrás sin piedad.
- (18) Hoy el peronismo dejó atrás a Perón, a Evita, a Isabel, a Menem, a Kirchner, a Ex Ella y va en busca de su nuevo líder.
- (19) Es el momento de bajar un cambio, macho. No entrés en el juego. En todo caso, tirate para atrás y esperalo.

3.3. ADENTRO / AFUERA

El *Corpus AleBores* registró 93 ocurrencias para *adentro* y 99 para *afuera*, resultando respectivamente 17 y 34 de esas frecuencias para el dominio fuente del fútbol, en referencia al dominio meta de la política. Algunas de las UFE identificadas son: (equipo) *tener* (el campeonato / partido) + *adentro* = con sentido de *ganar*; (*no*) *meterla* (la pelota) + *adentro* = (*no*) *meter un gol*; (jugador / equipo) *tenerla* (la pelota) + *adentro* = con valor de *perder*.

- (20) ...el Compañero Mauri ya tenía el partido cerrado y el campeonato adentro.
- (21) ...las que van afuera no las metas adentro, pibe.
- (22) “¿Escocia?, LTA” quiere decir “Escocia, la tenés adentro” y no hay manera de que la diplomacia internacional pueda disfrazarlo de otra cosa.

La frase, en (20), remite a una circunstancia en que el expresidente Macri ya contaría con una situación favorable, de victoria, “ya tenía el partido cerrado y el campeonato adentro”; sin embargo, terminó derrotado en las elecciones siguientes. Es interesante observar que *tener adentro* (el campeonato, un partido) denota sentido positivo, de sumar una victoria. Ya en (22), *tenerla adentro* (la pelota) exprime el sentido de derrota, de insulto provocativo tras una derrota o un gol. Acerca de esta última frase, su autoría es atribuida al exjugador

Diego Maradona, que la habría acuñado durante una entrevista, exactamente así “la tenés adentro”, como insulto o provocación a un periodista. Con eso, le estaba diciendo que había perdido o sufrido una derrota. Esa UFE, incluso con su abreviación *LTA*, es característica del mundo futbolístico argentino y pasó a ser común en diversos contextos, como en las disputas del medio político². La interpretación de ese fraseologismo trae aparejado un posible doble sentido de connotación machista, como si quien fuera penetrado estuviera en condición de derrota, de haber perdido.

Por último, destacamos algunas unidades con *afuera*, en las que se percibe un antijuego, como hacer pasar el tiempo para evitar una derrota, o intentar algún tipo de milagro: (pelota) *ir(se) + afuera = no entrar; no ser gol*; (jugador) *pegarle (a la pelota) + de afuera (del área) = intentar un gol salvador; tirar (la pelota) + afuera = equivocarse (adrede)*.

- (23) Él te va a decir que lo del endeudamiento es por el déficit que dejaron ustedes, pero esa dejala pasar que se va afuera.
- (24) ... no te pedimos demasiado, aunque sea pegale de afuera del área y tratá de embocar una.
- (25) Mientras tanto, Tío Alberto tira la pelota afuera y hace tiempo. Juega para el costado, la distrae a Cristina para que no hable.

La discusión en (23) es sobre la responsabilidad por la deuda externa. La sugerencia dada es “dejala pasar (a la pelota) que se va afuera”; es decir, no vale la pena perder tiempo con eso, puesto que esa provocación no se transformará en “gol”. Ya en (25), la actitud atribuida al presidente Alberto (Fernández) corresponde a la de un jugador cuya estrategia es que el tiempo pase, tirando la pelota afuera, jugando hacia los costados. Algunas consideraciones, a seguir.

4. Conclusiones

Considerando la perspectiva léxico-terminológica, los candidatos a término sumados al análisis de concordancias y de ocurrencias en contexto condujeron a la identificación de unidades fraseológicas, con implicación de la especialidad (fútbol y política). En ese sentido, desde la perspectiva fraseológica, concluimos que las combinatorias analizadas (verbos sintagmáticos con partículas adverbiales locativas) atienden a las condiciones clasificatorias de las fraseologías: polilexematicidad, grados de fijación y de idiomatización. Por otro lado, constatamos valores polisémicos, de pronominalización y su consecuente separabilidad en unidades mayores.

A partir del punto de vista metafórico, identificamos innumerables metáforas lingüísticas entre los dominios fuente (fútbol) y meta (política), generadas por metáforas conceptuales que subyacen a la materialidad textual: POLÍTICA ES FÚTBOL; POLÍTICOS SON JUGADORES; PARTIDOS POLÍTICOS SON EQUIPOS; ESTRATEGIAS POLÍTICAS SON JUGADAS DE FÚTBOL. Finalmente, desde la perspectiva de la investigación con

² Ver más en: <https://bazardebrutalidades.blogspot.com/2011/10/la-tenes-adentro-significado.html>.

corpus, destacamos el valor de la replicación metodológica, del carácter empírico que interviene en los procesos de identificación y extracción de datos, cotejo y soporte a la introspección.

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Sprachliche Formelhaftigkeit im Ritual

Pragmatische Phraseologismen im Kontext der Geburtstagsfeier

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Abstract

Celebrations and festivities give rise to certain rituals strongly connected to significant linguistic phenomena as routine formulas. Nevertheless, only few works on the role of these units in the cultural context of birthday celebrations are done. The aim of this paper is an analysis of ‘wishing formulas’ in German in the context of birthday congratulations. Not only formulas as *Gratuliere, Herzlichen Glückwunsch zum Geburtstag* but also birthday songs are investigated. Birthday songs with their small text format are seen as formulaic texts. They are closely tied to the concrete situation of the birthday celebration and performed as serenades. The study shows that the songs are constitutive and indispensable for the ritual itself and they help to frame the celebration. They also have a thoroughly important and necessary function of shaping relationships - despite their structural formulaic nature and stereotypical and predictable content. The serenade contributes to the temporal expansion and performative exaggeration of the celebration.

Keywords

routine formulas, linguistic routines, wishing formulas, birthday songs, phraseology

1. Ritual und Sprache

Bereits im Jahre 1909 betrachtete der Ethnologe Arnold van Gennep Übergänge im Leben, die in verschiedenen Sprach- und Kulturräumen durch Riten und Rituale realisiert werden. Solche Übergänge beobachtet er nicht nur bei „halbzivilisierten Völkern“ (2005: 14 urspr. 1909), sondern auch in modernen Gesellschaften und zwar in Zusammenhängen, wenn der Mensch von einem Lebensabschnitt in den nächsten wechselte. Van Gennep (2005: 15) schreibt darüber:

Wo immer zwischen Alters- und Tätigkeitsgruppen unterschieden wird, ist der Übergang von einer Gruppe zur anderen von speziellen Handlungen begleitet [...]. Es ist das Leben selbst, das die Übergänge von einer Gruppe zur anderen und von einer sozialen Situation zur anderen notwendig macht.

Die Handlungen, die in diesem Zusammenhang vollzogen werden, bezeichnet er als ‚Übergangsriten‘ (2005: 21). Diese Riten oder das Zeremoniell sind somit etwas, was sich vom Alltag abhebt und unterscheidet. Die Rolle, die dabei der Sprache zukommt, wird zwar in der ethnologischen Forschung erwähnt, aber nicht ausführlich erörtert.

Dies ist jedoch insofern notwendig, da Sprache ein untrennbarer Begleiter von Festen und Übergangsriten ist. Auch in der linguistischen Forschung scheint Sprache im Zeremoniell und Ritual eher ein Randthema zu sein, da es sich hier vordergründig um die Benutzung von pragmatischen Phraseologismen handelt, die Irma Hyvärinen (2011: 9) zufolge, auch heute noch oft an die phraseologische Peripherie gestellt werden. Obwohl Stephan Stein (1994: 179-180) darauf aufmerksam gemacht hat, dass sich die Phraseologie inzwischen mit heterogenen Phänomenen beschäftigt und sich mit der Textlinguistik, der Ritualforschung und der Erforschung der gesprochenen Sprache teilweise überlappt, fehlen weitgehend Analysen zur sprachlichen Ausgestaltung von Übergangsriten.

Das Interesse am sprachlichen Handeln sowie an sprachlichen Routinen und Ritualen hat in den letzten Jahrzehnten dazu beigetragen, dass sich die pragmatischen Phraseologismen innerhalb der Phraseologie eine eigene „Nische“ erobert haben (vgl. Hyvärinen 2011: 11). Woran dies liegen könnte, ist der Aussage vom Sprachwissenschaftler und Sozio-Pragmatiker István Kecskés (2002) zu entnehmen. Kecskés, der den englischsprachigen Terminus „situation-bound utterance“ verwendet, stellt fest:

I realized that these expressions [situation-bound utterances] are much more than just another group of formulas. [...] The investigation of situation-bound utterances (SBUs) can lead researchers to the heart and soul of the target language. These expressions are “windows” to the culture, thought patterns, social values, communication structures and institutions of the society in which the source language is used. (Kecskés 2002: 2)

Pragmatische Phraseologismen sind ihm zufolge nicht nur ein Fenster zur Kultur und zu Kommunikationsstrukturen, sondern sie dienen „der Reproduktion einer sozialen Struktur“ und „einer genuin kommunikativen Ordnung“ (Feilke 1996: 274-276). Außerdem bestätigen sie bestimmte soziale Werte. Zu postulieren ginge, dass die Benutzung von pragmatischen Phraseologismen im privaten als auch im institutionellen Bereich in bestimmten Situationen unerlässlich ist und ein Nichtbefolgen Sanktionen nach sich ziehen könnte. So sollte auch die Betrachtung von diesen Phraseologismen zweifelsohne in ihrem situationstypischen ritualisierten Gebrauch geschehen, was Peter Kühn in den 80er Jahren als einer der ersten einforderte und was auch heute noch Gültigkeit hat: „Routineformeln müssen [...] in ihrem situationstypischen ritualisierten Gebrauch beschrieben werden“ (Kühn 1984: 194).

2. Pragmatische Phraseologismen im Ritual

In der Phraseologieforschung sind pragmatischen Phraseologismen kaum einheitlich benannt und klassifiziert worden (vgl. Hyvärinen 2011: 12). Als Ursache für die terminologische Vielfalt betont Kecskés (2002: 607):

This variety of terms can be explained not only by the difficulty of defining this particular type of pragmatic units, but also by the fact that these expressions are discussed in different fields of theoretical and applied linguistics, while sometimes authors seem to care relatively little about research on SBUs [situation-bound utterances] done outside their own prespective field.

Den Begriff „pragmatischer Phraseologismus“ prägte Harald Burger (s. Burger/Buhofer/Sialm 1982: 105) und führte an, den Einsatz von Sprechakttheorie, Theorie der Sprachfunktionen und Theorie der Sprechsituationen als mögliche Zugänge zur Erforschung der pragmatischen Phraseologismen zu sehen, wobei auch das menschliche Verhalten berücksichtigt wird. Pragmatische Phraseologismen sind laut Burger (2010: 28-29) solche Phraseologismen, die in erster Linie keine „Bedeutung“, sondern eine Funktion in rekurrenten Kommunikationssituationen haben.

Dausendschön-Gay/Gülich/Krafft (2007: 205-206) betrachten diese Phraseologismen als Formulierungsmodelle, an denen sich die Kommunikationsteilnehmer orientieren können. Darunter verstehen sie, dass die Phraseologismen selten in ihrer „richtigen“ Form realisiert werden, sondern dass durch Formulierungsarbeit Varianten entstehen. Sie betonen jedoch, dass die Vorgeformtheit die Sprecher in ihrem Sprachgebrauch entlastet.

Sowohl Burgers Auffassung, dass die Erforschung durch Einsatz von Sprechakttheorie, Theorie der Sprachfunktionen und Theorie der Sprechsituationen geschehen soll, als auch das Konzept des Formulierungsmodells von Dausendschön-Gay/Gülich/Krafft soll im Folgenden den Hintergrund zur Betrachtung der pragmatischen Phraseologismen im Ritual und in zeremoniellen Kontexten bilden, wo ihre Rolle und Funktion in diesen Kontexten und auch ihre Beteiligung an der Sinnggebung menschlichen Handelns näher betrachtet werden.

Allen unterschiedlichen Ansätzen gemeinsam ist, dass pragmatische Phraseologismen sich als alleinstehende Wörter oder festgeprägte und plurilexikalische Wortketten definieren lassen — die sowohl Syntagmen als auch ganze Sätze mit oder ohne Leerstelle sein können —, und die oft innerhalb einer mehr oder weniger ritualisierten Situation für die Durchführung eines Sprechaktes benutzt werden. Durch diese Einheiten kann der Sprecher also grüßen, gratulieren, einen Wunsch äußern usw. (vgl. Fleischer 1997: 52; Wotjak 2005: 373; Hyvärinen 2011: 39–41; Liimatainen 2011: 116–118, Larreta Zulategui 2014: 241). Sosa Mayor (2006: 149) und Liimatainen (2010: 167) unterteilen diese in drei Gruppen, und zwar in: allgemeine Wunschformeln, spezifische Wunschformeln sowie Anlassformeln. Hyvärinen (2011: 28) hingegen weist darauf hin, dass die Wunschformeln als eine Art Oberbegriff für Trink- und Essformeln, eigentliche Wunsch- und Anlassformeln, Beileidsformeln und Niesformeln betrachtet werden könnten. Diese Einteilung von Hyvärinen soll im Folgenden übernommen werden und von Wunschformeln als Oberbegriff die Rede sein, die im betrachteten Kontext die Sprechhandlungen POSITIVEN-WUNSCH AUSDRÜCKEN bzw. GRATULIEREN vollziehen. Zu den pragmatischen Phraseologismen, die während der Geburtstagsfeier geäußert werden, lassen sich Wunschformeln rechnen, wie:

- (1) Gratuliere!
- (2) Herzlichen Glückwunsch!
- (3) Alles Gute zum Geburtstag!

In Anlehnung an Florian Coulmas (1981) und seinen Überlegungen zu den Routineformeln, zu denen die Wunschformeln zu rechnen sind, soll hervorgehoben werden, dass diese „Muster für die Konstituierung von Handlungen [sind], und zwar von solchen Handlungen, die sich in der alltäglichen kommunikativen Praxis jeder Sprachgemeinschaft wiederholen. Sie sind an rekurrente Situationen des sozialen Verhaltens gebunden [...]. Sie sind in der Sprache verfestigte organisierte Reaktionen auf soziale Situationen; ihr Gebrauch gewährt dem einzelnen Gruppenmitglied ein hohes Maß an Verhaltenssicherheit.“ (Coulmas 1981: 13)

Insbesondere die Aussage „Sie sind in der Sprache verfestigte organisierte Reaktionen auf soziale Situationen“ verpflichtet zur Obligatorität (Werlen 2001: 1270). So dürfen Wunschformeln bei einer Geburtstagsfeier, so kurz sie auch sind, nicht fehlen, wie die schon genannten (1), (2) und (3).

Aus der Sicht ihrer propositionalen Struktur können sich Glückwünsche jedoch voneinander unterscheiden: von komplexen syntaktischen Konstruktionen bis zu formelhaft standardisierten Nominalphrasen. Oft werden Glückwünsche vom performativen Verb *wünschen* eingeleitet, manchmal wird dies vorausgesetzt – so etwa wie: *Ich wünsche alles Gute zum Geburtstag!* vs. *Alles Gute zum Geburtstag!* Aus pragmalinguistischer Perspektive haben Glückwünsche eine komplexe illokutionäre Struktur. Larreta Zulategui (2015: 293) zufolge stellen Glückwünsche keine Assertive dar, sondern sind eher als supportive expressive Sprechakte zu betrachten, die den Zustand des Sprechenden, dessen Erleben und insbesondere dessen Wunsch, Freude beim Adressaten hervorzurufen, ausdrücken. Während der Geburtstagsfeier eingesetzte Wunschformeln verleihen der Sprechhandlung eine ausgeprägte phatische und expressive Funktion und werden selbstverständlich zur Kundgabe der Gefühle und Stimmungen der Sprechenden benutzt.

Glückwünsche sind aber auch eine besondere Form des Wünschens, d.h. Propositionen, die im Rahmen einer deontischen Modalität sowohl dialogisch ausgerichtet als auch zukunftsorientiert sind. Dialogisch ausgerichtet sind sie im Kontext der Geburtstagsfeier, da die Äusserungen sequentiell auf Paarigkeit hin angelegt sind, und bei Verwendung der Beispiele unter (1) bis (3) mit einer Routineformel des Dankens seitens des Geburtstagskindes zu entgegen ist. Zukunftsorientiert bedeutet: Etwas, das dem Adressaten bzw. Beglückwünschten zugutekommt – soll/kann/muss passieren.

Für die Strukturierung der Geburtstagsfeier ist festzuhalten, dass die Wunschformeln das Zeremoniell Geburtstagsfeier eröffnen und die Beteiligtenrollen am Ritual vereindeutigen: es gibt einerseits die Gratulierenden und andererseits das Geburtstagskind. Im Beispiel (1) wird nämlich durch die Formel nicht nur die Illokution deutlich, sondern auch der Selbstbezug des/der Gratulierenden ersichtlich und zwar durch die Verbform in der 1. Person Singular des performativen Verbs *gratulieren*. Die Beispiele (2) und (3) drücken Wünsche aus und in der Performanz wird das Geburtstagskind zum Empfänger dieser Äusserungen und somit

eines sprachlichen Geschenks. (1) – (3) sind nicht nur gute Wünsche, sondern indizieren alle zugleich die Situation Geburtstag und verfügen über einen hohen Grad an Expressivität. Die emotionale Deontik ist eindeutig: Über Glückwünsche freut man sich.

Die mündlichen Praktiken des Gratulierens und Beglückwünschens werden angemessenerweise von Gästen zu Beginn einer Geburtstagsfeier bei der ersten Begegnung mit dem Gastgeber / der Gastgeberin (mit dem Geburtstagskind) vollzogen. Diese Wunschformeln können (und sollten) also nicht erst nach Stunden auf einer Feier geäußert werden.

3. Das Geburtstagsständchen als Gratulation

Situationstypisch ist, dass die Gratulation zum Geburtstag mit Wunschformeln aber auch mit einem Geburtstagslied als Ständchen dargeboten wird. Die Musikwissenschaftler Michael Grossbach und Eckart Altenmüller (2003) betonen, dass Musik und das Singen von Liedern mit Affektivität zu verbinden ist, so auch die Entwicklungspsychologin und Musikdidaktikerin Stefanie Stadler Elmer (2015: 15), die das gemeinsame Liedersingen als Ausdruck von Gefühlen sieht, womit zugleich „Gefühlszustände erzeugt oder verändert werden“. Dementsprechend werden Schlaf-, Wiegen- und Trostlieder zur Beruhigung eingesetzt und Reigenlieder sollen zum Tanz anregen. Wunschformeln sind somit auf einem Geburtstagsfest nicht nur in mündlich geäußelter oder in verschrifteter Form auf z.B. überreichten Gratulationskarten vorzufinden, sie sind auch im Geburtstagslied, das während der Feier dargeboten wird, zu finden, wie z.B. im Geburtstagslied „Zum Geburtstag viel Glück“:

- (4) Zum Geburtstag viel Glück,
 Zum Geburtstag viel Glück,
 Zum Geburtstag liebe/lieber N,
 Zum Geburtstag viel Glück.

Dieses kleine Geburtstagslied (4) besteht nur aus einer Wunschformel, die durch mehrmaliges Wiederholen für die Gratulation eingesetzt wird. In ähnlicher Weise verhält es sich bei dem Lied „Hoch sollst du leben“ (5), wo statt des Namens personaldeiktisch das Geburtstagskind in der 2. Person angeredet wird:

- (5) Hoch sollst du leben,
 Hoch sollst du leben,
 Dreimal hoch, hoch, hoch.

Sowohl durch die Wiederholung der Wunschformel *Hoch sollst du leben* als auch die abschliessende explizite Nennung der Anzahl *Dreimal hoch, hoch, hoch* und der darauffolgenden dreifachen Wiederholung von *hoch* in der Performanz des Geburtstagslieds wird das Geburtstagskind überschwänglich ins Zentrum des Geschehens gesetzt.

Während das Gratulieren zum Geburtstag und das Überreichen von Geschenken auch nachträglich vollzogen werden können und somit weniger zeitlich gebunden sind, ist die Darbietung des Geburtstagsliedes – das Geburtstagsständchen – zum großen Teil an die

Geburtstagsfeier selbst gebunden. Andererseits ist das Ständchen sequentiell weniger fest eingebunden als die initiale Gratulation, d.h. es muss nicht unbedingt als allererstes bei der Begegnung mit dem Geburtstagskind vorgetragen werden. Es bedarf allerdings stärker einer Art Bühne zur Aufführung sowie in der Regel mehrerer Personen für die Darbietung. Das gemeinsame Singen (die Performanz) der formelhaften und wohlbekannten Geburtstagslieder beeinflusst das Erleben der Beteiligten am Fest, indem es das individuelle Erleben in ein kollektives verwandelt.

Anders als beim mündlich geäußerten Glückwunsch und der Gratulation ist mit dem Ständchen aufgrund der musikalischen Darbietung ein zusätzlicher Aufwand seitens der Gratulierenden verbunden. Dies jedoch verschafft dem Ständchen als sprachlich-musikalisch getragene Einheit einen geschätzten Platz im Ritus der Geburtstagsfeier und trägt durch die Performanz gleichzeitig dazu bei, den Akt der Gratulation zeitlich zu expandieren. Das Zusammenwirken von Sprache und Musik im Ständchen prägt somit nicht nur das Erleben auf dem Geburtstagsfest, sondern mit ihrer Hilfe wird das Geschehen zeitlich und räumlich mitdefiniert (vgl. Stoeva-Holm/Tienken 2021).

Es existieren Geburtstagslieder, die aus weit mehr als nur Wunschformeln bestehen wie z.B. das Lied „Geburtstagskind (jetzt sind wir alle da)“:

- (6) Geburtstagskind, Geburtstagskind, jetzt sind wir alle da.
Wir wünschen dir, wir wünschen dir, ein frohes neues Jahr!
Die Gaben, die wir haben, die sollen es dir sagen:
Wir haben dich so lieb! Wir haben dich so lieb!

Die zeitliche Expandierung der Gratulation im Lied (6) wird aber auch durch die Wiederholung von *Geburtstagskind* und der Wunschformel *Wir wünschen dir* [...] und der assertiven Formel *Wir haben dich so lieb!* herbeigeführt. Aus dem Lied (6) wird auch ersichtlich, dass außer der zeitlichen Zerdehnung der Gratulation Geburtstagslieder zur Kontextgenerierung beitragen. Der Kontext im Lied (6) gibt zu verstehen: Es gibt Gratulierende, die sich in der Zeitlichkeit und Örtlichkeit der Geburtstagsfeier verorten (*jetzt sind wir alle da*) und diejenige/demjenigen, der/dem gratuliert wird. Die Beziehung zwischen beiden wird durch das Geschenk gefestigt (*Die Gaben, die wir haben, sollen es dir sagen: Wir haben dich so lieb*).

Ähnlich verhält es sich mit dem Geburtstagslied „Geburtstagskind, Geburtstagskind“ (7):

- (7) Geburtstagskind, Geburtstagskind
oh komm zu uns herein, geschwind.
Wir stehen alle hier und gratulieren dir!
Geschenkt bekommst du auch etwas.
Wir hoffen sehr, es macht dir Spaß.
Tritt an den Tisch heran und schau es dir mal an.

Auch in (7) gibt es Gratulierende, die sich in der Zeitlichkeit und Örtlichkeit der Geburtstagsfeier verorten (*Wir stehen alle hier und gratulieren dir!*), es gibt ein *Geburtstagskind* und es gibt ein Geschenk (*Tritt an den Tisch heran und schau es dir mal an*).

Mit diesen sprachlichen Mustern, im Singen vorgetragen, wird ein kollektiver euphorischer Fokus auf das zu feiernde Individuum gerichtet. Das gemeinsame Singen versetzt sämtliche Beteiligte in das Ritual der Geburtstagsfeier und hebt sie für eine Weile aus dem Alltag heraus. Dank der Formelhaftigkeit des Geburtstagsliedes könnte man hier davon ausgehen, dass „performative Magie“ (Wulf 2005: 13) entsteht, wenn die Beeteiligten an den Sinn und die Rechtmässigkeit der Performanz glauben. Die Gratulation in Form von Wunschformeln wird im Ständchen und im Medium der Musik nicht nur zeitlich expandiert, sondern auch performativ überhöht.

4. Resümee

Geburtstage bieten im heutigen deutschsprachigen Kulturraum Anlässe zu Feiern und Festen. Sie geben Anstoß zu bestimmten Ritualen, in denen der Jubilar ins Zentrum eines Geschehens gerückt wird, in denen aber auch zwischenmenschliche Beziehungen der Nähe indiziert, konstituiert und gelebt werden. Der Geburtstag als eine Form des Übergangs von einem Lebensjahr ins andere wird von sprachlicher Formelhaftigkeit begleitet. Es sind gerade diese sprachlichen Bestandteile, die pragmatischen Phraseologismen, wie sie in Gratulationen *Gratuliere*, *Herzlichen Glückwunsch zum Geburtstag*, *Alles Gute und Liebe zum Geburtstag* zu finden sind, die nicht nur ein freudiges Ereignis (verbunden mit der Würdigung einer anderen Person) indizieren, sondern auch dem Ritual des Feierns eine Struktur verleihen: mündlich geäußert eröffnen sie den Ritus der Feier; und im Medium des Geburtstagsliedes vorgetragen sind sie an der Verdauerung des Ereignisses mitbeteiligt. Das Geburtstagslied als Ständchen vorgetragen ermöglicht die Zusammenführung der Beteiligten am Ritual und verfügt über eine wichtige und notwendige beziehungsgestaltende Funktion, ein individuelles Erleben in ein kollektives zu verwandeln – trotz struktureller Formelhaftigkeit und inhaltlicher Stereotypie und Voraussagbarkeit oder gerade deshalb. Somit ist das Geburtstagsständchen mit den im Lied vorkommenden Wunschformeln nicht nur ein reines Musik-Medium, sondern ein hochaktuelles Beziehungs-Medium.

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Wittgenstein's Nephew's Parents and Children

Exploring a Digital Analysis of the Literary Text "Wittgensteins Nefte. Eine Freundschaft" by Thomas Bernhard with a Focus on Phraseology and Complex Lexical Units

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Abstract

This paper is about research questions concerning the analysis of complex lexical units in a literary narration. The approach is determined by theories of phraseology, lexicography, corpus linguistics and digital literary studies, methods based upon lexical analysis of linguistic elements. How can a literary narration be explored to investigate the use of multiword expressions? What are the literary and linguistic qualities of the text with regard to phraseology, idioms, collocations, compounds, named entities, and other complex lexical units? Which issues have to be addressed when doing lexicographic research on phraseology in a literary text? Which classifications are necessary for complex lexical items? Which are the methodological implications and which examples can illustrate such a study of multiword expressions in a literary text?

Keywords

multiword expressions, lexicography, digital literary studies

1. Introduction

The title of this paper includes designations of persons that are either evident or present in a hidden manner. First, the name of the author of the narration is that of the Austrian writer Thomas Bernhard, who was born in the Netherlands in 1931 and died in Upper Austria in 1989, whom readers of German literature are familiar with, both with his works in the original language and in translations. Second, the other familiar name is the family name that refers to Ludwig Wittgenstein, the philosopher of language and logic, who is an intellectual archetype for Bernhard. Third, the apostrophised nephew in the noun expressing the relatedness to the descendent of one's brother, determining the attributive genitive of the name Wittgenstein, refers to Paul Wittgenstein, an eccentric Viennese original born in Upper Austria in 1907, who died there in 1979, a younger relative of the philosopher, the son of his

cousin. Paul Wittgenstein is Bernhard's friend and serves as a central character of the narration. Furthermore, the title refers intertextually to a satirical philosophical dialogue written by the encyclopaedist Diderot in 1761, "Le Neveu de Rameau", initially published by Goethe in 1805 in his translation "Rameaus Neffe. Ein Dialog von Diderot" about the eccentric musician Jean-François Rameau, the nephew of the composer Jean-Philippe Rameau. The protagonist of "Wittgenstein's Nephew", in which also music and its reception play a role, is described by the narrator four times as having, among other mental oddities, a severe form of a "counting disease" (Bernhard 1986: 106-107), in the second English translation translated alike, just once rendered as "counting sickness" (Bernhard 1988: 89), in the German original always referred to as "Zählkrankheit" (Bernhard 1983: 145-146), an occasional compound unique to this text naming the neurotic obsession to count everything, of which the narrator conveys that he himself and the composer Anton Bruckner suffered from. An exemplary analysis of multiword units can be done, if one considers the numerous linguistic elements being dependent upon each other in the narration. This will be determined by theories of digital philology and corpus linguistics based upon research combining corpora and literary studies (Biber 2018), by making use of methods as performed in a parallel case (Biber 2019) and with a parallel corpus (Dobrovolskij 2019), and as the text is digitally accessible (Bernhard 2021). Corpus linguistics and digital philology are to a considerable extent based upon statistics, the frequencies of word forms, the counting of linguistic elements, and therefore defined by quantitative procedures, thus leading to a better understanding of the distribution of lexical items, of text semantics, hence to improved interpretations and translations.

2. Question

How can we analyze the distributional patterns of complex lexical units and multiword expressions in a short literary narration? How can multiword expressions and phraseological items be studied with regard to their distribution within a literary text? This twofold question suggests an investigation that lies at the intersection of linguistics and literary studies, at the junction of the phraseological division of linguistics and the idiomatic branch of literary studies concerned with lexical elements. The narrative text in question is about the narrator's relationship with his "friend Paul, the nephew of the philosopher whose *Tractatus Logico-philosophicus* is now known to the whole of the scholarly world, to say nothing of the pseudo-scholarly world." (Bernhard 1988: 4) The text deals with the memorizing recognition of a friend, whereby the theme of a failed recognition of the genius in society is presented in form of an attempt of the recognition of the friendship between the suffering poet and his pal, a mad genius: "At the very time when I was lying in the Hermann Pavilion, my friend Paul was some two hundred yards away in the Ludwig Pavilion, though this, unlike the Hermann Pavilion, did not belong to the pulmonary department, and hence to the so-called Baumgartnerhöhe, but belonged to the mental institution Am Steinhof." (Bernhard 1988: 4) The use of names and place names determines the stylistic rhythm and shows a particular use of complex word forms. Methods of digital literary studies based upon corpus research can be used for an analysis of the language of this text with a particular reference to complex

lexical items and phraseological units. The application of these methods for research on the use of multiword units are very promising when combined with methods of digital philology. The literary text and all of its lexical items and expressions can thus be studied, presented, and understood as entities that are part of a whole text corpus by the author and can also be regarded as being part of a larger corpus of the literature historically and linguistically related to this text. This is interesting for a systematic research of phraseological units used as compared to their use in other texts by the same author or by different authors, so that even a small narration may illustrate the potential of digital methods. The language of the text can to be analyzed by taking into account all possible structural elements at several levels of the linguistic and literary features. The relations, the patterns and the distribution of phraseological lexical items, their grammatical features and semantic values within the narrative structures, phraseological idiosyncrasies and properties of the fiction should be examined by using the analytical techniques of digital literary studies based upon corpus research for complex lexical units.

3. The Text

The original text has specific qualities as a narrative text, but first its genre has to be determined. "Wittgensteins Neffe. Eine Freundschaft" (Bernhard 1982) appeared as a book in the second half of 1982 and it was also published in the autumn of 1982 as a serial in the newspaper "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung". The text that has to be regarded as one of the most concise and complex narrations by Bernhard, was successful and published after the first and second in its third edition in 1983 with some minor corrections by the author. The subtitle gives a clue to its genre. It is a narration with biographic and autobiographic elements. Moreover, it has elements of a memoir, a recollection of events that happened at precise moments in time, describing the encounters and adventures of the two characters. The first one is the seriously ill writer and narrator, who suffered from a chronic lung disease and is giving his subjective recollection. This is done by making the second one, his friend Paul Wittgenstein, the protagonist and object of the story, by remembering him as a mad genius, as his creative and witty companion, who is related to the family of the famous philosopher. The text has a motto: "Two hundred friends will come to my funeral and you must make a speech at the graveside" (Bernhard 1988: viii). In the German original: „Zweihundert Freunde werden bei meinem Begräbnis sein und du mußt an meinem Grab eine Rede halten“ (Bernhard 1983: 6). It is a sentence by which the wider genre of the text is determined by turning it into an epitaph. "Wittgenstein's Nephew" can be considered as a narrative eulogy, a fictional text written instead of a funeral oration. How one remembers a person, is a task of telling a story. In this respect it is a literary eulogy telling the story of the friendship of the narrator and the protagonist, who are to be considered as two different examples of creative minds, in one case a sick but active writer managing to write this account, and in the other case the example of a wasted mind.

The text is monolithic in the sense that it has no easily visible parts, but it can be segmented into several sequences. Before giving an exemplary look into the specific use of its multiword

units, it has to be stressed that the narration is also somehow fragmented, recollecting several anecdotes signifying the friendship of the two figures. This is so, despite the fact that the story has a clear connection from the beginning to the very end, thereby marking the beginning of the friendship by giving a birthdate of their friendship. It is made verbose in the original text as “Neunzehnhundertsiebenundsechzig” (Bernhard 1983: 7), however inappropriately translated by just the numerical form of “1967” (Bernhard 1988: 3), the date when the two met at the fence dividing the pulmonary from the psychiatric department.

The passage, in which the quoted words of his friend asking for the funeral oration are remembered by the narrator, is located at the very end of the story, when the death of the narrator’s friend is told. It is also told there that he had not given a speech and had not even visited his grave, as if he wanted to avoid this final determination and avoid a recognition of his death. In between a certain beginning and an equally certain end, several happy and funny recollections of the friend’s character and their special relationship are given in a very gentle and amiable way, by telling what they had in common, of their love of music and art, their shared manners, their favourite music, their common precision of taste and mental inclination to exactness, their critical view of society and of falsehood in all forms. The text is highly subjective, told from the perspective of someone highly esteeming his friend. Because of this awareness of subjectivity, the multiword units contributing to this narration, the specific phraseology, and the many metacommunicative expressions, are all very interesting objects for a linguistic analysis of a subjective text. It is interesting to investigate which forms are used, in order to show, how fragile memories can be. Subsequently, even from a point of view of cognitive linguistics, this would be a valuable object of research as concerns the phraseology of memory.

4. Multiword Units

Among the particular issues which have to be addressed when doing lexicographic research about complex lexical items, a systematic classification of the various forms is necessary for the registration of multiword expressions in a text. Small structural units, and what could be termed phraseological elements, are situated between smaller linguistic features and larger narrative structural textual elements. A systematic analysis can be concerned with microtexts or, to view it from the other end of the spectrum, with complex lexical-semantic units. The differentiation of these elements would have to be done, of what counts as a complex lexical unit, or as microtexts with specific functions within the narration. Even the motto of the text, which is the crucial quotation of the words narrated at the end, as uttered by the remembered protagonist at the end of his life, shows an exemplary multiword unit: “eine Rede halten” (Bernhard 1983: 164), translated as to “make a speech” (Bernhard 1988: 100), which can be regarded as a collocation and as a light verb construction with a significant idiomaticity. This ironic motive of not being able to make a speech is also present in several other texts by Bernhard, for example in the related “My Prizes. An Accounting” (Bernhard 2010), in German “Meine Preise” (Bernhard 2009), a posthumously published recount of all the prizes he was awarded, where the writer tells that he had been asked to give a speech at

the ceremony of the Austrian State Prize in 1967, an event also referred to in “Wittgensteins Neffe”. In “My Prizes” Bernhard explains on several pages in a funny way, how and why he is not able to deliver a speech and that he could only prepare simple sentences for such an occasion, that he is certainly no orator or speaker at all and that he “can’t give any speech whatever” (Bernhard 2010: 62). “Auch bei dieser Gelegenheit sollte ich eine Rede halten, aber ich bin kein Redner und ich kann überhaupt keine Rede halten, ich habe nie eine Rede gehalten, weil ich gar nicht fähig bin, eine Rede zu halten. Ich mußte aber eine Rede halten, es ist Tradition“ (Bernhard 2009: 75-76). Here one can observe the peculiar function of repetition, recurrence and reappearance of fixed collocational linguistic units in his texts.

The next issue is how to find and count multiword units and how to determine what can be regarded as a multiword unit and what not. If one follows the logic of systematic phraseological research (cf. Burger 2010), one would have to differentiate between phrasemes in a narrow sense and in a broader sense. The details of this theoretical discussion of the boundaries of multiword units will not be discussed here, such as the boundaries of idiomatic expressions, phraseological units, fixed expressions, or figurative language in more general terms, but rather focused on multiword units, lexical items that consist of fixed forms, which comprise also compounds that might be separated in English, but are unique lexical items in German. From the point of view of corpus linguistics the question of multiword lexical units is crucial, because the semantic aspects are not always fully considered in quantitative analyses based upon annotated corpora. Phrasemes are multiword units and also cover restricted collocations and light verb constructions. More of these examples from the text are as follows: “in die Hand nehmen”, in a sentence of the opening sequence of the book, “ich hatte nicht die Kraft, das Buch in die Hand zu nehmen” (Bernhard 1983: 7), translated with a phrasal verb in one translation as “I had not the strength to pick it up” (Bernhard 1988: 3), but in the other one without it as “I lacked the strength to raise the book” (Bernhard 1986: 1). In addition to that, one has to include for such an investigation also phrasal constructions, routine formulae, as well as metacommunicative expressions, like the most significant „wie gesagt wird“, 17 times distributed all over the text and 238 times in all texts. Other examples included in the description are metacommunicative phrases, such as “sozusagen”, or binomial forms, idioms in the narrow sense, or proverbs, and complex named entities, like personal names, titles etc., and other multiword units, compounds, proverbs, and named entities. The names of the pavilions in the hospitals, where the two patients were, are significant: “Pavillon Hermann” and “Pavillon Ludwig”. The distributional patterns and repeating sequences of names is remarkable, and even the street, authenticating the fictive reality in the text “rue de la croix 60“ (Bernhard 1983: 7) has to be regarded as another complex multiword unit with narrative significance. Also nominal compounds are to be included, like “Zählkrankheit” (Bernhard 1983: 145-146), “counting sickness” (Bernhard 1988: 89), or another sickness from which the narrator’s friend and the narrator suffered in common, “Kaffehausaufsuchkrankheit” (Bernhard 1983: 139), in one case translated as “Viennese coffeehouse disease” (Bernhard 1988: 85), in another, more accurate translation as “going-to-café disease” (Bernhard 1986: 101).

5. Methodology

Concerning the specific methodological implications of the chosen approach, the unique methods of corpus linguistics, text lexicography and digital literary studies chosen for such an investigation, would have to be described. In order to be able to do this research, first, one has to have a fully digitized version of the text, and second, one has to be able to analyze the text by means of computational means, which requires the full annotation of the text to be analyzed. The tools used are modelled upon the guidelines of conventional annotation schemes following the recommendations of the text encoding initiative (cf. TEI 2022) based upon extensible mark-up languages, which can be processed in order to be able to count and recount the findings and to make conclusions about these findings. The text has been fully digitized and it has to be pointed out that even all of the legacy documents and other literature by the author have been digitized, so that not only the published texts will eventually be available for study, but also the manuscripts, typescripts, letters, notes, photographs and so on. The texts have been digitized, with the latest scholarly edition at the core, in a task to construct a complete corpus of all the texts by the author. The scanned pages of the published books have been OCR-read so that they can be transformed into machine-readable items and be prepared for further annotation. In this specific test case the raw text has been taken and the idiomatic expressions and other multiword units (MWU) have been annotated according to this simple schematic tag set:

MWU type: ne = named entity | col = collocation | com = compound | bi= binomials | id = idiom | phr = phrase | pv = proverb | ti = title | meta= metacommunicative.

6. Results

First results of the specific investigation and examples of the outcomes of the study can be provided: 1594 multiword units have been registered in a text of 30668 tokens and 4976 types of word forms. The examples of the results obtained from the analysis of multiword units are given in the German original based upon a fully annotated version of the original text and give all variants of different complex lexical units, multiword expressions, collocations, personal names, toponyms, idiomatic expressions, phraseological items and so on and how they are distributed and how they function in the narration. It is a first experimental description of preliminary results, but it provides possible insights into a larger lexicographical study of multiword units, whereas in most cases of similar investigations just single simple lexical items are primarily focussed on. In addition, the analysis could be complemented by a view of the same items within the overall corpus of all texts by this author.

To start with, binomials can be counted as remarkable structural elements of the narration and their distribution can easily be observed: “ab und zu” (5), “ganz und gar” (12), “da und dort”, “durch und durch” (5), “mehr und mehr” (3), “mehr oder weniger” (21), “hin und her” (5). Several light verb constructions have also particular functions. Metacommunicative phrases are key: „wie gesagt wird“ (17), „sozusagen“ (25), „ehrlich gesagt“, „wie es hieß“

(2), „etcetera“ (5). Named entities can be registered with familial relations or relations of friendship. The collocational expression „Freund Paul“ occurs 21 times. Related expressions are in significant opposition: “Neffe Paul” – “Onkel Ludwig”; or: „Onkel Salzer“, „Freundin Irina“, „Tante Irmina“, „Vetter Gottfried“; and similar: „Kind Paul“, „Herr Baron“, „Familie Wittgenstein“. Then there are names with other attributive compound elements, for example professional function, friendship or relation: „Professor Salzer“, “Philosoph Wittgenstein”, “Schriftsteller Bernhard”, “Minister Piffel-Perčević”, “Polizist Immervoll”, “Präsident Hunger”, “Herr Hunger”, “Herr Henz”, “Herrn Ritz”, “Fürst Schwarzenberg”. Quite remarkably, one person is without a proper name: “der Theologiestudent, dessen Namen ich vergessen habe, ich glaube, er hieß Walter” (Bernhard 1983: 27). The common female friend of the two protagonists is attributed in the compound “Großstadt mensch Irina“. The reference to the author himself is given as “Schriftsteller Bernhard” and “Nestbeschmutzer Bernhard” (“Bernhard the nest fouler”). Of the place names Vienna is key: “Wiener Kaffeehaus”, “Wiener Burgtheater”, “Wiener Oper” etc., or in the hospital in opposition “Pavillon Hermann” to “Pavillon Ludwig”; and “Pavillon Ernst” and “Pavillon Franz”. But also a newspaper, a piece of music and an institution are episodically mentioned: “Neue Zürcher Zeitung”, “Die Frau ohne Schatten”, and the institution “Akademie der Wissenschaften” appears in an anecdote crucial for the narration, where the failed recognition of the writer by society is acted out and Bernhard is awarded an important prize by the Academy of Sciences. The narration shows, by the use of two idioms, how this recognition fails, because the writer is ignored, but, thanks to his friend, can cope with the situation and manages to be recognized nevertheless.

To conclude the findings of this investigation, this leads to the central phrasemes of the story, which are clearly lexemes and idioms of physis and psyche, like: „Zwangsjacke“, „in Tränen ausbrechen“, „auf die Nerven gehen“, „die Beherrschung verlieren“, „Wasser lassen“, „vom Schlag getroffen“, „vom Tod gezeichnet“, „zum Skelett abgemagert“. There are idioms of relation to society: „sich gemein machen“, „unter das Volk werfen“, „nichts mehr zu tun haben wollen“. And two significant proverbs have been noted, however just two: “Gegensätze ziehen sich an” (“opposites attract”) und “das solle mir eine Lehre sein” (“let it be a lesson to you” resp. “I should learn a lesson from it”).

Finally, two central thematic idioms have to be highlighted, where in the first case the friend is saying what is central for him about the writer whose recognition has failed, and in the second case, the other way round, the narrator is saying what is central for him in retrospect about his friend who has failed to being recognized:

- (1) “auf den Kopf gemacht” (“These people have pissed on you“ resp. “They just pissed on your head”).
- (2) “zum Fenster hinaus werfen”, which also appears in a creative adaptation: “zum Fenster (seines Kopfes) hinaus” (“throwing away his intellectual wealth” resp. “throwing his intellectual fortune out of the window (of the mind”).

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Section 3

Phraseology, translation, language teaching

Algunos apuntes sobre la fraseología en el *Satiricón* y su traducción al español

La expresión del desprecio

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Abstract

This paper aims to contribute to the study of phraseology, more specifically, of Latin phraseology through the analysis of phraseological units that appear in the best known episode of Petronius' *Satyricon*: Trimalchio's Feast (chapters 27-78) and their different translations into Spanish. The units analysed are phrases that refer to the expression of contempt and the proposed translations. A preference of expressions with names of coins, parts of the body, bodily functions and metaphors from the farming world is observed.

Keywords

phraseology, *Satyricon*, translation, expressions of contempt

1. Introducción

El *Satiricón* es una obra única dentro del panorama de la literatura latina. A pesar de los problemas que han surgido a su alrededor (autoría, fecha de composición, unidad y orden narrativo), los estudiosos destacan su singularidad, que radica, principalmente, en la mezcla de verso y prosa, la narración en primera persona, la parodia, amén de otras características. No obstante, el aspecto que más destaca en la novela para los fines que me he propuesto es el carácter y el modo de desenvolverse de los personajes que aparecen reflejados en ella. En este sentido, la obra constituye un verdadero retrato, no exento de exageración y parodia, de una clase social pujante, deseosa de escalar posición política y social: los libertos. En palabras de Bermúdez, 'La sociedad que refleja [el *Satiricón*] es la de los desposeídos, los esclavos, los libertos enriquecidos, las prostitutas, las personas libres sin recursos, (...) todo un mundo al margen de la ley, que convivía con los ideales que había establecido la clase poderosa y dirigente' (2014: 69).

Petronio reproduce con total maestría el habla de los personajes cultos y el de los personajes menos instruidos, pero aportando siempre la frescura de un estilo coloquial, directo muy

en consonancia con los protagonistas y sus ambientes. M. Díaz y Díaz (1990: LXXXV) destaca la riqueza de la lengua del Satiricón, llena de expresiones de innegable fuerza colorista y un variadísimo léxico. Este aspecto favorece sin duda el empleo de unidades fraseológicas, desde las colocaciones, hasta los refranes.

Si nos centramos en ‘La cena de Trimalción’, comprobamos cuál era el temperamento, el genio de esta clase social pujante y vital encarnada en su protagonista y en los personajes de los que se hace acompañar en la ostentosa cena con la que los agasaja. Así Trimalción se mueve entre la opulencia y la ignorancia; binomio que le lleva a actuar y a expresarse de forma excéntrica y vulgar, de ahí que en la obra coexistan el *sermo urbanus* y el *sermo vulgaris* como modos identificativos del habla de los personajes.

2. Metodología

El procedimiento seguido parte de una lectura profunda de la obra para extraer las expresiones fraseológicas en las que se centra el trabajo. No obstante, para ajustarme al espacio exigido, he optado por acotar el estudio a uno de los capítulos más destacados de la obra: ‘La cena de Trimalción’, pues presenta ciertas características que permiten abordar el análisis de las unidades fraseológicas con cierta profundidad. Tales características son: unidad de acción y unidad de espacio, aspectos que facilitan el estudio propuesto, dadas las considerables lagunas y extrapolaciones que abundan en la obra.

El estudio se completa con cuatro traducciones al español cuyos autores son prestigiosos latinistas: Rubio Fernández, L. (1978), Picasso, J. (1988) Díaz y Díaz, M. (1990) y Segura Ramos, B. (2010). Las cuatro traducciones han sido publicadas en diferentes fechas, lo que permitirá observar el tratamiento que se le ha dado a la traducción de las locuciones estudiadas, atendiendo a su cronología.

2.1. Estudios preliminares

Los estudios clásicos no han quedado al margen de las investigaciones en fraseología, un gran número de publicaciones y herramientas que abarcan con amplitud el panorama fraseológico así lo acredita, aunque muchas de ellas se centran en el estudio de paremias y colocaciones. En este sentido, hay que destacar los trabajos de J. Cascajero Garcés, B. García-Hernández, X. Pascual López, J. M. Baños Baños o el trabajo de V. Alsina sobre oralidad y traducción en *El Satiricón* amén de otras interesantísimas contribuciones.

Uno de los aspectos más relevantes de la fraseología es su repercusión en la traducción y, aunque no es el objetivo de este estudio hacer un recorrido por los estudios que han reflexionado sobre este aspecto, cabe señalar los trabajos de J. Sevilla Muñoz y A. Zuluaga que analizan las distintas técnicas de traducción aplicadas a la fraseología. A pesar de que la mayor parte de sus trabajos se orienta a la traducción de las paremias, las distintas técnicas propuestas pueden aplicarse igualmente a las locuciones. Ya Zuluaga (1999: 538) advierte que en la traducción de los fraseologismos ‘no hay equivalencias absolutas, totales, sino equivalencias parciales; en otras palabras, se observan rasgos comunes con el original, desde

determinados puntos de vista, y rasgos diferentes, desde otros puntos de vista; p. ej. de la designación, del estilo, del efecto en los receptores, de la valoración social, o de ciertos sistemas simbólicos en la comunidad respectiva, etc.'. Los estudios más recientes sobre técnica traductológica, en general, y traducción de unidades fraseológicas, en particular, inciden en la necesidad de prestar atención a los aspectos extralingüísticos que rodean el texto: aspectos culturales, psicológicos, sociales, etc.

Para abordar la traducción de unidades fraseológicas, destacan las propuestas presentadas por J. Sevilla y M. Sevilla que pueden sintetizarse como sigue:

- Técnica actancial (Sevilla y Sevilla, 2000, 2004a): búsqueda de unidades fraseológicas con el mismo actante o con un actante perteneciente al mismo campo actancial.
- Técnica temática (Sevilla y Sevilla, 2000, 2004b): búsqueda de correspondencias a través de la idea clave.
- Técnica sinonímica (Sevilla y Sevilla, 2000, 2005): búsqueda de correspondencias teniendo en cuenta el grado de equivalencia de significado de las unidades fraseológicas que poseen la misma idea clave, tal procedimiento posibilita la localización de correspondencias literales y/o conceptuales.
- Técnica hiperonímica (J. Sevilla, 2013): en caso de no localizar el término específico, el traductor recurre al hiperónimo evitando desvirtuar el sentido del texto.

No cabe duda de que la traducción de textos latinos presenta unas especificidades que conviene tener en cuenta, pues los referentes de la lengua fuente deben ser respetados para no cometer una traición cultural (García Hernández 1997: 60). No obstante, como ya observó Coseriu (1977: 221-222) la finalidad de la traducción consiste en reproducir la misma designación y el mismo sentido. El traductor debe, por tanto, proceder en dos direcciones: primero semasiológicamente, al identificar lo que designa el texto original y, a continuación, onomasiológicamente, al buscar en la lengua meta la correspondencia de lo designado. En la traducción de las unidades fraseológicas, resulta clarificador el término 'coherencia intratextual', acuñado por Vermeer dentro de la teoría del *Escopo*, según el cual el texto meta debe ser 'comprensible para el receptor meta y que éste lo encuentre significativo para la situación y cultura en que lo recibe' (Nord 2015: 215).

En las traducciones que he seleccionado, pueden apreciarse las distintas soluciones que de forma sucinta se han esbozado.

2.2. La expresión del desprecio en Petronio

Como ya destaqué en otro trabajo (Lojendio, 2012: 133-134), para expresar el desprecio en latín, además del empleo de un léxico propio, es frecuente recurrir al uso de unidades fraseológicas que, en el caso de las locuciones, presentan diversas estructuras sintácticas. Además, y como no podía ser de otra forma, la selección de la base o colocativo se produce atendiendo a su sentido connotativo, de tal forma que hay un número importante de voces que aparecen frecuentemente en estas locuciones con un sentido connotativo y relacionadas

con un variado abanico de términos relacionados con monedas, partes del cuerpo o funciones corporales o con el mundo agrícola.

2.2.1. *Bessalis, dupundiarius y sestertius*

Es indudable el bagaje cultural que subyace en las expresiones fraseológicas, pues tales referentes dan fe del devenir histórico de una comunidad concreta y de las distintas y variadas relaciones que la han conformado. Esto es lo que ocurre con algunos nombres de monedas utilizadas para formar locuciones que expresan poco valor y de ahí desprecio.

Aunque el valor y el peso de las monedas fue variando a lo largo de la historia de Roma, no hay duda de que las que aparecen en los siguientes fragmentos son las de menor cuantía¹.

La información lexicográfica no es en absoluta homogénea, pues no todos los repertorios reflejan los usos connotativos de estos términos. A modo de muestra refiero la información de algunos diccionarios en donde se puede comprobar la discrepancia de resultados:

	Valbuena 1821	Miguel y Morante 1867	Lewis & Short 1879	Le Gaffiot 1937	Blánquez 1966
Bessalis	-----	‘de poco valor’	‘thing of small value’	-----	-----
Dupundiarius	-----	‘despreciable, vil, bajo’	-----	‘de rien, meprisable, vil’	‘despreciable, vil’
Sestertius	‘hombre despreciable’	‘de poco valor’	‘thing of little value’	‘de peu valeur’	‘de poco valor’

Tabla 1. Información lexicográfica de los distintos valores de las monedas

Las siguientes locuciones están formadas por un sustantivo (*homo, gladiatores, dominus, aediles*) y un adjetivo relacionado con las distintas monedas romanas ya señaladas.

- (1) *Glyco autem, sestertius homo, dispensatorem ad bestias dedit* (45,8)
- (2) *Dedit gladiatores sestertios iam decrepitos, quos si sufflasset cecidissent* (45,11)
- (3) *Curabo longe tibi sit comula ista besalis et dominus dupundiarius* (58,5)
- (4) *Et ego, homo dipundiarius, sestertium centies accipere potui* (74,15)
- (5) *Nemo dupondii evadit* (58,14)

Se trata de una locución nominal sustantivo + adjetivo o en orden inverso.

La locución tuvo, sin duda, mucho éxito en latín como lo demuestran los ejemplos en donde se utilizan diferentes monedas para expresar ‘poco valor’: Plauto (*Poen.* v. 381 y 463

¹ Bes: moneda de cobre equivalente a ocho onzas; la onza era la doceava parte de un as, la moneda de menor valor en Roma. Dupondius: acuñada en oricalco, octava parte de un denario y el doble que el as. Sestertius: acuñada también en oricalco, representaba la cuarta parte de un denario y cuatro veces un as.

y *Captivi* v. 477); Cicerón (*Att.* V 20,6, V 21,5 VI 2,4 y *Epistulae ad familiares* II, 17,4, *De fin.*, III, 14. 45; IV, 12,29); Catulo (*c.* V) o Persio (5,76).

- (1) *Glyco autem, sestertarius homo, dispensatorem ad bestias dedit* (45,8)
 ‘Glicón, pues, que no vale un sestercio, condenó el intendente a las fieras’. (L. Rubio).
 ‘Pues Glicón, que no vale un sestercio, ha condenado a su tesorero a las fieras’.
 (J. Picasso).
 ‘Y Glicón, un tipo del tres al cuarto, condenó a su mayordomo a las bestias’.
 (M. Díaz).
 ‘Glicón, por su parte, un sujeto del tres al cuarto, echó a su administrador a las fieras’.
 (B. Segura).
- (2) *Dedit gladiatores sestertarios iam decrepitos, quos si sufflasses cecidissent* (45,11).
 ‘Nos dio unos gladiadores ya decrepitos, que no valían un sestercio. De un soplo se les echaría a tierra’. (L. Rubio).
 ‘Una vez nos presentó gladiadores que no valían un sestercio, todos decrepitos. Si los soplabas, se caían’. (J. Picasso).
 ‘Nos dio unos gladiadores de tres al cuarto ya acabados que si les soplaras se vendrían al suelo’. (M. Díaz).
 ‘Brindó un espectáculo de gladiadores de a perra gorda, ya decrepitos, que si les soplas se caen’. (B. Segura).

En ambos ejemplos, tanto L. Rubio como J. Picasso han optado por transferir al español el término latino *sestertius*, sin añadir ninguna nota aclaratoria sobre el significado del término. Es cierto que J. Picasso manifiesta en la introducción que no ha ‘modernizado’ el texto petroniano, sino que ha preferido torturar el castellano para obligarlo a ‘hablar y pensar’ como Petronio. Por su parte, L. Rubio no hace ningún comentario sobre el receptor de su traducción, aunque es posible que destine su traducción a un lector con conocimientos de la lengua y cultura latinas.

La propuesta de M. Díaz reproduce el sentido que tiene la expresión en el texto fuente, aunque no utilice términos relacionados semánticamente con el original latino. Se trata de la denominada técnica sinonímica que ‘consiste en buscar correspondencias (...) teniendo en cuenta el grado de equivalencia de significado’ (Sevilla y Sevilla: 2005). En el primer ejemplo, ambos traductores optan por una correspondencia de contenido, puesto que la locución española ‘de tres al cuarto’ se utiliza para indicar ‘que algo o alguien tiene muy poca o ninguna importancia’ (Cantera y Gomis: 2007, 394).

B. Segura propone en el segundo ejemplo otra traducción en la que establece una correspondencia entre la noción de valor expresada por el adjetivo *sestertarius* y la locución española ‘a perra gorda’ que, bajo la marca de forma coloquial, recoge el DLE. El Diccionario de fraseología española bajo el lema ‘valer’, incorpora ‘valer una perra gorda’ con el sentido de ‘no valer absolutamente nada’ (J. Cantera Ortiz de Urbina y P. Gomis Blanco 2007: 404). Se trataría de una traslación que reproduce el sentido y, de alguna manera, también la forma

haciendo uso de la técnica temática (J. Sevilla Muñoz y M. Sevilla Muñoz: 2004) pues ambos actantes (latino y español) guardan semejanza.

- (3) *Curabo longe tibi sit comula ista besalis et dominus dupundiarius* (58,5)
 ‘De nada te servirán ni tu peluquita de dos chavos ni tu amo de a cuatro’. L. Rubio.
 ‘De nada te servirán tu melenita de ocho dedos y tu patrón que no vale un dupondio’.
 J. Picasso.
 ‘Ya cuidaré de que no te sirvan de nada tu pelambreira de dos ochavos y tu amo que
 no vale dos perras’. M. Díaz.
 ‘Ya me encargo yo de que no te sirva de nada ese cabellito de tres al cuarto ni tu amo,
 que no vale un duro’. B. Segura.

Todos los autores se han inclinado por utilizar en la traducción la técnica actancial, a excepción de J. Picasso que ha hecho una simple transferencia siguiendo el enfoque elegido [no ‘modernizar’ el texto petroniano, sino torturar el castellano]. Así pues, encontramos los términos: chavo, perra y duro. Las tres monedas están hoy en desuso: ‘Chavo’ es aféresis de ‘ochavo’, que el DLE en su quinta acepción define como ‘Cosa insignificante, de poco o ningún valor’. La ‘perra’ es el nombre coloquial que recibía la fracción de diez o cinco céntimos de la peseta ‘gorda’ o ‘chica’ respectivamente. El refrán español ‘No vale una perra / una perra gorda / una perra chica’ y sus variantes ‘dos perras’ o ‘cuatro perras’ recoge, sin duda, el sentido del texto latino, aunque cabe preguntarse si los hablantes reconocen hoy en día estos términos. Jesús Cantera apostilla al referirse a las expresiones con el término ‘perra’: ‘Unas expresiones cuyo origen y explicación empiezan ya a ser olvidados y que con la desaparición de la peseta tras la implantación del euro acabarán siendo para muchos un enigma o un mar de confusiones’ (2002: 14). Algo similar ocurre con la moneda de cinco pesetas que llamábamos ‘duro’, más reciente que las demás, pero hoy también fuera de la circulación.

- (4) *Et ego, homo dipundiarius, sestertium centies accipere potui* (74,15).
 ‘Fui tonto de remate: me hubiera podido casar con diez millones’. L. Rubio.
 ‘Y yo, hombre que no vale un dupondio, pensar que hubiera podido casarme con una
 dote de diez millones de sestercios’. J. Picasso.
 ‘Y yo, pobre baratija, que he podido conseguir en dote diez millones’. M. Díaz.
 ‘¡Y yo, tío de tres al cuarto, que pude recibir diez millones!’ . B. Segura.

En este pasaje, a pesar de que se utiliza el mismo término latino que en el ejemplo precedente, los traductores, a excepción una vez más de J. Picasso, han elegido distintas técnicas. L. Rubio y M. Díaz se han decantado por la técnica hiperonímica, recurriendo cada uno de ellos a un término que conceptualmente recoge el sentido del texto latino. Sin embargo, B. Segura ha optado por utilizar la técnica sinonímica valiéndose de una locución española muy cercana al original latino. El DLE y Jesús Cantera (2002: 394) recogen la locución adjetiva coloquial ‘de tres al cuarto’, con el sentido ‘de poco valor, estimación o importancia’. Cualquiera de ellas reproduce el significado de la locución latina, pero sin duda la que está más cerca del sentido del original es la de B. Segura.

- (5) *Nemo dupondii evadit* (58,14).
 ‘No hay quien valga dos cominos’. L. Rubio.
 ‘Nadie llega a valer un dupondio’. J. Picasso.
 ‘Nadie vale dos perras’. M. Díaz.
 ‘No hay quien valga un euro’. B. Segura.

En este caso, destaco las traducciones de L. Rubio y B. Segura, pues introducen algún cambio con respecto a las anteriores. El primero propone un término del mundo agrícola, frente a los términos elegidos en los anteriores ejemplos más relacionados con la voz latina (*sestercio*, *chavo*). El segundo actualiza el término y propone ‘euro’ (frente a ‘duro’ y ‘perra gorda’) aunque no exista en español tal locución. Son, por tanto, dos enfoques diferentes; L. Rubio se ha inclinado por utilizar la técnica sinonímica, pues hay relación conceptual en ambas lenguas. Por otra parte, B. Segura recurriendo a la técnica actancial, propone una locución no fijada en español y muy paralela a otra que sí está fijada ‘valer un duro’.

2.2.2. Hay otras locuciones en Petronio que tienen un origen diferente, ya relacionadas con partes del cuerpo (6) o funciones corporales (7) o con metáforas procedentes del mundo agrícola (8).

- (6) *Nemo Iovem pili facit* (44,17).
 (7) *Larifuga nescio quis, nocturnus, qui non valet lotium suum* (57,3).

La primera está documentada también en dos poemas de Catulo (c. 10,13 y c. 17,17) con el sentido de ‘importar un bledo’.

- (6) *Nemo Iovem pili facit* (44,17)
 ‘Júpiter no importa un bledo a nadie’. L. Rubio.
 ‘A nadie le importa Júpiter un pelo’. J. Picasso.
 ‘A nadie le importa Júpiter un pito’. M. Díaz.
 ‘A nadie le importa un carajo Júpiter’. B. Segura

La traducción de J. Picasso sigue en la línea que ya marcó en la introducción y, consecuentemente, traspone el término latino al español. El resto de traductores reproduce la locución también en español con el mismo sentido que el original y recurriendo a la técnica sinonímica, aunque con tres propuestas diferenciadas por el nivel diacrítico. En este sentido, es posible que, dado el carácter de la obra y el nivel de lengua de sus protagonistas, la propuesta de B. Segura sea la más cercana con el sentido y tono que impera en la obra. No obstante, cualquiera de ellas reproduce el sentido del texto fuente, como recoge Cantera (2002: 404).

- (7) *Larifuga nescio quis, nocturnus, qui non valet lotium suum* (57,3).
 ‘¡Un indefinido y nocherniego vagabundo como él, más vil que las aguas que salen del cuerpo!’ L. Rubio.
 ‘¡Un vagabundo, un no sé quién, un trasnochador que ni vale lo que mea!’ J. Picasso.

‘No tiene donde caerse muerto, granuja, que no vale ni lo que mea’. M. Díaz.
 ‘Prófugo de vete a saber, trasnochador, que no vale lo que su propio meado’.
 B. Segura.

Existe una estrecha analogía entre las propuestas, si bien la primera resulte eufemística en relación con el tono del original latino. La locución propuesta en la traducción no está recogida en la lengua española, aunque es evidente que el matiz despectivo se entiende tanto en el texto fuente como en el meta.

(8) *Habemus aedilen trium cauniarium* (44,13)

La estructura de la locución sustantiva es análoga a las que ya comentamos al principio del trabajo y referida a personas. El término elegido por Petronio para esta ocasión pertenece al mundo agrícola, un recurso muy productivo para la creación de metáforas.

(8) *Habemus aedilen trium cauniarium* (44,13)

‘Pero todo ello por tener un edil que no vale tres higos’ L. Rubio.
 ‘¿Por qué soportamos a un edil que no vale tres higos secos?’ J. Picasso.
 ‘Tenemos un edil que no vale un higo’ M. Díaz
 ‘Pero ¿a qué santo tenemos un alcalde que no vale un pepino...?’ B. Segura.

Tres de los traductores reproducen exactamente el término de la lengua fuente que está fijado como locución también en español (técnica actancial). La propuesta de B. Segura recurre a la técnica sinonímica proponiendo una locución también vigente y que comparte con el original latino el hecho de pertenecer al ámbito agrícola. El DLE recoge para ambos términos, en su tercera acepción, el significado de ‘cosa insignificante, de poco o ningún valor’, en ejemplos como: No dar un higo por algo, No dársele a alguien un higo, No estimar en un higo algo, etc. También Cantera (2002: 404) señala las locuciones ‘valer un higo’ y ‘valer un pepino’.

Al hilo de este ejemplo cabe destacar la utilización del numeral tres. Este número tiene un carácter simbólico asociado al concepto ‘poco’ como señala García-Page (2017: 86), frecuente en algunas locuciones y paremias puede denotar una cantidad precisa o, por el contrario, expresar énfasis, contribuyendo así al valor hiperbólico de la locución (2017: 85).

3. Conclusiones

En las traducciones presentadas, se pueden observar dos propuestas traslativas diferentes: equivalencia formal o equivalencia funcional. El planteamiento de J. Picasso se sitúa en el extremo de la literalidad, pues, en general, no propone locuciones fraseológicas vigentes en el texto meta. L. Rubio no actúa de forma homogénea, en algunos casos mantiene la unidad fraseológica del texto fuente prácticamente inalterada en el texto meta, en el caso del *sestertius*, mientras que en los demás ejemplos citados opta por aplicar distintas técnicas: actancial, sinonímica o hiperonímica, resultando así también en el texto meta una unidad fraseológica fijada. Las propuestas de M. Díaz y B. Segura presentan mayor coherencia, pues en todos

los casos analizados los autores han aplicado las técnicas actancial, temática, sinonímica o hiperonímica. Aunque, en ocasiones, el resultado en el texto meta no siempre es una unidad fraseológica vigente (a perra gorda, valer dos perras), fijada (valer lo que mea, valer un euro), o ni siquiera una expresión fraseológica (pobre baratija), el texto es comprensible para los hablantes, ya porque conozcan la expresión, aunque no esté vigente, ya porque el propio sentido del texto lo clarifica.

Esto nos lleva a otro planteamiento importante ¿qué vigencia tiene la traducción? Algunas propuestas están hoy muy lejos del lector actual, por lo tanto, es necesario una revisión concienzuda, especialmente las de este tipo de textos muy impregnados del habla cotidiana, y asegurarnos de su vigencia.

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Building Motivational Bridges: Student Translators' Experience of Idioms Processing

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Abstract

This empirical study explores the way novel and conventional English idioms are understood by translator students as advanced L2 learners and cross-cultural mediators. The research aims to investigate to what extent the degree of idiom novelty affects its comprehension. To this end two experiments were conducted, which included defining the meaning of analyzable novel and conventional idioms given without context and providing retrospective explanations during the think-aloud sessions. The findings reveal a marked correlation between the degree of novelty of analyzable idioms and the accuracy of their comprehension. The novel idioms prove to be much easier for non-native speakers to understand since they are imbedded in contemporary cultural and social contexts, and the access to this culturally laden information is facilitated by the ubiquitous nature of the internet. The factors that impede and stimulate accurate comprehension of idiomatic expressions are also examined.

Keywords

cultural competence, motivational link, novel phraseologisms, conventional phraseologisms, idiom comprehension

1. Introduction

Figurative language has long been an area of intense research that includes cross-linguistic and cross-cultural dimensions. Lingua-culturological studies reveal that figurative phraseological units, which we also call phraseologisms, are closely related to the broad social and cultural context and are imbued with cultural associations or in other terms culture codes that are reflected in idiomatic meaning (Larsen-Walker 2019, Šliogerienė & Stunžaitė 2019). To decode the meaning of these linguistic items is to gain an insight into the way a certain segment of reality is metaphorically perceived in the speech community. Such understanding is crucial for student translators who serve as mediators in cross-linguistic and cross-cultural

communication. It is obvious that building idiomatic competence is paramount for translator students' language and culture acquisition.

Being a part of a language system, which is flexible and ever-changing, phraseologisms conform to the emerging norms of communicative behavior, reflecting new values and employing fresh images. The impact of social environment on idioms can hardly be overestimated. Since societal transformations bring to life new phenomena, they trigger the appearance of novel phraseological units (novel PUs). These new figurative expressions build on images drawn from cinematography, advertising, and other modern texts (Pirainen 2012). The dissemination of such culturally laden information is promoted by a ubiquitously accessible means - the internet. The knowledge of current trends in culture and of the changes in social behavior is no longer confined to one specific speech community (Betancourt, 2015, Floridi, 2014). Since information easily crosses national boundaries, it is possible to assume that the so-called global village effect can increase the cultural awareness of translator students and facilitate their acquisition of novel L2 phraseological units.

The focal point of the present research is novel and conventional figurative expressions. To draw a line between the two classes, it is important to analyze the stages a new phrase undergoes before it becomes a part of the mainstream vocabulary. When a linguistic unit emerges in the lexicon, it is involved in the process of accommodation (Shmidt 2020). The initial stage of it is described as diffusion, which means the spread of a neologism as measured in terms of discourse frequency (Kerremans 2012). The next step is its institutionalization, which presupposes the usage of a new item across different socio-pragmatic situations (Kerremans 2012, Brinton & Traugott 2005). A linguistic unit is conventionalized when it becomes independent of the context and can be used in a wide range of situations; the final stage of its normalization is becoming the part of mainstream dictionaries (Kerremans 2012).

Idioms have received considerable attention in research in recent decades; however, the treatment of these figurative entities reveals some lack of uniformity. Idioms are described as non-compositional figurative phrases that are often lexically fixed, opaque, and rich in cultural associations, which makes them hard to understand on first encounter (Carroll et al. 2018). The present study leans towards the treatment of idioms introduced by Dobrovolskij and Pirainen, according to which idioms are phrasal lexemes whose constitutive properties include polylexicality, structural stability and idiomaticity, by which the scholars understand some figurative meaning (Dobrovolskij & Pirainen 2010: 74). The former approach implies that idioms tend to have a low level of transparency, while the latter assumes that idioms encompass both opaque and transparent figurative expressions. The level of transparency is viewed as "the extent to which the original metaphorical motivation of an idiomatic phrase can be deduced from its literal analysis" (Cieślicka 2015: 213). Transparent idioms are easily decipherable, since their motivation is clear, while with non-transparent phraseologisms the literal meaning is not suggestive of the image underpinning the figurative sense (Steinel et al. 2007, Titone & Libben 2014, Boers & Webb 2015). Another property of idiomatic phrases is decomposability which means the segmentation of a phraseological expression into constituent elements whose literal meaning reveals some connection with their figurative meaning

(Cieślicka et al., 2015, Cooper 1999, Tilmatine et al. 2021). Decomposability is aligned with the notion of analyzability. Analysable idioms are seen as figurative expressions whose constituent elements possess more or less autonomous meanings within the range of their actual meaning (Dobrovolskij & Piirainen 2005).

Numerous studies show that the semantic characteristics of idiomatic expressions influence their processing. The perception of idioms is studied through the prism of psycholinguistics (Cieślicka 2015, Schweigert, 2009, Callies & Butcher 2007). Another approach is to investigate the acquisition of idioms in reference to strategies which native speakers and L2 learners follow to understand the figurative meaning (Carrol et al. 2018, Cooper 1999). However, the comprehension of the meaning found in novel figurative PUs as opposed to the processing of conventional PUs by L2 learners has remained an understudied area. To address this knowledge gap, the present study aims to investigate to what extent the degree of idiom novelty affects its comprehension. It is also important to establish what factors stimulate the correct deciphering of idiomatic meaning with student translators as advanced L2 learners and what cognitive mechanisms hamper it.

2. Material and Method

To reach the research goals the study employed qualitative and quantitative methods. The participants were 58 Russian advanced English language learners of a comparable age (21-23) and educational level. Half of them were doing their master's degree course in translation, while others were in their fifth year of specialty training, which is a five-year university course providing instruction in translation and interpreting with some substantial theoretical foundation.

The material for the study was selected on the following grounds. Two sets of idioms were chosen for the students to provide a definition. The first group comprised ten novel idioms that have become frequent in public discourse quite recently (e.g. *perfect storm*). The resources for selecting novel idioms included the section *Updates to Oxford English Dictionary* for the years 2017-2021 and the *New dictionary Words* for the Merriam Webster Dictionary. Apart from novel idioms, the sample contained 10 conventional idiomatic expressions that are used in mass media but have not become a part of the participants' active vocabulary. The requirement that all the items in the two sets met is the degree of their analyzability and motivation. It means that they are characterized by rather transparent inner form. While some sample idioms have strong motivation, others are less motivated but still analyzable. The two groups were mixed and given to the participants as a single set of idiomatic expressions whose meanings the student translators were asked to explain. Thus, the list contained 20 items for which the participants were to provide definitions in writing without using any resources and relying exclusively on their own reasoning. The experiment involved non-contextual treatment of both novel and conventional idiomatic expressions. The time to complete the task was limited to 40 minutes, which meant a two-minute increment for each sample idiom. The next stage was a think-aloud protocol, conducted in groups of 5-12 students. It allowed

the participants to verbalize their reasons, explaining the things that helped them to define the sample idioms and exposing the reasoning their sample items comprehension was based on.

The obtained results were analyzed in two phases. Firstly, the idioms were divided in two sets: the novel and conventional ones. Then all definitions provided by the participants were scored on a 3-point scale. If no answer was given or the definition was wrong, it was worth 1 point. If the explanation of the idiomatic meaning was partially correct, it scored 2 points, while the correct definition was ranked at 3 points.

The second phase aimed at unravelling the way the participants got to the comprehension of the sample idioms. During a think-aloud sessions they shared their observations, which were registered and then analyzed in order to establish methods the non-native speakers use for understanding L2 idiomatic expressions. The empirical study that involved these two stages generated the results that show what things help to interpret idiomatic meaning correctly and what aspects impede it.

3. Results and Discussion

To establish similarities and differences between novel and conventional idioms comprehension by non-native speakers the two sets of definitions were examined, and their mean scores were found on a 3-point scale.

The analysis of novel idioms perception revealed that the mean score is 2.3. It is evident that the PUs with strong motivation are the easiest to comprehend. They encompass the expressions conceptualizing modern behavioral practices (*couch surfing*), social issues (*a wake-up call*) and popular trends (*to think out of the box*) (Table 1). Though pandemic restrictions have considerably limited mobility and the students do not have a chance to travel extensively, their understanding of the idiom *couch surfing* is based on some background knowledge acquired while watching some popular travel shows that offer advice on budget trips.

№	Idiomatic expressions	M	№	Idiomatic expressions	M
1	Pass the popcorn (around)/ Stock up on popcorn	1,7	6	A red flag	1,8
2	To fly under the radar	2,1	7	Second lady	2,6
3	Plastic footprint	2,3	8	A wake-up call	2,7
4	To think outside the box	2,8	9	Dark web	2,8
5	A perfect storm	1,7	10	Couch surfing	2,7

Table 1. Means for New Idioms

On the other end of the scale are the phraseological expressions whose meaning was hard for the participants to comprehend (*a perfect storm*, *a red flag*, *to pass the popcorn around*). One of the possible reasons may be their early stage of accommodation in the English language,

a low level of transparency and some cultural factors that blur the images associated with them. While explaining the meaning of the phrase *to pass the popcorn (around)/ to stock up on popcorn* many student translators associated it with gossip: “*to pass the popcorn around is like passing a word, spreading some news or gossip*”. The think-aloud session shed some light on the train of thoughts this definition was based on: “When people watch some film together in an informal atmosphere, they share popcorn and discuss some socially relevant information. One goes in hand with the other”. The interview also revealed that the respondents are familiar with the meaning of the iconic image that correlates with the idiom but fail to decode its verbal essence. It shows that respondents employ popcorn box emoticons as signs whose meaning they do not fully understand, a sort of signifier which in their minds is disconnected from the concept.

Another PU that caused misinterpretation is *a red flag* which means *a warning of danger*. Less than 50% of all participants decoded its meaning correctly. The most common associations shared by the respondents fall into two groups: a symbol of aggression, pain and confrontation and a symbol of the Soviet Union. The interview showed that the negative connotation stems from the association with the red rag that enrages a bull, with a bullfight. The second group connotes something positive: victory, achievements, a holiday. Indeed, in the Soviet times all public holidays were marked by the abundance of red flags. Evidently, this image is deeply rooted in the collective memory of the speech community and the young generation born after the collapse of the Soviet Union shares this culture code. A considerable number of participants (26%) perceive a red flag as a symbol of labour movement or revolution. It shows that the traditional symbols of the target culture overshadow the images of the source culture, interfering with motivation decoding.

The next stage is the analysis of the group of figurative idioms that include fully conventionalized expressions. Their inner forms reveal various degrees of transparency, however, in all the cases it is possible to establish their motivation and to decipher the metaphorical image. This group of idioms do not relate to any culture specific elements of extralinguistic reality, and the metaphorical representation is based on some common practices. The examination of respondents' definitions shows that the mean score for this set is 1.6, which is by 28% lower than that for novel idioms (Table 2).

№	<i>Idiomatic expressions</i>	<i>M</i>	№	<i>Idiomatic expressions</i>	<i>M</i>
1	To sweep something under the carpet	2,3	6	To roll with punches	1,5
2	To burn the candle at both ends	1,4	7	At a drop of a hat	1,7
3	To turn the tide	1,6	8	To dig your heels in	1,6
4	Loose cannon	1,3	9	To throw dust in somebody's eyes	2,2
5	To slip/fall through the cracks	1,4	10	To let the grass grow under your feet	1,6

Table 2. Means for Conventional Idioms

The images underlying such idioms as *to sweep something under the carpet* and *to throw dust in somebody's eyes* are vivid and, as participants explained during the retrospective analysis, are linked to some visual metaphorical representations. However, some respondents failed to accurately decipher their idiomatic sense being affected by the images of the host culture, as is the case with the perception of the idiom *to throw dust in somebody's eyes*. In the Russian language there is a phraseological expression with a similar form: *puskat' pyl' v glaza*. It is used when people lie to create a positive impression of themselves, in other words when they boast. The Russian idiom, like the English one, contains the idea of deceit, though the expression *to throw dust in one's eyes* means *to mislead or deceive someone by providing distracting information*. The idea of boasting that some students included in their definitions does not fit the notion of distraction, though it goes in line with the motivational underpinning found in the Russian idiom.

The interference caused by the host culture is found in the respondents' interpretation of the expression *to slip/fall through the cracks* which is used to describe someone that has been improperly or inadvertently ignored or left out. In the Russian language the situation when people are neglected is described with the help of metaphors that relate to some horizontal dimension: to be out of bounds, to be beyond some frames. The idea of a vertical movement in the literal meaning of the English idiom clashes with this traditional image of the host culture impeding the idiom comprehension. The same holds true for the phraseologism *to burn the candle at both ends* which some participants connect with the Russian expression *the stick with two ends* meaning *something that has both positive and negative sides*. In English this concept is represented in the idiom *a double-edged sword*. The interference caused by metaphorical patterns typical of the native language brings about some incorrect interpretations of the English idioms.

Another factor affecting the understanding of the sample figurative idioms is the student translators' reference to other English idioms whose meaning is familiar and transparent. Several participants employed it to decipher the metaphorical sense of the idiom *to burn the candle at both ends* which is *to use one's resources or energy to excess*. The student translators tried to understand the metaphor behind it relying on their knowledge of other English idioms which, in their view, possessed similar meanings. One of such expressions is *to burn bridges*, whose meaning is *to cut off all means of retreat, to make it impossible to return to an earlier state*. Since it is associated with the idea of destruction, this was projected to the idiom with the same initial component. The respondents inferred that *to burn the candle at both ends* means *to destroy something completely*. Another example of interference within L2 lexicon is the interpretation of the phraseological expression *to let the grass grow under one's feet*. Some respondents understood it as *being a determined and strong person, being independent*, which stems from their reference to the English idioms they know: *to keep your feet on the ground* (to think in a sensible and practical way) and *to stand on your own feet* which means *to be independent and do without any help from other people*.

The analysis of some successful results of idiomatic interpretation shows that the most reliable path leading to the comprehension of both novel and conventional figurative idioms is establishing the motivational bases for phraseological expressions. For example, when the respondents accounted for the way they got to understand the meaning of the expression *to fly under the radar*, the following chain of thought was revealed: “The radar is a device for detecting flying objects. If an object flies under it, it means that it is not detected. If we think about something or someone flying under the radar, we should infer that they remain unnoticed, they manage to escape, and no one spots them.” Thus, a clear and logical image is created, the motivational bridge is established, and the idiom is interpreted correctly.

4. Conclusion

This empirical study establishes a marked correlation between the degree of novelty of analyzable idioms and the accuracy of their comprehension by advanced L2 learners. The analysis of student translators' definitions of English idioms and their retrospective observations expressed during think-aloud sessions shows that novel phraseological expressions are understood far more accurately than conventional motivated idioms. It can be explained by the influence of internet technologies that stimulate access to current culturally and socially relevant information on which new idiomatic expressions draw. Though the sample idioms were perceived in their non-contextual setting, it is possible to assume that the absence of any linguistic context in the experiment was compensated by the translator students' awareness of an actual broad cultural and social context obtained from digital sources.

The effect of emerging communication practices that cross national boundaries due to digitalization is manifold. The study reveals that emoticons that serve as emblematic signs and in some cases visualize the metaphorical meaning of novel idioms do not facilitate the L2 learners' idiom comprehension, as the respondents tend to use iconic signs automatically without deciphering their true meaning.

The findings elucidate the factors that hamper comprehension of both novel and conventional analyzable idioms which stem from the student translators' inability to detach from their prior experience that is based on the elements of the host culture. The reliance on the knowledge of some L2 idioms whose meanings appear similar to those of the unfamiliar phraseological expressions also impedes correct comprehension. Intuition or a visceral feeling prove to be quite shaky foundations for idiom processing; a much more effective way to unravel the idiomatic meaning set in a different culture is to recreate motivational links between the literal and lexicalized meanings of a figurative expression, to build motivational bridges which will help to perceive the whole picture, creating a metaphorical image. It requires certain skills that should be developed as a part of student translators' professional training.

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Mots tabous roumains et leurs équivalents français : le cas de *cur* [cul]

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Abstract

This study on the popular word *cur* [ass] is driven by the fact that bilingual phraseological Romanian-French dictionaries only mention a few idioms and proverbs with this noun, although it is very frequent in oral slang and even in contemporary literature, as reflected by online corpora CoRoLa. Finding their French appropriate equivalent is challenging, some of these phrasal units being resistant to translation, especially when it comes to their discursive uses. We focus on the analysis of the conversational structures which have not been the object of translation studies, proof that they are still considered taboos. Our research pursues a threefold goal: a) establish a complete inventory and a formal classification of these PUs; b) carry out a semantic analysis of their meanings, mostly negative; c) create a translation analysis grid capable to assess the equivalents we offer, in order to estimate the gains and losses brought about by our translation.

Keywords

body-parts nouns, phraseological units, semantic features, metaphorical meaning, translation grid

1. Introduction

Considéré comme vulgaire, parce qu'il désigne une partie du corps « honteuse », le mot roumain *cur*, tout comme son correspondant français *cul*, est utilisé à la fois au sens de *fesses*, *anus* que et de *partie postérieure*, *dos* ou *bout*. Il est à l'origine de beaucoup d'unités phraséologiques (UP)¹ utilisées dans le langage familier, populaire ou argotique, dont les valeurs sémantiques ont, en majorité, une connotation négative.

Notre étude part du constat que :

- a) Bien qu'un certain nombre d'études linguistiques (Schøller 1971, Necula 2010, Majuru 2011), sémantico-stylistiques (Jordan 1975, Coșeriu 2000, Zafiu 2015) et

¹ Les UP rassemblent locutions, collocations, expressions, parèmes et phraséologismes pragmatiques.

traductologiques (Rădulescu 2015, 2018) aient été consacrés aux mots tabous, jurons, gros mots roumains, aucune ne porte expressément sur ce mot ;

- b) Peu d'UP (trois à base verbale² et une parémie³) ont été enregistrées par les dictionnaires phraséologiques bilingues R-Fr. de Gorunescu (1981, 2000), malgré la richesse des phraséologies avec *cur*, courantes dans la langue parlée et dans les textes littéraires. Il nous a donc semblé opportun de les étudier, d'abord pour leur usage et leurs valeurs sémantiques, ensuite pour leur trouver des équivalents en français, afin de combler ainsi les lacunes des dictionnaires. Même si l'on considère que les UP avec des mots tabous sont difficilement traduisibles dans une autre langue, car très connues culturellement et faisant partie d'une zone d'« idiomatité de la langue-source » (González-Rey 2002: 67-69), notre hypothèse est qu'il est pourtant possible de les traduire en français, tout en conservant les paramètres énonciatifs, le niveau de langue et la prosodie roumaine. Pour ce faire, nous avons construit un outil d'évaluation dont les critères, si applicables, permettraient leur transfert en français, surtout au niveau du sens et de la forme de ces UP.

2. Démarche et méthode

Notre étude adopte une méthode quantitative (pour dresser l'inventaire des UP roumaines avec *cur* et les classifier formellement) et une méthode qualitative, représentée par une analyse sémantique suivie d'une analyse traductive de leurs équivalents. Nous avons opté pour l'emploi des équivalents dynamiques (Nida 1964: 159⁴), car nous avons remarqué que les équivalents formels ne peuvent être utilisés que rarement, là où les deux langues enregistrent des UP de sens similaire.

Le corpus analysé consiste en 126 UP inventoriées à partir des dictionnaires explicatifs roumains (DLR, MDA, DEX), du dictionnaire argotique de Volceanov (2007), du corpus roumain de textes littéraires contemporains (CoRoLa) et des sites internet roumains contenant des articles sur ce mot. Pour établir les équivalences, nous nous sommes servis de dictionnaires français (TLFi, Littré) et nous avons proposé notre propre équivalent, surtout dans le cas des textes littéraires où il n'y a pas de traduction certifiée. Afin d'évaluer le transfert du sens et les pertes associées à nos équivalents, nous avons construit et appliqué une grille qui comporte cinq critères:

C1 –niveau de langue;

C2 –prosodie;

C3 –fidélité au sens et présence des hétéronymes *cul*, *dos* ou *fesses* ;

² *Cur* n'y figure même pas, étant remplacé par son synonyme *dos* [dos], *spate* [derrière] ou *coadă* [queue] : *a se scula cu dosu-n sus* [se lever avec le dos en haut], *a trage un picior în spate* [tirer un coup de pied dans le derrière], *a pupa în bot/fund pe cineva* [baiser dans le museau / le dos qqn]. Pour les équivalents français, voir Annexes en ligne.

³ *Vai când ajunge coada cap* [Malheur lorsque la queue devient la tête].

⁴ Pour Nida l'équivalence formelle est celle où l'on conserve la forme du texte source, alors que l'équivalence dynamique est celle qui garde la même fonction exprimée dans la langue cible, mais d'une autre façon.

C4 –structure formelle de l’UP (mêmes classes de constituants) ;

C5 –maintien de la figure de style : métaphore, comparaison, personnification.

Pour suivre, nous discuterons les résultats de l’analyse qualitative, en effleurant seulement ceux de nature quantitative. La totalité des UP inventoriées, leur classification, leur traduction littérale, nos équivalents et les résultats de la grille appliquée sont consultables en ligne (<https://litere.ucv.ro/dlrc/sites/litere.ucv.ro.dlrc/files/dlrc/personal/Annexes.Radulescu%2BIonescu.pdf>).

3. Résultats de la recherche et discussion

3.1. Classification formelle

D’un point de vue formel, les UP peuvent être rangées en trois catégories :

- a) à base verbale (82 occurrences), *cur* pouvant être rattaché au verbe directement (13 occurrences) ou à l’aide d’une préposition (69 occurrences), les plus fréquentes étant în [dans] et *cu* [avec], comme par ex. *a trage un șut în cur* [tirer un coup de pied dans le cul de qqn] botter le cul de qqn⁵. ou *a fi cu curul în două luntri* [être avec le cul dans deux canots] être le cul entre deux chaises / selles ;
- b) à base nominale (9 occurrences) + noms composés (7 occurrences) tels que *cur gol* [cul nu] fauché, sans-le-sou ; à poil ou *cur-de-găină* [cul de poule] darter ;
- c) complexes : parémies (17 occurrences) + phraséologismes pragmatiques⁶ (11 ex.), comme *Curul lui și patru bani* [Son cul et quatre sous] Qui s’en fout, se fiche de tout ou *Futu-ți curul mă-ti!* [Fous le cul de ta mère] Va te faire foutre / enculer !

3.2. Classification sémantique

L’apport théorique de la sémantique du prototype (Kleiber 1990) et l’analyse des noyaux conceptuels « forme », « position », « fonctionnalité », « siège » ou « destination », autant d’universaux de pensée et d’expérience qui font partie du sémantisme des séquences basées sur les parties du corps, nous ont fourni les instruments cognitifs pour expliquer les processus de nature tropologique ayant engendré les UP formées à partir du nom *cur*. Dans notre analyse, nous avons distingué les noyaux sémantiques sur lesquels repose chaque connotation développée par ces UP. Conséquemment, nous avons isolé quatre sens concrets du terme, dont deux sens de base : « derrière, postérieur humain, séant, fessier » (1) et « anus, orifice anal » (2) et deux sens dérivés du premier sens de base : « aspect physique de la personne, silhouette » (1a) et « partie postérieure ou inférieure d’un objet » (métaphorisation basée sur l’analogie anthropomorphique) (1b), auxquels s’ajoute toute une série de sens figurés, beaucoup plus nombreux que les sens propres de ce mot tabou.

⁵ Nous donnons entre crochets la traduction littérale, suivie de l’équivalent français.

⁶ Étiquette assignée par Dziadkiewicz (2007) à un sous-groupe de phraséologismes « dont la fonction essentielle est non pas référentielle mais plutôt discursive et interactionnelle ».

3.2.1. Sens concret de base 1 : « derrière, postérieur humain, séant, fessier »

Il n'y a pas beaucoup d'UP illustrant ce sens concret : *a sta în cur* [rester sur le cul] s'asseoir ; *a-i umfla curul (în bătaie)* [lui gonfler le cul (dans une volée)] tabasser qqn. Néanmoins, de ce sens concret se sont développés plusieurs sens figurés qui actualisent le sème [position inférieure / postérieure] tels que :

- a) partie du corps perçue comme basse, inférieure ou insensible – en parlant des affaires : *a se duce pe cur* [s'en aller sur le cul] 1. en avoir une belle ; 2 faire faillite ; *a merge cu curu-înapoi* [marcher avec le cul en arrière] 1. faire marche arrière ; 2. échouer ; *a merge ca curul* [marcher comme le cul] cafouiller ;
- b) siège des affects :
 - colère : *a sări de cur în sus* [sauter de cul en haut] péter une durite ; *a se da cu curul de pământ* [se heurter avec le cul contre la terre] péter un plomb ;
 - mauvaise humeur : *a fi cu curul în sus* [être avec le cul en haut] être de mauvaise humeur ;
 - peur, angoisse : *a-i arde / țâțâi curul*, [lui brûler / trembler le cul] avoir la trouille ;
 - surprise, étonnement : *a cădea în cur* [tomber sur le cul] s'émerveiller ;
 - hésitation : *a sta pe cur* [rester sur le cul] hésiter ; *a se trage pe cur* [se tirer sur le cul] s'esquiver ; *a fi cu curul în două luntri* [être le cul entre deux canots] être indécis ;
- c) mauvais caractère :
 - fainéantise : *a sta (toată ziua) cu curul / cracii în sus* [rester (toute la journée) avec le cul / les jambes en haut] ne rien foutre ;
 - agitation : *a-i juca curul ca o mărgea* [lui jouer le cul comme une perle en verre] ne pas pouvoir rester en place ;
- d) partie vulnérable du corps humain /de l'individu :
 - cible d'une attaque basse : *a mușca de cur (pe cineva)* [mordre qqn. au cul] médire de qqn., calomnier ; *a-și pune curul la bătaie* [mettre son cul à la rossée] s'exposer à un danger ; *a da / trage cuiva un șut în cur* [donner / tirer à qqn. un coup dans le cul] 1. botter le cul à qqn. 2. abandonner, larguer qqn ;
 - cible d'une punition : *a-i rupe cuiva curul* [rompre le cul à qqn.] flanquer une raclée ;

Certaines UP ont pourtant une connotation positive, de protection ou d'aide : *a-i pune cuiva palma la cur* [poser à qqn. la paume au cul] protéger qqn ; *a-și pune curul pentru altul* [se mettre le cul pour un autre] chaperonner qqn.

- e) personne, individu :

Les UP de cette catégorie illustrent la contiguïté (*a se ține de curul cuiva* [se tenir du cul de qqn.] fréquenter qqn ; *a sta la curul cuiva* [rester au cul de qqn.] être à la disposition de qqn.) et la métonymie pour marquer :

- l'aspect : *cur-gol* [cul nu] 1. fauché ; 2. à poil ;
- l'âge : *cur bătrân* [cul vieux] vioque ;
- le genre : *cur de muiere* [cul de femme] femme.

La métonymie partie-personne se trouve également à l'origine de phraséologismes pragmatiques tels que : *Vai de curul tău / lui!* [Malheur à ton / son cul] Malheur à toi / lui, qui peut exprimer, selon la situation, la compassion ou la menace.

3.2.2. Sens concret dérivé 1a : « aspect physique de la personne, silhouette »

L'évaluation ironique de l'aspect volumineux du postérieur a été généralisée et appliquée au corps tout entier dans l'expression imagée *a fi cur greu* [être cul lourd] être gros.

Les sens dérivés qu'on enregistre à partir de ce sens concret sont : *a fi cur gros* [être cul gros] être gourmand (c'est l'un de ses sens), ou *a fi cu curu' mare* [être le cul grand] avoir une bonne image de soi, une grande confiance. D'autres UP actualisant le noyau sémique « forme/ aspect » expriment des hyperboles : (*a fi*) *fără cur în pantaloni* [être sans cul dans les pantalons] se réfère à une personne (surtout de sexe masculin) qui est très maigre, alors qu'on dit d'une femme qui a les jambes très minces *îi intră bețele în cur* [lui entrent les bâtons dans le cul].

3.2.3. Sens concret dérivé 1b : « partie postérieure ou inférieure d'un objet » (anthropomorphisation)

Ce type de métaphorisation, basée sur une structure analogique anthropologique / zoomorphique, est devenu un mode de désignation prototypique, spécifique au système conceptuel humain. Il a été rendu possible par l'existence des noyaux conceptuels « position » et « fonction » que renferme la signification du mot *cur*. Le trait « position basse » et la fonction de support sont actualisées par l'UP *a întoarce (totul) cu curu-n sus* [tourner (tout) avec le cul en haut] mettre tout sens dessus dessous, trifouiller ; alors que l'expression *curul mașinii* [cul de la voiture], l'arrière d'une voiture, le coffre arrière, rend compte du noyau « postériorité ». La locution *la curul pământului* [au cul de la terre], qui signifie « loin », actualise aussi l'idée de postériorité dans la mesure où ce qui se trouve derrière qqch. est moins visible, donc, loin.

3.2.4. Sens concret de base 2 : « anus, orifice anal »

Dans un sens concret, l'UP *a băga degetul în curul cuiva / a-i băga degetul în cur* est utilisée lorsqu'on fait référence au toucher rectal, partie de l'examen proctologique. Les sens figurés dérivés en sont plus fréquents et l'on distingue trois catégories : (a) orifice à valeur indifférenciée, (b) à fonction sexuelle et (c) à fonction d'excrétion.

Les types d'actions ou d'états exprimés par les verbes qui entrent dans la structure des UP de cette catégorie se ramènent à trois :

- possession : *a avea ceva în cur* [avoir qqch. dans le cul] se faire de la bile ;

- caractérisation (*a fi, a sta, a muri* [être, rester, mourir]) : *a sta cu deștul / mâna în cur* [rester le doigt / la main dans le cul] se tourner les pouces ; *a muri în curul cuiva* [mourir dans le cul de qqn] raffoler de qqn, (arg.) kiffer à mort ;
- introduction (*a băga, a sufla* [fourrer, souffler]) : *a-i sufla în cur* [lui souffler au cul] flairer au cul de qqn ;

S'y ajoutent les verbes *a pupa* [baiser] ou *a linge* [lécher] qui renvoient à un geste de flatterie basse ou de soumission : *a pupa / linge în cur (pe cineva)* [baiser / lécher qqn. dans le cul], lécher le cul à qqn.

3.3. Procédés de transfert des UP avec *cur* en français

L'analyse sémantique précédente nous a permis de prendre en compte non seulement les emplois concrets des UP, mais aussi leur signification dans « la situation de communication, ce qui inclut la différence entre l'oral et l'écrit et le degré d'ajustement de l'émetteur au récepteur, en plus de considérations d'ordre sociolinguistique » (Xatara 2002 :443). De la sorte, la difficulté du transfert porte sur les degrés différents de lisibilité d'une UP, l'option du traducteur allant d'un équivalent formel, là où le français dispose d'une UP similaire, jusqu'à un équivalent dynamique, de forme différente, mais remplissant la même fonction de communication. En fait, dans la plupart des cas nous avons dû faire appel à ce type d'équivalence qui, en dépit des pertes stylistiques évidentes, a rendu au moins le sens global de l'UP roumaine.

3.3.1. Équivalents formels avec *cul* / *fesses*

La traduction par l'hétéronyme *cul* est possible pour 34 des 82 UP à base verbale (comme dans *a se scula cu curu-n sus* [se lever avec le cul en haut] se lever le cul devant ; *a se da de-a curu-n cap* [se donner en cul et en tête] rouler cul par-dessus tête), et pour 3 des 9 UP à base nominale (comme dans les locutions adjectivales *cur greu* [cul lourd] cul de plomb et (*femeie*) *rea de cur* [femme mauvaise de cul] femme qui vend son cul).

Pour ce qui est des textes littéraires de CoRoLa, nous considérons que le sens concret de *cur* (« postérieur ou fesses »), se prête à être rendu en français par les hétéronymes *cul* ou *fesses*, sans pourtant exclure des équivalents dynamiques⁷:

- (1) *Când m-am uitat la ceas, am trântit târnăcopul și m-am pus în cur* [je me suis assis sur le cul] (Alexandrescu 2013)
Quand j'ai regardé ma montre, j'ai flanqué la pioche par terre et j'y ai posé mon cul / mes fesses / je me suis affalé par terre.
- (2) *Situația se detensionează, ca prin farmec, îndată ce îl onorează pe soldatul Bert cu un șut în cur* [un coup au cul]. (Lițu 2016)
La situation se détend, miraculeusement, dès qu'il honore le soldat Bert d'un coup de pied au cul / dès qu'il botte les fesses du soldat Bert

⁷ Toutes les traductions des textes littéraires nous appartiennent.

L'emploi de *cul* dans le sens d'« anus » est également possible, malgré le sens métaphorique des UP ci-dessous :

- (3) [...] *dacă toți își făceau treaba, nu mai rămânea nimănui vreme să se uite în ograda altuia sau să se scarpine în cur* [ou se gratter dans le cul] ... (Moise 2017)
 [...] si tous faisaient leur boulot, personne n'aurait plus le temps de regarder dans la cour d'autrui ou de **se pogner le cul**...
- (4) *Păi, unde se duc banii, dacă am avut recoltă record ? Pe medalii, la câțiva lin-ge-n cur* [lèche dans le cul], nu ? (Malciu 2015)
 Et alors, où va l'argent, si l'on a obtenu une récolte record ? À des médailles accordées à des **lèche-culs**, hein ?

Quant aux parties du corps remplacées par d'autres, nous estimons que l'emploi de *cul* s'impose justement pour souligner le défigement d'une expression comme *sentir avec le cœur* :

- (5) *Ca la noi, la români ! A reușit să se înalțe la cer, așa simte el românul, cu curul...* [c'est ainsi que le Roumain sent, avec le cul] (Năstase 2015)
 Comme chez nous, chez les Roumains ! Il a réussi à s'élever vers le ciel, car c'est ainsi que le Roumain **sent, avec son cul!**

Et, pour garder le même effet stylistique, si le *cul* sert de comparant en roumain, il devrait être gardé alors en traduction aussi, afin de renforcer l'analogie entre les fonctions symboliques des deux parties du corps :

- (6) *Radiografia plaiului mioritic este ca al fecalei : o umbră fără schelet, o inimă ca un cur, [un cœur comme un cul] fără șira spinării...* (Florea 2013)
 La radiographie de notre espace national ressemble à celle des excréments : une ombre sans squelette, **un cœur comme un cul**, sans colonne vertébrale.

3.3.2. Équivalents dynamiques

La vraie pierre de touche pour le traducteur est de trouver l'équivalent approprié aux structures qui relèvent des stéréotypes de langage (ordres, jurons, imprécations). Dans ce cas, il optera pour des équivalents dynamiques, où le mot *cul* sera difficilement préservé comme hétéronyme de *cur*, notamment dans les phraséologismes pragmatiques et les parémies. Dans le corpus CoRoLa ne figurent pas de parémies, mais il y a 5 phraséologismes pragmatiques que nous avons traduits par des tournures qui rendent le sens, sans pourtant exprimer l'agressivité et la vulgarité du juron roumain :

- (7) *Prin urmare, Verdunel făcu o față de a toate cunoscător, gândi simplu : „futu-vă mama-n cur* [dă hahalere] [je vous nique la mère dans le cul de fripouilles]... (Batog-Bujeniță 2015)
 Verdunel fit donc mine de fin connaisseur et se dit simplement : **espèce de salauds / peigne-cul**...

Et même si nous avons gardé le niveau de langue et utilisé un équivalent approprié à la situation de communication, le gommage du mot *cul* rend la structure d'indifférence suivante moins grossière que celle du roumain :

- (8) *De aceea nu m-a sunat să aște pentru ce am lipsit de la școală ? Sau l-a durut în cur?*
[ou bien il a eu mal dans le cul] (Stan 2013)

C'est pour cela qu'il ne m'a pas appelé pour apprendre la cause de mon absence à l'école ? Ou bien **il s'en est fiché royalement** ?

Nous ne sommes pas parvenues à donner un équivalent aux stéréotypes propres à certains sociolectes, comme c'est le cas de l'expression vulgaire d'admiration qui singularise le parler des Roms :

- (9) *Mânca-ți-aș curul [Que je te mange le cul], frumoaso ce ești, că tare ne mai spăriași!* (Gociu 2017)

Ø Comme tu nous as effrayés, ma belle !

Le caractère métaphorique et les particularités prosodiques des UP roumaines risquent de se perdre dans le processus de traduction, faute de pratiques sociales, historiques ou comportementales comparables. Pour le transfert des parémies, nous avons dû établir une « équivalence catégorielle » (Anscombe 2009 :24), c'est-à-dire faire correspondre en français la formule sentencieuse spécifique du roumain, en faisant appel à la fonctionnalité de la structure plus qu'à la ressemblance formelle entre l'original et notre traduction. C'est pourquoi nous avons essayé de proposer des équivalents, où nous avons conservé :

- la même idée qu'en roumain : *Să nu-ți dai curul pe mâna altuia* [Ne te donne pas le cul sur la main de l'autre], On n'est jamais si bien servi que par soi-même ;
- la métaphore : *Îa din cur și bagă-n gură / Și zii că-i bucată bună* [Prends du cul et mets dans la bouche et dis-toi que le morceau est bon], Qui a des noix en casse, qui n'en a pas, s'en passe ;
- la prosodie : *Drum bătut și cur frecat, tot nimic n-au rezolvat* [Chemin battu et cul frotté n'ont toujours pas résolu les choses], Peine perdue, sans le résultat attendu.

Notre option pour les équivalents dynamiques a donc été déterminée non par une raison subjective, mais par la nécessité de restituer, en plus du sens global de l'UP, le niveau de langue, la prosodie et, dans la mesure du possible, la figure de style.

4. Conclusion

Touchant des phénomènes linguistiques divers, tels que vulgarismes, euphémismes, allusions, litotes et d'autres formes d'implicite, les UP roumaines formées avec le mot *cur* [cul] subsistent dans la langue courante et constituent une source intarissable d'expressivité. Utilisées notamment dans une langue informelle, familière ou populaire, ces UP présentent

dans la majorité des cas des connotations négatives, le mot *cur* se trouvant aussi à la base des jurons vulgaires (*futu-ți curul mă-tii* [fous le cul de ta mère] Va te faire enculer).

L'analyse quantitative a révélé que les UP du corpus sont majoritairement des locutions (66 à base verbale et 9 à base nominale). Les autres sont des parémies (17), des expressions idiomatiques à base verbale (14), des phraséologismes pragmatiques (11), des mots composés (7) et des collocations (2).

L'analyse sémantique a mis en évidence la productivité du premier sens concret « derrière, postérieur humain, séant, fessier », qui a développé deux sens dérivés et plusieurs sens figurés ; alors que le deuxième sens de base « anus, orifice anal », toujours concret, n'a engendré que quelques sens figurés.

L'analyse traductive a mis en exergue l'effort d'éviter les potentiels faux amis (*cur-de-găină* n'est pas l'hétéronyme de *cul-de-poule*), et surtout le souci d'opter soit pour une équivalence dynamique pour transférer le sens mais pas la forme de l'UP, soit pour une équivalence formelle, plus proche de la traduction littérale, exotique, qui fait valoir le folklore, contribuant ainsi au pittoresque d'un texte. Nous avons considéré que la spécificité des UP analysées mérite d'être rendue en français avec le moins de pertes possible, étant donné leur expressivité et richesse sémantique. L'application de la grille proposée a démontré que ces UP sont assez réfractaires au transfert en français, notamment quand il s'agit de leurs usages discursifs (jurons, formules qui expriment l'admiration ou le mépris, etc.). Les parémies sont la seule catégorie d'UP dont la complexité permettrait l'application de tous les critères de notre grille, mais, pour l'instant, nous ne sommes pas toujours parvenues à proposer des équivalents appropriés au niveau de langue, à la prosodie et à la rhétorique de l'UP roumaine. Quant aux autres types (collocations, locutions, expressions), le critère C2 est inapplicable parce qu'il n'y a pas de prosodie, le reste des critères ayant été satisfaits dans la mesure où nous avons réussi à garder leur sens, l'hétéronyme *cul*, la rhétorique et le niveau de langue.

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L'écart culturel vu à la loupe de l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique

Exemple du mooré et du français dans La dynastie maudite, roman de Yamba Élie Ouédraogo

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Abstract

In this paper, which is largely based on contrastive linguistics, we present a study on phraseoparemiology. This reflection makes it possible to question the phraseoparemiological material by putting it to the test of an analysis by the yardstick of which gaps, variations that are at the same time cultural, sociolinguistic and stylistic are listed on the one hand, and the way in which this gap is filled on the other hand. In other words, this contribution defends the hypothesis that the phraseoparemiological untranslatability of a source language to a target language would be explained by the cultural and sociolinguistic heterogeneities specific to each of the language-cultures in co-presence. To do this, we use an attested literary corpus (novel) where many of the *mossé* phraseoparemiological units present, when translated into French, disparities with their French linguistic and contextual equivalents.

Keywords

cultural gap, phraseoparemiology, untranslatable phraseoparemiology

1. Introduction

Dans cette contribution qui s'inscrit dans l'axe du colloque "Études culturelles appliquées à la phraséologie et à la traduction", nous nous intéressons fondamentalement aux différences culturelles rendues perceptibles par deux langues-cultures via les phraséologismes, à l'exemple des unités phraséoparémiologiques françaises et moosé¹ d'expression française. Dès l'entame, une mise au point s'impose à nous au regard du choix conceptuel de phraséoparémiologie, qui paraîtrait peu courante. En effet, ce télescopage conceptuel s'explique par le fait que les unités complexes analysées dans cet article participent de la phraséologie et de la parémiologie, deux domaines aux frontières nettement marquées, comme nous l'apprennent J. Casares ou G. Wotjak cités par González Rey (2015 : 66) :

¹ Mooré : langue parlée par la communauté moaaga au Burkina Faso. Le gentilé et la forme adjectivale de mooré est moaaga dont le pluriel est moosé.

Nous avons choisi d'exclure les dictons et les phrases proverbiales, ceux qui ont la forme d'une phrase complète et indépendante du domaine de la phraséologie, les confiant à la parémiologie comme discipline universelle qui s'appuie sur des considérations folkloriques, ethnologiques et anthropologiques de diverses natures.

Pour ce faire, nous nous appuyons sur un ensemble d'unités phraséoparémiologiques extraites d'un roman burkinabè, *La dynastie maudite* (Ouédraogo, 2016). Cela dit, contrairement à la traduction des discours ordinaires qui nécessite moins d'opérations, de manipulations d'ordre linguistique et extralinguistique, le mécanisme traductionnel connaît une exception quand il s'agit des unités phraséoparémiologiques. Dans le cas de figure qui est celui des phraséologismes, des universaux de langage, en l'occurrence culturels et anthropologiques, sont pris en compte. Il arrive, dès lors, que certaines différences culturelles, spécificités sociolinguistiques et socioculturelles soient reflétées dans certaines unités de la langue. Ces observations sont le point de départ des interrogations suivantes : comment le français, qui a essentiellement servi de médiatrice à la traduction des unités phraséoparémiologiques du mooré, répond-il à un certain nombre de questions d'ordre lexico-sémantique ? Comment l'écart culturel mooré-français prend-il forme à travers les unités phraséologiques moosé d'expression française et celles du français ? Comment la disparité culturelle est-elle comblée lors de la traduction des unités phraséoparémiologiques moosé en français ?

2. Rappel de quelques précisions théoriques en rapport aux motivations liées à l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique

Plusieurs motivations d'ordre hétérogène justifient l'intraduisible phraséologique. En plus des classiques difficultés dont fait mention Alain Rey (1991 :2869), nous en ajouterons quelques-unes. Précisons que seules les trois premières difficultés sont de Alain Rey.

- La pauvreté relative par rapport aux ressources lexico-phraséoparémiologiques de l'autre langue ;
- La richesse lexicale et phraséoparémiologique correspondant à une pauvreté relative dans l'autre langue ;
- Les différences structurales, dans les systèmes où des traits pertinents sont réalisés dans une langue (un usage) et non dans une autre : l'exemple des relations de parentés (lexique) ;
- Sources d'abreuvoir des images ou culturèmes phraséoparémiologiques hétérogènes (différence des figures mythologiques, épiques, légendaires, fabuleuse...) ;
- Les spécificités locales à chaque langue-culture (la nourriture, les vêtements, les logements, les animaux, les plantes, les noms : anthroponyme, toponyme) ;
- Les pratiques sociales propres à chaque langue-culture : les fêtes, les croyances, les cérémonies rituelles, religieuses, coutumières...

3. Analyses et résultats

À partir des précisions théoriques liées à la motivation de l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique mentionnées plus haut nous analysons l'écart culturel et linguistique entre le mooré et le français. Et de fait, nous mettons, primo, l'accent sur l'hétérogénéité lexiculturelle caractéristique des deux langues-cultures, secundo, les mécanismes linguistiques pour la gestion de l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique et son corolaire stylistique.

3.1. Hétérogénéité lexiculturelle

Les spécialistes en sciences du langage et en traductologie nous apprennent que les langues sont loin de découper la réalité de la même façon, elles ne sont pas un simple miroir de la réalité et chacune reflète, à sa manière, cette même et unique réalité. Pour désigner ou nommer une réalité socioculturelle, chaque langue procède par différents modes d'expression en rapport avec ses référents culturels. Les constituants nominaux ou lexicaux des unités phraséologiques moosé sont empreints d'images dont la localisation, l'ancrage dans le code culturel rend périlleuse leur traduction en français (Zouogbo, 2013 :196).

3.1.1. Sur le plan folklorique

Pourquoi le choix de telle fleur ou plante en lieu et place de telle autre ? Pourquoi le choix de tel animal en lieu et place de tel autre ?... De façon générale, nous mettons cela au compte de l'enracinement culturel très fort qu'ils ont dans le terroir socioculturel qui les a vus naître. Mieux, on laisse la parole à Alain Rey (1986 :36) : « Les particularités d'une culture, tant sur le plan culturel qu'abstrait, sont incarnés dans des signes lexicaux, mots, syntagmes, qui leur sont associés si étroitement qu'à chaque concept, à chaque classe de référents ne peut correspondre un signe lexical adéquat dans une autre langue. »

► La faune

La motivation et la création des unités phraséo-parémiologiques mossé d'expression française à partir des ressources zoologiques et hydronymes relève plus d'un culturalisme attesté que d'un simple fait aléatoire et se justifie doublement à notre sens. En effet, de mémoire d'homme, la société moaaga s'identifie culturellement à sa coexistence ou du moins à son étroite existence avec les animaux. L'animal fait donc partie intégrante de la vie et des réalités intra et extralinguistiques du moaaga. En témoignent les phraséologismes suivants :

- (1) *Le poussin destiné au sacrifice, aucun épervier ne l'inquiètera* (Ouédraogo, 2016 :32).
On n'apprend pas à un vieux singe à faire des grimaces ; être ou se trouver entre le marteau et l'enclume.
- (2) *La grenouille égarée dans l'eau chaude estime que le bond le plus prodigieux est à venir* (Ouédraogo, 2016 :262).
Un homme averti en vaut deux.

Par ailleurs, les systèmes de valeurs, les propriétés vertueuses et morales, les traits négatifs de l'homme moaaga sont symboliquement désignés par les zoonymes en fonction des caractéristiques ou du comportement qu'incarne chaque animal dans le biotope. Autant il y a de médiocrité, de merveille dans le règne humain, autant on en note dans le règne animal.

► La flore

Les noms des plantes et des fruits, assez employés dans les unités phraséo-parémiologiques, posent aussi un problème au traducteur. Les phraséologismes reflètent les conditions et modes de vie collectifs des sociétés. Chaque parémie est, de ce fait, empreinte des modes, des expériences et des valeurs du peuple qui l'a vue naître. Alors, dans la mesure où les peuples n'ont pas les mêmes représentations, clichés ou imaginaires, il va de soi que l'on n'ait pas d'équivalent préexistant ou commun aux deux langues-cultures. Les exemples suivants le démontrent :

- (3) *Par manque de perles, on se contente d'enfiler des grains de jujubier.* (Ouédraogo 2016 : 154).
- (4) *Par manque de pintades, on mange des perdrix* (Ouédraogo, 2016 :102).
Faute de grives, on mange des merles.

Les constituants nominaux “perles” et “grains de jujubier” ou “pintades” et “perdrix” du proverbe mooré correspondent respectivement à “grives” et à “merles” dans le proverbe français. À l'analyse, ces différentes unités présentent des constituants lexicaux hétérogènes, certes, mais affichent une configuration syntaxique homogène. Prises toutefois en contexte, elles revêtent le même contenu sémantique implicite dont le sens métaphorique s'interprète de la même manière : faute d'avoir ce que l'on souhaite, il faut se contenter de ce que l'on a.

- (5) *Le fabirama se mange à deux mains* (Ouédraogo, 2016 : 207).
Petite négligence accouche d'un grand mal.

Le fabirama se mange à deux mains est une unité néologique de sens à caractère phraséologique et joue, dans ce contexte, un rôle non négligeable dans la tradition culturelle en pays moaaga. En effet, communément et localement appelé en langues nationales ***fabirama*** et ***pessa***, respectivement en dioula et en mooré, le ***fabirama*** est un phytonyme, une plante à tubercules comestibles et cultivée au Burkina Faso à l'exemple de la patate douce, du manioc et de l'igname. Elle est consommée généralement en robe et ne peut se saisir d'une seule main pour être consommée, au risque de la voir tomber : manger alors du ***fabirama*** demande effort, application et attention, d'où l'association du terme à la **non-négligence**, à la **considération**, à l'**estime** dans la culture moaaga. Si le traducteur a reconduit verbatim ***fabirama*** sans avoir eu recours à un équivalent, cela est à mettre au compte de la charge culturelle, de l'histoire et du symbolisme dans la tradition culturelle et alimentaire dont est pétrie cette plante dans le terroir moaaga auxquelles l'équivalent dans la lexiculture française (igname, patate douce et manioc, par exemple) ne convient pas.

3.1.2. Sur les plans historique, mythologique et religieux

Lorsque les unités phraséologiques puisent leurs images dans les mythes, religions, légendes... propres à une culture, il devient difficile de trouver les mots exacts pour les traduire dans la langue d'arrivée.

- (6) *Renvoyer aux calendes dogon* (Ouédraogo, 2016 : 230).
Renvoyer aux calendes grecques.

Cette unité phraséologique repose sur une motivation culturelle particulière : les Dogon. En effet, les Dogon sont d'origine malienne, l'un des pays limitrophes du Burkina Faso. Ils sont réputés pour leur cosmogonie et leurs sculptures (Falaise de Bandiagara), lesquelles ont été inscrites au patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO. C'est un peuple très ancien qui, à l'époque de l'empire sonraï au XVII^e siècle, a farouchement lutté contre les Mossé afin d'éviter l'invasion de ces derniers. Si le traducteur a maintenu l'expression *calendes dogon* sous la même matrice morphosyntaxique et lexicale que l'expression usuelle *calendes grecques*, nous imputons cela à l'une des propriétés définitoires des unités phraséologiques qui est la productibilité, ou la plasticité phraséoparémiologique. Cette propriété permet la stabilité des significations phraséologiques, c'est-à-dire dénotatives et connotatives, face à la grande variation des formes phraséologiques, qui, loin d'être figées, permettent une bonne dose d'improvisation dans leur formulation exacte (Pamies, 2008 : 1). Dès lors, le traducteur a employé, par emprunt et sur le même moule phraséologique que *calendes grecques*, l'expression "calendes dogon" pour l'associer à l'idée de "ce qui n'arrivera jamais" ou à la tentative moaaga restée vaine lors de l'invasion du terroir dogon.

- (7) *La terre et toutes ses richesses appartiennent à ceux qui auront vécu la lance au poing, s'enivrant de sang, et permettant ainsi au Rocher d'étancher sa soif.* (Ouédraogo, 2016 :103).
C'est par la pioche et par la pelle qu'on bastit² (sic), et qu'on renverse les citadelles.³
- (8) *Le poussin destiné au sacrifice, aucun épervier ne l'inquiètera* (Ouédraogo, 2016 :32). *S'il a pu se soustraire aux rigueurs de l'hiver, en avril le coucou de ton champ frappe l'air.*
On n'apprend pas à un vieux singe à faire des grimaces.

Ces deux unités ci-dessus s'inscrivent dans le sillage des religions, croyances et valeurs qui font office de foi en pays moaaga. Si chaque paire phraséoparémiologique se recoupe sémantiquement, lexicalement le constat est tout autre, car au nom de l'hétérogénéité lexicoculturelle de la langue de départ et celle d'arrivée, elles s'actualisent dans des culturèmes différents. En effet, si la civilisation française a foi en la raison ou au positivisme qu'Auguste Comte a appelé de ses vœux car c'est en eux que passera le salut de l'homme, de mémoire d'homme, l'on nous apprend que les Mossé, si on tolère que les mots puissent émigrer avec ou sans

² Forme ancienne ou désuète du verbe *bâtir*

³ Ferdinand Denis. 1842. *Le Livre des proverbes français*. Tome second. Paris : Chez Paulin

papiers d'une culture à une autre, étaient agrégés en sciences occultes, alchimiques ou superstitieuses. Fort de cela, l'on note, dans ces phraséologismes, la présence de six culturèmes dont la *lance*, le *sang*, le *Rocher*, le *poussin*, le *sacrifice* et l'*épervier*. Leur motivation dans ces phraséologismes est imputable à l'importance et au culte voués aux croyances occultes que professent les Mossé. Autrement dit, chacun de ces culturèmes rapporte des informations d'ordre religieux, mythologique et historique propres au panthéon culturel du Moaaga.

3.1.3. Sur le plan onomastique : anthroponymique et toponymique

Les noms propres qui, par essence, sont d'obédience culturelle ne sauraient avoir d'équivalents et constituent, de ce fait, un défi au traducteur des unités phraséo-parémiologiques, qui doit s'efforcer de trouver soit un équivalent français, soit d'inventer une tournure de phrase spécialement pour traduire l'idée. Dès lors, afin de suppléer aux lacunes sémantico-lexicales, le traducteur des unités phraséologiques mooré en français se garde de les faire équivaloir à des constituants nominaux en français. Les unités qui suivent sont bien indiquées pour vérifier notre propos :

- (9) *Quand **Bougoum-Silga** administre un remède à un malade, c'est qu'il sait que ce remède est pire que le mal* (Ouédraogo, 2016 :73).
*Dieu nous garde de la messe de **Michel de L'Hospital** ; Dieu nous garde de la douce façon et gentile⁴ (sic) du **prince de Condé** et de l'esprit et du curedent de l'**amiral de Coligny**.⁵*
- (10) *Si vous rencontrez une femme qui s'appelle "**Sindi**" (tais-toi), vous pouvez être sûrs que son mari est un voleur.* (Ouédraogo, 2016 :160).
Quand on voit un hiver avant Noël, on est sûr d'en avoir deux.

Dans le trivium phraséologique ci-dessus, les noms propres mis typographiquement en relief à la fois par l'italique et le gras constituent des pivots lexicoculturels qui renvoient, implicitement et du point de vue sémantique, aux mêmes réalités socioculturelles propres à chaque langue-culture : la méfiance. Toutefois, ils sont différemment actualisés sur le plan lexical. D'abord, le remède, qui est, selon toute logique, censé atténuer une souffrance ou la guérir, rime, selon toute vraisemblance, avec de la cigüe lorsqu'il est administré de Bougoum-Silga. En effet, Bougoum-Silga signifie littéralement, comme dit le traducteur lui-même par voie d'incrémentalisation⁶ afin d'éviter l'insécurité linguistique, *Épervier de feu* et est, à la fois, un sobriquet, un prénom, un nom et une devise de guerre du terroir local moaaga, qui lie l'individu à la racine de sa lignée. Morpho-lexicologiquement, *Bougoum-Silga* est un nom composé avec trait d'union dont chaque unité est autosémantique : *Bougoum* qui signifie *feu* et *Silga* qui, lui, renvoie à "épervier" ou "avion" suivant le contexte d'occurrence. Ces deux

⁴ Ancien français

⁵ Ferdinand Denis. 1842. *Le Livre des proverbes français*. Tome second. Paris : Chez Paulin

⁶ L'incrémentalisation est un procédé consistant à introduire, dans le texte, à côté du référent culturel reporté ou traduit littéralement, le contenu d'une note, description ou indice, qui explicite le sens ou la valeur du référent culturel

unités sont symboliquement d'une connotation fort péjorative dans la lexiculture et la superstition moaaga, car *l'avion* ou *l'épervier* représentent des moyens de locomotion très véloces qu'emploient les sorciers, les malfaiteurs ou les "mangeurs d'âme" dans leurs pratiques occultes. L'expression *Épervier de feu*, qui est un équivalent littéralement calqué, aurait effectivement exprimé l'idée ou le message voulu et priverait, décolorerait ou défigurerait dans le même temps l'unité phraséologique d'un terme à la saveur purement locale ou moaaga, qui traduit et perpétue le mieux l'icône, l'identité et l'imaginaire socioculturels du groupe familial qui s'identifie à cette devise. Ensuite, si la *messe* est, dit-on, synonyme de la célébration rituelle du culte catholique commémorant le sacrifice de Jésus-Christ, il n'en serait pas de même lorsqu'elle est dite devant l'autel par le ministre du prêtre *Michel de L'Hospital* en ce sens que le contexte historique de naissance du phraséologisme nous renseigne que « *Michel de L'Hospital, chancelier de France, estoit un grand homme de justice et fort homme de bien et d'honneur et très sévère. On le tint pour huguenot encore qu'il allast à la messe.* » Enfin, la *douceur* et la *gentillesse* de Condé ne seraient que le reflet d'une apparence, cela est, bien entendu, l'expression dissimulatrice d'une sévérité et d'un huguenotisme.

4. Gestion de l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique dans *La dynastie maudite : pour une compensation de l'écart culturel*

Le traducteur des unités phraséoparémiologiques, au regard des difficultés que pose la traduction compte tenu des problèmes d'ordre divers dont nous avons fait mention à la rubrique II, s'autorise, par licence ou par tolérance, à compenser, à lever ou à réduire ces difficultés, qui sont l'aboutissement logique de l'écart culturel entre les deux langues-cultures, par le recours aux traductions littérales, à l'incrémentalisation, aux notes infrapaginales et aux phénomènes de l'interférence linguistique dont la néologie et l'emprunt. C'est à cet exercice que nous nous essayons dans la présente rubrique.

4.1. Recours aux traductions littérales et aux calques

(11) *Gifler sec* (p. 214).

(12) *Retirer la main (de qqn) du plat.* (Ouédraogo, 2016 : 191).

Gifler sec est une unité phraséologique qui résulte à la fois d'un calque lexical et sémantique. En effet, *gifler sec*, du mooré [niig pek kojga], *pek* qui signifie "gifler" et *kojga* qui renvoie à "sec" ou à "dur", est une pâle copie de son équivalent littéral en mooré [pek kojga] qui a été forgé par le traducteur sur le même schème lexicosémantique du mooré, au regard des difficultés à trouver un équivalent dans la langue d'accueil, lequel conserverait les propriétés, les dénotata et les connotata dont jouit l'unité dans la langue de départ.

Retirer la main (de qqn) du plat se lit également comme un calque lexicosémantique de l'expression idiomatique moaaga [yãk/sak nind nug laagë] qui est littéralement chargée de

culturème qui n'est compris que du Moaaga et de celui qui en partage la culture. Fort de cela, le traducteur estime plutôt utile de conserver l'empreinte locale à des fins de style, nous le supposons, et de recourir aux notes infrapaginales pour offrir une clef de lecture au lecteur lambda : « Et qu'ils me retirent la main du plat : et qu'ils m'ôtent la vie. »

4.2. Recours à l'incrémentalisation, au marquage métalinguistique ou aux notes infrapaginales

L'incrémentalisation est un procédé consistant à introduire, dans le texte, à côté du référent culturel reporté ou traduit littéralement, le contenu d'une note, description ou indice, qui explicite le sens ou la valeur du référent culturel, (Ballard, 2003 :156). Par exemple :

- (13) *Si vous rencontrez une femme qui s'appelle "Sindi" (tais-toi), vous pouvez être sûrs que son mari est un voleur.* (Ouédraogo, 2016 :160).

Compte tenu de l'inexprimable culturel dont *Sindi* qui est un anthroponyme culturel moaaga, notre traducteur s'est employé à le garder intacte tout en précisant, au moyen de l'incrémentalisation, son contenu sémantique : "Tais-toi".

- (15) *Comment le bouc peut-il se départir de ses **pendentifs** et être toujours bouc ?* (Ouédraogo, 2016 : 158-159).

- (16) *En cas de nécessité, si la justice ne vient pas au monde par la sagesse d'un vieillard, elle se manifestera par les cris d'un bébé, grâce aux folies d'un adolescent ou à travers **l'insurrection des morts**.* (Ouédraogo, 2016 : 52).

Pour des principes de bienséance et de pudeur que recommande la tradition orale moaaga, le traducteur de la première unité parémique ci-dessous procède par métaphore pour nommer *testicules* par *pendentifs* et recourt par voie de notes infrapaginales pour renseigner davantage le lecteur sur les implications de son choix lexicoculturel. En voici le contenu : « Pendentifs : pour traduire "testicules" et ce qui les prolonge. Par pudeur, la tradition orale n'appelle pas toujours la chose par son nom. »

5. Les unités phraséoparémologiques entre contraintes traductologiques et libertés stylistiques : pour un rendement culturo-stylistique de l'intraduisible phraséoparémologique

Afin d'éviter les entropies stylistiques et les déficiences pragmatiques et par ricochet les connotations culturelles qu'impose, dans une certaine mesure, l'activité traductologique des unités phraséoparémologiques, le traducteur opte pour les techniques compensatoires de l'intraduisible phraséologique analysées à la rubrique précédente. L'approche linguo-culturologique des unités phraséoparémologiques pourrait, d'une manière ou d'une autre,

avoir des accointances avec la stylistique. En effet, à travers les ressources de l'intraduisible phraséologique, d'autres intentions aux fins stylistiques seraient, en aval, recherchées par le traducteur. Ces intentions sont, entre autres, la mise en relief des spécificités locales, la géographie et l'origine du phraséologisme notamment ; l'expressivité par l'étrangéité et le contraste que crée le culturème au sein de l'unité ; la suppléance aux inconvenances des pertes sémantico-lexicales.

6. Conclusion

Grosso modo, l'approche des unités phraséoparémiologiques via les ressources des théories linguo-culturologiques et stylistiques nous a permis de cerner le mécanisme fonctionnel et les difficultés qui sous-tendent l'intraduisible socioculturel que reflètent ces phraséologismes. Primo, compte tenu de la disparité des spécificités socioculturelles, certaines unités phraséoparémiologiques sont actualisées en français par des culturèmes ou des unités lexicoculturelles propres à la civilisation et à la culture françaises. Dans les cas où cette opération se révèle inadaptée, le traducteur s'en remet soit aux traductions littérales, aux encadrés culturels, aux calques, aux néologismes, soit au phénomène de l'insécurité linguistique qu'il pallie ou compense en même temps par les encadrés culturels, par l'incrémentalisation ou par les notes infrapaginales. Secundo, l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique est, dans nombre de cas, employé pour la mise en relief des spécificités diatopiques (géographiques) et diaphasiques ; les intentions autres que communicationnelles mais de préférence poétiques (expressivité) et le goût du naturel qui sont souhaitées ; la suppléance aux pertes lexicosémantiques que pourrait orchestrer la traduction qui est envisagée. En définitive, ce sont les écarts linguistico-culturels et sociohistoriques qui semblent favoriser l'intraduisible phraséologique, au vu des exemples étudiés.

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Phraseological Competence and Translation

A Pilot Study in an Undergraduate-Level Translation Program in Colombia

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Abstract

Phraseological competence is a concept that has been explored by phraseodidacts but it has not been studied in depth in Translation. This pilot study aims to identify features of the phraseological awareness of twelve translation students of a BA translation program in Colombia. The data was retrieved from an experiment in which the participants had to resolve a questionnaire and carry out three translation tasks (from English and French into Spanish) that involved the use of phraseological units. A Think-Aloud Protocol was applied to four of the participants who were asked to describe their translation process. The findings suggest that the degree of development of the participants' phraseological competence differs among them, as well as in relation to the two source languages being analyzed, i.e., English and French. This study could be used as a starting point for further research leading to enhancing the syllabi of BA and MA Translator-training programs.

Keywords

phraseological competence, translation program, undergraduate, Colombia.

1. Introduction

As part of her conclusions, Corpas Pastor (2003) states that “phraseology is still a pending assignment for translators” (p. 222, our translation). In the following lines, the author points out two issues that hinder the correct training of translators in phraseology-related matters: (i) the lack of reference material (i.e., dictionaries and databases) and (ii) the dearth of specific reference studies that can resolve the particular needs of translators' training program syllabi (Corpas Pastor, 2003, p. 222).

Along the same lines, this study intends to offer a first approach to the presence and importance of what has been labeled by authors like Gonzalez Rey (2006, 2007, 2016), Ettinger (1992, 2008), and Sułkowska (2013) as Phraseological Competence (PC) in a BA in Translation program in Colombia. To this aim, twelve Translation students took part in a survey and four of them participated in a Think-Aloud Protocol (TAP) in order to provide insights about the degree of development of their phraseological competence at their current level of instruction.

As a means to set a theoretical starting point for this study, the following elements will be presented: (i) a concise discussion on the denomination of the object of study of phraseology and the definitions of (ii) translation competence, (iii) phraseological competence, and (iv) Think-Aloud Protocol.

1.1. Phraseology: Definition and Denomination

The denomination of phraseology is a matter of discussion among theorists and researchers from several disciplines (e.g., linguistics, terminology, translation, etc.). According to García-Page Sánchez (2008), phraseology should be defined in terms of its object of study. Thus, the denomination phraseological unit (PU) will be used to talk about the object of study of phraseology (i.e., its unit of analysis). Regarding the definition of PU, we adopt the one put forward by Corpas Pastor (1996), which is: “lexical units composed by two or more words in its lower limit, and whose upper limit can be the sentence. These units (PUs) are characterized by (i) their high frequency of use and co-occurrence of their component elements, (ii) their stereotypicality in terms of fixation, and (iii) semantic specialization and idiomatycity” (p. 20).

1.2. Translation Competence

The notion of competence has been present in several disciplines since the 1960s —e.g., Chomsky (1965), Hymes (1971), and Canale (1983) in Linguistics; McClelland (1973), Boyatzis (1982), and Spencer et al. (1994) in Work Psychology; Lasnier (2000) and Yániz Álvarez de Eulate and Villardón Gallego (2006) in Pedagogy, among others—.

In the field of Translation Studies, the concept of competence has had different definitions, as evidenced by the concise overview offered by Hurtado Albir (2017). For this study, however, we have adopted PACTE’s current model of translation competence, which comprises five sub-competences (bilingual, extralinguistic, knowledge of translation, instrumental and strategic) and a category for psycho-physiological components (see Figure 1) (PACTE, 2003).

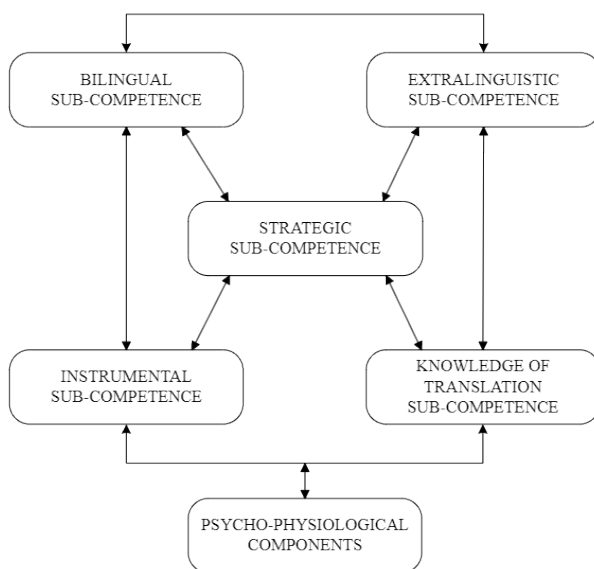


Figure 1. PACTE’s translation competence model (PACTE, 2003)

PACTE’s translation competence model is the basis for our claim that there exists a necessity to integrate a phraseological (sub-)competence to what we consider to be the most solid translation competence model developed until now.

1.3. Phraseological competence

Phraseological competence is a term coined by phraseologists and used in particular by phraseodidacts who are concerned with teaching L2 learners fixed expressions in order to achieve a good command of the language (Gonzalez Rey, 2006, 2007). The concept associated to this term is integrated into the concept of linguistic competence in Foreign-Language Didactics. According to Gonzalez Rey (2016, p. 176) one of the first authors to use the term *phraseological competence(s)* was Ettinger (1992, 2008), who made a distinction between two different types of PC, namely (i) passive competences –i.e., those related to the understanding of fixed expression–, and ii) active competences –i.e., those related to the production and usage of such expressions. Gonzalez Rey (2006, 2007, 2016), in turn, denominates those competences as receptive and productive competences, respectively.

Nonetheless, apart from phraseologists and phraseodidacts, “the term phraseological competence is [...] almost non-existent in the specialized literature” in foreign language didactics, as pointed out by Sułkowska (2013, p. 148). For González Rey “Phraseological competence consists, in fact, in an integral competence composed of sub-competences, given that phraseology represents a whole linguistic discipline by itself” (2016, p. 178, our translation). The interaction of those sub-competences can be seen in a clearer manner in Figure 2.

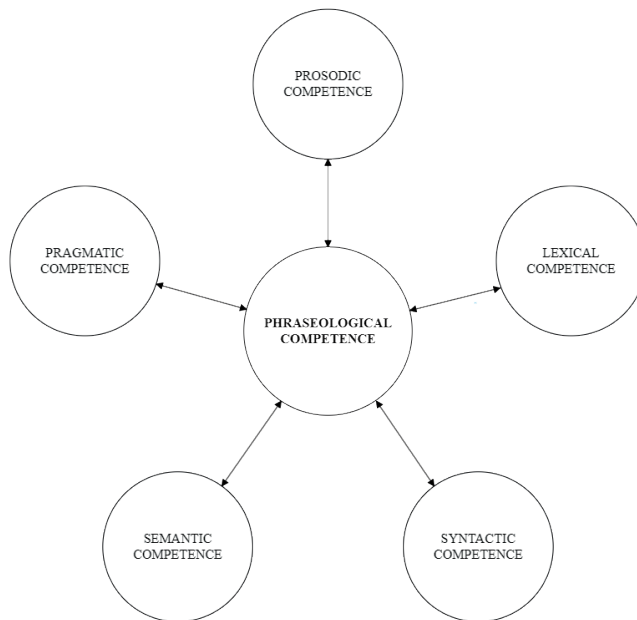


Figure 2. Phraseological competence and its sub-competences
(Gonzalez Rey, 2016, p. 178)

In summary, taking into consideration the elements presented above, PC can be defined as a component of a speaker's linguistic competence consisting in the combination of passive knowledge and active usage and production of phraseological units by integrating lexical, syntactic, semantic, prosodic, and pragmatic sub-competences, which enables said knowledge and production.

Finally, our standpoint is that, due to its condition as an important component of any speaker/translator's linguistic competence, PC must be regarded as a central sub-competence in any translation-competence model, which we will try to demonstrate in the experiments described next.

1.4. Think-Aloud Protocol

In addition to the questionnaire and the translation tasks, a Think-Aloud Protocol (TAP) was used as a method to observe how four of our participants reasoned while performing a specific translation task. According to Dancette and Ménard (1996), TAP consists of asking the translator to express aloud all the thoughts (reasoning, awareness of the actions being performed, and emotional reactions) that come to his/her mind while performing a task.

By using the mental processes involved in solving translation problems, it is possible to encourage learners to reflect on their own mental processes. In the didactic context, the use of verbal protocols can be fully consistent with theory.

2. Data, Tools, and Methods

2.1. General methodology

A TAP was applied to four of our participants. However, in order to carry out such protocol, a translation task was prepared to extract the descriptive data presented in this pilot study. English and French were chosen as the languages for the translation tasks since the BA in translation program at Universidad de Antioquia intends to train translators from those two languages into Spanish. Therefore, a direct translation task (L2 to L1) was designed.

Regarding the participants, 12 students of the BA program answered an open invitation sent to students in the 4th and 5th semesters of the BA program to take part in the activity. In these semesters (4th and 5th) the students of the translation BA program finish the mandatory language training component of the program and must have achieved a proficiency level of B2 or C1 –under the CEFR– both in English and in French. 8 of the participants identified themselves as women and 4 as men (see Figure 3).

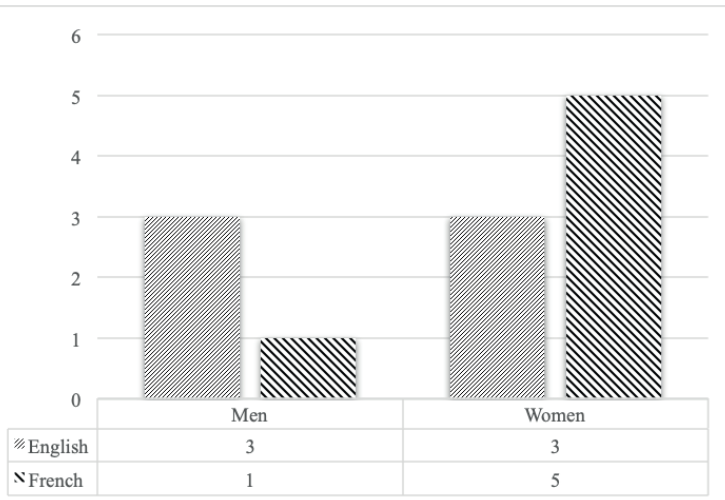


Figure 3. Distribution of informants according to the source language of the translation task

As observed in Figure 3. There were six informants per language. They were later divided again in two groups (‘A’ and ‘B’) with 3 students per group.

The informants were asked to translate 3 fragments that included three different PUs. The chosen PUs were selected on the basis of the 3 most frequent noun word forms contained in PUs from two different phraseological dictionaries, one in English (Sinclair & Moon, 1997) and one in French (Rey & Chantreau, 1997)

- In English: **hand**, **eye**, and **head**.
- In French: *cœur* [heart], *pied* [foot], and *tête* [head].

The selected PUs were:

English	French
(1) Scratch your head	(4) <i>Retomber sur ses pieds</i>
(2) Sit on your hands	(5) <i>Tête à claque</i>
(3) The apple of the eye	(6) <i>Y aller de bon cœur</i>

Table 1. Expressions to be analyzed

Although the questions and the translation tasks were the same, the task inputs, the order in which the information, the questions were presented differed in each group (see Figure 4):

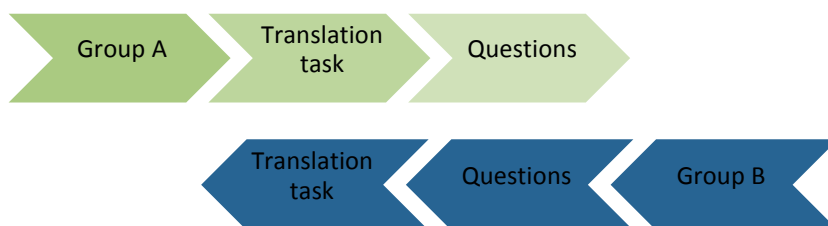


Figure 4. Directionality of the tasks

2.2. Questionnaire and translation tasks

The questionnaire consisted of three questions that were asked to our participants. On the one hand, group A received the questions after carrying out each translation task. On the other hand, participants in group B were first asked all the questions and had to later carry out the three translation tasks. By switching the order of the tasks in each group we intended to observe the use of metalanguage by the participants, as well as their phraseological encyclopedic knowledge both with and without having previous contextual information. Table 2 presents an example of the questions asked in relation to the expression ‘sit on your hands.’

Question in Spanish	Translation
¿Como diría ‘sit on your hands’ <i>en español</i> ?	How would you say ‘sit on your hands’ in Spanish
¿Qué tipo de expresión es ‘sit on your hands’? <i>En otras palabras, ¿cómo la clasificarías?</i>	What kind of expression is ‘sit on your hands’? i.e., how would you classify it?
¿En qué contexto(s) podría aparecer esta expresión?	In what contexts could this expression be used?

Table 2. Questionnaire example

Six fragments were extracted from the enTenTen20 and the frTenTen17 corpora (Jakubíček et al., 2013) to carry out the translation tasks that involved the expressions containing the six words chosen for the analysis (see Table 1). Table 3 presents the fragments (in bold) selected for the translation.

English	French
<p>Head: It was first spotted in August of this year as an unusually fuzzy-looking object by astronomers using the Pan-STARRS 1 telescope in Hawaii. Because nothing like this has ever been seen before, astronomers are <u>scratching their heads</u> to find an adequate explanation for its mysterious appearance. Wild blueberries are a rich source of phytochemicals called polyphenols, which have been reported by a growing number of studies to exert a wide array of protective health benefits.</p>	<p><i>Pied:</i> <i>Sur du matériel standard, pas trop dernier cri, et avec des distributions récentes, en général tout se passe bien. Sachez quand même que vous DEVEZ FAIRE DES SAUVEGARDES de vos travaux avant toute installation, afin de pouvoir retomber sur vos pieds en cas de pépins. Ces précautions d'usage étant évoquées, passons aux points importants. Partitionner votre disque dur (pour les possesseurs de PC) Selon le choix de votre distribution, vous serez plus ou moins aidés dans l'installation du système.</i></p>
<p>Hand: All they have to do is click on the "lost password" button for the other account and wait a fraction of a second to pick up the incoming email with the key to all your data and information. Pretty scary, right? So now you have two choices: you can <u>sit on your hands</u> and hope for the best, or you can get yourself a new, safer password and stop worrying about your online safety. We vote you take the second option.</p>	<p><i>Tête:</i> <i>Ses liens d'amitié avec le roi et son appartenance à un pays non impliqué dans les conflits locaux donnèrent lieu à une collaboration confiante et réciproque. Connaissez-vous la satisfaction que l'on peut éprouver à voir un premier de la classe, accessoirement <u>tête à claques</u> et insupportable, ou bien un séducteur arrogant et couvert de femmes, se ramasser une déconvenue aussi humiliante que publique ? C'est à peu près ce qui arriva à Bernard-Henri Lévy le jour où cet écrivain-philosophe se prit soudain pour un cinéaste épique.</i></p>
<p>Eye: As before, you should avoid using your crush's number that same night you get it. If you are too zealous about sending the first text or placing the first phone call, you might scare <u>the apple of your eye</u> away. If you used a specific excuse to get your crush's number, your first call or text should be made with that excuse in mind. Getting the Number from a Third Party Use a business card.</p>	<p><i>Cœur:</i> <i>Ils montèrent leurs bons chevaux, partirent à travers l'étendue faneuse de la rase campagne. La jument du laboureur va le trot, Mais le cheval de Volga galope ; La jument du <u>laboureur</u> y va de <u>bon cœur</u>, Si bien que le cheval de Volga reste en arrière. Volga se met à pousser des cris, Volga se met à agiter son bonnet, Volga dit ces paroles : " Arrête, arrête donc, laboureur !"</i></p>

Table 3. Fragments used for the translation tasks

The answers to the first two questions along with the equivalents offered by the informants are presented in the next section.

2.3. Questionnaire results and analysis

The first question (see Table 2) aimed to find the possible equivalents of the expressions. Since group A initially had to translate the fragments, the participants of this group had access to online dictionaries. The participants of group B did not have access either to context or to dictionaries, and were therefore asked to express what they thought was the equivalent as well as the type of expression for each PU being analyzed. Table 4 presents the equivalents in Spanish offered by the participants for the English and French PUs.

English – Group A			
PU	Participant	PU translation	Literal meaning
(1)	en_a_1	<i>perplejos</i>	perplexed
	en_a_2	<i>rascándose la cabeza</i>	scratching him/herself the head
	en_a_3	<i>rompiendo el coco</i>	breaking the coconut
(2)	en_a_1	<i>mirando al techo</i>	looking at the roof
	en_a_2	<i>sentarse en sus manos</i>	sit on your hands
	en_a_3	<i>no hacer nada</i>	to do nothing
(3)	en_a_1	<i>persona especial</i>	special person
	en_a_2	<i>la niña de tus ojos</i>	the girl of your eyes
	en_a_3	<i>amor platónico</i>	platonic love
English – Group B			
PU	Participant	PU translation	Literal meaning
(1)	en_b_4	<i>luchando</i>	struggling
	en_b_5	<i>rascando la cabeza</i>	scratching the head
	en_b_6	<i>quemando el coco</i>	burning the coconut
(2)	en_b_4	<i>quedarte de brazos cruzados</i>	stay with arms crossed
	en_b_5	<i>cruzarte de brazos</i>	cross your arms
	en_b_6	<i>hacerte el loco</i>	make yourself the fool
(3)	en_b_4	<i>la luz de tus ojos</i>	the light of your eyes
	en_b_5	<i>la niña de tus ojos</i>	the girl of your eyes
	en_b_6	<i>tu presa</i>	your prey
French – Group A			
PU	Participant	PU translation	Literal meaning

(4)	fr_a_1	<i>recuperarlo</i>	recover it
	fr_a_2	<i>retomar nuevamente*</i>	retake again
	fr_a_3	<i>que no se vea perjudicado</i>	so it does not look damaged
(5)	fr_a_1	<i>imbécil</i>	jerk
	fr_a_2	<i>alguien desagradable</i>	someone unpleasant
	fr_a_3	<i>imbécil</i>	jerk
(6)	fr_a_1	<i>va de buena gana</i>	goes of good desire
	fr_a_2	<i>va a buen paso</i>	goes at good step
	fr_a_3	<i>va con gusto</i>	goes with pleasure
French – Group B			
PU	Participant	PU translation	Literal meaning
(4)	fr_b_4	<i>volver sobre sus pasos</i>	to come back over one's steps
	fr_b_5	<i>retomar</i>	retake
	fr_b_6	<i>restablecerlo</i>	reestablish
(5)	fr_b_4	<i>frente a frente [sic]</i>	front to front
	fr_b_5	<i>completa molestia</i>	complete annoyance
	fr_b_6	<i>imbécil</i>	jerk
(6)	fr_b_4	<i>le pone todo el corazón</i>	sn/smth puts all the heart
	fr_b_5	<i>va con ganas</i>	goes with desire
	fr_b_6	<i>va de buena gana</i>	goes of good desire

Table 4. Answers for question 1 in English and Spanish

The answers to the second question (see Table 2) offered interesting insights regarding the metalanguage (denomination) used by the participants, for instance.

English – Group A			
Participant	PU	Denomination	Translation
en_a_1	(1)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
	(2)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
	(3)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
en_a_2	(1)	<i>metáfora / expresión coloquial</i>	metaphor / colloquial expression
	(2)	<i>expresión imperativa</i>	imperative expression
	(3)	<i>metáfora</i>	metaphor

en_a_3	(1)	<i>expresión coloquial / modismo*</i>	colloquial expression / idiom*
	(2)	<i>expresión coloquial / modismo*</i>	colloquial expression / idiom*
	(3)	<i>expresión coloquial / modismo*</i>	colloquial expression / idiom*
English – Group B			
Participant	PU	Denomination	Translation
en_a_4	(1)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
	(2)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
	(3)	<i>expresión idiomática + explicación</i>	idiomatic expression + explanation
en_a_5	(1)	<i>expresión coloquial / expresión descriptiva</i>	colloquial expression / descriptive expression
	(2)	<i>expresión figurada y coloquial</i>	figurative and colloquial expression
	(3)	<i>expresión idiomática + explicación</i>	idiomatic expression + explanation
en_a_6	(1)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
	(2)	<i>modismo* + (expl.)</i>	idiom* + explanation
	(3)	<i>modismo*</i>	idiom*
French – Group A			
Participant	PU	Denomination	Translation
fr_a_1	(4)	<i>expresión fija / modismo*</i>	fixed expression / idiom*
	(5)	<i>sustantivo compuesto</i>	compound noun
	(6)	<i>expresión fija / modismo*</i>	fixed expression / idiom*
fr_a_2	(4)	<i>locución</i>	idiom
	(5)	<i>locución nominal</i>	nominal idiom
	(6)	<i>locución nominal</i>	nominal idiom
fr_a_3	(4)	<i>locución verbal</i>	verbal idiom
	(5)	<i>locución adverbial</i>	adverbial idiom
	(6)	<i>locución verbal</i>	verbal idiom
French – Group B			
Participant	PU	Denomination	Translation
fr_a_4	(4)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
	(5)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
	(6)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
fr_a_5	(4)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression
	(5)	<i>locución adjetival + explicación</i>	adjectival idiom + explanation
	(6)	<i>expresión idiomática</i>	idiomatic expression

fr_a_6	(4)	<i>expresión verbal</i>	verbal expression
	(5)	<i>adjetivo</i>	adjective
	(6)	<i>expresión coloquial</i>	colloquial expression

Table 5. Denominations used by participants in English and French

As for denominations, there were signs of the influence of lexicographic resources in the participants’ answers. For example, participants of group A (who had access to dictionaries) in French (fr_a_2 and fr_a_3) used *locución* [idiom] (the Spanish equivalent of *locution* in French) when classifying the PUs, while there was no evidence of the use of such denomination in English (see Table 5).

2.4. TAP analysis

Four participants –two for each language– were selected for carrying out the TAP exercise in our study. However, due to length limitations, only one TAP task per language will be analyzed in depth in this section.

2.4.1. *Scratch one’s head*

In the first place, participant 4 in English group b (en_b_4) carried out the TAP exercise, verbalizing his/her decision-making process during the tasks performed. The expression chosen for this analysis for en_b_4 was *scratch one’s head*. Since en_b_4 was placed in group b, (s)he had to answer the questions first and perform the translation task next.

The participant’s answer to the question “How would you say ‘scratch one’s head’” in Spanish was *pensar bastante* [to think a lot]. Once the participant initiated the translation task by reading the fragment (s)he was asked to translate, (s)he realized his/her guess about the meaning of the expression was not far-fetched, expressing that “[s)he] wasn’t so lost this time.” The participant then decided to look up the word ‘scratch’ in wordreference.com, “where some related idiomatic [...] uh [...] expressions may appear”, thus activating his/her translation competence’s instrumental and strategic sub-competences. The participant’s search for the entire expression in Wordreference.com was fruitless, though, which left en_b_4 with the necessity to figure out the expression all by him/herself: “Well, then “scratch” is a verb [...] “scratching one’s head” in this case would be [like] “thinking”, like trying to work something out.” By doing so, the participant employed his/her PC’s semantic and pragmatic sub-competences by decoding the metaphonymic (Goossens, 1990) connection between the literal action of scratching one’s head and the associated action of thinking.

TAP Informant: en_b_4	
Q1. PU in Spanish	<i>Pensar bastante</i> [to think a lot]
Fragment	It was first spotted in August of this year as an unusually fuzzy-looking object by astronomers using the Pan-STARRS 1 telescope in Hawaii. Because nothing like this has ever been seen before, astronomers are scratching their heads to find an adequate explanation for its mysterious appearance. Wild blueberries are a rich source of phytochemicals called polyphenols, which have been reported by a growing number of studies to exert a wide array of protective health benefits.
Participant's translation	<i>Como los astronautas [sic] nunca habían visto algo como esto, están luchando por encontrar una explicación adecuada de la aparición misteriosa de este objeto.</i>
Literal translation	[since the astronauts [sic] had never seen anything like this before, they are struggling to find a proper explanation for the mysterious appearance of this object]
PU translation	<i>Luchando</i> [struggling]
Q1 / Translation match	No match <i>Pensar bastante</i> (to think a lot) / <i>Luchando</i> (struggling)
Resources	Merriam-Webster (online), <i>WordReference</i> (online), and <i>RAE</i> [Royal Academy of the Spanish Language] (online)

Participant en_b_4 then decided to activate his/her TC's instrumental sub-competence by looking up both the word 'scratch' and the expression *scratch one's head* in the Merriam-Webster's English dictionary (online), where (s)he found a definition for the expression, namely: "to be or become confused or perplexed." To this, en_b_4 reflected: "it has to do with 'thinking', something that generates intrigue." En_b_4 then resorted to the syntactic component of his/her linguistic competence by indicating that the expression "works as a verb in the progressive form," and decided to use the Spanish Royal Academy's Dictionary in search of synonyms for the words *perplejo* [perplex], *incierto* [uncertain], *pensar* [think]. However, while looking up those words, en_b_4 expressed that «in Spanish you could use another expression... "se están rompiendo la cabeza [they are breaking their heads]"», and then activated his/her PC's pragmatic sub-competence by reflecting on the fact that perhaps "that's too informal for this kind of text." Subsequently, the participant started looking for a less "informal" equivalent for the expression, verbalizing the following train of thought: "they are thinking [...] they are trying [...] well, they are [...] a synonym for [...] like "struggling"', which evidences an activation of the participant's linguistic competence's lexical sub-competence. In the end, en_b_4 decided to maintain the progressive form of the verb

luchar [struggle]: *luchando* [struggling], although (s)he was “not quite convinced with the style”, which evidences that the participant’s pragmatic competence was still at work.

2.4.2. *Retomber sur ses pieds*

In French, the participant chosen for our TAP analysis was the sixth participant of group b (fr_b_6). The first part of the task consisted of translating the expression *retomber sur ses pieds* both in and out of context and answering three questions. Fr_b_6 translated the PU into Spanish as *mantenerse de pie* [keep standing], and moved on to the question “What kind of expression is it?” Fr_b_6 kept thinking and, after a moment, (s)he wrote: “verbal expression”, which can be interpreted as an activation of the syntactic component of the participant’s TC’s linguistic sub-competence. (S)he then moved on to the other question and answered that the expression could be found in literature, in a narrative text, or in a conversation, thus evidencing the interaction between the participant’s TC’s extralinguistic sub-competence and his/her PC’s pragmatic component.

TAP Informant: fr_b_6	
Q1. PU in Spanish	<i>Mantenerse de pie</i> [to keep standing on your feet]
Fragment	<i>Sur du matériel standard, pas trop dernier cri, et avec des distributions récentes, en général tout se passe bien. Sachez quand même que vous DEVEZ FAIRE DES SAUVEGARDES de vos travaux avant toute installation, afin de pouvoir retomber sur vos pieds en cas de pépins. Ces précautions d'usage étant évoquées, passons aux points importants. Partitionner votre disque dur (pour les possesseurs de PC) Selon le choix de votre distribution, vous serez plus ou moins aidés dans l'installation du système.</i>
Participant’s translation	<i>Sin embargo, tenga entendido que usted debe hacer una copia de seguridad de su trabajo antes de toda instalación, para que pueda restablecerlo en caso de tener problemas.</i>
Literal translation	However, be aware that you should make a backup copy of your work before any installation, so that you can reestablish it in case of problems
PU translation	<i>Restablecerlo</i> [To reestablish it]
Q1 / Translation match	No match <i>Mantenerse de pie</i> [to keep standing on your feet] / <i>restablecerlo</i> [to re-establish something]
Resources	Bilingual dictionary, monolingual dictionary, <i>ReversoContext</i>

The second part of the task consisted of translating the same expression within a given context. The participant read the whole paragraph. Next, fr_b_6 looked up phrases such as *cri* [scream], *sauegarde* [save], *tout se passe bien* [everything is OK], *sachez* [know], *quand même* [however] in online dictionaries, which evidenced his/her TC's instrumental sub-competence. Then, the participant translated the first part of the excerpt *Sachez quand même [...] en cas de pépins* [It is understood that you must make a backup copy of your work before any installation].

Next, fr_b_6 began to translate the last part of the fragment where the phraseological unit appeared but did not use the translation she proposed in the first part: *mantenirse de pie* [to keep standing]. Instead, she proposed to translate the expression as the Spanish verb *retomar* [retake]. For doing so, the participant went back to the fragment, underlined the verb *retomber*, and said: "Well, here I am already thinking that I was very wrong when I assumed the translation of that. No, I don't think it's that at all." This verbalization evidenced the interplay of fr_b_6's PC's semantic, pragmatic and lexical components to realize that his/her first guess was not appropriate.

The participant looked up the expression *retomber sur ses pieds* in wordreference.com but (s)he could not find the expression. Then, (s)he decided to "[...] look at ReversoContext to see if I find the expression...", and there she found the following equivalents: *aterrizar en sus pies* [land on one's feet], *recuperarse* [to recover], *volver sobre sus pasos* [retrace one's steps], thus resorting once again to his/her TC's instrumental sub-competence. After that, fr_b_6 decided that the unit had to do with "data recovering" by stating: «here it says "recovered". So, yes, I imagine it's like "to recover the data"», which indicates the activation of several sub-competences of the participant's TC –e.g., bilingual, extralinguistic, strategic–.

The highlighted fragment was fully translated, but the participant still had doubts about the meaning of the expression *retomber sur ses pieds*, therefore (s)he did a search of the expression on the Google search engine and on *l'internaute* –TC's instrumental sub-component–. The latter page contained the definition: *Parvenir à rétablir une situation mal engagée* [Getting a bad situation back on track].

The verb *rétablir* caught the attention of fr_b_6, therefore, it is from its equivalent in Spanish [*restablecer*] that the expression was translated, and the fragment was finally kept as follows: *Sin embargo, tenga entendido que usted debe hacer una copia de seguridad de su trabajo antes de toda instalación, para que pueda restablecerlo en caso de tener problemas* [However, please note that you should make a backup copy of your work before any installation, so that you can reestablish it in case of problems]. Fr_b_6 was influenced by the French verb *rétablir* and translated the expression *retomber sur ses pieds* as *restablecer* [reestablish]. In summary, although fr_b_6 was not familiar with the expression in question before doing the proposed translation exercise, (s)he resorted to a combination of TC and PC sub-competences that allowed him/her to offer a suitable equivalent to said PU.

3. Conclusions

The concept of phraseological competence, which is composed of lexical, syntactic, semantic, prosodic, and pragmatic sub-competences, entails (at least) four analysis levels when applied to translation students: (i) grammatical correctness, (ii) idiomaticity awareness, (iii) use in context, and (iv) equivalence awareness.

This pilot study shows that phraseological (sub-)competence interacts with several (if not all) TC sub-competences for trainee translators to better decode and re-express PUs in their translation tasks.

The findings suggest that participants have reached different levels of phraseological competence (including PU identification and coding and decoding processes in context.) However, as expected, their competence development level is not homogenous. The way participants deal with the presence of PUs in the fragments to be translated tends to differ among them, as well as between English and French.

Students' heterogenous phraseological-competence development level clearly shows the need for (at least) a course devoted to the study of phraseology as part of the translators' training process, as well as a tool for the assessment of the phraseological-competence development level in translation training.

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Der Prozess der Konventionalisierung von Wortverbindungen bei der Übersetzung der napoleonischen Gesetzbücher ins Italienische

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 19th century, five modern legal codes were introduced in the First French Empire. This codification was to be extended to other parts of Europe under Napoleonic rule, including the newly founded Kingdom of Italy. At that time, legal language in Italy, in contrast to France, was neither standardized nor fully developed. Thus, the translations had a great influence on the developing legal language in Italy. This article focusses on the Italian translation of polylexical units in the four French codes that were translated in the Kingdom of Italy. For a deeper understanding of the development of Italian polylexical units influenced by the French source language, two handwritten versions of the translation of the Commercial Code are also taken into consideration. The translated polylexical units show a strong source text orientation, but a higher variance in, for example, the use of prepositions.

Keywords

legal language, legal translation, Napoleonic period, translation history

1. Einleitung

Nach der Französischen Revolution entstehen unter Napoleon die *Cinq Codes*, fünf Gesetzbücher, die kodifiziertes Recht und Gewohnheitsrecht miteinander verbinden. Im Rahmen der Expansion des Französischen Kaiserreiches über weite Teile Europas werden diese Gesetzbücher auch in anderen französisch besetzten Regionen Europas eingeführt, so auch im 1805 gegründeten Königreich Italien, zu dessen König sich Napoleon ernennen lässt. Insgesamt vier der fünf Gesetzbücher werden in Mailand durch Juristen und Fachleute ins Italienische übersetzt und erlangen in den Jahren 1806 bis 1810 im Königreich Italien Rechtsgültigkeit: das bürgerliche Gesetzbuch *Code civil* (1806), das Zivilprozessbuch *Code de procédure civile* (1806), das Handelsgesetzbuch *Code de commerce* (1808) und das Strafgesetzbuch *Code pénal* (1810). Sie verdrängen eigene italienische Gesetzesentwürfe in

einer Region, die zuvor an die Habsburgermonarchie angeschlossen und weder geeint war noch über ein einheitliches Rechtssystem oder eine einheitliche Rechtssprache verfügte.

Die Erneuerung des Rechtssystems und der öffentlichen Verwaltung kann als eine der dauerhaftesten Auswirkungen der napoleonischen Herrschaft auf Italien betrachtet werden (Serianni 1989: 198); sie hat auch die moderne Rechtssprache beeinflusst. Zuvor war Latein vorherrschende Sprache im Rechtswesen, Italienisch wurde nur in Randbereichen verwendet. Dies ändert sich mit der Übernahme der französischen Gesetzbücher. Von wenigen, durch Napoleon gebilligten Ausnahmen abgesehen, sind die Übersetzungen in Form und Inhalt identisch mit den französischen Ausgangstexten und fungieren als vollwertige Rechtstexte, was dazu führt, dass die Übersetzungen sich in weiten Teilen stark am Ausgangstext orientieren (cf. Reinke/Schreiber 2015: 700 zu informativen Übersetzungen aus dieser Zeit). Eine „Strategie des dokumentarischen Übersetzens“ (Engberg 1999: 88) dominiert damals bei der Übersetzung der Gesetzbücher wie auch anderer Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte.

Diese Strategie führt gerade bei Wortverbindungen zu Übersetzungsproblemen. Albrecht hat für literarische Texte festgestellt, dass Kollokationen und Phraseologismen als „übersetzungsanfällig“ gelten können (Albrecht 2003: 12-13). In der Rechtssprache stellen Wortverbindungen, ein wichtiges Charakteristikum auch der italienischen Rechtssprache (Caterina/Rossi 2008: 186), bis heute ein besonderes Übersetzungsproblem dar, vor allem dann, wenn sie nicht als ein Terminus erkannt werden (Griebel 2013: 219-220). Für die heutige Zeit weist Wiesmann in Bezug auf Italien darauf hin, dass normsetzungsbefugte Juristen, von denen die Normierungswirkung auf der sprachlichen Ebene ausgeht, nicht durchgängig dieselben Wortverbindungen zur Versprachlichung desselben Sachverhaltes nutzen; dabei sei die Breite der Ausdrucksvariation in Gesetzestexten insgesamt geringer als in Texten, die keine normative Regelungsfunktion auf der rechtlichen Ebene haben (Wiesmann 2004: 332). Dies trifft auch auf die übersetzten napoleonischen Gesetzbücher zu; allerdings lassen sich, in geringerem Maße, Variationen im Bereich der Wortverbindungen bereits im Ausgangstext feststellen.

In diesem Beitrag möchte ich den Umgang mit Wortverbindungen bei der Übersetzung der napoleonischen Gesetzbücher untersuchen; ein besonderer Fokus liegt dabei auf dem *Code de commerce*, da mir von diesem, neben dem offiziellen Ausgangs- und Zieltext, zwei handschriftliche Versionen vorliegen, die im Mailänder Staatsarchiv erhalten sind. Die handschriftlichen Übersetzungen sind im Rahmen der Arbeiten der Übersetzungskommission entstanden und mit Randnotizen, Durchstreichungen und Korrekturen versehen. Durch Vergleiche mit den drei anderen übersetzten Gesetzbüchern möchte ich den Prozess der Konventionalisierung von Wortverbindungen an verschiedenen Beispielen darlegen. Da die italienische Rechtssprache zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht ausgebaut war, ist ein Einfluss durch das Französische im Rahmen dieser epochalen Übersetzungsleistung anzunehmen.

Meine Forschungsaufenthalte im Mailänder Staatsarchiv fanden 2017 und 2018 im Rahmen des DFG-Projekts „Juristische, administrative und politische Fachübersetzungen aus dem Französischen ins Italienische während der Napoleonischen Epoche“ statt. Die Gesetzbücher

wurden im Rahmen des DFG-Projekts neben weiteren Texten aus Archiven in Mailand und Genua in der Datenbank UePol erfasst und sind online abrufbar.

2. Methodik

Die Untersuchung von Phraseologismen in der Rechtssprache ist bis heute unterrepräsentiert (z. B. Kjær 2007: 506); dies gilt umso mehr für sprach- und übersetzungshistorische Untersuchungen zur Rechtssprache. Einzelne, nicht systematische Untersuchungen zu historischen Rechtstexten liegen vor, z. B. Ingelbeen/Schreiber 2018 zur Übersetzung von Kollokationen in französisch-flämischen Übersetzungen in der napoleonischen Zeit.

Wiesmann unterscheidet in ihrer Arbeit zwischen a) Rechtstermini, b) phraseologischen Termini der Rechtssprache, c) rechtssprachlichen Kollokationen und d) rechtssprachlichen Phraseologismen (Wiesmann 2004: 330-331). Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags wird der Begriff „Wortverbindungen“ ausschließlich für phraseologische Termini der Rechtssprache und rechtssprachliche Kollokationen verwendet. Wiesmann spezifiziert, dass es sich bei b) um Rechtstermini handelt, die formal aus mehr als einem Wort bestehen, und bei c) um „sprach- oder sachnormbedingte Wortverbindungen, die formal aus mehr als einem Wort bestehen, wovon mindestens eines ein Rechtsterminus ist“ (ebd.).

Die Wortverbindungen sind weder fest noch unveränderbar, selbst in ein und demselben Gesetzbuch gibt es Varianten, wie wir anhand der Beispiele sehen werden. Filatkina weist darauf hin, dass Konventionalisierung als Bedingung für die Sinnhaftigkeit von Kombinationen von Wörtern das „Ergebnis historischer, sozialer und kultureller Entwicklungsprozesse einer Sprache [ist], mit denen die Sprecherinnen und Sprecher dieser Sprache beim Spracherwerb bzw. in der Kommunikation vertraut werden“ (Filatkina 2018: 4). Die italienische Rechtssprache steht, vereinfacht gesagt, noch am Anfang dieser Entwicklung. Sie ist zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch nicht ausgebaut und daher tendenziell dazu geneigt, sich an der nahe verwandten französischen Rechtssprache zu orientieren, zumal beide Sprachen in der Tradition der lateinischen Rechtssprache stehen.

Die Übersetzungen weisen eine starke Ausgangstextorientierung auf, da der italienische Zieltext im Königreich Italien rechtsgültig sein soll, so wie es der französische Ausgangstext im Kaiserreich ist: In diesem Sonderfall der Rechtsübersetzung wird mit der Übersetzung die Ausgangsrechtskultur übernommen. Betrachtungen zur Rechtsübersetzung, die häufig rechtsvergleichende Aspekte einbeziehen (z. B. Pommer 2006: 37), finden keine Anwendung.

Die vier Gesetzbücher sind durch Verweisungen miteinander verbunden. Verweisungen können als primäre Form intertextueller Beziehungen in Rechtstexten gelten; sie können aber auch eine Fehlerquelle darstellen (Griebel 2013: 144-148). An einem Beispiel möchte ich zeigen, inwiefern die Übersetzer und Verfasser der Gesetzbücher auf Konsistenz nicht nur in einem Gesetzbuch, sondern im Zusammenspiel der vier Gesetzbücher geachtet haben.

Im Folgenden möchte ich die Übersetzung von Wortverbindungen an vier Beispielen darstellen, die im Rahmen der Arbeit an meiner Dissertation manuell aus dem Korpus extrahiert worden sind, dort jedoch nach einer Anpassung des Schwerpunkts nicht mehr betrachtet

werden. Da bei der Übersetzung der Wortverbindungen keine klare Strategie erkennbar ist, wurden sie für diesen Beitrag so ausgewählt, dass die Problematik exemplarisch dargestellt werden kann:

- *sans préjudice de* (dt. *unbeschadet*)
- *à peine de nullité/sous peine de nullité* (dt. *bei sonstiger Nichtigkeit, zur Vermeidung der Nichtigkeit*¹)
- *acte sous seing privé/acte sous signature privée* (dt. *Privaturkunde*)
- *jugement arbitral* (dt. *Schiedsspruch, Urteil eines Schiedsgerichts*)

3. Ergebnisse

Durch den unterschiedlichen Umfang der Gesetzbücher ist ein Vergleich der Verwendungshäufigkeit nur eingeschränkt möglich; zum Aufzeigen von Tendenzen bietet er sich meines Erachtens dennoch an. Auch wegen der unterschiedlichen thematischen Schwerpunkte der Gesetzbücher kommt nicht jede Wortverbindung in jedem Gesetzbuch vor.

Im Folgenden kürze ich *Code civil* durch CC ab, *Code de procédure civile* durch CPC, *Code de commerce* durch CdC und *Code pénal* durch CP.

Die vier Gesetzbücher sind in französischer und italienischer Sprache in der Datenbank UePol hinterlegt; die handschriftlichen Versionen liegen unter der Signatur Atti di governo/ Giustizia civile Parte moderna, 23 im Mailänder Staatsarchiv. Aus Platzgründen verzichte ich bei den Beispielen auf die Wiederholung der Quellenangaben.

3.1. *sans préjudice de*

Die Wortverbindung *sans préjudice de* kommt in allen vier französischen Gesetzbüchern vor:

	CC	CPC	CdC	CP	Insg.
<i>sans préjudice de</i>	31	16	12	28	87

Tabelle 1. *sans préjudice de*

Die Wortverbindung wird im Ausgangstext einheitlich verwendet, es gibt keine Varianten, abgesehen davon, dass in wenigen Fällen z. B. *néanmoins* nach *préjudice* eingefügt wird (*sans préjudice néanmoins de*).

¹ Allerdings ist mit *nullità* damals noch *invalidità*, *Ungültigkeit*, gemeint; die Bedeutung *Nichtigkeit* wird erst durch deutschen Einfluss angenommen (Caterina/Rossi 2008: 195).

Bei der Übersetzung ins Italienische werden sechs Varianten verwendet:

	CC	CPC	CdC	CP	Insg.
<i>senza pregiudizio di</i>	23	13	12	4	52
<i>salvo</i>	3	2	0	24	29
<i>oltre</i>	1	1	0	0	2
funktionale Lösung (verbal)	4	0	0	0	4

Tabelle 2. Übersetzung sans préjudice de

Zahlenmäßig dominiert die wortwörtliche Übersetzung *senza pregiudizio di*, verschwindet im CP jedoch fast völlig zugunsten der funktionalen Übersetzung *salvo* (jeweils in Genus und Numerus angepasst). Bei den anderen Fällen handelt es sich um Einzelfälle, in denen ebenfalls eine funktionale Übersetzung bevorzugt wird; sie finden hauptsächlich im CC Anwendung. Insgesamt gibt es im Laufe der Übersetzungsarbeiten eine Tendenz zur Vereinheitlichung.

3.2. *à peine de nullité/sous peine de nullité*

Im Französischen werden *à peine de nullité* und *sous peine de nullité* weitgehend synonym verwendet:

	CC	CPC	CdC	Insg.
<i>à peine de nullité</i>	2	27	6	35
<i>le tout à peine de nullité</i>	3	15	1	19
<i>et ce, à peine de nullité</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>sous peine de nullité</i>	2	0	0	2

Tabelle 3. *à peine de nullité/sous peine de nullité*

Insgesamt wird die Wortverbindung deutlich häufiger in Verbindung mit *à* verwendet; in einigen Fällen wird sie ergänzt durch vorangestelltes *le tout* oder, seltener, *et ce*. In nur zwei Fällen wird *sous peine de nullité* verwendet; beide Fälle befinden sich im ersten Gesetzbuch, dem CC. Im CP wird die Wortverbindung nicht verwendet.

Bei der Übersetzung werden im Italienischen ebenfalls *sotto* und *a* parallel verwendet, allerdings ändert sich die Verteilung: Für *sous peine de nullité* im CC wird in beiden Fällen die Übersetzung *sotto pena di nullità* verwendet. Für *à peine de nullité* wird in der Übersetzung *sotto pena di nullità* bzw. *sotto pena della nullità* verwendet, die Schwankung betrifft also nur die Verwendung des Artikels:

	CC	CPC	CdC	Insg.
<i>sotto pena di nullità</i>	2	26	6	34
<i>sotto pena della nullità</i>	0	1	0	1

Tabelle 4. Übersetzung à peine de nullité

Ein höherer Variantenreichtum tritt auf, wenn *à peine de nullité* durch *le tout* bzw. *et ce* ergänzt wird:

	CC	CPC	CdC	Insg.
<i>(il) tutto/e ciò sotto pena di nullità</i>	3	11	1	15
<i>il tutto a pena di nullità</i>	0	4	0	4
funktionale Lösung (verbal)	1	0	0	1

Tabelle 5. Übersetzung le tout/et ce, à peine de nullité

Weiterhin dominiert *sotto*, allerdings wird nun im CPC auch die Präposition *a*, analog zum Französischen, verwendet. Die Schwankung in der Verwendung des Artikels nach *di*, wie wir sie oben gesehen haben, tritt hier nicht auf. Abgesehen von der stark ausgangstextorientierten Übersetzung gibt es in einem Fall eine funktionale, verbale Lösung.

3.3. *acte sous signature privée/acte sous seing privé*

Die Wortverbindungen *acte sous signature privée* und *acte sous seing privé* werden in den Gesetzbüchern synonym verwendet; im CP kommen sie nicht vor:

	CC	CPC	CdC	Insg.
<i>acte sous signature privée</i>	2	1	4	7
<i>acte sous seing privé</i>	10	0	1	11

Tabelle 6. *acte sous signature privée/acte sous seing privé*

Die beiden Wortverbindungen weisen an sich eine sehr hohe Festigkeit auf. Die Verwendungshäufigkeit von *acte sous signature privée* steigt eher, die von *acte sous seing privé* nimmt eher ab. Die Häufigkeit von *acte sous seing privé* im CC hängt auch damit zusammen, dass ein Abschnitt *De l'acte sous seing privé* titelt; in diesem Abschnitt wird, inklusive der Überschrift, fünf Mal *acte sous seing privé* verwendet.

Bei den Übersetzungen fällt auf, dass die Festigkeit in der Zielsprache nicht im selben Maße gegeben ist; auf Grund der Arbitrarität der Übersetzungslösungen betrachte ich beide französischen Varianten gemeinsam:

	CC	CPC	CdC	Insg.
<i>atto per isrittura privata</i>	1	1	0	2
<i>atto in isrittura privata</i>	1	0	2	3
<i>atto di isrittura privata</i>	0	0	1	1
<i>atti con isritture private</i>	0	0	1	3
<i>(i)isrittura privata</i>	6	0	1	7
<i>privata isrittura</i>	2	0	0	2
<i>atto privato</i>	1	0	0	1
<i>testamento olografo</i>	1	0	0	1

Tabelle 7. Übersetzung *acte sous signature privée/acte sous seing privé*

Es gibt bei der Übersetzung keine dominierende Variante, die Varianz ist im Zieltext deutlich höher als im Ausgangstext. Bei den Übersetzungslösungen, die die Struktur des Ausgangstextes imitieren, ist die Verwendung der Präpositionen arbiträr (*per, in, di, con*). Eine weitere Gruppe an Varianten verkürzt die Wortverbindung: bei *(i)isrittura privata* bzw. *privata isrittura* entfällt die Übersetzung von *acte*, bei *atto privata* die von *seing* bzw. *signature*. Bei *testamento olografo* handelt es sich um einen Einzelfall.

Ein Beispiel für die Arbitrarität bei der Wahl der Übersetzung ist der bereits erwähnte Abschnitt des CC: Im Französischen wird sowohl in der Überschrift als auch im gesamten Abschnitt *acte sous seing privé* verwendet; im Italienischen werden die Varianten nach der Überschrift *Della privata isrittura* gemischt: *isrittura privata* (Art. 1322, 1325 und 1328) und *atto privato* (Art. 1323).

In den handschriftlichen Versionen der italienischen Übersetzung des CdC können wir sehen, dass die Variante *atto con isrittura privata* in Art. 39 erst nach Korrektur verwendet wird; zuvor wird wortwörtlich durch *sotto* übersetzt. Art. 39 beinhaltet außerdem einen externen Verweis auf Art. 1325 des CC:

- (1) *par des actes [...] sous signature privée, en se conformant [...] à l'article 1325 du Code Napoléon.* (Ausgangstext)
- (2) *per mezzo di atti [...] sotto firme private conformandosi [...] all'articolo 1325. del Codice Napoleone.* (erste Handschrift)
- (3a) *per mezzo di atti [...] sotto forme [sic] private [...] all'articolo 1325. del Codice Napoleone.* (zweite Handschrift)
- (3b) *per mezzo di atti [...] con scritture private [...] all'articolo 1325. del Codice Napoleone.* (zweite Handschrift, nach Korrektur)
- (4) *per mezzo di atti [...] con isritture private [...] all'articolo 1325. del Codice Napoleone.* (Zieltext)

In Art. 1325 des *Code Napoléon*, d. h. des CC, wird im Ausgangstext *actes sous seing privé* verwendet (nicht wie in Art. 39 CdC: *actes sous signature privée*), im Zieltext *scrittura private* (nicht wie in Art. 39 CdC: *atti con iscritture private*). Sowohl Verfasser als auch Übersetzer haben in Bezug auf die Verweisung nicht auf einheitliche Terminologie geachtet. Dass in der handschriftlichen Version des CdC eine Korrektur stattgefunden hat, weist auf eine Diskussion der Übersetzungskommission hin; ein gewisses Maß an fachsprachlichem Bewusstsein der Juristen kann angenommen werden. Dass das referenzierte Werk während der Übersetzung nicht zu Rate gezogen wurde, kann neben mangelndem Problembewusstsein auch mit dem hohen Zeitdruck erklärt werden, unter dem die Kommission gearbeitet hat.

3.4. *jugement arbitral, décision arbitrale und arbitrage*

Bereits im französischen Ausgangstext ist die Wahl der Wortverbindung in diesem Zusammenhang arbiträr; ich verkürze die Auswahl auf die folgenden drei Varianten, von denen nicht alle in allen vier Gesetzbüchern vorkommen:

	CC	CPC	CdC	Insg.
<i>jugement arbitral</i>	0	9	3	12
<i>décision arbitrale</i>	1	2	1	4
<i>arbitrage</i>	2	5	0	7

Tabelle 8. *jugement arbitral, décision arbitrale und arbitrage*

Diese Wortverbindungen bzw. der Terminus werden vollständig oder teilweise synonym verwendet und auch von den Übersetzern so verstanden; die Übersetzungslösungen weisen daher ebenfalls einen hohen Variantenreichtum und Überschneidungen auf.

Die Wortverbindung *jugement arbitral* wird durch *sentenza degli arbitri* sowie *sentenza arbitramentale* übersetzt:

	CC	CdC	Insg.
<i>sentenza degli arbitri</i>	7	3	10
<i>sentenza arbitramentale</i>	2	0	2

Tabelle 9. Übersetzung *jugement arbitral*

Im CC kommen beide Varianten vor, im CdC nur *sentenza degli arbitri*.

Bei der Übersetzung von *décision arbitrale* wird, angelehnt an den Ausgangstext, neben dem Substantiv *sentenza* auch *decisione* verwendet:

	CC	CPC	CdC	Insg.
<i>decisione degli arbitri</i>	0	1	1	2
<i>sentenza arbitramentale</i>	1	1	0	2

Tabelle 10. Übersetzung *décision arbitrale*

Sowohl für *jugement arbitral* als auch für *décision arbitrale* wird *sentenza arbitramentale* verwendet. Im CPC werden *decisione degli arbitri* und *sentenza arbitramentale* für *décision arbitrale* im selben Buch parallel verwendet.

Der einfache Rechtsterminus *arbitrage*, der dieselbe Bedeutung einnimmt, wird in der Übersetzung immer durch einen einfachen Rechtsterminus, nie durch eine Wortverbindung wiedergegeben:

	CC	CPC	Insg.
<i>arbitramento</i>	1	0	1
<i>arbitrio</i>	1	0	1
<i>compromesso</i>	0	3	3
Weitere Lösungen	0	2	2

Tabelle 11. Übersetzung *arbitrage*

Trotz der wenigen Beispiele können wir auch hier erkennen, dass die Verwendung nicht einheitlich ist. Bei den weiteren Lösungen handelt es sich um eine verbale Lösung sowie eine Änderung aus übersetzungspolitischen Gründen.

Den Rechtsterminus *arbitrage* habe ich aufgenommen, um das folgende Beispiel besser erläutern zu können: Art. 1020 des CPC gehört zum einzigen Titel des dritten Buches:

(5) *Des Arbitrages*

Le jugement arbitral sera rendu exécutoire par une ordonnance [...];

S'il avait été compromis sur l'appel d'un jugement, la décision arbitrale sera déposée au greffe du tribunal d'appel [...].

(6) *DEI COMPROMESSI*

La sentenza arbitramentale si renderà esecutiva mediante un'ordinazione [...].

Se il compromesso versa sopra una questione in grado di appello, la sentenza degli arbitri deve depositarsi presso la cancelleria del tribunale di appello [...].

In der Überschrift wird *arbitrages* durch *compromessi* übersetzt; im Artikel selbst *jugement arbitral* durch *sentenza arbitramentale*; *compromis* durch *compromesso*; *décision arbitrale* durch *sentenza degli arbitri* – schon in wenigen Zeilen weist die Terminologie eine hohe Varianz auf. Im vorliegenden Falle eines rechtsgültigen Gesetzbuches kann eine derartige

Varianz zu Problemen bei der Rechtsauslegung führen (die für andere Teile der Übersetzung dokumentiert sind, cf. Solimano 2018: 38-46).

Eine weitere Variante, *sentenza arbitrale*, bei der die Form des Adjektivs besonders stark an das französische Adjektiv angelehnt ist, wird ausschließlich in den Handschriften des CdC verwendet, nicht gedruckt. Sie wird dort zur vorherrschenden Variante *sentenza degli arbitri* korrigiert, z. B. Art. 52:

- (7) *jugement arbitral* (Ausgangstext)
- (8) *sentenza arbitrale* (erste Handschrift)
- (9a) *sentenza arbitrale* (zweite Handschrift)
- (9b) *sentenza degli arbitri* (zweite Handschrift, nach Korrektur)
- (10) *sentenza degli arbitri* (Zieltext)

Die hohe Variantenvielfalt wird also noch ergänzt durch weitere Varianten, die bereits im Verlauf der Revisionsarbeiten korrigiert und somit nicht gedruckt werden.

4. Schlussbemerkungen

Die untersuchten Wortverbindungen sind mehr oder weniger stark konventionalisiert; das trifft sowohl auf die Verwendung in der Ausgangssprache als auch in der Zielsprache zu. Insgesamt weist der Zieltext mehr Varianten auf als der Ausgangstext. Dies erklärt sich dadurch, dass die italienische Rechtssprache zu diesem Zeitpunkt, im Gegensatz zur französischen, noch nicht voll ausgebaut war (Reinke/Schreiber 2015: 699). Die Betrachtung der beiden handschriftlichen Versionen des CdC zeigt, dass teilweise noch weitere Varianten im Umlauf waren, die jedoch vor Druck korrigiert und somit eliminiert wurden.

Der performative Zweck der Übersetzung führt in diesem politischen Kontext zu einer starken Ausgangstextorientierung. Abweichungen von der Wortwörtlichkeit lassen sich funktional begründen, sind in einigen Fällen jedoch auch auf übersetzungspolitische Motive zurückzuführen, die an dieser Stelle nicht betrachtet werden konnten.

Von den Übersetzern werden Substantive als Träger der Terminologie betrachtet; das ist zunächst nicht unüblich, lässt sich aber auch damit erklären, dass es sich bei den Übersetzern vornehmlich um Juristen handelt, nicht um ausgebildete Fachübersetzer. Substantive werden in der Regel einheitlich übersetzt oder erfahren im Laufe des Übersetzungsprozesses eine Vereinheitlichung. Bei der Verwendung z. B. der Präpositionen können wir eine deutlich höhere Varianz beobachten. Die Normierungsgrade der Wortverbindungen reichen von einer stark ausgeprägten Norm zu einer eher schwachen Konvention. Wovon dies im Einzelfall abhängt, kann an dieser Stelle nicht beantwortet werden; anzunehmen sind aber, trotz der lateinisch dominierten Rechtskultur in Italien, Sprachkonventionen in Teilbereichen des Rechts, in denen es abhängig vom regionalen und situativen Kontext bereits eine stärkere Orientierung an der italienischen Sprache gab.

Bei Wortverbindungen, die auch im Ausgangstext nicht fest sind, hängt die Variante im Zieltext nicht von der im Ausgangstext verwendeten Variante ab. Bei Verweisungen kann man erkennen, dass auch sich aufeinander beziehende Artikel der Gesetzbücher nicht zwingend eine einheitliche Verwendung bedingen. Dies zeugt von mangelndem Problembewusstsein im Ausgangs- wie im Zieltext, kann aber auch auf spontane Texterzeugung bei Redaktion und Übersetzung sowie auf den hohen Zeitdruck zurückgeführt werden.

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Cross-linguistic intelligibility of idiomatic phrases in Polish-Russian translation tasks

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Abstract

This paper presents the results of a translation task involving idiomatic phrases in closely related languages. The goal is to test auditory comprehension of idioms. The experiment was conducted with native speakers of either Polish or Russian, who were not professional translators. The translation equivalents were categorized according to three conditions: (1) semantic equivalent, found in a phraseological dictionary; (2) lemma-based referent, sharing a cognate component; and (3) literal translation of the source phrase. It is hypothesized that information-theoretic measures of surprisal in combination with lexical and syntactic distances between idioms can predict lay translators' preferences. The results suggest that the proposed measures are valid predictors for the type of translation native speakers will select. The outcomes reveal an asymmetry in preference for equivalent selection across the groups of lay translators.

Keywords

idiomatic phrases, receptive multilingualism, Polish, Russian, translation

1. Introduction

The comprehension of idiomatic phrases in a closely related language is a challenging task, especially if the perceiver has no previous training in philology or translation studies. However, the investment of this extra cognitive effort may be rewarded when an idiomatic meaning is successfully understood and a humorous or surprising cross-cultural connotation is discovered. The ability to understand the figurative meaning of an expression in a foreign language often corresponds with high linguistic proficiency and so far has been mainly investigated for second language learning (Boers and Demecheleer 2001; Cieślicka 2017; Kovecses and Szabco 1996).

The comprehension of idiomatic phrases from closely related yet unfamiliar languages is far more complicated. This phenomenon involves phonological, lexical, and syntactic correspondences between similar languages and not only raises questions of communicative competence, but also touches upon the abilities and limitations of linguistic transfer based on various associations. A possible strategy is to conceptualize the meaning of each constituent of an idiomatic phrase in L_x and, upon encountering difficulty, try to find a comprehensible lexeme (e.g., a cognate component) and then collocate the rest on the basis of native language (L1) structure. Another strategy involves the surface representation of a target phrase and attempts to match phonologically close units from one's L1 and the foreign language L_x. But even in one's native language, the comprehension of idioms requires a certain level of linguistic and cultural competence. Therefore, it is worth investigating what kind of cross-linguistic references play a key role in equivalent matching and how to measure the cues which are informative in such processes.

1.1. Aims and premises

In order to test intercomprehension of idiomatic phrases, we have conducted a translation experiment involving native speakers of Polish and Russian without any formal training in linguistics and philology. We adopt an information-theoretic approach (Shannon 1948) and interpret the experimental outcomes in terms of phonetic as well as lexical and syntactic distances between tested expressions. Thus, we combine cross-linguistic phrase (un)expectedness with measurable phonetic, lexical, and syntactic distances between idiomatic expressions to answer the following research questions.

Firstly, we assume that if the idiomatic meaning of a target phrase is not transparent enough, subjects tend to understand it literally. The phenomenon driving such a preference is the phonological resemblance between an idiomatic target and its literal translation. Hence, we hypothesize that the lower the mean phrase word adaptation surprisal (WAS) between the stimulus phrase and the literal translation, the stronger the subjects' preference is to select the literal interpretation.

Secondly, we assume that cognates can serve as cues when matching translations, which makes participants preferentially select expressions with recognizable lexical material. In order to quantify the influence of cognate-based correspondence, we introduce the measure of normalized lexical distance between the corresponding phrases. We assume that lower normalized lexical distances lead to stronger preferences for translations that share a cognate lemma with the stimulus, but still diverge from the idiomatic meaning on a phrase level.

Thirdly, we address the question of linear syntactic correspondences between idiomatic phrases and assume that a syntactic distance between the stimulus and the respective translation influences participants' preference. We hypothesize that the lower the syntactic distance, computed as the normalized sum of insertion and deletion operations, the stronger the preference for the semantic equivalent of the stimulus phrase.

1.2. Related work

In intercomprehension, speakers of closely related languages opt to use their mother tongue under the assumption that similarities between their languages will allow for relatively unhindered communication (Golubović and Gooskens 2015; Jágrová et al. 2019). Previous studies into mutual intelligibility of closely related languages have shown that the strategy of using one's own L1 can be successful in practice (Gooskens 2018).

Several strategies relevant to comprehension of idioms have been proposed. In idiom comprehension, as pointed out by Vega-Moreno (2001), the computation of word meanings is exceptionally costly and, according to the Communicative Principle of Relevance (Grice 1974), should be avoided if an easier solution is available. Therefore, we consider an additional cross-linguistic difficulty and apply the information-theoretic measure of surprisal, which correlates to cognitive processing effort (Hale 2001; Levy 2008).

The classical 'non-compositional' model of comprehension of idioms describes idiomatic phrases as strings in the lexicon whose meaning is not derived from the sum of their components (Cutler 1982; Fraser 1970). In a translation task, the understanding of an isolated idiomatic phrase can depend on its syntactic structure. In this work, we selected the normalized InDel distance (Heeringa et al. 2018) as the distance measure, which corresponds to the degree of internal syntactic change calculated as the normalized sum of insertions and deletions between phrases.

Non-compositional accounts argue that the idiomatic meaning of phrases is not entirely arbitrary. In this line, Nunberg et al. (1994) proposed that idiomaticity is conveyed on the level of semantics rather than syntax and called this approach 'Decompositional Hypothesis'. In response to this theory, we propose a study which involves gradual changes on the syntactic level of the stimuli and measures their understandability to lay translators.

Alternatively, 'Phrase-induced Polysemy' does not reject the concept of string-like idioms stored in the mental lexicon and proposes a certain threshold at which the understanding of a phrase changes from a literal to an idiomatic one, often called the 'idiomatic key' (Vega-Moreno 2001). Given that cognates originate from common roots in an ancestral language and still share a semantic field in both daughter languages, cognates and partial cognates are the easiest units to understand in the cross-linguistic perspective. In our experiment, the idiomatic key is defined in terms of a lexical distance measure which quantifies the proportion of cognates and partial cognates in a phrase pair.

2. Method

To quantify cross-linguistic phraseological differences we have explored idiomatic phrases in isolation, e.g., occurring as entries in a bilingual dictionary (Chlebda 2016; Fedorov 1995; Lukszyn 1998). The subjects are Polish and Russian native speakers untrained in translation. Their preferences are revealed in both open and closed tasks. In the open task, the participants were asked to write their own translation of 43 idiomatic phrases that were presented

to them in the auditory modality, i.e., Polish native speakers listened to Russian phrases and were asked to translate them into Polish, and vice versa. In the closed task, participants were given three possible equivalents of the target phrases in their native language: (1) a lemma-based equivalent (LEM) that shares a lexical (cognate) component still differing in the rest of the phrase; (2) a literal translation of the source (LIT) that diverges from the target idiomatic interpretation; and (3) a proper semantic (SEM) equivalent, an entry from a phraseological dictionary.

2.1. Audio stimuli

In total, 43 target idiomatic phrases were tested. The selected idioms had equivalents in both directions of translation. The audio samples were read by female native speakers of the respective language and recorded in an acoustically controlled environment at a 48 kHz sampling rate to uncompressed format.

2.2. Participants

In total, 100 participants (50 native speakers per language) took part in the study. The subjects reported no hearing disorders, and no formal education in translation studies. The preselection of lay translators was motivated by addressing the field of receptive multilingualism rather than L2 competence.

2.3. Normalized InDel

We applied the normalized InDel (nInDel) measure of word insertions and deletions to quantify the syntactic alternations. Larger numbers of added or deleted words imply more negative effects on comprehension of a phrase. As an illustration of InDel computation, Polish and Russian semantic equivalents with idiomatic meaning ‘intoxicated, drunk’ are presented in Table 1.

Language	1	2	3	4	5	Literal translation
Polish	pijany	jak	bela			drunk as a log
Russian	пьяный			в	дым	drunk into smoke

Table 1. Example of the alignment for InDel distance computation between two semantic equivalents

For InDel calculation, the phrases are aligned, i.e., corresponding elements occur in the same column, while gaps represent elements missing in one of the languages. For instance, the Polish *pijany* is aligned with the Russian *пьяный*, both meaning ‘drunk’, whereas the remaining words in each language do not have equivalents in the other. We can thus observe two deletions (Polish *jak* ‘as’ and *bela* ‘a log’) and two insertions (Russian *в* ‘into’ and *дым* ‘smoke’). This alignment results in an InDel value of 4. Normalizing the InDel distance by

the number of the alignment slots (in this case 5), equals to 0.8, that is, 80% of the alignment consists of elements which have no equivalent in the corresponding phrase (Gooskens and Swarte 2017). Overall nInDel distances from source to target alignments for each condition equaled to: LEM (0.49), SEM (0.56), LIT (0.20) in Russian to Polish direction and LEM (0.44), SEM (0.56), LIT (0.18) in Polish to Russian direction.

2.4. Mean phrase Word Adaptation Surprisal (WAS)

The information-theoretic notion of surprisal (Shannon 1948) was applied to model the predictability of a particular cross-linguistic correspondence for a given language pair. The basic assumption is that a native speaker of L1 understands a word from a related Lx and so can predict a word of L1 which is the best equivalent for the word of Lx. In the case of cognates, such a prediction can be based on regular sound correspondences between the related lexemes. The more cognate pairs are shared by two languages, the better intercomprehension is expected. However, phonetic and morphophonological aspects of cognate words are subject to diachronic changes and may no longer be transparent to a language user. To counterbalance the cognate recognition effect, the tested phrases contained cognates and non-cognates. This metrics was based on all aligned word pairs, including referents both with and without regular sound correspondences (Moberg et al. 2007). WAS refers to the sum of the phone adaptation surprisal values and is calculated by the following equation:

$$WAS(L1 = c1|L2 = c2) = -\log_2 P(L1 = c1|L2 = c2)$$

where L1 = native language, c1 = phone of the native language, L2 = stimulus language, and c2 = phone of the stimulus language. Individual phone transformation probabilities were extracted with Lidstone smoothing from the corpus of phonetically aligned cognate words used in the study, yielding probabilities of encountering individual phones given their aligned equivalent in the other language (e.g., the probability of /tɕ/ in Polish given /tʲ/ in Russian). WAS is computed in bits according to these phone transformation probabilities (see Table 2) and normalized by the number of alignment slots for the word pair (Mosbach et al. 2019).

RU orthography	оплатить	той		же	монетой
PL orthography	odpłacić	tą	samą		monetą
RU IPA	/ɔpɫɨtʲ'itʲ/	/toɨ̞/		/zʲ/	/mɐnʲ'etɔɨ̞/
PL IPA	/ɔtpw'atɛitɕ/	/tɔɨ̞/	/s'amɔɨ̞/		/mɔn'etɔɨ̞/
WAS	0.8361	1.4840	5.4919	8.2036	1.4066
Total Phrase Surprisal:	3.4844				

Table 2. Example of Mean Phrase WAS calculation in bits

Mean phrase WAS values were calculated by averaging the nWAS values for each alignment position, including both aligned word pairs and words aligned with gaps. The nWAS values for words aligned with gaps were calculated using the surprisal of each segment in the

word aligned with a gap character. Such a procedure provides a quantification of the overall (un)expectedness of the respective phrase. The mean phrase WAS (in bits) equaled to LEM (5.78), SEM (6.01), LIT (4.08) in Russian to Polish direction and LEM (5.82), SEM (6.12), LIT (4.74) in Polish to Russian direction.

2.5. Lexical distance

A large proportion of cognates in the aligned phrases can facilitate comprehension of the stimulus. As non-cognates (etymologically unrelated words) tend to be unintelligible to lay listeners, we assume that larger proportions of non-cognates impede intercomprehension. According to Gooskens (2018), the percentage of non-cognates determines the lexical distance between related languages. Phonologically close but semantically distant equivalents, so-called ‘false friends’, e.g., Russian [ɔr'ot] ‘monster’ and Polish [ur'ɔda] ‘beauty’ may cause even larger difficulties than non-cognates. Aligned phrase pairs are scored for lexical distance by assigning distances to word-form pairs of each type (see Table 3). Non-cognates and false friends are assigned a distance of 1 and cognates have 0 distance. Words in the stimulus without aligned equivalents are also assigned a distance of 1. The lexical distance for a phrase is then yielded by dividing the sum of word pair distances by the number of words contained in the phrase. The lexical distances can be asymmetric. For example, Russian *собака* [sɔb'akə] ‘dog’ translates to Polish *pies* [pʲes] ‘dog’, forming a non-cognate pair. Nevertheless, a Russian listener understands the spoken Polish word *pies* because a phonetically close synonym *нѣс* [nʲes] ‘dog’ exists in Russian. As the Russian word *собака* does not have any cognate synonym in Polish, a Polish listener cannot understand it without prior knowledge of Russian.

The mean lexical distances as the aggregate distance for all parallel phrases in the corpus equaled to LEM (0.62), SEM (0.68), LIT (0.42) in Russian to Polish direction and LEM (0.62), SEM (0.69), LIT (0.52) in Polish to Russian direction.

Polish	koń	w	mydle
Russian	лошадь	в	мыле
English	horse	in	soap
Cognate/non-cognate	non-cognate	cognate	cognate
Scores	1	0	0
Lexical distance	0.33		

Table 3. Example of the alignment for lexical distance calculation

2.6. Experimental procedure

The test consisted of two parts. The open translation task preceded the closed set question task to avoid bias towards already seen equivalents. The participants were instructed to

provide a translation of each idiomatic phrase into their L1. In the first part, the phrases were presented only in the auditory modality and subjects were instructed to provide a written translation. The listening task was then followed by the closed set question, in which participants were given three possible written equivalents in their native language. The audio recording of the phrase was automatically played at the beginning of each question, and subjects could replay the audio if they desired. To avoid fatigue, subjects were allowed to self-pace themselves through the experiment. However, they were instructed to remain at the experimental screen and not to use external resources.

3. Results

To answer the research questions, multinomial logistic regression models were run with the significance level set at $\alpha = 0.05$. The results from the open set tasks were classified into four main categories: (1) translations motivated by phonetic equivalence, where a strong sound resemblance between the stimulus phrase and the provided translation was taken as a cue; (2) identification of a specific component of the stimulus phrase and its L1 equivalent, where the answers were motivated by the correct identification of one unit of the stimulus phrase and then complemented with plausible collocates; (3) dictionary based, often close to a literal translation and not directly referring to the idiomatic interpretation of the stimulus phrase; and (4) other type of equivalence.

The results of the closed set translation section were quantitatively analyzed with respect to the established distances. Such an approach helps us understand whether native speakers' preferences for selecting a particular equivalent are guided by semantics, lexical similarity, or a surface-oriented interpretation.

3.1. Open set

In the Russian to Polish direction, 2528 translations were classified, and in the Polish to Russian direction 2451. Incomplete translations typed as a random string of symbols, question marks, or ellipses were discarded from the analyzed data.

3.1.1. Polish to Russian

The similarity of syntactic structure and straightforward identification of cognates allowed for a consistent recognition of the idiomatic phrase pair *odplacić tą samą monetą* (Polish) and *отплатить той же монетой* (Russian), whereby 72% of the answers belonged to the semantically equivalent category. The provided equivalents preserved the idiomatic meaning of the target phrase and maintained its syntactic structure. Such an outcome, however, was relatively rare in the remaining phrases. Overall, the interpretation based on phonetic correspondences between target phrase and selected translation accounted for 31% of all responses. The second most frequent strategy was cognate identification combined with strong collocates in Russian. This type of responses accounted for 23% of all equivalents in the

free translation task. Only 10% of translations preserved the idiomatic meaning of the target phrase. The remaining 36% of responses were unclassified.

3.1.2. Russian to Polish

Only 15% of open set task responses were classified as equivalents with a preserved idiomatic meaning. The most frequent pattern in the free translation part was inspired by the surface phonetic representation of the target phrase (26%). Another common technique was lemma-based identification accompanied by frequent collocates in Polish, which constituted 24% of all answers. The remaining 35% of translations given in the open set task could not be classified. A closer look at the translation pairs revealed that the exception to these patterns were phrase pairs with equal syntactic structure in both languages supplemented by cognate tokens, e.g., Russian *здоров как бык* and Polish *zdrowy jak byk*, where 85% of open set translations belonged to the third category which preserved the idiomatic meaning.

3.2. Closed set

The results from the closed set were analyzed by modeling the impact of lexical indices on the probability of choosing one of three given translation equivalents. In Russian to Polish direction overall translation preferences equaled to 21% LEM, 51% LIT, 28% SEM and 27% LEM, 40% LIT, 33% SEM in Polish to Russian translation.

The overall patterns of translations in the closed set do not match the tendencies from the open set. Being provided with three options, more participants tended to select one of the non-literal translations, as compared to the open set. However, the literal translation equivalent was still the single most dominant selection, in both directions. The literal equivalents without idiomatic meaning accounted for more than half of all selections in the Russian to Polish direction, and 40% in the opposite direction. Since the translations in both language groups diverge, the detailed analysis of the results should be conducted for both directions separately.

3.2.1. Polish to Russian

In the Polish to Russian direction, the likelihood of choosing the LEM, LIT, and SEM equivalents was predicted by mean phrase WAS, nInDel and lexical distance. For the comparison, first the LEM was used as the reference category coded (0) and another model was run with LIT as reference category coded (0) to allow a contrastive analysis between LIT and SEM. Compared to the null model (with no applied predictors), the tested model showed significant improvement based on likelihood ratio test ($\chi^2(6) = 515.89, p < 0.001$), however Pearson ($\chi^2(224) = 4238.86, p < 0.001$), and Deviance ($\chi^2(224) = 4127.79, p < 0.001$) tests both indicated that the model does not fit the data well. All predictors included in the model were significant: mean phrase WAS ($\chi^2(2) = 65.33, p < 0.001$), nInDel ($\chi^2(2) = 58.65, p < 0.001$), and lexical distance ($\chi^2(2) = 28.60, p < 0.001$). The odds of choosing LIT compared to preference of LEM equivalent decreased, with increase in mean phrase WAS, and nInDel,

but increased with increase in lexical distance. The odds of choosing SEM compared to choosing LEM decreased, with increase in mean phrase WAS, but increased with increase in nInDel, and lexical distance. The odds of choosing SEM compared to choosing LIT increased with increase in mean phrase WAS, and nInDel. The lexical distance did not differentiate between SEM and LIT (see Table 4). Overall, choosing the LEM equivalent was correctly predicted by the model in only 11% of cases. Preference towards the LIT equivalent was correctly predicted 71.3% of the time, whereas choosing SEM equivalent was correctly predicted 59.3% of the time. The mean correct prediction was 50.5%.

Comparison	Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald	<i>df</i>	Significance	Exp(<i>B</i>)
LEM (0) LIT (1)	Intercept	2.239	0.177	160.154	1	< 0.001	
	Mean phrase WAS	-0.572	0.072	62.432	1	< 0.001	0.564
	Normalized InDel	-0.681	0.277	6.029	1	0.014	0.506
	Lexical distance	1.628	0.331	24.211	1	< 0.001	5.092
LEM (0) SEM (1)	Intercept	0.332	0.181	3.375	1	0.066	
	Mean phrase WAS	-0.264	0.067	15.351	1	< 0.001	0.768
	Normalized InDel	1.267	0.261	23.580	1	< 0.001	3.552
	Lexical distance	1.261	0.307	16.915	1	< 0.001	3.528
LIT (0) SEM (1)	Intercept	-1.907	0.168	129.212	1	< 0.001	
	Mean phrase WAS	0.308	0.069	19.836	1	< 0.001	1.361
	Normalized InDel	1.948	0.263	54.786	1	< 0.001	7.017
	Lexical distance	-0.367	0.322	1.297	1	0.255	0.693

Table 4. Model predicting the type of chosen equivalent based on Mean phrase WAS, nInDel, and Lexical distance in Polish to Russian translation

3.2.2. Russian to Polish

A similar analysis was conducted to interpret the results in the Russian to Polish direction. Compared to the null model, the tested model showed significant improvement based on likelihood ratio test ($\chi^2(6) = 773.85, p < 0.001$), however Pearson ($\chi^2(218) = 4337.91, p < 0.001$) and Deviance ($\chi^2(218) = 3933.85, p < 0.001$) tests indicated that the model does not fit the data well. All predictors included in the model were significant: mean phrase WAS ($\chi^2(2) = 27.87, p < 0.001$), nInDel ($\chi^2(2) = 114.18, p < 0.001$) and lexical distance ($\chi^2(2) = 61.63, p < 0.001$). The odds of choosing LIT compared to choosing LEM decreased, with increase in mean phrase WAS, nInDel, and lexical distance. The odds of choosing SEM compared to LEM decreased, with increase in lexical distance, but increased with increase in nInDel. The mean phrase WAS did not differentiate between SEM and LEM. The odds of choosing SEM compared to choosing LIT increased with increase in nInDel. The lexical distance did not differentiate between SEM and LIT (see Table 5).

Comparison	Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald	<i>df</i>	Significance	Exp(<i>B</i>)
LEM (0) LIT (1)	Intercept	3.580	0.219	267.458	1	< 0.001	
	Mean phrase WAS	-0.287	0.061	22.470	1	< 0.001	0.750
	Normalized InDel	-1.276	0.243	27.469	1	< 0.001	0.279
	Lexical distance	-1.900	0.253	56.571	1	< 0.001	0.150
LEM (0) SEM (1)	Intercept	0.972	0.245	15.749	1	< 0.001	
	Mean phrase WAS	-0.059	0.063	0.872	1	0.350	0.943
	Normalized InDel	1.243	0.240	26.749	1	< 0.001	3.466
	Lexical distance	-1.502	0.263	32.532	1	< 0.001	0.223
LIT (0) SEM (1)	Intercept	-2.609	0.185	197.892	1	< 0.001	
	Mean phrase WAS	0.229	0.057	15.970	1	< 0.001	12.412
	Normalized InDel	2.519	0.243	107.284	1	< 0.001	1.489
	Lexical distance	0.398	0.236	2.850	1	0.091	1.257

Table 5. Model predicting the type of chosen equivalent based on Mean phrase WAS, nInDel, and Lexical distance in Russian to Polish translation

4. Discussion

The data obtained from the translation experiments showed different strategies in providing translation equivalents across the open set and closed set tasks. In the open set, most of the answers were motivated by a phonetic interpretation of the stimulus phrase, with the notable exception of obvious semantic equivalents which shared both cognate cues and exhibited similar syntactic structure. Another frequent strategy involved translation guided by cognate identification, which often resulted in a translation that diverged from the idiomatic meaning of the stimulus phrase. This tendency can also be explained by phonetic and phonological neighborhood density which can supplement the process of equivalent matching in translation tasks. The results of the closed task contribute to understanding the preference of native speakers to select a particular equivalent guided by semantics, lexical similarity, or surface-oriented interpretation. Several dependencies were discovered across the two groups of tested subjects. In both directions of translation, the proposed measures appeared to be significant predictors of which translation equivalent Slavic lay translators would select. However, across the L1 groups, the hypotheses were not supported to equal extents in the collected data. Due to these differences, the interpretation of the results is conducted separately for both directions of translation.

4.1. Polish to Russian

The first hypothesis referred to the preference to select a literal translation equivalent when it exhibits a lower mean phrase WAS. The obtained data support the hypothesis that the mean phrase WAS is an accurate predictor of subjects' preference towards selecting the literal translation equivalent without idiomatic meaning. The second hypothesis predicted that lower lexical distance corresponds to a higher preference for the equivalent sharing a cognate lemma. A strong effect was observed, suggesting that a decrease in lexical distance correlates with an increased preference for selection of the equivalent which shares a cognate word but does not entirely correspond to the phrase idiomaticity. The third hypothesis attempted to explain the preference for the semantic equivalent through the syntactic distance between the two phrases computed as nInDel measure. The data do not support this hypothesis. In fact, the relation between the preference for the semantic equivalent and the nInDel measure appears to oppose this assumption. That is, the higher nInDel values, the stronger the preference for the phrase with actual idiomatic meaning.

4.2. Russian to Polish

The first hypothesis was also supported in the Russian to Polish direction. The mean phrase WAS was an accurate predictor of the preference for the literal translation equivalent. The comparison with the LEM and SEM variants, however, did not reach the threshold of statistical significance. The second hypothesis referring to cognate-based selection predicted by lexical distance was rejected in the Russian to Polish direction, namely, the opposite effect to that in the Polish to Russian direction was observed. Comparison with the LIT and SEM conditions did not reach the threshold of statistical significance. The third hypothesis was rejected. The greater the syntactic divergence between the target phrases, the stronger the preference for the selection of the idiomatic equivalent.

5. Summary and outlook

In this study, an attempt to quantify intercomprehension of idiomatic phrases in closely related languages was made with the application of information-theoretic measures. The results shed light on the importance of phonetic, lexical, and syntactic cues in the process of translation of idioms. The conclusions are drawn on the outcomes from a quantitative analysis of the closed set results. An interesting asymmetry was observed in the translation direction. Different strategies were discovered in the open set and in the closed set tasks. The effect of strong surface phonetic similarities of phrases seems to motivate the equivalent matching, especially with respect to literal translation equivalents. Cognate lemma-based identification also seems to play a role in naïve translation, with lexical distance often serving as an idiomatic key. Overall, the data suggest that phonetic, lexical, and syntactic measures between corresponding idioms can provide an explanation for strategies used by native speakers of closely related languages in the selection of phrasal equivalents.

Even though comprehension of idiomatic phrases is known to be difficult, the gathered data show how idiomatic expressions tend to be comprehensible for listeners whose L1 is closely related to the stimulus language. The preference to choose a particular type of translation equivalent, which serves as an indicator of intercomprehension, can be predicted by phonetic, lexical, and syntactic similarities. The nature of mutual intelligibility is asymmetric and different idiomatic keys were discovered for Polish and Russian native speakers. Directions for future work might involve an experimental design with more language pairs. Examining less closely related languages would entail a paradigm shift from intercomprehension to L2 studies and could also create an interesting parallel to this experiment. The analysis would also benefit from the implementation of additional predictors as well as further data collection.

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Phraseodidaktische Kompetenz für (künftige) muttersprachliche Deutschlehrkräfte?

Überlegungen zu einem potenziellen Arbeitsfeld

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Abstract

Which phraseological and phraseodidactical abilities should L1-teachers have? This contribution aims to figure out elements of a phraseodidactical competence and thus create a sort of definition what phraseodidactical competence could be. For that the connections between the own use of phrasemes, the pupil's use of phrasemes and the linguistic and didactic phraseological knowledge is pointed out. In the result a new field of L1-phraseodidactics (for German language and language teaching) appears and offers new perspectives for research which are also mentioned in the contribution.

Keywords

Phraseodidaktik, phraseodidaktische Kompetenz, muttersprachliche/ primärsprachliche Phraseologie, L1-Deutschlehrkräfte und Deutschlehrerstudium, Wortschatz und Wortschatzarbeit

1. Problemaufriss zur Einleitung

Im Bereich des Fremdsprachenunterrichts bereits etabliert und in voranschreitender Entwicklung begriffen, formt sich die deutschsprachige Phraseodidaktik für den Fremd- und Primärensprachenunterricht immer deutlicher zu einer eigenen Teildisziplin der angewandten Phraseologie aus.¹ Zwar sind auch im fremdsprachenunterrichtlichen Bereich noch immer Desiderata und Moneta bezüglich phraseodidaktischer Fragestellungen zu verzeichnen (z.B. Lüger 2004, Konecny et al. 2013), aber das Forschungsspektrum hat sich stark geweitet und die Arbeit auf dem Gebiet der fremdsprachlichen Phraseodidaktik wurde intensiviert (Mückel 2023). Die primärsprachliche Phraseodidaktik des Deutschen dagegen gilt in der Deutschdidaktik noch immer als ein Randgebiet, was sie zu „einem noch sehr unterrepräsentierten Feld in der muttersprachlichen Deutschdidaktik“ (Kuhls et

¹ Eine kurze Zusammenfassung zentraler Entwicklungsetappen und eine kaleidoskopartige Bestandsaufnahme zum aktuellen Stand der fremd- und primärsprachlichen Phraseodidaktik des Deutschen enthält der neue Band von Mückel 2023.

al. 2015: 4) macht. Dennoch gibt es auch Arbeiten zur primärsprachlichen Phraseodidaktik des Deutschen (z.B. Stein 2011; Mückel 2014, 2020; Kleinbub 2015) und sie mehren sich, jedoch langsamer als zur fremdsprachlichen Phraseodidaktik. Diese neueren Ansätze aus der L1-Phraseodidaktik können möglicherweise dazu beitragen, der häufig zitierten Klage über den Muttersprachenunterricht (Deutsch) zu begegnen, dass dieser – auch im Vergleich zum Fremdsprachenunterricht – „immer noch im phraseodidaktischen Dornröschenschlaf“ (Kühn 2005: 25) sei; allmählich scheint die L1-Phraseodidaktik des Deutschen aus diesem „Dornröschenschlaf“ zu erwachen. Dieses schrittweise Erwachen hat sich zunächst auf die Bereiche des phraseologischen Erstspracherwerbs (z.B. Häcki-Buhofer 1997, 2007; Stein & Stumpf 2019) und auf Schulbuchanalysen anhand von Sprachbüchern aus dem L1-Unterricht (z.B. Scherer 1982; Kühn 1993, 2007; Mückel 2011, 2013) konzentriert. Seit einiger Zeit wird in Analogie zu fremdsprachenunterrichtlichen Entwicklungen der Blick neben den Aspekten von Erstspracherwerb und muttersprachlichem Lehrmaterial auch auf eine phraseodidaktische Textarbeit im L1-Unterricht gerichtet (z.B. Deutschunterricht 1/2013). Die betrifft sowohl pragmatische als auch kinderliterarische Texte, sie umfasst Textrezeptions- und Textproduktionsfragen (z.B. Stein 2011; Stein & Stumpf 2019) und sie geht einher mit der Weitung der Phrasembetrachtung im Hinblick auf Kollokationen, feste Wendungen und formelhafte Sprache. Diese Ansätze der primärsprachlichen Phraseodidaktik des Deutschen, die sich auf unterrichtliche und außerunterrichtliche Lern- und Erwerbsprozesse bei Kindern bzw. bei Schülerinnen und Schülern beziehen, sollen um eine weitere Komponente bereichert werden, nämlich um die Zielgruppe *Deutschlehrkräfte*. Wenn der Deutschunterricht mit seinen Materialien und Vorgehensweisen sowie mit seiner Klientel – den Kindern und Jugendlichen – ein Gegenstand der muttersprachlichen Phraseodidaktik ist, dann sollten es auch die menschlichen Vermittlungsinstanzen werden, die in Unterrichtshandlungen für die phraseodidaktischen Umsetzungen zuständig sind.

Diese Gruppe der Lehrkräfte ist heterogen und soll in einem ersten Zugriff zunächst in berufstätige Deutschlehrkräfte und in angehende Deutschlehrkräfte, also Lehramtsstudierende, eingeteilt werden. Für die Bestimmung der Elemente phraseodidaktischer Kompetenz bei praktizierenden Deutschlehrkräften müssten andere Indikatoren genommen werden als für Studierende, die sich erst auf dem Professionalisierungsweg zur Deutschlehrkraft befinden. Auch die Tätigkeitsfelder – auf der einen Seite das konkrete Lehrkraft Handeln im täglichen Muttersprachenunterricht, auf der anderen Seite eine theoretische Schulung mittels universitärer Seminare – unterscheidet sich und müsste daher getrennt voneinander erfasst werden. Dennoch besteht auch eine Verbindung: Die im Studium erarbeiteten Fachkenntnisse und Denkrichtungen werden voraussichtlich das künftige Handeln als Deutschlehrkraft beeinflussen. Übertragen auf die Phraseodidaktik bedeutet dies, dass eine phraseodidaktische Sensibilisierung oder sogar Prägung im Studium erkennbare Effekte für die zukünftige Unterrichtsgestaltung bezüglich phraseologischer Themen haben sollte, was sich wiederum auf die Begleitung phraseologischer Lernprozesse bei Schülerinnen und Schülern sowie auf den Umgang mit dem Lehrmaterial auswirkt. Aus einer intensiven Beschäftigung mit phraseodidaktischen Inhalten im Studium könnte eine bewusste und bezüglich der

Phraseologie fachinhaltlich fundierte Gestaltung des Muttersprachunterrichts in der späteren Berufsausübung hervorgehen.

2. Phraseodidaktische Kompetenz von Deutschlehrkräften im L1-Unterricht

Da diese Perspektive, auch Deutschlehrkräfte in den Blick zu nehmen, in der primärsprachlichen Phraseodidaktik bislang noch nicht allzu stark einbezogen wurde, kann keine umfassende Behandlung adhoc geleistet werden. Stattdessen sollten zunächst mögliche Forschungsrichtungen aufgezeigt werden, um diesen neuen Aspekt zu umreißen. Hinsichtlich des Faktors *Deutschlehrkraft* im phraseodidaktischen Handlungsfeld des muttersprachlichen Unterrichts wären beispielsweise folgende Untersuchungsfelder denkbar:

- Gestützt durch empirische Erhebungen könnte erfasst werden, welche phraseodidaktischen Vorgehensweisen im täglichen Muttersprachunterricht zu verzeichnen sind und vor welchen fachlichen und didaktischen Hintergründen bzw. mit welchem Bewusstsein und Wissen über phraseodidaktische Fragen dieses beobachtete Vorgehen erfolgt. Daraus könnte eine Art von *praktischer* phraseodidaktischer Kompetenz bestimmt werden, die in ein Verhältnis zur theoriegeleiteten Modellierung von phraseodidaktischer Kompetenz gesetzt werden kann, um in beiden Richtungen einen Abgleich und eine Weiterentwicklung vorzunehmen.
- Ebenfalls durch Datenerhebungen begleitet könnte ermittelt werden, ob eine gezielte Schulung von praktizierenden Lehrkräften im Bereich der Phraseodidaktik (und prinzipiell der Lexikodidaktik²) nachweisbare Effekte für eine erfolgreiche Wortschatzentwicklung bei Schülerinnen und Schülern unterschiedlicher Altersstufen hervorbringt. Damit könnte der aus Phraseo- und Wortschatzdidaktik erhobenen Forderung nach einer stärkeren Gewichtung dieses Gebiets innerhalb der Deutschdidaktik entweder Nachdruck verliehen werden oder es müsste den Skeptikern zugestimmt werden, die den gesamten Wortschatzbereich, inkl. der Phraseologie, als nicht eigenständig und daher in anderen Sprachhandlungen als nebenbei mitlaufend betrachten.
- An der Schnittstelle von praktizierenden und angehenden Lehrkräften, d.h. Lehramtsstudierenden, könnte geprüft werden, inwiefern die eigenen Erfahrungen als Schülerinnen und Schüler im Deutschunterricht – der durch die professionelle Lehrkraft auf der Grundlage ihrer fachlichen Überzeugungen gestaltet wurde – ein phraseologisches Wissen, Bewusstsein und Gespür beeinflussen und ob daraus resultierend die Bereitschaft erwächst, sich im Deutschstudium mit diesem Fachgebiet und seiner Didaktik auseinanderzusetzen resp. es als eine zukünftige Unterrichtsaufgabe zu begreifen. Damit könnte

² Mit der Prägung des Begriffs *Lexikodidaktik* für den Primärsprachenunterricht wird versucht, die engen Verbindungen zwischen muttersprachlicher Wortschatzarbeit, die lexikologische und lexikographische Aspekte umfasst, und phraseodidaktischen Unterrichtsintentionen zu erfassen (vgl. Mückel 2015, 2018, 2023; Haß 2021).

erreicht werden, dass phraseologische Gegenstände als essentieller Bestandteil eines Deutschlehramtsstudiums legitimiert werden können.

- Analog zu Studien bezüglich der Phrasenbeherrschung bei muttersprachlichen Schülerinnen und Schülern kann die Phrasenbeherrschung angehender Deutschlehrkräfte erhoben und in eine Beziehung zu spezifischen und generellen Kennzeichen einer phraseodidaktischen Kompetenz von (künftigen) Deutschlehrkräften gesetzt werden. Im Ergebnis dessen könnte die Modellierung von phraseodidaktischer Kompetenz optimiert, modifiziert und vervollkommen werden, um daraus ein tragfähiges fachinhaltliches Konzept für die Lehramtsausbildung auf diesem Gebiet abzuleiten.

Der letztgenannte Punkt soll Ausgangspunkt für einen ersten gedanklichen Entwurf zur Bestimmung dessen sein, was eine L1-Deutschlehrkraft als phraseodidaktische Kompetenz aufweisen sollte.

2.1. Phrasengebrauch bei Lehramtsstudierenden des Faches Deutsch – Rekonstruktion einer Teilkompetenz der phraseodidaktischen Kompetenz

Bevor *didaktische* Fähigkeiten für die deutschunterrichtliche Aufbereitung von Lernstoffen ausgebildet werden können, sollte ein Mindestmaß an eigenen muttersprachlichen Qualitäten bei künftigen Deutschlehrkräften vorhanden sein. In welchem Umfang dieses Postulat auch auf das Verhältnis von eigener phraseologischer Kompetenz und phraseodidaktischer (Vermittlungs)kompetenz zutrifft, müsste tiefergehend analysiert werden, als es der im Folgenden vorgenommene Denkansatz vermag. Dennoch soll er als ein erster Anhaltspunkt dienen³:

Eine nicht repräsentative, über mehrere Jahre stichprobenartig geführte Aufzeichnung von Auffälligkeiten im Phrasengebrauch von Lehramtsstudierenden des Faches Deutsch kann Anregung für eine systematischere Studie sein, die die Stichprobe erweitert und in ein valides Forschungssetting überführt. Die sprachliche Basis des folgenden exemplarischen Querschnitts ist aus schriftlichen Praktikumsberichten entnommen und zeigt einen wiederkehrenden, vom Muster abweichenden Phrasengebrauch, der nicht auf Tippfehler oder spontane Fehlkonstruktionen zurückzuführen zu sein scheint. Die Abweichungen treten im lexikalischen Bereich entweder bei einer der Wortkomponenten in der Wortwahl (a), der Semantik (b) oder der Wortbildung (c) auf. Hinsichtlich der Syntax sind vor allem bei der Verwendung von präpositionalen Phrasen veränderte Gebrauchsformen erkennbar, die aber teilweise gehäuft und bei verschiedenen Schreibern und Schreiberinnen erscheinen, sodass sich hier – deskriptiv betrachtet – eventuell allgemeinere Veränderungen im Sprachgebrauch im Hinblick auf die Verwendung von Präpositionen andeuten. In der Stichprobe wurden nur die lexikalischen Phänomene erfasst, denn sie folgen anderen Interpretationen als

³ St. Stein verweist im Zusammenhang mit phraseologischer Kompetenz bei Germanistikstudierenden auf selbst durchgeführte Umfragen, die Defizite im Verstehen von Sprachspielen mit Phrasemen aufzeigen und regt ebenfalls systematische Studien dazu an (Stein 2019: 85f.).

syntaktische. Gleichwohl könnte das Ausleuchten des Verhältnisses von lexikalisch-semantischen und syntaktischen Veränderungen bei der Verwendung von Phrasemen grundsätzlichere Erkenntnisse zu Fragen der Festigkeit von Wendungen und der Spielräume beim Gebrauch bringen – das wiederum könnte einen der Ränder von phraseologischer Kompetenz als der Fähigkeit, Phraseme adäquat zu nutzen, markieren.

Im lexikalischen Bereich lassen sich die drei genannten Phänomene folgendermaßen illustrieren:

- a) Ersatz einzelner Komponenten des Mehrwortgefüges, sodass eine freie Wortverbindung entsteht und die Festigkeit der Phrase aufgebrochen wird:
- (1) Dies *trug* zur Folge, dass die Kinder auf die Klasse aufgeteilt werden mussten.
> zur Folge *haben*
 - (2) Es erlaubt den Kindern auch, Schlüsse vom Konkreten zum Allgemeinen zu *schließen*.
> aus etwas Schlüsse *ziehen*
- (b) Semantische Konzepte vermischen sich bei der Ausdrucksabsicht, sodass einzelne Komponenten des Mehrwortgefüges verformt werden:
- (1) Danach *entlüfte* ich das Geheimnis und schreibe die Namen an die Tafel.
> ein Geheimnis *lüften* – **entlüften* wird hier im Sinne von ‚enttarnen‘ aufgefasst und in das für dieses Phrasem gespeicherte Verb ‚lüften‘ durch das Präfix *ent-* als Marker für ‚etwas aufheben‘ gekleidet, um das Gegenteil von ‚ein Geheimnis hüten/ haben‘ auszudrücken.
 - (2) *Hauptaugenmerkt* sollte jedoch das Zuordnen der Silben durch die Kinder sein.
> sein/ das *Augenmerk* auf etwas *richten* – Diese Wortbildung tritt verhältnismäßig oft auf, sodass ein Tippfehler ausgeschlossen und eine Tendenz vermutet werden kann, die möglicherweise im Veralten des Wortes ‚Augenmerk‘ bzw. auch der Wendung ‚sein Augenmerk auf etwas richten‘ und eine semantische Neuorientierung bezüglich des Verbs ‚merken‘ besteht. Die Aussagekraft von ‚merken‘ soll gesteigert werden durch das noch latent gespeicherte Element ‚Augenmerk‘, das aber für eine Intensivierung im Sinne von ‚vor allem soll X merken, dass ...‘ quasi konjugiert wird. (Das Beispiel stammt aus einem Kontext, in dem ausgedrückt werden sollte: ‚Die Kinder sollten vor allem merken, was durch das Zuordnen der Silben geschieht und deshalb sollte diese Zuordnungsübung besonders gewichtet werden.‘)
- (c) Mitunter nicht deutlich von (b) abzugrenzen in der Frage, ob hier semantische oder morphologische Ursachen dominieren, können Besonderheiten in der Wortbildung auftreten. Das Beispiel ‚Hauptaugenmerkt‘ könnte statt zu (b) auch in diesen Bereich (c) eingeordnet werden. Genauso könnte das folgende Beispiel (1) unter (b) geordnet werden. Beispiel (2) ist eindeutiger ein Wortbildungsphänomen.

- (1) Die Kinder sind *gleichauf* begeistert.
 > *hellauf* begeistert sein – Um zum Ausdruck zu bringen, dass ‚die Kinder sofort/gleich/ unverzüglich begeistert waren‘, wird in Analogie zur ursprünglichen und offenbar mit einer Speicherungsspur versehenen Wendung ‚hellauf begeistert sein‘ eine neue Zusammensetzung gebildet.

- (2) Das muss gemacht werden, gerade weil eine Grundschulklasse diese *Konstanze* auch braucht.
 > eine *Konstante* sein – Wenn hier ein Tippfehler ausgeschlossen werden kann, spricht dieses Beispiel für eine öfter zu beobachtende Erscheinung: Phrasen, die Fremdwörter enthalten, werden in ihrem Fremdwortelement morphologisch, lexikalisch und/oder orthographisch überformt. Gerade in diesem Beispiel darf davon ausgegangen werden, dass die Schreiberin nicht den Personennamen ‚Konstanze‘ gemeint hat, sondern dass das Fremdwort nicht vollständig präsent war und deshalb eine eigene Bildung erfolgt ist.

Die beispielhaft angeführten Beobachtungen leiten zu der Frage, ob die eigene Beherrschung von Phrasemen in ihren fixierten Grundformen einen Teil der phraseodidaktischen Kompetenz einer Deutschlehrkraft insofern ausmacht, als sie in der Schule die Rolle des Sprachnormvermittlers einnimmt. Eine Deutschlehrkraft unterliegt normativen Erwartungen im Hinblick auf die Funktion als Sprachvorbild und auf das Lehren des „richtigen“ Sprachgebrauchs, d.h. auf ein präskriptives Vorgehen; als Sprachnutzer im Alltag besteht diese institutionelle Aufgabe nicht. Deshalb könnten o.g. Sprachfälle, die bei den Studierenden aus ihrer Alltagsrolle heraus produziert wurden, in einer systematisch angelegten Studie gründlich erfasst, typisiert und kategorisiert sowie in größere alltagssprachliche Zusammenhänge gestellt werden. Ebenso könnte geprüft werden, ob bei einer Nachbesprechung eine Reflexion über die infrage stehenden Sprachkonstruktionen einsetzt. Aus diesem deskriptiven Ansatz kann dann abgeleitet werden, welche Kompetenzanforderungen an die professionelle Deutschlehrkraft gestellt werden, die nicht als Alltagsperson, sondern als Sprachinstanz im Unterricht agiert. Dabei hat sie nicht nur selbst eine stärker normorientierte Sprachlichkeit einzubringen, sondern muss diese zusätzlich unterrichtlich gesteuert an Lernende vermitteln, d.h. didaktisch und methodisch aufbereiten.

2.2. Phraseologische und phraseodidaktische Kompetenz der Deutschlehrkraft

Die eigene Beherrschung von Phrasemen oder zumindest die Fähigkeit zur Reflexion über Gebrauchsbedingungen und die Unterschiedlichkeit von Zulässigkeiten in Abhängigkeit davon, ob im Alltag oder in der muttersprachlichen Unterrichtssituation mit Phrasemen umgegangen wird, stellt eine der Facetten von phraseodidaktischer Kompetenz dar. Weitere Bestandteile einer *phraseodidaktischen* Kompetenz bei L1-Deutschlehrkräften sollen im Folgenden aus bereits vorhandenen Kompetenzbestimmungen für *Lernende* transferiert werden, die unter dem Begriff der *phraseologischen* Kompetenz subsumiert werden:

Für L1-Lernende soll eine muttersprachliche phraseologische Kompetenz darin bestehen, eine qualitativ und quantitativ⁴ ausgebaute rezeptive, produktive, pragmatisch (situations) angemessene und metasprachliche Phrasemkompetenz zu entwickeln, die sich textproduktiv in mündlichen und schriftlichen Kommunikations-, Stil- und Formulierungsaspekten sowie textrezeptiv in phrasembezogenen Verarbeitungsstrategien zeigt und die zudem die Fähigkeit zu interlingualen phraseologischen Reflexionen umfasst (Stein 2011; Stein & Stumpf 2019). Wenn dies die Kennzeichen von phraseologischer Kompetenz bei L1-Lernenden sind, sollten in Unterrichtssituationen die entsprechenden didaktischen Schritte zu deren Weiterentwicklung aus dem L1-Spracherwerb und zur Ausformung bzw. Elaborierung erfolgen. Die Grundlage dafür wäre eine eigene phraseologische Kompetenz der Lehrkraft, die all diese Merkmale umfasst und dem, was für die Lernenden gefordert wird, nicht nachsteht. Zu dieser aus der eigenen phraseologischen Kompetenz und einem Professionsfachwissen zu sprachlichen Lernwegen, Lernprozessen sowie lernalterbezogenen Unterrichtsmaterialien und -methoden heraus generierten *phraseodidaktischen* Kompetenz sollte ein weiteres Element treten: Phraseodidaktisch bedeutsam ist auch das Know-How bezüglich der Didaktisierung von unterrichtlich gesteuertem Phrasemerwerb in der L1, das Kenntnisse zu Mechanismen des ungesteuerten Phrasemerwerbs in der L1 im Kindesalter⁵ und Möglichkeiten zu deren Fruchtbarmachung in institutionalisierten Lernvorgängen im Schulalter einschließt. Daran anknüpfend wären auch mehrsprachige bzw. sprachvergleichende phraseodidaktische Ansätze von Lehrkräften zu entwickeln. Darüber hinaus wären die generell von einer Lehrkraft geforderten sprachdiagnostischen Fähigkeiten im Hinblick auf den Phrasemgebrauch zu spezifizieren, um diagnostisch und sprachfördernd – gerade auch in inklusiven Lernsettings – sinnvoll und didaktisch zielführend agieren zu können. Ebenfalls prinzipiellerer Natur, aber speziell für lexikodidaktische Intentionen zu präzisieren, wäre eine Sicherheit im analytischen und kritischen Umgang mit analogem und digitalem Lehr- und Lernmaterial. Um diese phraseodidaktischen Anforderungen erfüllen zu können, muss neben die eigene phraseologische Kompetenz (textproduktiv, textrezeptiv, metasprachlich) und die phrasembezogene didaktische und methodische sowie diagnostische und

⁴ Quantitative Festlegungen zur Phrasembeherrschung sind ebenso wie die Frage der Auswahl von „relevanten“ Phrasemen in der Phraseodidaktik strittig. Das zeigen die Diskussionen zum Vorschlag eines phraseologischen Optimums in der Fremdsprachendidaktik wie auch die Kritiken an der Phrasemauswahl in Sprachbüchern für den Muttersprachunterricht. Eine Zahlenangabe wird mit Bezug auf Ettinger (2007) für die L1-Phrasembeherrschung gewagt, wenn formuliert wird: „... das Ziel, über die Kenntnis von Phrasemen mit hoher kommunikativer Relevanz (wie situationsgebundene pragmatische Phraseme) hinaus bis zu 500 (...) eher hochfrequente bzw. für lebenspraktische Zwecke und Textsorten relevante Phraseme aktiv situationsangemessen verwenden zu können.“ (Stein & Stumpf: 90)

⁵ Ein möglicher Ausgangspunkt dafür könnten die zahlreichen Studien von Häcki Buhofer zum kindlichen Phrasemerwerb sein. Dass sich häufig bei der Frage, wie eigentlich Phraseme während des (ungesteuerten) muttersprachlichen Spracherwerbs erworben werden und welche Rolle sie im Gesamtzusammenhang des L1-Erwerbs spielen, auf zurückliegende Untersuchungen von Häcki Buhofer bezogen wird, kann auch als ein Zeichen für ein Forschungsdesiderat gedeutet werden: Gerade im Zusammenhang mit Ansätzen der Konstruktionsgrammatik und mit Annahmen zu sprachlicher Formelhaftigkeit wäre der kindliche L1-Erwerb eventuell verstärkter nun auch in dieser Kombination aus morpho-syntaktischen und lexikalischen Erwerbsstrategien zu denken und zu erforschen.

unterrichtsmediale Kompetenz noch eine dritte Dimension treten: die fachwissenschaftliche Kompetenz. Diese würde sich niederschlagen im linguistischen Wissen zu Phraseologie und Lexikologie, das seinerseits allerdings ein Umdenken im linguistischen Grundlagenstudium für Lehramtsstudierende erfordern würde, indem die Phraseologie (und in der Folge ihre Didaktik) einen größeren Stellenwert erhält.⁶

3. Ausblick

Mit dem Versuch, einen Begriff von phraseodidaktischer Kompetenz bei L1-Deutschlehrkräften zu entwerfen, wird der primärsprachlichen Phraseodidaktik ein weiteres Arbeitsfeld hinzugefügt. Seine Relevanz besteht darin, dass das unterrichtliche Ziel, bei Lernenden eine phraseologische Kompetenz auszubilden, die aktive und fachlich fundierte Mitwirkung der Lehrkräfte benötigt. Diese können ihrerseits aber nur durch ein facettenreiches Geflecht wirksam werden, das sich mindestens aus den drei Aspekten ‚eigene phraseologische Kompetenz‘, ‚lexikodidaktische Kompetenz‘ und ‚phraseologiebezogene linguistische Kompetenz‘ zusammensetzt. Detailliertere Forschungsrichtungen wurden zu Beginn des 2. Abschnitts aufgezeigt. Neben diesen Forschungsperspektiven sind weitere denkbar, wie z.B. eine Gegenüberstellung der phraseologischen Kompetenz von Lehramtsstudierenden mit DaZ-Hintergrund und DaM-Hintergrund und möglicher daraus resultierender Unterschiede in phraseodidaktischen Teilgebieten.

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Vermittlung von Idiomen im Präsenz- und Onlineunterricht im DaF-Studium

Übungsvorschläge, Erfahrungsbericht und Postulate

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Abstract

The pandemic reality has changed the usual learning and teaching habits. Limited personal contact has made it difficult to carry out some of the exercises. The aim of the article is to present tools and activities adapted to distance learning that were used in an online course in German-Polish contrastive phraseology. After the benefits of authentic texts in class are discussed, illustrations of how corpora can be efficiently used in phraseodidactically oriented foreign language teaching lessons are provided. Next, the paper concentrates on form-focused exercises using tools such as Wordwall and Kahoot. Finally, exercises to promote creativity and learner autonomy are discussed. The article concludes with postulates for university (online) phraseodidactics.

Keywords

phraseodidactics, distance learning, online tools, phraseodidactical competence

1. Phraseodidaktik – Lernziele und Schwerpunkte

Im Vordergrund des Beitrags stehen die Fragen des Erlernens von Phrasemen. Der Schwerpunkt liegt somit auf der Phraseodidaktik, dem Teilbereich der Phraseologie, den Ettinger (2007: 894) als „die systematische Vermittlung von Phrasemen im mutter- und fremdsprachlichen Unterricht“ definiert. Heutzutage wird kaum noch angezweifelt, dass Phrasemen von Anfang an ein fester Platz im Fremdsprachenunterricht (FSU) gebührt (vgl. u. a. Ehrhardt 2014, Jesenšek 2006).

Innerhalb der Phraseodidaktik werden aktuell eher Was- und Wie-Fragen diskutiert, die sich darauf beziehen, welche phraseologischen Einheiten primär im FSU zu berücksichtigen sind und auf welche Weise sie behandelt werden sollten. Unter phraseologischen Klassen sind die Kollokationen und pragmatischen Phraseme vorzuziehen, während Idiome selektiv zu thematisieren sind (Lüger 2019). Zu den relevanten Kriterien bei der Auswahl

konkreter phraseologischer Einheiten sollten der Bekanntheitsgrad und die Frequenz gehören.¹ Konecny, Hallsteinsdóttir und Kacjan (2013: 160) bemängeln allerdings, dass aufgrund fehlender phraseologischer Lehrwerke die Phrasenauswahl für den Unterricht beliebig und subjektiv sei und dass „objektiv nachvollziehbare Kriterien“ fehlen.

Die Wie-Frage umfasst dahingegen u. a. Aspekte wie Methoden der Vermittlung und zur Verfügung stehende Materialien. Obwohl in den letzten Jahren zahlreiche phraseodidaktische Publikationen erschienen sind sowie wichtige Projekte ins Leben gerufen wurden² und deshalb nicht mehr von dem Kühnschen „phraseodidaktischen Dornröschenschlaf“ (Kühn 1987) die Rede sein kann, entspricht die phraseodidaktische Wirklichkeit nicht dem Stand der Forschung. Insbesondere das *Distance Learning*, das in der Pandemie zur Normalität wurde, stellt(e) das Lehrpersonal vor die Herausforderung, den Lernprozess in veränderten Bedingungen möglichst effektiv zu gestalten. Mit den hier präsentierten didaktischen Vorschlägen wollen wir zeigen, wie man – abgesehen von den vorhandenen phraseologischen Lernplattformen – allein das phraseologische Material aussuchen und an die Online-Bedingungen anpassen sowie wie man Studierende durch aufgabenorientierte Aktivitäten zur Arbeit auf Distanz motivieren kann.

2. Pandemiezeit und *Distance Learning*

Die Covid-Pandemie führte in Polen zur Verlagerung des Schwerpunkts von FSU auf die Autonomisierung der Arbeit der Studierenden. Der Zugang zum Internet und damit der uneingeschränkte Zugriff auf Quellen, Informationen und authentische Texte stellt eine Möglichkeit dar, Inhalte mittels der Projektmethode oder des problembasierten Lernens zu vermitteln. Der Fernunterricht ermöglichte auch die Arbeit mit Korpora in einem größeren Umfang, als dies meistens im Kontaktunterricht umsetzbar war. Allerdings ist es im *Distance Learning* viel schwieriger geworden, eine objektive und faire Bewertung der studentischen Leistungen vorzunehmen. Daher gewannen die digitalisierte formative Bewertung und die Selbstevaluation an Bedeutung.

Nach zwei Jahren Unterricht in Corona-Zeiten lässt sich eine erste Bilanz ziehen und feststellen, welche Werkzeuge und Maßnahmen sich im digitalen DaF-Unterricht als wertvoll

¹ Nach diesen zwei Kriterien ist man bei der Erstellung des phraseologischen Optimums von Hallsteinsdóttir, Šajánoková und Quasthoff (2006) vorgegangen.

² Zu nennen sind u. a.:

- die Internetplattform www.ettinger-phraseologie.de, durch die man Zugriff auf die aktualisierte und erweiterte Version des Buches von Ettinger und Hessky (1997) erhält;
- die Sprichwort-Plattform, die neben einer 300 deutsche Sprichwörter umfassende Datenbank, zahlreiche nach dem phraseologischen Vierschritt aufgebaute Übungen enthält;
- das Lernportal phras.eu, das für Deutschlernende mit Englischkenntnissen mindestens auf einem mittleren Niveau gedacht ist und bei dem Aktivitäten in drei Progressionsstufen unterteilt sind;
- das multimediale Unterrichtsmaterial von Bergerová mit einem umfangreichen Übungsangebot, das sich bei der Arbeit an Grund- und Mittelschulen im Germanistikstudium einsetzen lässt;
- ReDeWe – Redewendungen besser lernen. Eine dreifunktionale Online-Lernplattform zum Erwerb deutscher Phraseologie. <http://redewe.de/das-projekt-redewe-de/>.

erwiesen haben. Da diese Problematik äußerst komplex ist, wird im Folgenden ein Aspekt fokussiert, und zwar Aktivitäten für den phraseodidaktisch orientierten Online DaF-Unterricht.

3. Zielsetzung, Gruppencharakteristika und Auswahl der für den Fernunterricht geeigneten Aktivitäten

Ziel des Beitrags ist es, Aufgaben und Übungen vorzustellen, die während des Online-Kurses zur kontrastiven (deutsch-polnischen) Phraseologie mit Erfolg eingesetzt wurden. Präsentiert werden Übungstypen, mit deren Hilfe sich sowohl die passive als auch die aktive phraseologische Kompetenz erweitern und vertiefen lassen. Obwohl die präsentierten Konzepte und Materialien primär für den konkreten Kurs gedacht wurden, kann die Mehrheit von ihnen auch in anderen Sprachenkonstellationen Einsatz finden. Als Fazit des Beitrags werden zusätzlich zehn Postulate für die universitäre (Online)Phraseodidaktik formuliert, die auf fünfjähriger Erfahrung der Autorinnen im Bereich Phraseodidaktik (davon 1,5 Jahre Fernunterricht) fußen.

Die präsentierten Aufgaben, Übungen und Tools wurden mit polnischen Studierenden der Angewandten Linguistik an der Adam-Mickiewicz-Universität in Poznań (AMU Poznań) erprobt und getestet. Der Kurs *Kontrastive deutsch-polnische Phraseologie* umfasste insgesamt 30 Stunden. Die Lernziele des Kurses bestanden zum einen in der Aneignung vom phraseologischen (Fach)Wissen zum anderen in der Förderung der Sprachkompetenz mit besonderem Fokus auf das Verstehen und Anwenden von Phrasemen. Der Kurs wurde folgenden Gruppen angeboten³:

- Studierenden des dritten Studienjahres des Bachelorstudiengangs mit dem Schwerpunkt Englisch (Deutsch B1, 30 Teilnehmende),
- für Studierende des zweiten Studienjahres des Bachelorstudiengangs mit dem Schwerpunkt Deutsch (Deutsch B2, 24 Teilnehmende) und
- für Studierende des zweiten Studienjahres des Masterstudiengangs Sprachniveau mit dem Schwerpunkt Deutsch (Deutsch C1+, 22 Teilnehmende).

Da die Sprachkompetenzen der Teilnehmenden zwischen B1 und C1 variierten, wurden die Schwerpunkte des Kurses unterschiedlich gesetzt. Als gemeinsamer Nenner, der im Curriculum zu finden ist, gilt die Vermittlung der fachlichen Inhalte (Grundtermini der Phraseologie, die wichtigsten Klassen), das Sensibilisieren für Phraseologisches in deutschen und polnischen Texten und das Beherrschen ausgewählter deutscher (etablierter) Phraseme. Nach dem Kurs wurde jeweils der Grad der Zufriedenheit mit dem Kurs und den einzelnen Aktivitäten untersucht. In diesem Beitrag werden Übungen dargestellt, die von den Lernenden am höchsten bewertet wurden. Sie werden eingeteilt in:

1. Übungen und Aufgaben mit authentischen Texten,
2. Übungen und Aufgaben mit Textkorpora,

³ In jedem Semester wählen die Studierenden zwei Pflichtfächer. Der hier genannte Kurs stößt auf großes Interesse.

3. formfokussierte Übungen mithilfe von Online-Tools und
4. Übungen und Aufgaben zur Förderung der Kreativität und der Lernerautonomie.

3.1. Arbeit mit authentischen Texten

Authentische multimodale Materialien wie Memes, virale Videos, Podcasts, Lieder, Filme u. a. eignen sie sich gut zum Erkennen und Entschlüsseln von phraseologischen Einheiten, weil in ihnen die Semantisierung von idiomatischen Phrasemen vorzugsweise erfolgt (vgl. u. a. Lüger 2004: 129, Chrissou 2010: 27). Aufgrund ihrer Aktualität und Diversität und dadurch auch Attraktivität für unterschiedliche Lernende können sie auch im aufgabenorientierten Unterricht Einsatz finden (vgl. Chrissou 2020). In den nächsten drei Abschnitten werden phraseodidaktische Übungsvorschläge mit Memes, Liedern und Fernsehserien präsentiert. Sie werden zum einen nach dem inhalts- und aufgabenorientierten Ansatz, zum anderen nach dem traditionellen phraseologischen Drei-/Vierschritt (Lüger 1997: 102) modelliert⁴.

Als Aufgabe der Studierenden galt, während des gesamten Semesters nach einem Meme/Film/Lied im öffentlichen Raum zu suchen, denen Phrasem(e) zugrunde lag(en). Die erste Phase der Aufgabe unterstützt konstruktivistische Lernprozesse, regt die Lernenden dazu an, die Welt um sie herum bewusster wahrzunehmen und sensibilisiert sie für die im Raum vorhandenen Phraseme. In der zweiten Phase sollten die Studierenden bzw. die Lehrkraft die Materialien im Forum nach dem Schema von Kühn (1992) und Lüger (1997) behandeln. Angefangen werden soll mit dem Erkennen des Phrasems, über das Verstehen und die Diskussion seiner Bedeutung bis hin zur praktischen Anwendung. Da sich die im Folgenden behandelten Textsorten voneinander unterscheiden, verlaufen die einzelnen Phasen nicht immer gleich.

3.1.1. Vermittlung von Phrasemen mithilfe von Memes

Memes werden als komplexe, vielschichtige und intertextuelle Kombinationen aus (bewegtem) Bild und Text verstanden, die durch Internetnutzer im Internet verbreitet werden (Laineste & Voolaid 2016: 27). Sie sind musterhafte Textsorten, die auf festen und bekannten Zeichen basieren (Sandig 2000: 102), diese aber gezielt umformulieren und rekontextualisieren. Als Spender für ein Meme gelten neben Bildern und Slogans aus der Popkultur und der Politik auch bildhafte Phraseme. Der Einsatz von multimodalen Materialien wie Memes in den FSU ist umso mehr zu begrüßen, weil sie immer in einen diskursiven Kontext eingebettet sind, weshalb die Fähigkeit der Lernenden zur aktiven Teilhabe an fremdsprachigen Diskursen unterstützt wird (Hallet 2010: 29).

In dem an der AMU Poznań durchgeführten Kurs präsentierten Studierende sowohl polnische als auch deutsche Memes im Unterricht, die sie vorher im Laufe des Semesters aussuchen mussten. Weder Themen, die die Memes betreffen sollen, noch Themen der Phraseme wurden vordefiniert. Das Ziel war, aktuelle Ereignisse in der polnischen und deutschen

⁴ Ránics (2020: 28) plädiert für die Erweiterung des phraseologischen Vierschritts um die Phase des Überprüfens der phraseologischen Kompetenz.

Öffentlichkeit zu verfolgen und sich für darin vorhandene Phraseme zu sensibilisieren. Die Präsentierenden galten dann im Unterricht als Expertinnen und Experten und sollten den Mitstudierenden die Memes und die Phraseme nach dem folgenden Modell vorbringen:

- Zuerst animierten sie die Mitstudierenden zur Identifizierung des Phrasems im Meme. In seltenen Fällen musste auch der Kontext des Memes beschrieben werden.
- Dann sollte die Bedeutung des Phrasems mit Hilfe von Nachschlagewerken und Korpora erschlossen werden. Im Falle der metaphorisch motivierten Phraseme wurde zusätzlich recherchiert, welche Metapher ihnen zugrunde liegt und wie es zur Entstehung des Phrasems gekommen ist.
- Anschließend sollte der Zusammenhang zwischen Text, Bild und Funktion festgestellt werden. Bei Memes, die aktuelle Themen ansprechen und Emotionen erregen, wurden an dieser Stelle Diskussionen geführt, warum das Meme entstanden ist, wie sich die Studierenden zu dem Sachverhalt positionieren.
- Danach wurden Studierende gebeten, ein deutsches bzw. muttersprachliches Äquivalent zu finden. Über die Auswahl der phraseologischen Äquivalente sollte nicht nur in denotativer, sondern auch in stilistischer und pragmatischer Hinsicht nachgedacht werden (vgl. Koller 2007: 607f.). Die Gruppen mit Schwerpunkt Englisch wurden – dem plurilingualem Ansatz gemäß – auch dazu veranlasst, ein englisches Äquivalent zu finden.
- Zum Schluss sollen die Kursteilnehmenden in Gruppen das Meme in eine andere Sprache übertragen (Muttersprache / Deutsch / Englisch) bzw. eigenes Meme mit dem Phrasem erstellen. Im Falle der Inter-Phraseme wie *sich benehmen wie ein Elefant im Porzellanladen* haben die Studierenden zusätzlich recherchiert, ob das Phrasem auch als Spender für Memes in anderen Sprachen gilt.

Die meisten präsentierten Memes bezogen sich auf zwei Themenbereiche: Pandemie und Demonstrationen. In den deutschen Memes dominierte das Coronavirus als Leitthema. In den polnischen überwiegen hingegen neben Memes zu Covid-19 auch jene zu gesellschaftlichen Spannungen und regierungskritischen Protesten.



Abb. 1 nosić na rękach (auf Händen tragen)

AutorIn: Marta Frej, 21.11.2020⁵

Abb. 2 an einem Strang ziehen

AutorIn: Leopold Maurer, 14. 10. 2020⁶

Das zeugt davon, dass Studierende tatsächlich aktuelle Themen im öffentlichen Raum verfolgten und nicht nach zufälligen Memes mit Hilfe der Suchmaschine Google gesucht haben.

3.1.2. Vermittlung von Phrasemen durch Einsatz von Liedern

Für den Einsatz von Liedern im FSU sprechen zahlreiche Argumente. Mit deren Hilfe lassen sich u. a. alle Sprachfertigkeiten trainieren, man vermittelt landeskundliche Informationen, verbessert die Unterrichtsatmosphäre, steigert die Motivation, fördert die Behaltensleistung und schult die Aussprache (vgl. Piechocki 2010). Im Zusammenhang mit der Vermittlung der Phraseologie ist noch ein weiteres Argument anzuführen, und zwar, dass durch den Einsatz von Liedern der Wortschatz gefestigt, wiederholt und erweitert werden kann.

Nachstehend soll veranschaulicht werden, wie man anhand eines Liedtextes Phraseme vermitteln kann. Zu diesem Zweck wurde das Lied *Anfassen* von Johannes Oerding ausgewählt, weil dieses zum einen phrasenreich ist und zum anderen das Leben in der Pandemie thematisiert.

Zu Beginn versuchten die Lernenden anhand des Titels zu erraten, wovon das Lied handeln kann (Antizipation). Beim ersten Abspielen wurden die Lücken ergänzt und bei dem zweiten Phraseme markiert. Als nächstes versuchten die Lernenden aus dem Kontext zu vermuten, was die phraseologischen Einheiten bedeuten. Fakultativ konnten die Lernenden die Frequenz phraseologischer Einheiten im Korpus DWDS überprüfen und im Anschluss daran eine Rangliste der im behandelten Song auftretenden Phraseme erstellen. Abschließend bildeten sie Dialoge, in denen die besprochenen Phraseme Verwendung finden.

⁵ <https://www.facebook.com/martafrejmemy/posts/d41d8cd9/4098941280132592/>

⁶ https://de.toonpool.com/cartoons/bund%20l%C3%A4nder%20treffen%20corona_368980

Ich brauche was zum Anfassen
 Dann kann ich wieder loslassen
 Ich will mich nicht mehr anpassen
 Ich will mein Leben **wieder selbst in der Hand haben**
 Denn wir ertrinken **mehr und mehr**
 In diesem kalten, Lichtermeer
 Wenn überall immer alles geht
 Ist der _____ nichts mehr wert

 Falsche Richtung **Schritt für Schritt**
 Bis die nächste _____ bricht
 Keine Zeit um noch mal **Luft zu holen**
 Wir _____ uns **Klick für Klick**
 Von dem was eigentlich wirklich ist
 Ey, schwimmen wir **gegen oder mit dem Strom?**

 Wir haben tausende von Träumen
 Doch verlieren das echte _____
 Wir verlaufen uns im Smog und _____

Abb. 3 Ausschnitt aus dem Lied Anfassen von Johannes Oerding

Eine weitere Aktivität, die ebenfalls Lieder berücksichtigt, bestand darin, dass Kursteilnehmende selbstständig ein Lied auswählten und dieses hinsichtlich der dort auftretenden Phraseme analysierten. Anschließend bereiteten sie Übungen zur Festigung der Einheiten vor, die im Plenum gelöst wurden. Solch eine Aktivität stieß auf großes Interesse aus vielerlei Gründen. Erstens wählten die Kursteilnehmenden im Regelfall ein Lied aus, das ihrem Musikgeschmack entsprach, wodurch sie besonders engagiert arbeiteten. Zweitens wurde ihnen nach der Unterrichtsmethode *Lernen durch Lehren* ein Expertenstatus zugewiesen, was sich auch positiv auf ihre Motivation auswirkte.⁷

3.1.3. Vermittlung von Phrasemen mithilfe von Fernsehserien

Auch der Einsatz von Serien und Filmen erweist sich im FSU (sowohl im Präsenz- als auch im Onlineunterricht) als vorteilhaft. Chmielewska-Molik (2019: 44) konstatiert mit Recht, dass

mithilfe von Filmen im weiten Sinne neben der Schlüsselkompetenz des Hör-Sehverstehens, die für das Lernen mit audiovisuellen Medien distinktiv ist, auch andere Kompetenzen, wie z. B. Sprechen, Schreiben, Wortschatz- und Grammatikerwerb, gefördert werden (Chmielewska-Molik (2019: 44)).

Durch den Einsatz audiovisueller Medien werden nicht nur die Medienkompetenz und Sprachkompetenz entwickelt, sondern auch die interkulturelle Kompetenz, weil Lernende über die eigene und fremde Kultur nachdenken und sie vergleichen (Chudak 2013: 228). Es

⁷ Ausführlicher zum Konzept *Lernen durch Lehren* vgl. Martin und Kelchner (1998).

ist dadurch zudem möglich, motivierende, kreative und den Interessen der Lernenden entsprechende Übungen auf jedem Kompetenzniveau durchzuführen. Dies sollte am Beispiel der erfolgreichen deutschen Netflix-Produktion *Dark* illustriert werden. Studierende wurden gebeten, sich zu Hause die erste Folge dieser Serie auf Deutsch (mit deutschen Untertiteln) anzuschauen und Idiome zu notieren.

Im nächsten Schritt sollten sie überprüfen, ob die aufgefundenen Idiome auch mithilfe eines Idioms ins Polnische und Englische übertragen wurden. Wenn ja sollten sie untersuchen, ob es sich dabei um eine voll- oder teiläquivalente Einheit handelt. Dadurch reflektieren die Lernenden über Phraseme in ihrer Muttersprache und im Englischen und vergleichen Phraseme in drei Sprachen. Empfohlen wurde dabei die Arbeit mit der App *Language Reactor*⁸ (LR), die es ermöglicht, Fremdsprachen zu lernen, indem duale, interaktive Untertitel auf dem Bildschirm erscheinen. Dazu pausiert die Folge, wenn man mit dem Cursor auf eine Vokabel fährt, und man sieht einen Wörterbucheintrag.

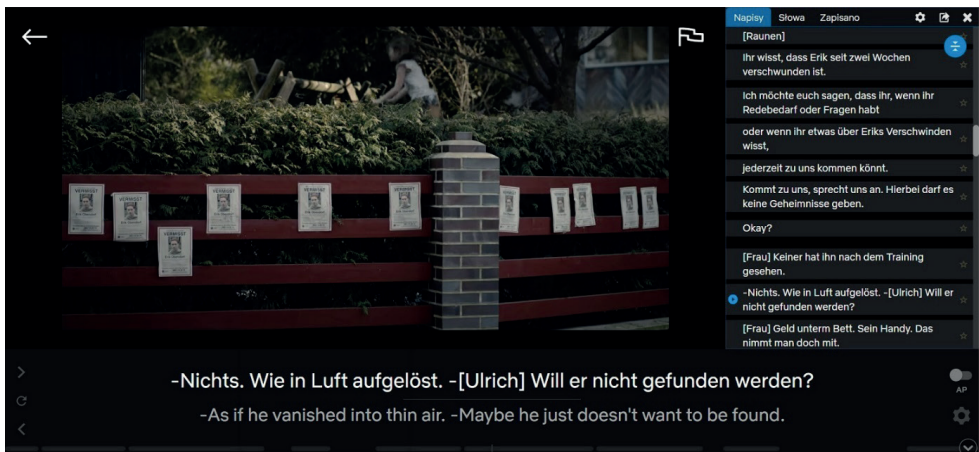


Abb. 4 Screenshot aus der ersten Folge der Serie *Dark* (App: Language Reactor)

In der ersten Folge der Serie *Dark* fanden die Studierenden zwischen vier und zwölf Idiome⁹. Des Weiteren wurden im Unterricht vom Lehrpersonal Übungen vorgeschlagen, mit deren Hilfe die Form und die Bedeutung vierer in der Serie aufgetauchter Phraseme¹⁰ gefestigt wurden. Zu Beginn sollten die Lernenden in Paaren die Idiome bearbeiten, indem sie nach ihrer Bedeutung in einsprachigen Wörterbüchern (Duden und DWDS) suchen, Beispielsätze aus dem Korpus oder Internet notieren und herausfinden, ob sie der Standard- oder Umgangssprache zugeordnet werden können. Danach machen sie eine Ergänzungsübung, bei der sie idiomatische Einheiten in den dem Korpus entnommenen Texten ergänzen. In der

⁸ Vgl. [<https://www.languagereactor.com/catalogue/netflix#language=en&country=false>] (04.04.2022)

⁹ Zu betonen ist, dass neben Idiomen in dieser ersten Folge andere phraseologische Klassen erschienen sind, von denen pragmatische Phraseme überwiegen.

¹⁰ Ausgewählt wurden folgende idiomatische Einheiten: *wie in Luft aufgelöst*, *über den Tellerrand gucken*, *jmdn an der Backe haben* und *an einem Strang ziehen*.

Verwendungsphase schließlich versuchen sie das Gelernte im sprachlichen Kontext zu benutzen. Dabei spielen sie Charaktere aus dieser Serie. Demnach müssen sie sich in die Rolle hineinversetzen und einen Dialog mit mindestens zwei behandelten Idiomen schreiben.

Die Hausaufgabe (Idiomfindung in der ersten Folge der Serie) und die daran anschließenden Übungen wurden äußerst positiv eingeschätzt. Nicht alle Studierenden kannten die App LR und waren daher dankbar, dass sie das Angenehme (Serien anschauen) mit dem Nützlichen (Fremdsprachenlernen) verbinden können.

3.2. Einsatz von Korpora

Der Einsatz von Korpora ist in der Phraseodidaktik auf zweierlei Weisen möglich. Die erste umfasst die Entwicklung von realitätsnahen Materialien durch das Lehrpersonal. Die zweite schließt Korpusrecherchen ein, die Lernende eigenständig im FSU durchführen können (vgl. u. a. Lüdeling & Walter 2009, Flinz 2021). Obwohl die Erstellung von Materialien mithilfe von Korpora viel Zeit in Anspruch nimmt, ist sie zu empfehlen, weil dadurch DaF-Lernende zum einen phraseologische Einheiten kennenlernen, die tatsächlich verwendet werden, und zum anderen Phraseme in authentischen und nicht konstruierten Kontexten integriert sind.

Unter zahlreichen Aktivitäten, die sich hierbei anbieten, sollten im Weiteren die Arbeit mit Konkordanzen, der Frequenzüberprüfung, der Recherche der Bedeutung, der Suche nach Belegen behandelt werden. Beispiele wurden dem DWDS-Korpus entnommen, da dieses als benutzerfreundlich gilt und einen relativ geringen Einarbeitungsaufwand von den Nutzern verlangt. Zunächst wird die Arbeit mit Konkordanzen am Beispiel des Idioms *sich den Kopf zerbrechen* dargestellt. Zum Potenzial von Konkordanzen bemerkt Chrissou (2011) Folgendes: „anhand einer Konkordanz kann die Lehrperson die Lernenden anleiten, das Vorkommen einer sprachlichen Struktur im Kontext zu verfolgen und induktiv zu begründenden Schlussfolgerungen über ihren Gebrauch zu gelangen“.

Die Lernenden können aus der folgenden KWIC-Ansicht die Informationen ableiten, dass das Phrasem mit dem Dativ vorkommt und dass die nominale Komponente mehrheitlich mit bestimmtem Artikel verwendbar ist. Mit den Konkordanzen werden des Weiteren Informationen hinsichtlich der Bedeutung geliefert. Diese induktive Lernmethode, die auch als entdeckendes Lernen bezeichnet werden kann, ist in der Fremdsprachendidaktik als zielführend einzustufen, weil dabei die Lernenden eine aktive Rolle einnehmen und daher besonders motiviert sind.

1:	"Elementary" Possibility Two, 2013 (Filmtunertitel) Wir haben uns über diese Frage selbst lange unsere Köpfe zerbrochen , oder nicht?
2:	"The Vampire Diaries" She's Come Undone, 2013 (Filmtunertitel) Darüber musst du dir keinen Kopf zerbrechen .
3:	"Dexter" Argentina, 2012 (Filmtunertitel) Ich habe mir den Kopf zerbrochen , um mir was auszudenken, was ich verdammt noch mal nutzen kann, aber ich habe nichts.
4:	"Sons of Anarchy" Crucifxed, 2012 (Filmtunertitel) Aber ich werde mir ein wenig den Kopf zerbrechen .
5:	Amour, 2012 (Filmtunertitel) Ich will mir nicht deinen Kopf zerbrechen .
6:	"World Without End" A Crown Tested, 2012 (Filmtunertitel) Mir ist, als wäre MEIN Kopf zerbrochen .
7:	"The Newsroom" We Just Decided To, 2012 (Filmtunertitel) ACN hat exklusiv erfahren, dass Offizielle von höchster Ebene... bei BP sich den Kopf zerbrechen , um eine Möglichkeit zu finden, das Loch zu bedecken, von welchem, 5,6km unter der Oberfläche des Golfs... Öl ins Meer fließt... mit einem Volumen von 473176... Ich bin mir sicher, dass Sie gerne eine Art Statement auf dem Schirm sehen würden.
8:	"Grimm" Let Your Hair Down, 2011 (Filmtunertitel) Ich könnte dich jetzt sofort umlegen, und es wäre vielleicht ein Fehler, aber ich würde mir darüber nicht den Kopf zerbrechen .
9:	"No Ordinary Family" Pilot, 2010 (Filmtunertitel) Weißt du, ich hab mir den Kopf zerbrochen , - und die einzig mögliche Veränderung... - Flugzeugabsturz.
10:	"Dexter" Hello, Bandit, 2010 (Filmtunertitel) Ich kann mir darüber jetzt nicht den Kopf zerbrechen .
11:	"Navy CIS" False Witness, 2010 (Filmtunertitel) Es tut mir leid, wenn du dir darüber den Kopf zerbrichst , aber ich kann nicht verantwortlich für jedermann Gefühle sein.
12:	Gigola, 2010 (Filmtunertitel) Ich hab mir den Kopf zerbrochen , ich finde keinen Haken.

Abb. 5 KWIC-Ansicht des Idioms „sich den Kopf zerbrechen“

In einer anderen Aktivität wurden Lernende gebeten, Belege für hochfrequente Idiome zu finden und daran anschließend eine bestimmte Textpassage ins Polnische zu übertragen.

Übung 11. Finden Sie im Korpus DWDS Belege für folgende Idiome. Wählen Sie je einen Beleg und übersetzen Sie diesen ins Polnische.

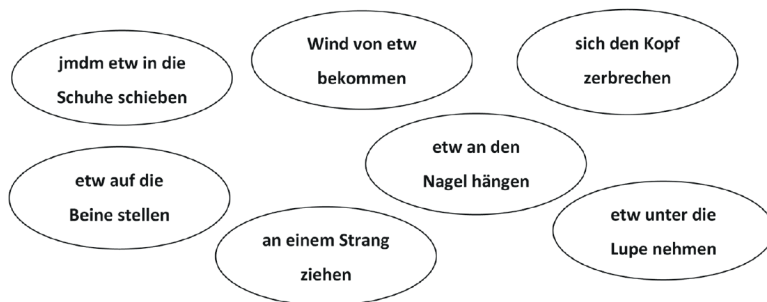


Abb. 6 Übungsbeispiel. Ausschnitt aus Dziurewicz und Woźniak (2020)

Die nächste Übung bestand darin, im Korpus DWDS zunächst zu überprüfen, mit welchen Verben die Nominalphrase *der schwarze Peter* kollokiert und danach zu verifizieren, ob die frequenten Verben in Wörterbüchern lemmatisiert wurden.

Übung 16. Der schwarze Peter bezieht sich auf das Kartenspiel, bei dem am Ende derjenige verliert, der diese Karte in der Hand hält. Arbeiten Sie mit dem Korpus DWDS (in Referenz- und Zeitungskorpora). Geben Sie bitte die Nominalphrase *schwarzen Peter* ein. Notieren Sie die Verben, mit denen diese Phrase auftritt.

Abb. 7 Übungsbeispiel. Ausschnitt aus Dziurewicz und Woźniak (2020)

Sowohl die Vorbereitung der phraseodidaktischen Materialien mithilfe der Korpora als auch die Korpusrecherchen im FSU sind dem Zeitaufwand zum Trotz zu begrüßen. Dabei werden Lernende mit authentischen Texten aus der Presse, Literatur, Filmen und Blogs konfrontiert. Sie werden zu Sprachforschenden, wodurch ihr Sprachgefühl gestärkt wird. Korpusarbeit erwies sich im Fernunterricht als besonders sinnvoll, weil allen Kursteilnehmenden sowohl der Internetzugang als auch Laptops bzw. Computer zur Verfügung standen, was im Präsenzunterricht nicht immer der Fall ist.

3.3. Tools zur Erstellung von interaktiven formbezogenen (Drill) Übungen

Insbesondere für die passive Kenntnis von Phrasemen ist die Festigungsphase von Bedeutung (vgl. Lüger 1997, Chrissou 2020: 11). Hier dienen die Übungen lediglich dazu, „dass der Lernende sich die Phraseme besser aneignet, sie schneller auswendig lernt und sie dann länger behalten kann“ (Ettinger 2007: 899). Zurzeit gibt es eine Vielzahl von Online-Tools, die ermöglichen, auf Form und Bedeutung ausgerichtete Übungen vorzubereiten. Dank ihres attraktiven Layouts und Bild integrierenden Optionen helfen sie den Lehrenden, den Unterricht abwechslungsreich und aktivitätsreich zu gestalten sowie die Aufmerksamkeit der Kursteilnehmenden aufrechtzuerhalten. Als Beispiele gelten die spielerbasierten Lernplattformen wie Kahoot oder Wordwall, in denen die Lernenden ihr Wissen testen und sich mit anderen messen können. Auf diese Weise wird ein Element von *Gamification* (Michael & Chen 2005, Mayer 2001, Fariás, Obilinovic & Orrego 2007) in den Unterricht eingeführt, womit dieser an Attraktivität gewinnt.

Solche Werkzeuge eignen sich gut für Drillübungen, Wiederholungen und systematische formative sowie summative Beurteilung der Lernenden. Die Onlinequiz können nicht nur von Lehrenden sondern auch von Lernenden selbst vorbereitet werden, was einerseits das phraseologische Metabewusstsein der Lernenden stärkt, andererseits einen Raum für Kreativität schafft. Dank den in die Quiz integrierten Bildern können intertextuelle und interbildliche Verbindungen und Zusammenhänge aufgezeigt werden.

Während der Kurse an der AMU Poznań wurden viele thematische Quiz durch Studierende selbst vorbereitet, z. B. mit ikonischen Szenen aus Filmen oder mit Anspielungen auf laufende sozio-politische Probleme. Dadurch sollte die Kenntnis der im Unterricht behandelten Phraseme gefestigt und geprüft werden.

Jack Sparrow ...





59

▲ wird auf Herz und Nieren geprüft.	◆ lacht sich ins Fäustchen.
● steht das Wasser bis zum Hals.	■ trägt das Herz auf der Zunge.

Abb. 8 Ausschnitt aus einem von der Studentin vorbereiteten Wiederholungsquiz.

AutorIn: Marta Miklosz (Studentin)

Die Aktivitäten werden mit einem abwechslungsreichen Vorlagensystem (auch mit Bildern) erstellt. Die vorbereiteten Übungen wurden den Studierenden während des gesamten Kurses (und auch nach dessen Abschluss) zur Verfügung gestellt. Ein von Studierenden mehrmals hervorgehobener Vorteil der Aktivität war die Möglichkeit, das Übungsergebnis sofort zu erhalten, was für das selbstständige Lernen und die Autoevaluierung förderlich war.

3.4. Erstellen von Plakaten und Kreieren von eigenen Idiomen

Sowohl für den Präsenz- als auch für den Online-Unterricht ist das Erstellen von Plakaten, in denen gängige Idiome thematisiert werden, aus vielen Gründen zu begrüßen. Diese Aktivität ist kontrastiv angelegt und erfordert den Einsatz von Wörterbüchern. Außerdem wird dabei autonomes Lernen unterstützt und Kreativität gefördert. Die Bewusstmachung der (konzeptuellen) Metaphern durch die Visualisierung der wortwörtlichen Bedeutung unterstützt wiederum das Erlernen des figurativen Wortschatzes (Beréndi, Csábi & Kövecses 2009: 65). Die Vorgehensweise beim Erstellen von Plakaten an der AMU Poznań sah wie folgt aus. Zuerst bereitete das Lehrpersonal eine Liste mit frequentierten bildhaften Idiomen vor. Im Anschluss daran wählten sich die Studierenden ein Idiom aus, das sie in Paaren hinsichtlich der Bedeutung, Synonyme, Entsprechungen im Polnischen „bearbeiteten“ und samt einer Visualisierung in Form eines Plakates darzustellen versuchten. Nach ca. 15 Minuten präsentierten sie ihre Plakate und versuchten der Gruppe die entsprechende Einheit beizubringen. Nach der Präsentation aller Plakate, notierten Kursteilnehmende alle Idiome, an die sie sich

erinnern konnten. Im letzten Schritt, wurde darüber diskutiert, was für das Memorieren entsprechender Einheiten ausschlaggebend war.

Nachstehend werden zwei Plakate präsentiert, die von Studierenden aus dem zweiten Studienjahr des Bachelorstudiengangs gestaltet wurden.

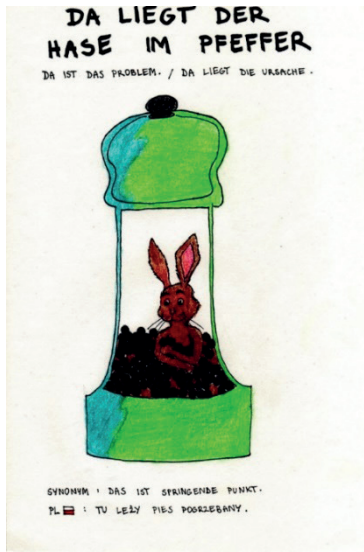


Abb. 9 Die von Studierenden erstellten Plakate

Autorinnen: Lisa Eisele, Małgorzata Cieśla

Autorinnen: Julia Owczarek, Julia Kukuć

Eine weitere Aktivität, die auch viel Kreativität erfordert, stellt die Idiomkreation dar. Studierende werden hierbei gebeten, am Ende des Semesters ihr eigenes Idiom zu bilden und es im Anschluss daran in Form eines Plakates zu präsentieren. Das Ziel dieser Aufgabe bestand u.a. darin zu überprüfen, ob die Studierenden die inhärenten Merkmale (Polylexikalität, Bildhaftigkeit, Idiomatizität) von Idiomen verstanden haben und in die Praxis umsetzen können. Als Beispiel zeigen wir zwei kreierte Phraseme: einen phraseologischen Vergleich *frei wie ein Student nach der Prüfungszeit* mit der Bedeutung frei, unabhängig sein und ein Idiom *den Kaktus streicheln*, das bedeutet, eine unangenehme Pflicht zu erfüllen.



Abb. 10 Die von Studierenden kreierten Phraseme

Autorinnen: Magdalena Drgas, Natalia Cieślak

Autoren: Aleksandra Jarosz, Igor Dubacki,
Mikołaj Drożdziel

4. Zusammenfassung und Postulate für die universitäre (Online)Phraseodidaktik

Der vorliegende Beitrag verfolgte zwei Ziele. Erstens sollten Aktivitäten vorgeschlagen werden, die (auch) in *Distance Learning* erfolgreich in einen phraseodidaktisch orientierten FSU eingesetzt werden können. Darunter sind insbesondere die Arbeit mit authentischen Texten (Memes, Lieder, Serien), der Einsatz von Korpora und Tools sowie das Erstellen von Plakaten hervorzuheben. Zweitens zielt der Beitrag darauf ab, die aktuellen Forschungsfragen der Phraseodidaktik aufzuwerfen und neuere Didaktisierungsvorschläge zu liefern. Daher werden abschließend als Zusammenfassung zehn Postulate für die universitäre (Online)Phraseodidaktik formuliert. Hervorzuheben ist, dass sich die meisten davon auf die Wortschatzerweiterung oder generell auf den gesamten Lernprozess beziehen und nicht allein für Phraseme gedacht sind.

1) Phraseme gezielt und systematisch im FSU behandeln

Obwohl im Rahmen der Phraseologieforschung inzwischen als selbstverständlich angesehen wird, dass phraseologische Redeweise „ein Normalfall der geschriebenen und gesprochenen Sprache“ (Jesenšek 2006) und dass die Kommunikation ohne „minimale Beherrschung der Phraseologie nicht möglich“ ist (Hallsteinsdóttir 2011: 4) wird der Phraseologie in der Fremdsprachendidaktik immer noch zu wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Laut Chrissou (2022: 10) nehmen phraseodidaktisch „fundierte Lernmaterialien in Sprachlehrwerken nur einen kleinen Raum ein“. Daher sollten Phraseme nicht als Einsprengsel, gelegentlich im DaF-Unterricht thematisiert werden, sondern als

Lerninhalte im Curricula festgelegt werden, die gezielt und systematisch in den FSU integriert werden.

- 2) Innovative und abwechslungsreiche phraseologische Materialien erstellen
Materialien sollten fortschrittlich sein. Für die Lehrkraft kann das zwar als Herausforderung betrachtet werden, aber es ist heutzutage wichtig – sowohl im beruflichen als auch privaten Leben – mit der technischen und wissenschaftlichen Entwicklung Schritt zu halten. Im FSU sollten daher neue Medien (darunter vor allem jegliche multimodale Materialien) Korpora, Tools, Lernplattformen integriert werden. Damit die Motivation nicht nachlässt, sollten abwechslungsreiche Aktivitäten angeboten werden. Insbesondere im Fernunterricht langweilen sich die Lernenden schnell, deshalb sollte hierbei die Anzahl der Übungen vergrößert werden.
- 3) Prioritär geläufige phraseologische Einheiten lehren
Im FSU sollten prioritär diejenigen Einheiten behandelt werden, die eine hohe Frequenz aufweisen (dies lässt sich mithilfe der Korpora verifizieren) und die als geläufig bei den Muttersprachlerinnen und Muttersprachlern fungieren (dies ist mithilfe der Befragungen überprüfbar). Da die Lehrperson selbst aus Zeitgründen vor dem Unterricht keine Umfragen durchführen wird, ist die Arbeit mit der Liste des phraseologischen Optimums empfehlenswert, deren Kern 142 frequente und geläufige Einheiten enthält (vgl. Hallsteinsdóttir et al. 2006). Außerdem sollten die Lernenden für Einheiten sensibilisiert werden, auf die sie in authentischen Texten und Gesprächen stoßen. Obgleich diese nicht unbedingt die oben genannten Kriterien der Frequenz und Bekanntheit erfüllen, sollten sie verstanden werden.
- 4) Auf muttersprachliche phraseologische Kompetenz zurückgreifen
Es ist Bergerová (2011: 113) zuzustimmen, die feststellt, dass die Reflexion über muttersprachliche phraseologische Kompetenz als Ausgangspunkt für die Entwicklung eines gewissen „Spürsinn“ für die fremdsprachliche Phraseologie“ fungiert. Die muttersprachliche Kompetenz im Bereich der Phraseologie unterstützt Lernende u.a. dabei, Phraseme in fremdsprachlichen Texten richtig zu identifizieren und sie zu verstehen (Bergerová 2011: 113). Aus diesem Grund wird hierbei dafür plädiert, im FSU auch auf die muttersprachliche phraseologische Kompetenz der Kursteilnehmenden zurückzugreifen und sie insbesondere bei der Einführung phraseologischer Klassen und bei der Behandlung übertragener Einheiten zunutze zu machen.¹¹
- 5) Authentische Texte in den Unterricht einbinden
Phraseologie lässt sich auch durch Literatur, Lieder, Filme und Memes vermitteln. Dadurch werden neben Sprach- und Kommunikationskompetenzen auch kulturreflexive, mediale und digitale Kompetenzen entwickelt. Seit vielen Jahren beobachtet man eine

¹¹ Erfahrungsgemäß ist das auch in Kursen zu empfehlen, an denen Personen aus unterschiedlichen Ländern teilnehmen. An der AMU Poznań studieren u.a. viele Ukrainerinnen und Ukrainer, die in der Regel Russisch und Ukrainisch sprechen. Da kann man über interlinguale Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten im Bereich der Phraseologie diskutieren.

immer höhere Nutzung von Internet und Streamingdiensten unter Jugendlichen. Dieses steigende Interesse soll im FSU seinen Niederschlag finden. Die Einsatzmöglichkeiten hängen allerdings von vielen Faktoren ab wie u.a. Lernziele des Kurses, zur Verfügung stehende Zeit oder Alter und Erfahrung der Lernenden. Die Lehrperson sollte daher stets bemüht sein, authentische Texte generationengerecht in den Unterricht zu integrieren.

- 6) **Phraseodidaktik durch Visualisierungen attraktiver machen**
Da heutzutage die gesamte kulturelle Kommunikation in fast allen Lebensbereichen durch die Omnipräsenz von Bildern geprägt wird, soll auch der moderne phraseodidaktisch orientierte FSU zahlreiche in aktuellen Diskursen verankerte Visualisierungen (wie Fotos, Memes, Karikaturen etc.) thematisieren (vgl. Hallet 2010: 27), wodurch das Lernen multisensorisch verläuft.
- 7) **Nach Zielgruppen und Sprachniveau vorgehen**
Die entwickelten Materialien sind an Lernende, ihr Sprachniveau und möglichst an ihre Bedürfnisse und Interessen anzupassen.
- 8) **Lernziele nicht zu ambitioniert formulieren**
Im Falle der idiomatischen Einheiten sollte man in erster Linie die Entwicklung der rezeptiven Kompetenz anstreben. Bei dem aktiven Gebrauch müssten diverse Fragen wie z. B. der konnotative Mehrwert, Sprechaktgebundenheit, Gebrauchsrestriktionen und typische lexikalische und grammatische Umgebung des jeweiligen Idioms in Betracht gezogen werden.
- 9) **Das bereits Gelernte wiederholen**
Dieses Prinzip ist für den gesamten Lernprozess von Bedeutung und dessen Einhaltung ermöglicht, langfristig Fortschritte zu beobachten.
- 10) **Auf selbstständiges und lebenslanges Lernen vorbereiten**
Als Lehrkraft sind wir nicht in der Lage alle frequenten phraseologischen Einheiten zu vermitteln. Phraseologie stellt ein zu komplexes Gebiet dar. Daher sollten die Lernenden dafür sensibilisiert werden, dass das, was sie im FSU behandeln, einen Ausschnitt ausmacht und sie sich später selbstständig und sukzessiv weitere Einheiten aneignen sollten¹². Der Lernprozess gilt somit nie als abgeschlossen (vgl. Lüger 2004, Chrissou 2012).

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¹² Zu empfehlen ist dabei das ursprünglich von Ettinger/Hessky (1997) entworfene Arbeitsblatt, das später für Französisch (Ettinger 2001) und Portugiesisch (Ettinger/Nunes 2006) implementiert wurde.

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Section 4

Phraseology, corpora, automation

Comparing the production of a formula with the development of L2 competence

Results from a pilot study

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Abstract

This pilot study investigates the production of a formula with the development of L2 competence over proficiency levels of a spoken learner corpus. The results show that the formula in beginner production data is likely being recalled holistically from learners' phonological memory rather than generated online, identifiable by virtue of its fluent production in absence of any other surface structure evidence of the formula's syntactic properties. As learners' L2 competence increases, the formula becomes sensitive to modifications which show structural conformity at each proficiency level. The transparency between the formula's modification and learners' corresponding L2 surface structure realisations suggest that it is the independent development of L2 competence which integrates the formula into compositional language, and ultimately drives the SLA process forward.

Keywords

formulaic language, generative second language acquisition, syntax, corpus linguistics

1. Introduction

Usage-based models of second language acquisition (SLA) posit that general cognitive abilities allow learners to acquire a second language (L2) through the analysis of prototypical and functional 'formulas' derived from their early input (e.g., Ellis 1996; Ellis et al. 2015). Generative theories of SLA place relatively less importance on a learner's L2 input and usage and maintain that the implicit abstract L2 computational system is a language-specific mechanism and therefore develops independently of learners' exposure to or use of prototypical formulas (e.g., Krashen and Scarcella 1978). This pilot study presents evidence for the latter scenario, by comparing L2 learner productions of an identified formula *I don't know* with the development of related L2 competence over three proficiency levels of a learner corpus.

2. Formulaic language and second language acquisition: The debate

2.1. Defining ‘formulas’

Wray’s (2002) definition of ‘formulas’¹ is the most widely cited one, and captures all fundamental aspects of formulaicity:

‘a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other meaning elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar’ (p. 9)

Central to this definition of formulas is the notion of holisticness, the idea that formulas are part of speakers’ automatic as opposed to compositional language. To identify formulas in L2 production data, Myles and Cordier (2017) propose a hierarchical criteria of phonological coherence (fluency), semantic/functional unity and high frequency. To distinguish these more ‘learner-internal’ formulas from language-specific formulaic phenomena,² Myles and Cordier (2017) introduce the term *processing unit*, with the following definition:

‘a multiword semantic/functional unit that presents a processing advantage for a given speaker, either because it is stored whole in their lexicon or because it is highly automatised’ (p. 12)

‘Processing units’ can be seen as equivalent to what are often called ‘acquisitional formulas’ and refer to strings of words that seemingly have psycholinguistic salience to L2 learners and can thus be influential on their acquisition of a second language. For ease of convention, I will adopt the term ‘formula’ throughout, but this can be understood as being interchangeable with ‘processing unit’ and ‘acquisitional formula’. The section below briefly outlines the debate surrounding the role of formulas in the SLA process.

2.2. Formulas seed L2 grammar

On one side of the debate, usage-based models of SLA propose that prototypical formulas exposed to learners frequently in the input can mediate their acquisition of L2 syntax. Formulas in this sense are ‘databases’ from which learners can extract and generalise form-meaning correspondence patterns towards creative L2 use (Ellis, 1996; Ellis et al., 2015). In these models, L2 grammar acquisition proceeds in a ‘formula-up’ manner, with the developmental sequence being from ‘formulaic phrase, to limited-scope slot-and-frame pattern, to fully productive schematic pattern’ (Ellis, 2012: 18).

¹ Wray (2002) instead uses the umbrella term ‘formulaic language’, although her definition encompasses all terminology used to refer to formulaic phenomena.

² ‘Language-specific formulaic phenomena’ refers to what is formulaic in the language the learner is exposed to, such as idioms, collocations, or conventional expressions.

Early advocates of this developmental sequence include Hakuta (1974) and Wong-Fillmore (1976) who argue that child L2 learners start with prefabricated patterns which they analyse to extract rules governing their L2 before creative language use ensues. More recently, Eskildsen and Cadierno (2007) show how one instantiation of the formula *I don't know* was the basis for initial stages of L2 use before learners expanded on this structure and generalised across to other verbs and pronouns.

2.3. L2 grammar develops independently of formulas

On the other side of the debate, generative models of SLA argue that whilst formulas may evolve into patterns, the creative construction process develops independently alongside these (e.g., Krashen and Scarcella 1978). Recently, Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer (2017) reported how various conventional expressions (CEs) of English showed gradual development across learner proficiency levels. Specifically, this involved 'the gradual acquisition of a lexical core of the CE that is not fully grammatically specified and is filled in by the learner's interlanguage grammar' (p. 79). Rather than acting as 'model' seeds of acquisition and produced fluently by learners, the CEs were sensitive to the independent development of learners' L2 competence.

However, the authors recognise the limitation of their study, as 'conventional expressions and acquisitional formulas are clearly distinct phenomena, and our data only bring evidence to bear on the nature of the former' (Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer, 2017: 84). The authors also claim that the CEs show 'transparency to learners' interlanguage grammar' (p. 63), yet they only tested learner productions of the CEs in isolation, with no other production data to determine if in fact the CEs' gradual development was indeed 'representative' of learners' interlanguage grammars.

3. Research Question

Taking inspiration from Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer (2017), and attempting to 'fill-in' its gaps, this pilot study aims to address the research question below:

Are learner productions of an identified (acquisitional) formula sensitive to the development of L2 competence?

Adopting a generative framework of grammar (e.g., Chomsky 1995), this pilot study conceptualises 'L2 competence' as the abstract syntactic properties of the language faculty. The study will therefore compare learner productions of a formula across proficiency levels with the manifestation of the formula's assumed syntactic properties in the same learners' interlanguages.

4. Methodology

4.1. The Japanese Learner English Corpus (JLEC)

The spoken production data used for analysis are transcripts from the Japanese Learner English Corpus (JLEC), a collection of speech samples of English oral proficiency interview tasks based on the Standard Speaking Test (SST), which is a collaboration between the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and the ALC Press (a Japanese language learning and publishing company). The SST distinguishes 9 proficiency levels (PLs) based on the criteria of text type, accuracy, pronunciation, fluency and overall task and function, and takes the form of a 15-minute conversation between a test candidate and interviewer, who uses various techniques and picture prompts to ‘stimulate natural conversation to the maximum extent possible in a testing situation’ (Tono et al., 2001, p. 2). All interview tasks are consistent across the PLs, consisting of a warmup, picture prompt, role play, picture sequence prompt and wind-down. The corpus is also tagged for relevant prosodic and discourse phenomena, such as long/short pauses, speaker-repetition, and self-correction, and includes each learner’s PL based on the SST scoring method. This means that spoken language production ranging from beginner through to proficient levels of competence can be readily accessed and compared.

4.2. Identifying a formula in transcripts of the JLEC: *I don’t know*

Myles and Cordier (2017) note that sequences which have their semantic unity in their function of fillers such as *I don’t know* are often good candidates for formulas in SLA (p. 20). Further, *I don’t know* is made up of three words, a combination which is encouraging of faster psycholinguistic processing as ‘sequences of two to five words are the most salient ones in natural language, yielding phraseologically interesting units’ (Ebeling and Hasselgard, 2015: 209). Therefore, I uploaded all transcripts of the JLEC to the AntConc software (Anthony, 2004), which acts as a central interface and allows you to search for concordance lines of multiword phrases and shows these in a Key Word In Context (KWIC) view. A screenshot is given below in Figure 1 for exemplary purposes.

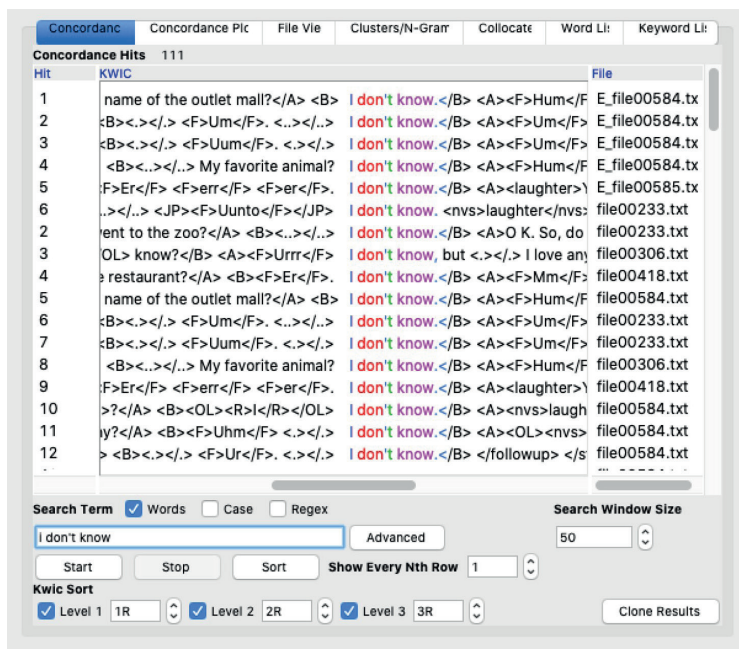


Figure 1. [I don't know] AntConc

Figure 1 confirms, at least for these learners of the JLEC, that *I don't know* is produced with phonological coherence and is likely functioning as a filler, as the phrase appears in isolation and often between gaps of speech (note that <F>-</F> indicates filler pause, <.></.> indicates a short pause of 2 seconds and <..></..> a longer one of up to 4 seconds). To check the relative salience of this formula for all learners of the JLEC, I used the N-grams feature in AntConc to access the preferred learner constructions after *I don't* across the whole corpus in terms of frequency, range, and probability. The results can be seen from Figure 2 below.

#Total No. of Cluster Types: 234				
#Total No. of Cluster Tokens: 4334				
1	1292	649	0.298	i don't know
2	734	432	0.169	i don't have
3	609	389	0.141	i don't like
4	223	162	0.051	i don't think
5	165	134	0.038	i don't</r
6	151	139	0.035	i don't</s.c
7	128	102	0.030	i don't want
8	66	60	0.015	i don't go
9	66	57	0.015	i don't remember
10	54	42	0.012	i don't need

Figure 2. [I don't + _] N-grams

The above suggests that *I don't know* is a good candidate for a formula in the JLEC, since it seems to pass the tests of phonological coherence, semantic/functional unity and frequency of occurrence.

4.3. Syntactic properties of *I don't know*

Following a generative framework as proposed by Radford (2009), the assumed syntactic structure of *I don't know* can be seen below, in the form of tree diagram.

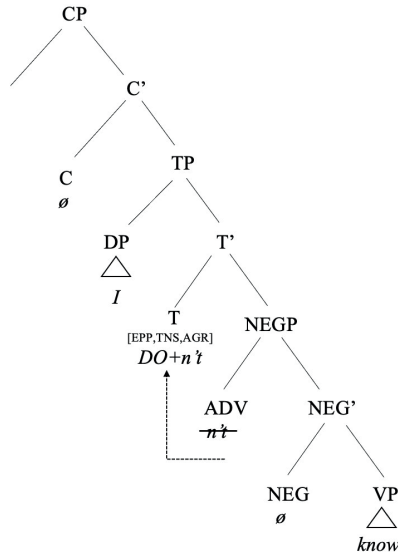


Figure 3. [I don't know] Syntactic Tree

The syntactic properties assumed in the generation of *I don't know* that are observable in surface structure manifestations are taken to be DO support, cliticisation, NEGP projection and the features [EPP], [TNS] and [AGR] (which imply a Tense Phrase (TP) projection). The L2 surface structure phenomena that are taken to be reliable evidence of these properties' manifestations are given in Figure 4 below.

Reliable Surface Structure Evidence			
DO support	Cliticisation	NEGP projections	Features [EPP] [TNS] [AGR]
via negation and question formation	contractions resulting from the attachment of one word to another in a leech-like fashion	the use of the negative particle <i>not</i>	the use of overt subjects which agree in person, number and tense with the following verb (auxiliary and/or lexical)

Figure 4. Reliable surface structure evidence for the manifestation of [I don't know]'s syntactic properties

As this research question is examining the production of a formula with learners' development of respective L2 competence, it is learners' L2 accuracy of the surface forms outlined in Figure 4 that will be compared with learners' productions of *I don't know* across PLs. The next section outlines how this process was carried out.

4.4. Data extraction

As this is a pilot study, it seeks to analyse a representative sample of the data. Based on the SST's scoring criteria, transcripts from PLs 2, 5 and 8 are taken to be representative of beginner, intermediate and advanced L2 learners. A comparison of the formula's production with learners' interlanguages across these 3 levels was therefore predicted to give an accurate representation of 'interlanguage development'. These PLs were loaded into the Antcon software independently, and *I don't know* was searched for throughout each level to identify those learners who produced the formula. Out of these learners, 5 from each proficiency level were picked at random for an analysis of the manifestations of the formula's syntactic properties throughout their interlanguages. This resulted in the analysis of 15 learners' transcripts in total who used *I don't know*.

5. Results and discussion

5.1. Rise of L2 competence across the three proficiency levels

The tables presented below in Figures 5 - 7 show learners' corresponding usage and accuracy of surface forms that are taken to be manifestations of the formula's syntactic properties. Accuracy rates are given as a relative percentage to the rate of usage under the (%) column, where 'inaccuracy' of a property refers to either absence of the property in structures where it is needed, or ungrammatical use of the property in these environments. 'Generalisation' refers to surface structures that manifest through the combination of these properties together. A surface structure exhibiting 'generalisation' of *I don't know*'s syntactic properties would be, for example, *he doesn't like*, as this structure also shows evidence of DO support, cliticisation, the category NEGP and relevant [TNS] [NUM] and [AGR] features.

Learner	DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat NEGP			[EPP,TNS,AGR]			Generalisation		
	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
File 01127	0	0	0	1	1	100%	2	0	0%	17	5	29%	0	0	0%
File 01051	0	0	0	2	1	50%	1	0	0%	30	21	70%	0	0	0%
File 00584	0	0	0	2	1	50%	0	0	n/a	18	10	56%	0	0	0%
File 00418	0	0	0	1	1	100%	0	0	n/a	19	14	74%	0	0	0%
File 00233	3	3	100%	1	1	100%	1	1	100%	22	17	77%	1	1	100%
Average	0.6	0.6	20%	1.4	1	80%	0.8	0.2	33%	21.2	13.4	61%	0.2	0.2	20%

Figure 5. PL 2 learners' L2 realisations of [*I don't know*]'s syntactic properties

Learner	DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat NEGP			[EPP,TNS,AGR]			Generalisation		
	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
File 01028	10	6	60%	17	16	94%	8	6	75%	89	81	91%	6	4	67%
File 00247	8	7	88%	18	18	100%	10	9	90%	96	84	88%	7	7	100%
File 00534	10	10	100%	24	24	100%	7	7	100%	120	103	86%	6	6	100%
File 00525	11	10	91%	25	25	100%	13	12	92%	111	105	95%	9	8	89%
File 00643	5	5	100%	27	26	96%	15	13	87%	120	111	93%	2	1	50%
Average	8.8	7.6	88%	22.2	21.8	98%	10.6	9.4	89%	107.2	96.8	90%	6	5.2	81%

Figure 6. PL 5 learners' L2 realisations of [I don't know]'s syntactic properties

Learner	DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat NEGP			[EPP,TNS,AGR]			Generalisation		
	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
File 00816	12	12	100%	54	54	100%	32	32	100%	221	215	97%	9	9	100%
File 00933	11	11	100%	43	43	100%	24	24	100%	182	180	99%	8	8	100%
File 01253	4	3	75%	52	52	100%	13	13	100%	179	177	99%	0	0	0%
File 01216	12	12	100%	25	25	100%	17	17	100%	221	218	99%	9	8	89%
File 01254	10	10	100%	34	34	100%	20	20	100%	129	128	99%	7	7	100%
Average	9.8	9.6	95%	41.6	41.6	100%	21.2	21.2	100%	186.4	183.6	99%	6.6	6.4	78%

Figure 7. PL 8 learners' L2 realisations of [I don't know]'s syntactic properties

The tables above show that learners' L2 competence does indeed increase with proficiency levels, evidenced by the gradually increased average use and accuracy of the syntactic properties under analysis.

5.2. Sample learner productions of *I don't know*

The table in Figure 8 below shows all sample learners' productions of *I don't know* from each PL.

learner level 2	learner level 5	learner level 8
<i>I don't</i> <laughter> know <laughter> ; <i>I don't know</i> <i>I don't know</i> <i>I don't know</i> <i>I don't know</i> <i>I don't know</i> <i>I don't know</i> <F>Er</F> <i>I don't know</i> <i>I don't know</i> <i>I don't know</i>	<i>I don't know so well, but</i> <i>I don't know so well</i> <i>I don't know what to say this</i> <i>I don't know the name</i> <i>I don't</i> <?> know </?> actually But <i>I don't know, but</i> <R>I<R> <i>I don't know in detail but</i> <R>I<?R> <i>I don't know</i> <laughter> <F>uh</F> I <?> don't </?> know <R> what </R> <SC>im not s</SC> <i>I don't know</i> <i>I don't know</i> <R?> <i>I don't</i> </R?> <i>I don't know what</i>	<R>I</R> <i>I don't know well</i> 'I really don't know sometimes' <i>I don't know</i> 'I don't know really what's going on but' <laughter> <i>I don't know</i> </laughter> <i>I don't know</i> 'I don't know how to call it' 'I don't really know about' <i>I don't really know</i> 'I don't know' (instead of I didn't know) 'I just do </SC> I just don't know' <i>I don't know why</i>

Figure 8. Sample learner productions of [I don't know] across PLs

Figure 8 above shows that, in some instances, *I don't know* is produced with internal repetition (<R></R>), slight pauses (<.></.>) and speaker correction (<SC?></SC>). These instances, however, are productions by learners who in the same transcript have also produced *I don't know* fluently, shown below in Figure 9 through specific learner file examples (where the discontinuous instances are highlighted in bold).

File 00534

'*I don't know the name*'
'***I don't <?>know</?> actually***'

File 00525

But I don't know, but one man
'***<R>I<R>I don't know in detail but***

File 00643

'*I don't know*'
'***<R>I<?R>I don't know <laughter>***'
'*<SC>im not s</SC> I don't know*
'***<F>uh</F> I <?>don't</?>know<R> what</R>***
'***<R?>I don't</R?>I don't know what the party is'***

File 00816

'*I really don't know sometimes*'
'*I don't know*'
'*I don't know really what's going on but*'
'*<laughter> I don't know </laughter>*'
'*I don't know*'
'***<R>I</R>I don't know well'***

File 01216

'*I don't know why*'
'***I just do </SC> I just don't know***'

File 01254

'*I don't know*'
'***<R>I don't</R>I don't know any'***

Figure 9. Learners' discontinuous and fluent productions of [I don't know]

All sample learners across all PLs are shown to produce *I don't know* fluently at some stage in their transcripts. As PL rises however, these fluent formulas are sometimes part of more complex constructions, and often coincide with discontinuous and modified productions. Sections 5.2.1 - 5.2.3 now look at the nature of these learner productions by PL in more detail.

5.2.1. Proficiency Level 2: A production ‘shortcut’

Figure 10 (taken from Figure 8) shows that PL2 learners’ productions of *I don’t know* are isolated utterances, which suggests the formula is being used as a functional filler.

‘I don’t <laughter>know<laughter>’,
‘I don’t know’
‘I don’t know’
‘I don’t know’
‘I don’t know’
‘I don’t know’
‘<F>Er</F> I don’t know’
‘I don’t know’
‘I don’t know’

Figure 10. [I don’t know] PL2

Figure 10 and Figure 5 (repeated below) can be viewed together to show that when learners of PL2 use the formula, its syntactic properties are rarely found to manifest, or indeed to manifest *accurately*, outside of the formula in learners’ interlanguages.

Learner	DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat NEGP			[EPP,TNS,AGR]			Generalisation		
	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
File 01127	0	0	0	1	1	100%	2	0	0%	17	5	29%	0	0	0%
File 01051	0	0	0	2	1	50%	1	0	0%	30	21	70%	0	0	0%
File 00584	0	0	0	2	1	50%	0	0	n/a	18	10	56%	0	0	0%
File 00418	0	0	0	1	1	100%	0	0	n/a	19	14	74%	0	0	0%
File 00233	3	3	100%	1	1	100%	1	1	100%	22	17	77%	1	1	100%
Average	0.6	0.6	20%	1.4	1	80%	0.8	0.2	33%	21.2	13.4	61%	0.2	0.2	20%

Figure 5. PL 2 learners’ accurate L2 realisations of [I don’t know]’s syntactic properties

That is, PL2 learners’ production of the formula is in advance of their respective L2 syntactic competence. This can be better seen from the tables below in Figures 11 - 15, which show PL2 learners’ individual productions of the formula and their corresponding L2 accuracy of related syntactic properties.

Formula														
<i><u>'I don't <laughter>know<laughter>'</u></i>														
<i><u>'I don't know'</u></i>														
DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat. NEGP			Features			Generalisation		
Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
0	0	0	1	1	100%	2	0	0%	17	5	29%	0	0	0%

Figure 11. Learner 01127

Formula														
<i><u>'I don't know'</u></i>														
DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat. NEGP			Features			Generalisation		
Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
0	0	0	2	1	50%	1	0	0%	30	21	70%	0	0	0%

Figure 12. Learner 01051

Formula														
<i><u>'I don't know'</u></i>														
<i><u>'I don't know'</u></i>														
<i><u>'I don't know'</u></i>														
DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat. NEGP			Features			Generalisation		
Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
0	0	0	2	1	50%	0	0	0	18	10	56%	0	0	0%

Figure 13. Learner 00584

Formula														
<i><u>'<F>Er</F> I don't know'</u></i>														
DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat. NEGP			Features			Generalisation		
Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
0	0	0	1	1	100%	0	0	n/a	19	14	74%	0	0	0%

Figure 14. Learner 00418

Formula														
DO-support			Cliticisation			Cat. NEGP			Features			Generalisation		
Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%	Use	Acc.	%
3	3	100%	1	1	100%	1	1	100%	22	17	77%	1	1	100%

Figure 15. Learner 00233

The discrepancy between PL2 learners' production of *I don't know* and respective L2 competence is perhaps most noticeable in L2 structures of negation which require generalisation of the formula's syntactic properties. For example, some learners produce *I don't know* fluently, but instead resort to using *no* as a pre-verbal negation particle (i.e., NEG + V) in all other utterances involving L2 negation. Examples of these are shown below.

File 01127 (level 2)

'*no remember*'
 '*no remember*'
 '*(I don't remember)*'

Figure 16

File 01051 (level 2)

'*no <SC>pla good</SC> no good <R>pla</R> player*'
 '*(she does not play well)*'

Figure 17

The above supports the notion that, for beginner learners, formulas are often identifiable by a level of fluency and syntactic complexity that is not found in the interlanguage of the learner (Myles, 2004; Bardovi-Harlig, 2009). *I don't know* for learners of PL2 can be seen as a production 'shortcut', which allows them to bypass the complex processes of L2 syntactic acquisition and engage in L2 communication in advance of respective L2 competence. Under a generative framework, the formula at this stage is therefore best analysed as a holistic product of learners' phonological memory, rather than a product of online generation via abstract syntactic properties.

5.2.2. Proficiency Level 5: External modification

Figure 18 (taken from Figure 8) shows that, as well as fluent production, learners of PL5 often produce the formula with speaker-pauses and self-correction.

I don't know so well, but'
'I don't know so well'
'I don't know what to say this'
'I don't know the name'
I don't <?>know</?> actually
But I don't know, but
<R>I<R>I don't know in detail but
'<R>I<R>I don't know <laughter>'
<F>uh</F> I <?>don't</?>know<R> what</R>
<SC>im not s</SC> I don't know
'I don't know'
'<R?>I don't</R?>I don't know what

Figure 18. [I don't know] PL5

These more discontinuous productions are perhaps evidence that the formula at this stage of proficiency is no longer a holistic product of phonological memory but is now integrated into learners' compositional language. This is because when a learner produces a string of language haltingly, it suggests that they are engaged in syntactic processing and hence putting the string together online rather than retrieving it holistically (Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer, 2017; Myles and Cordier, 2017).

Figure 18 also shows that, at PL5, *I don't know* functions as the matrix clause of complex constructions in conjunction with the complementiser *what*. An example is the embedded wh-question produced by Learner 00247, as seen below.

File 00247 (level 5)

*'I don't know [what to say
to this]'*

Figure 19

Learners of PL5 also modify the formula by way of intensifiers. Importantly, these intensifiers are to the right adjunction of the main verb [V] *know* only (VP-adverbs), as taken from Figure 18 and repeated below.

'I don't know so well' (File 01028- level 5)

'I don't <?>know</?> actually' (File 00534- level 5)

'I don't know in detail' (File 00525- level 5)

Figure 20

All modifications at PL5 can be seen as external to the formula only.

5.2.3. Proficiency Level 8: Internal modification

Figure 21 (taken from Figure 8) shows that, similarly to learners of PL5, learner productions of *I don't know* at PL8 are both discontinuous and fluent.

'<R>**I**</R>**I don't know well**'
 '**I really don't know sometimes**'
 '**I don't know**'
 '**I don't know really what's going on but**'
 <laughter> **I don't know** </laughter>
 '**I don't know**'
 '**I don't know how to call it**'
 '**I don't really know about**'
 '**I don't really know**'
 '**I don't know**' (instead of *I didn't know*)
 '**I just do** </SC> **I just don't know**'
 '**I don't know why**'

Figure 21. [I don't know] PL8

When learners produce the formula fluently, this is hardly ever in isolation, but as the matrix clause of more complex constructions. Learners of PL8 are also shown to modify the formula with intensifiers. Different from the PL5 learners however, this intensifier adjunction occurs at the [T'] and [VP] level with sentential adverbs (S-ADVs) (Jackendoff 1972).

'**I really don't know sometimes**' (File 00816- level 8)
 '**I just don't know**' (File 01219- level 8)
 '**I don't really know**' (File 01253- level 8)
 '**I don't really know about**' (File 00933- level 8)

Figure 22

It is only at PL8 that we see these kinds of modifications, which are more internal in nature and break up the formula intrasententially.

6. Wider implications for the role of formulas in the SLA process

The results in Section 5 show a developmental trajectory of sample learners' productions of the formula *I don't know* across the three proficiency levels. At PL2, the formula starts as a functional filler likely produced holistically via phonological memory in advance of respective L2 competence, which bootstraps learners into L2 production. By PL5, the formula's productions are more discontinuous in nature which suggests it is now integrated into learners' compositional language and shows external modification by way of intensifiers and complementisers. Finally, by PL8, the formula shows internal modification with sentential adverbs.

These results support the original stance by Krashen and Scarcella (1978), where in some situations compositional language may catch up with holistic speech; that is, the SLA process may reanalyse formulas as creative constructions. Importantly, this reanalysis shows structural conformity at each proficiency level and is only possible once learners' L2 accuracy of the formula's syntactic properties are sufficiently developed. The integration of the formula into learners' compositional language is compatible with generative theories of SLA that posit a development of L2 grammar that is independent of prototypical formula analysis. It is important to note here, however, that these results cannot dismiss a usage-based approach to L2 development. This pilot study has analysed the development of one formula only, yet learners are sensitive to distributional frequencies in *all* their input. It could be the case that other formulas were used as acquisitional seeds, or that learners' analysis and generalisation of more schematic constructions influenced their interlanguage development. General cognitive abilities clearly play a big part in SLA, and it would be unwise to dismiss their importance in this process.

The role of this formula in the SLA process for these pilot learners under analysis, however, is limited to the L2 communicative benefits which come with the holistic production of a more syntactically advanced functional phrase in the appropriate context for learners at lower stages of proficiency. As with the CEs in Bardovi-Harlig and Stringer's (2017) study, the formula does not remain as a fluent model 'seed' for acquisition across proficiency levels but is integrated into learners' compositional language in line with their interlanguage grammars.

7. Conclusion

This pilot study has analysed naturalistic L2 production data across three proficiency levels to show that learner productions of a formula are sensitive to the development of related L2 competence. The implications of these results for the debate on the role of formulas in learners' development of L2 syntax sides with those who posit an independent development of L2 syntax rather than one that is seeded from model formula usage. Whilst the results of such a small-scale pilot study should be treated with caution, they do encourage methodologies of

a similar type to be carried out on a larger scale when investigating the relationship between L2 learners' formula usage and respective L2 competence.

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A balanced corpus of written language as a basis for compiling a phraseological optimum

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Abstract

The article focuses on the possibilities of creating a high-quality corpus of written Czech that could serve as a starting point for determining the phraseological optimum¹. The corpus is based on current resources and on current phraseme annotation. The phraseological optimum should become an exact basis reliable for selecting phrasemes and idioms for teaching, didactic processing and testing. At the same time, the specificity of the situations for which the phraseological optimum will be used should be preserved and the annotation should be supplemented so that phrasemes for different purposes can be selected according to it.

Keywords

phraseological optimum, Czech corpora, phraseme annotation

1. Introduction

Czech society has traditionally attached great importance to the knowledge of proverbs and phrasemes.² There are historical reasons for this: on the one hand, a positive attitude towards folk tales originating from the time of national revival which entailed an effort to preserve the Czech language; on the other hand, knowledge of cultural phraseology (ancient, biblical, foreign language) as a manifestation of education, which was suppressed during the totalitarian period. However, there are also practical reasons for this, such as understanding the text and communication at different levels, the ability to recognise metaphorical expressions and modifications based on phraseological units. Last but not least, these reasons include the possibility of identifying the text type according to the phrasemes used and improving the identification of multi-word units in texts for further computer processing (cf. Hnátková et al. 2017).

¹ The phraseological optimum is understood here as a minimum set of good usage phrasemes for text production.

² In accordance with Čermák, we understand the term phraseme in broader sense than an idiom. Phraseme includes also formal and statistical anomalies.

These facts are particularly reflected in the emphasis on teaching phraseology and paremiology, which is included in textbooks from the beginning of school education in the context of text analysis and vocabulary expansion. Questions related to phraseology are then regularly included in all types of entrance and final examinations, which is why a number of didactic materials dealing with this issue are produced. The teaching of phraseology is also an important part of teaching Czech as a foreign language (cf. e.g. Šemelík, Šichová 2017), and its knowledge is also determined by the Common European Framework of Reference (cf. SERR: 110). However, the selection of these phrasemes for textbooks and entrance exams is problematic. Although different didactic approaches to teaching Czech as a mother tongue and a foreign language need different phraseological optimums, it is useful to establish a good basis for the selection of phrasemes and to find out which phrasemes are most commonly used in contemporary Czech. So far, this can only be determined on the basis of written language collected in corpora.

When researching phraseology by using corpora, it turns out that it is necessary to have large-scale corpora. However, the corpus composition also plays an important role, which is the focus of this paper. In Czech, a phraseological and collocational annotation is available (FRANTA, Kopřivová, Hnátková 2014), the main source of which is the Dictionary of Czech Phraseology and Idiomatics (DCPI, Čermák et al. 2009). The scope of this annotation is currently about 36,000 phraseological and collocational units. Their list is gradually being supplemented from other sources and is to be extended to all types of multi-word units in the future. At the same time, these units are to be captured in the LEMUR database of multiword units, which will contain their definition, the description of their properties, and allow annotation of variants and modifications in the corpora (Petkevič et al. 2020). About a third of the phrasemes and collocations of those that can be identified in corpus texts using the FRANTA tool is so far listed in this database.

Currently, the annotation is mainly applicable to written language texts, as it depends on some morphological and syntactic relations that are not captured in current spoken Czech corpora. In the spoken data, phrasemes in the transcript of the ORAL-F corpus (Hnátková, Kopřivová 2013), which contained punctuation added on the basis of written language rules, were experimentally annotated. However, this corpus is small in size, containing only 1.6 million word forms, and captures one type of spoken language, unspecified conversations between friends and family members, called intimate discourse (Clancy 2015).

Other approaches such as collocation measures (Březina et al. 2015), n-grams (Milička et al. 2021) can also be used to identify potential phrasemes. These methods are suitable for lexicography and contrastive linguistics, but they do not provide us with relevant information for the construction of a phraseological optimum. One of the important properties of the selected phrasemes is their stability, which can be confirmed by sufficient frequency in long term usage. A well-constructed corpus will help us to determine this.

2. Corpus features and Czech data

Ideally, the corpus should serve as a model of the whole language, including spoken language and different types of internet texts and social media communication. The corpus should be well structured to ensure that different authors with different focuses are represented and that the selected texts are as diverse as possible. Furthermore, the corpus should be long-term. For example, a number of metaphorical expressions were created during the Covid period that are understandable in a context related to the Covid pandemic, but it is not clear which ones will remain in the language. The phraseological optimum should include phrasemes that have been used for a long time and are known to most speakers of Czech. Last but not least, these phrasemes should be accompanied by a more detailed annotation in the texts, which would include the types of phrasemes and collocations, describe their specific features (e.g. possibility of use in a literal sense, foreign and monocollable words as components), but these are very difficult tasks for automatic analysis and have yet to be incorporated into the annotation (cf. Hnátková et al. 2017)

The spoken data was collected continuously between 2002 and 2019, but it includes intimate discourse and monologue speeches, mainly lectures, totalling just under 8 million words. The biggest problem, however, is the impossibility of automatic phraseme annotation, as this is based on written language. In spoken language transcription, prosodic phenomena (such as pauses, hesitations, filler words) that technically break the collocation are marked, e.g. the same phraseme in written language takes the form of a sentence beginning with a capital letter and ending with a full stop: *To je jejich vlajková loď*. (This is their flagship). In the spoken transcript, hesitations (@), pauses (marked by dots), filler words (pronoun *ta*, discourse marker *jo*) are captured: *To je .. ta jejich . vlajková @ ta . loď jo*. (This is .. the their . flag @ the . ship ya).

Such a corpus should also include data from web sources, including social media, which can show us how and which phrasemes are used by this community. The advantage of this data is that it comes from a larger number of users and that these users are not professionals as is the case with journalists, translators and writers. Moreover, in these data, similar to spoken corpora, we can find current and newly used phraseology. Such data, without balancing and structuring, is contained in the extensive Aranea (Benko 2014) and ONLINE corpora (Cvrček 2020). The disadvantage is that phraseme annotation has not yet been applied in these corpora and the data contains texts from non-native speakers or even automatic translations that are not easy to reliably remove. Dialogic communications face a similar problem to that of spoken language: they contain features that disrupt the flow of the phraseme (punctuation, emoticons), they are fragmentary, and there is repeated quoting of the previous text in order for the writer to comment on the part to which he wants to respond. This fact has, of course, an impact on the frequency of the phrasemes examined.

3. Corpus of written Czech based on current data

Such ideal data is not available in Czech but quite extensive written data is available (corpus SYN_v10) in the range of 4,882 trillion. In this corpus, phrasemes are annotated, but in the text base, journalism accounts for more than 90% (see Figure 1).

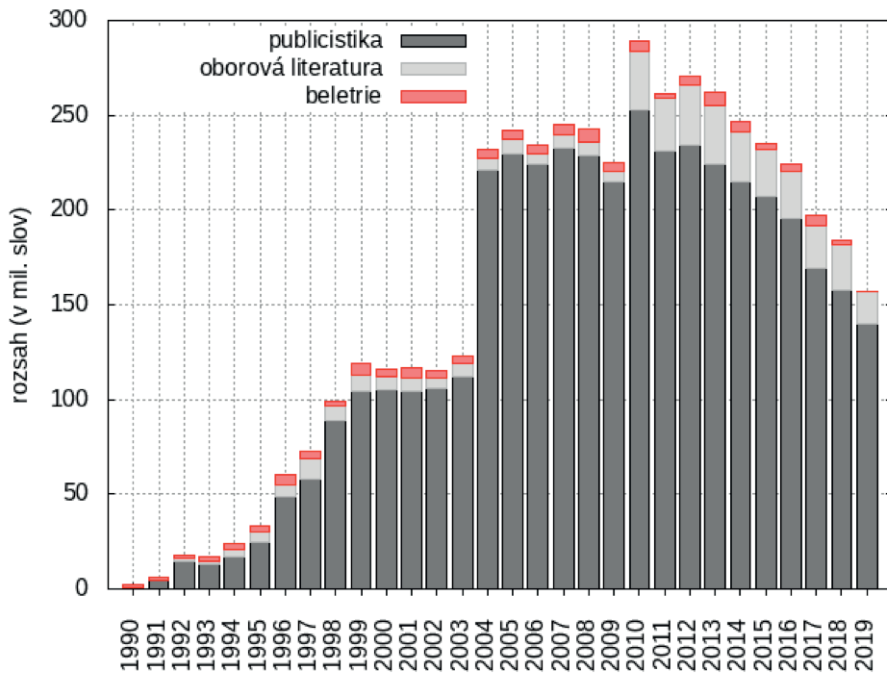


Figure 1. Composition of the SYN corpus (journalism, non-fiction and fiction)

The solution is therefore to create the largest and most diverse balanced corpus possible from the available written data and then compare the result with other sources to create a phraseological optimum. This can be done by using representative corpora, the combination of which results in a corpus of 500,000 words from the turn of the 20th century, with a balanced representation of the individual text groups. Although the different corpora have different notions of representativeness: the first corpora took into account the reception and perception of the language (Čermák, Králík, Kučera 1997; Kocěk, Kopřivová, Schmiedtová 2000), since the compilation of the SYN2015 corpus the three main groups of written texts (journalism, fiction and non-fiction) have equal proportions (Cvrček, Čermáková, Křen 2016) which was determined arbitrarily. What is important not only for phraseology research is that, within these groups, the authors carefully monitored the quality of texts and their diversity in terms of representation of different types of texts and authors when compiling them. For the written language, therefore, this is the best possible achievable model of contemporary Czech.

By combining the five representative corpora SYN2000 (Čermák et al. 2000), SYN2005 (Čermák et al. 2005), SYN2010 (Křen et al. 2010), SYN2015 (Křen et al. 2015) and SYN2020 (Křen et al. 2020), we obtain a corpus of 500,000,000 words, containing 32% of fiction, 30% of non-fiction and 38% of newspapers and magazines. In this corpus, the most frequent phrasemes used across written Czech can be identified using annotation.

4. Phraseme annotation in the written corpus

As mentioned above, the phraseme annotation is based on the DCPI and its phraseme classification, which is primarily intended for the most appropriate phraseme retrieval. At the same time, additional collocations that do not belong to phrasemes but have a similar structure have been added to this corpus. This is because one of the aims of this annotation is to contribute to a better morphological analysis and disambiguation of Czech written texts (Hnátková, Petkevič, 2017).

From the retrieval point of view, it is important to label all phraseme components and allow the user to retrieve them as a single phraseme. This is resolved by marking one of the components (usually the last one, which is only a technical solution) as the basic one and by labelling the phraseme a collocation lemma. In a particular use, additional words may be inserted between the components of a phraseme that are not part of the phraseme and so are not annotated even though they may be syntactically or semantically related to the phraseme. For example, the sentence phraseme *z toho jde strach* (this is frightening / it sounds/is scary) has a variable verb form *jde, šel* (goes, went), the pronoun can be replaced by a specific cause of fear or a living agent of fear, the word order is variable and other components can be inserted into it. In the specific use *Z toho jde na mě strach* (It makes me scared) the collocational lemma and collocation type attributes are missing for the words: *na, mě*; for the other components the collocation type attribute value is SZ (the sentence phraseme component) and for the last word *strach* it is SH (the basic sentence phraseme component). The collocational lemma is the basic form of the phraseme, here: “jde z toho strach” (it is scary, lit.: it goes from this fear).

The phrasemes are divided according to the part of speech of the main component into:

- Verbal: *přijít na buben* (come to the drum – go bankrupt)
- Nominal: *vlajková loď* (flagship), *zdravý nemocný* (healthy sick), *na jaře* (in spring)
- Connectors and discourse markers: *to je pravda* (this is true), *přece jen* (after all)
- Similies: *černý jako bota* (black as a shoe)
- Conjunctions: *i když* (even though)
- Proverbs and sentence idioms: *Pýcha předchází pád* (Pride precedes the fall)

Thus, the individual groups contain not only idioms and phrasemes, but also terms or established phrasemes without further distinction. This distinction will be part of the LEMUR database, which will also deal with the basic form of the lemma and the linking of related entries (Hnátková et al. 2017). Thus, although this is the most extensive current phraseme

annotation of Czech on written data, it does not contain some features important for compiling the phraseological optimum.

The following tables show the distribution of annotated phraseme and collocation types in the corpus. Table 1 shows the absolute frequency of occurrences in each group of text types; Table 2 gives the comparable frequency normalised to one million corpus positions in order to compare the text groups according to the occurrence of phrasemes. Both comparisons show that different types are represented at different rates. Proverbs are among the least frequent and sentence phrasemes, which are on average the longest, form a specific group that will be treated separately in the paremiological optimum. Similarly, it is reasonable to exclude the specific group of multi-word conjunctions, which contains only 25 entries. Verbal idioms are the most frequent in Czech texts, they are moreover highly variable (cf. Jelinek et al 2018). Table 3 shows the number of different phrasemes. In this respect, fiction texts are the most varied, except for proverbs and sentence phrasemes, which are found mostly in the journalism, where they are also the most frequently used.

Col_type	Fiction	Newspapers	Non-fiction
Verbal	1,779,520	919,018	525,209
Nominal	1,012,394	1,459,497	985,118
Connectors	352,628	182,092	101,240
Conjunctions	89,978	99,529	84,869
Similes	42,828	19,428	10,135
Proverbs	8,431	13,531	6,136

Table 1. Number of phrasemes by type in each text group

Col_type	Fiction	Newspapers	Non-fiction
Verbal	6,762	3,864	2,939
Nominal	5,804	6,136	5,513
Connectors	2,022	770	566
Conjunctions	516	418	475
Similes	246	82	57
Proverbs	48	57	34

Table 2. Frequency of phrasemes (ipm – instances per million) by type in each text group

Col_type	Fiction	Newspapers	Non-fiction
Verbal	15,873	14,265	13,309
Nominal	7,269	7,042	7,000
Connectors	4,122	3,404	3,156
Conjunctions	24	24	25
Similes	3,358	1,945	1,820
Proverbs	746	842	702

Table 3. Number of different phrasemes by type in each text group

To extract phrasemes from written Czech, an intersection of the most frequent 10,000 phrasemes from each text group was created, resulting in a set of 6,931 phrasemes and collocations that occur in all groups (similarly, Kopřivová 2017). However, it will be necessary to eliminate some common collocations from this set, such as:

- prepositional phrases: *za chvíli* (in a while), *na jaře* (in the spring)
- terms: *cestovní ruch* (tourism), *sdělovací prostředky* (media), *mateřská škola* (kindergarten), *první republika* (the first republic)
- light verbs (verb + abstract noun): *mít dojem* (have an impression), *mít v plánu* (have a plan)
- kinograms: *zavrtět hlavou* (shake your head), *pokrčit rameny* (shrug your shoulders)
- special collocations: *drtivá většina* (the vast majority), *široká veřejnost* (broad public – the general public)

Polysemous phrasemes are also problematic, such as:

- polysemous: *černá díra* (black hole), *absurdní divadlo* (the theatre of the absurd) – terms/phrasemes

The annotation needs to be expanded to include additional properties such as marking true idioms with metaphorical meaning, as this is an important property for the selection of idioms for native speakers. Children need to become familiar with idiomatic meaning. On the other hand, some other groups, such as constructions with light verbs, may be important in teaching Czech as a foreign language, but probably in a different activity than in teaching idioms.

5. Conclusion

This paper has presented a procedure for creating a corpus of written Czech from which a phraseological optimum of Czech could be created using the FRANTA tool for phraseme annotation. Using phraseme annotation, it is possible to compare different types of phrasemes based on principal component classification by part of speech. At the same time, it is possible to compare individual text groups in terms of the occurrence of phrasemes and collocations

in such a balanced corpus. According to the annotation, phrasemes and collocations are most strongly represented in fiction, and the most variety of phrasemes is also found here. The exception is the use of proverbs, which are most common in journalism. Non-fiction texts have the lowest presence of phrasemes and collocations of all text groups. The current annotation lacks some essential features that allow to select the appropriate optimum for different purposes, e.g. for native Czech speakers and for learners of Czech as a foreign language, as each group has a different starting position. These features will need to be thought about and added to provide a basis for the selection of a phraseological optimum which will be supplemented by further research.

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Analysis and comparison of Irish corpora annotated with multiword expressions

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Abstract

Multiword Expressions (MWEs) pose many challenges to Natural Language Processing, pushing the demand for more MWE-aware systems. As today's NLP systems are data-driven, corpora are among the most valuable of resources, and can be used for both training and testing these systems. This paper describes three MWE corpora constructed for Irish: a manually annotated corpus developed for the PARSEME Shared Task in automatic identification of verbal MWEs, a large parallel corpus automatically tagged with MWEs for the purposes of building machine translation (MT) systems, and a manually annotated test corpus of 100 sentences, created to evaluate the MWE-aware MT system. We present an analysis of the quality of the automatically tagged corpus, and draw conclusions as to the efficacy of this tagging method for different categories of MWEs.

Keywords

Irish, NLP, annotation, multiword expressions

1. Introduction

The field of Natural Language Processing (NLP) has seen increased attention paid to multiword expressions, particularly in recent years, as they present a uniquely challenging aspect of language processing. While definitions of MWEs vary depending on the field and focus, we adopt the definition used by many within NLP as a linguistic sequence consisting of multiple lexemes whose behaviour is idiosyncratic on the semantic, syntactic, lexical, statistical or pragmatic level (Constant et al. 2017). The non-heterogeneity, variability, and difficulty precisely defining MWEs are some of the characteristics that make them

particularly challenging for NLP (Sag et al. 2002), while the proliferation of MWEs in natural text (Jackendoff 1998) along with their tendency to follow a Zipfian distribution (Savary et al. 2019) means they pose a significant challenge to low-resource languages attempting to process them, where their problematic characteristics cannot be so easily combatted by simply employing more data. Awareness and treatment of MWEs in many NLP tasks shows beneficial results, and MWE-aware resources are particularly important for many of these tasks, e.g. machine translation.

The Irish language is a low-resource language of the Celtic language family, spoken in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. Despite its status as the official language of the Republic of Ireland, as well as an official language of the European Union, regular use of the language is largely limited to within the education system, or small communities and certain pockets of the country (known as *Gaeltachts*) where it is used as the daily vernacular. Language technology for Irish is still underdeveloped and under-resourced (Lynn 2022). MWEs in particular have only recently received attention in Irish-focused NLP, from the publication of a lexicon for Irish MWEs (Walsh et al. 2019), to the release of the PARSEME corpus of annotated verbal MWEs for Irish (Walsh et al. 2020), and the treatment of MWEs in the Irish Universal Dependencies Treebank (IUDT) (McGuinness et al. 2020).

As a further contribution to this field of research, this paper describes the automatic tagging of MWEs in an Irish-English parallel corpus, as well as the creation of a manually annotated test corpus for the purposes of evaluation of MWE-aware machine translation systems. We analyse these corpora, comparing them with the PARSEME corpus for Irish, and investigate the capabilities of an automatic tagging method for the creation of such resources for NLP.

2. Description of Corpora

This section describes the three corpora we analyse in our research. The PARSEME corpus for Irish is an existing corpus described fully in Walsh et al. (2019), however we present an overview here. The parallel Irish-English corpus for MWE-aware MT and the Irish-English test corpus for evaluation of MWE-aware MT are both new corpora, and the creation of these corpora is detailed here.

2.1. PARSEME corpus for Irish

The PARSEME shared task in the automatic identification of verbal MWEs is an initiative in developing a cohesive framework for treatment of MWEs across multiple languages. The shared task has seen three editions to date (Savary et al. 2017, Ramisch et al. 2019, Ramisch et al. 2020), as well as the release of manually annotated corpora for 26 languages, and the development of cross-lingual annotation guidelines.¹ Irish was included in the most recent edition, with the creation of the first Irish MWE corpus (Walsh et al. 2020). The corpus consists of 1700 sentences originally from the Irish UD Treebank (Lynn and Foster 2016),

¹ <https://parsemefr.lis-lab.fr/parseme-st-guidelines/1.2/>

annotated with 662 vMWEs from seven categories: verbal idioms (VIDs), e.g. *an lá atá inniu ann* [lit. the day that is today here] ‘present day’; inherently adpositional verbs (IAVs), e.g. *buail le* [lit. hit with] ‘meet’; inherently reflexive verbs (IRVs), e.g. *iompair tú féin* [lit. carry yourself] ‘behave yourself’; light-verb constructions (LVCs), both full LVCs (e.g. *déan iar-racht* ‘make an attempt’), and causative LVCs (e.g. *cuir fearg (ar)* [lit. put anger (on)] ‘make angry’); and verb-particle constructions (VPCs), both fully non-compositional (e.g. *bain amach* [lit. extract out] ‘earn’), and semi-non-compositional (e.g. *glaoigh amach* ‘call out’). Intra-annotator agreement was reported with an F1 score of 0.77, and a Cohen’s κ of 0.66.

2.2. Automatic tagging of a parallel Irish-English corpus for MWE-aware MT

In order to explore the treatment and effect of MWEs in Irish-English and English-Irish machine translation, a parallel (bilingually aligned) corpus was created and automatically tagged with MWEs for both English and Irish. The data for this corpus were collected from a number of sources, including parallel datasets available on the ELRC-SHARE repository (*Citizen’s Information* and *Department of Culture, Heritage and the Gaeltacht*), datasets from the OPUS repository for open-source parallel corpora (data from the *Directorate-General for Translation, European Constitution, EU bookshop, Tatoeba, and Paracrawl*), as well as translated technical documents, also shared on OPUS (*GNOME, KDE4, and Ubuntu*). Some text was crawled from bilingual websites (e.g. *Teagasc*), and a portion of the data was shared from corpora collected by researchers at Dublin City University, who have carried out experiments in Irish machine translation (e.g. Dowling et al. 2018). The data underwent preprocessing to clean some noisy content, including removing duplicate sentences where they overlapped in the training, development and testing data, resulting in a combined total of 835,867 sentences.

The automatic tagging algorithm scans the text searching for MWEs that match those in the MWE list for that language. The Ilfhocail lexicon for Irish MWEs (Walsh et al. 2019) is a collection of MWEs automatically extracted from lexical resources. This resource was used to generate the Irish MWE lists, while the English list was generated from the English Multiword Expression Lexicons collection.² First, a sample of 2,000 sentences from each source corpus was extracted, and a trial tagging was performed. The data were then reviewed to assess the types of MWEs captured by this method. MWEs that were tagged more than 5 times per corpus were extracted, and inspected for non-MWEs, which were subsequently removed from the MWE lists. These non-MWEs consisted of those whose literal usage was more common than an idiomatic usage (e.g. EN: ‘in this’, GA: *na daoine* ‘the people’), collocations that were deemed non-idiomatic (e.g. EN: ‘is added’, GA: *an chéad* ‘the first’), or otherwise non-idiosyncratic constructions (e.g. EN: ‘etc.’, GA: *go hálainn* ‘lovely’). The lists were also cleaned of numerical entries or other noisy entries (e.g. EN: ‘1 200’, ‘ , , , c. itoh , , , ’).

² <https://www.cs.cmu.edu/~ark/LexSem/>

We use three different methods to tag the corpora. We first tagged only candidates from the corpus exactly matching the list entry, in order to capture fixed expressions, i.e. MWEs whose lexicalised components do not allow syntactic or morphosyntactic variation, such as ‘by and large’ (see the ungrammaticality of **by and larger*, **by and very large*), or in Irish, *le linn* ‘during’ (see the ungrammaticality of **lena linn*). Next, the list and corpus were lemmatised before lexical matching was performed. This allowed for capturing semi-fixed MWEs, whose lexicalised components may demonstrate morphosyntactic variation, as with ‘car **parks**’, or in Irish, *tithe* *tábhair* ‘public houses’. In order to capture all possible MWE candidates, the corpus was then tagged with a combination of MWEs of both fixed and semi-fixed variations.

2.3. Manual annotation of MWE test corpus

Following automatic tagging, a sample was manually annotated with gold-standard MWEs for the evaluation of the machine translation system. This manually annotated sample also allowed for some estimation of the quality of the automatic tagging method.

The gold test corpus for Irish and English was formed by combining 25 sentences from each of the four domains represented in the data: **technical** domain, which originated from translated technical documents, and mostly consisted of short sentences with many technical terms; **legal** domain, which consisted of sentences of variable length, sometimes very long, with many repeated constructions or terms; **web** data, which was automatically collected from bilingual websites, and included some noisy text and unusual grammar; and **general** domain, which consisted largely of interdepartmental memos, annual reports and public information. The sentences in the corpus were selected following a filtering process to ensure at least 5 tokens had been tagged with an MWE label, thus generating an MWE-dense corpus.

Annotation was performed by two annotators per corpus (English corpus and Irish corpus). The first annotator applied annotation guidelines which had been drafted prior to the annotation process, correcting the automatically tagged MWEs where necessary, and assigning each MWE a category. The second annotator then reviewed both the annotations and the guidelines, and noted any perceived inconsistencies. Following a discussion, these inconsistencies were then corrected in a final pass of annotation. For English, the categories included fixed expressions³ (FEs), inherently adpositional verbs (IAVs), institutionalised phrases (IPs), multi-verb constructions (MVCs), nominal compounds (NCs), named entities (NEs), light verb constructions (LVCs), verbal idioms (VIDs), and verb-partical constructions (VPCs). For Irish, the categories included copular constructions (CCs), FEs, IAVs, IPs, LVCs, NCs, NEs, VIDs, and VPCs. The category of inherently reflexive verbs (IRVs), originally included in the PARSEME annotation guidelines for Irish, was not included, as this category appears to occur very rarely in Irish.

³ By fixed expressions, we mean MWEs that are syntactically fixed, and do not contain a verbal head (e.g. ‘in short’), as with verbal idioms (e.g. ‘The early bird **gets** the worm.’).

3. Analysis and Discussion

This paper is primarily motivated by the annotation of MWEs in Irish, and as such, our analysis is focused on the Irish portion of both the MWE-MT automatically tagged corpus and the manually annotated gold test corpus, and the manually annotated PARSEME corpus for Irish.

3.1. Analysis of MWEs annotated in each corpus

In total, the Irish portion of the automatically tagged parallel corpus (MWE-MT ga) contains 1,157,066 MWEs. The Irish PARSEME corpus (PARSEME ga) contains 662 MWEs, while the manually annotated Irish test corpus (Test-100-gold ga) contains 393 MWEs in total. Examining the MWE dense sentences from the Irish portion of the automatically tagged parallel corpus (MWE-MT-100 ga) showed 406 MWEs had been automatically annotated. PARSEME ga is the least densely annotated, with an average of 0.4 MWEs per sentence, followed by MWE-MT ga, with an average of 1.4 MWEs per sentence. Test-100-gold ga contains an average of 3.9 MWEs per sentence, and MWE-MT-100 ga has a slightly higher average of 4.1. PARSEME ga contains annotations for verbal MWEs only, which appear to occur significantly less frequently than other types of MWEs. Examining the annotations in Test-100-gold ga, we find 108 of the MWEs are verbal, giving a vMWE density of 1.1 per sentence. MWE-MT-100 ga contains 100 verbal MWEs, giving a vMWE density of 1.0 per sentence.

Table 1 displays the number and categories of each MWE annotated in both manually annotated corpora. Note that the LVC category was annotated with two sub-categories for PARSEME ga (LVC.full and LVC.cause), while only a single category was used for Test-100-gold ga. As such, the combined total of LVC.full and LVC.cause annotations are noted in parenthesis for comparison with Test-100-gold ga. Similarly with sub-categories VPC.full and VPC.semi.

Category	PARSEME ga	Test-100-gold ga
Copular Constructions (CCs)		21
Fixed Expressions (FEs)		140
Inherently Adpositional Verbs (IAVs)	183	33
Inherently Reflexive Verbs (IRVs)	6	
Institutionalised Phrases (IPs)		5
Light Verb Constructions (LVCs)	(320)	40
LVC.cause	119	
LVC.full	201	
Named Entities (NEs)		85

Nominal Compounds (NCs)		55
Verbal Idioms (VIDs)	105	8
Verb Particle Constructions (VPCs)	(48)	6
VPC.full	28	
VPC.semi	20	
Total MWEs	662	393

Table 1. Categories of MWEs annotated in PARSEME ga and Test-100-gold ga

Figure 1 displays the range of values in MWE lengths for each corpus. The longest MWE annotated is 6 tokens in PARSEME ga (*thiocfadh an crú ar an tairne*, [lit. the horseshoe would come on to the nail] ‘would come to the test’), 11 tokens for MWE-MT-100 ga (*an Ghníomhaireacht Eorpach chun Comhar Oibríochtúil a Bhainistiú ag Teorainneacha Seachtracha* ‘European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders’), and 15 tokens in MWE-MT ga (*an Ghníomhaireacht Eorpach chun Comhar Oibríochtúil a Bhainistiú ag Teorainneacha Seachtracha Bhallstáit an Aontas Eorpaigh* ‘European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union’). Test-100-gold ga contained one MWE that was 12 tokens, (*Na Rialacháin Leasa Shóisialaigh (Deontas báis), 1971 go 1980*, ‘The Social Welfare Regulations (Death Grant), 1971 to 1980’), with tokenised punctuation marks included in token length. Evidently, named entities may consist of titles of almost arbitrary length, and may include one or more nested clauses, such as the longest MWE in the lexicon, which is 58 tokens in length. Very long MWEs such as these are unlikely to aid with parsing or MT, and there is an argument for removing such entries from the lexicon. For vMWEs, the longest MWEs are likely to be VIDs, which can include nested clauses, however, in practice, vMWEs are typically 2-3 tokens in length.

Lower quartile values for MWE length were 2 tokens for each corpus, while upper quartile values were also 2 tokens for both MWE-MT ga and MWE-MT-100 ga, and 3 tokens for PARSEME ga and Test-100-gold ga, indicating that manual annotation generally captures longer MWEs than automatic tagging. The median length was 2 tokens for each corpus.

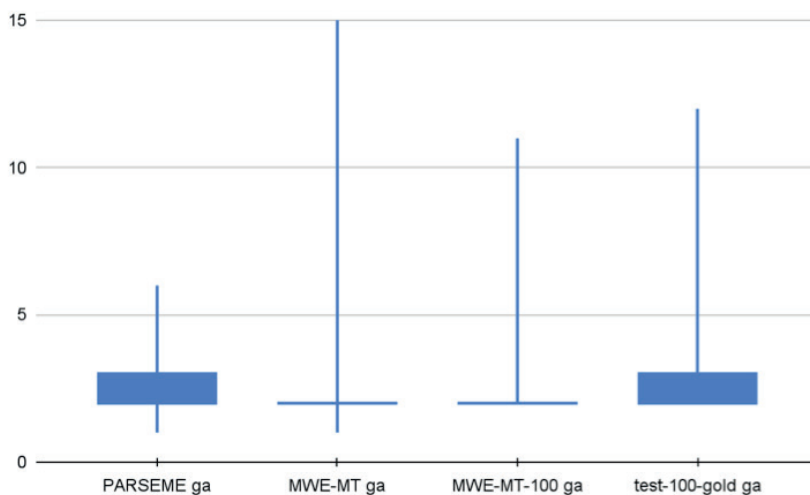


Figure 1. Minimum, lower quartile, upper quartile and maximum length of MWEs annotated in PARSEME ga, MWE-MT ga, MWE-MT-100 ga and Test-100-gold ga

The average length of MWEs is 2.32 for PARSEME ga, 2.21 for MWE-MT ga, 2.28 for MWE-MT-100 ga, and 2.58 for Test-100-gold ga. Note that the average length is slightly higher for both of the manually annotated corpora. This is particularly notable for PARSEME ga, which lacks the extreme outliers of the other corpora.

3.2. Quality estimation of automatic tagging

To assess the quality of the automatic tagging, a comparison was carried out between the MWEs annotated in Test-100-gold ga and MWE-MT-100 ga. A scheme was established to classify the accuracy of the automatic tagging, with MWEs assigned one of five labels. If the tagged MWE matched completely with the gold standard manually annotated MWE, it was considered a **full match** (F). Where some or all of the tokens tagged were matching with the gold manually annotated MWE, but the tagged MWE had either too many or too few tokens, it was assigned a **partial match** (P). Where an automatically tagged MWE contained tokens that overlapped with tokens in the gold annotated MWE, it was given the **overlapping** (O) label.⁴ If an MWE was tagged automatically but was not considered an MWE in the gold annotated corpus, it was given an **incorrect** (I) label, and an MWE that was not tagged but was annotated in the gold corpus was given a **missed** (M) label. Table 2 shows examples of each of these evaluation labels.

⁴ 'P' and 'O' labels differ in that a 'P' MWE appears to refer to the same MWE as the gold annotated MWE, while an 'O' MWE appears to be tagging an MWE of a different category.

Label	Test-100-gold ga	MWE-MT-100 ga
(F)ull match	<i>ceart go leor</i>	<i>ceart go leor</i>
(P)artial match	<i>i gcompáráid</i>	<i>i gcompáráid le</i>
(O)verlapping	<i>in aimsir</i>	<i>aimsir choghaidh</i>
(I)ncorrect		<i>ar an Domhnach</i>
(M)issed	<i>teacht le</i>	

Table 2. Examples of MWEs assigned one of each of the evaluation labels

Figure 2 displays the breakdown of MWEs for each evaluation label. In total, 49.0% of the tagged MWEs are correct, and 57.6% of the tagged MWEs were correct or almost correct. As an estimate of accuracy, we assign a score of 1.0 (full credit) to full matches, 0.8 (almost full credit) to partial matches, and 0.5 (partial credit) to overlapping MWEs, to give us an estimated tagging accuracy score of 65.0%.

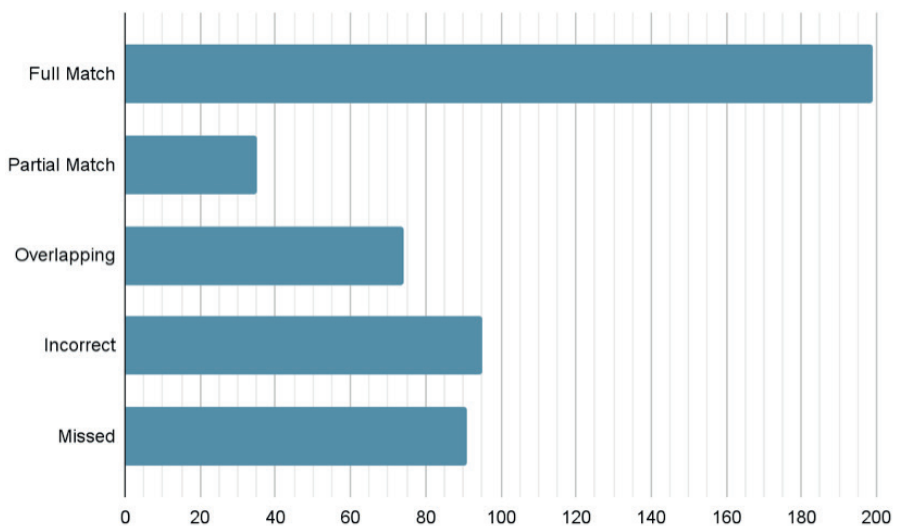


Figure 2. Number of MWEs in automatically tagged sample MWE-MT-100 ga that were full matches, partial matches, overlapping, incorrect or missed with regards to Test-100-gold ga

Table 3 displays the results of this evaluation per MWE category. The category with the highest tagging accuracy was VPC; of the 6 VPCs occurring in the data, all were tagged correctly. This is surprising, as verbal MWEs often display syntactic flexibility and discontinuity, which is not captured in the automatic tagging. However, this is a relatively rare category in the data, so a larger sample may demonstrate lower accuracy in tagging. Unsurprisingly,

FEs have a high degree of accuracy, with most of the tagged FEs being full or partial matches. Using our assigned scoring, FEs are tagged with an accuracy of 89.2%. Discounting VPCs, verbal MWEs as a whole appear to be challenging to automatically tag. This is particularly reflected with the LVC MWEs, as these tended to display a high degree flexibility. For instance, the LVC *déan iarracht* ‘make an effort’ can vary to indicate tense (*rinne iarracht* ‘made an effort), infinitive form (*iarracht a dhéanamh*, ‘to make an effort), intensity (*ag déanamh tréan-iarracht* ‘making a strong effort’), etc. Combined with their high degree of productivity, these MWEs are difficult to capture in a lexicon. Using our assigned scoring, LVCs are tagged with an accuracy of 41.5%. The category with the lowest accuracy was NE, which were tagged with an accuracy of 39.9%. Many of these MWEs were missed entirely, as a number of the NEs annotated were heavily context dependent, such as *Chéim II* ‘Step II’, and *Chuid 4* ‘Part 4’. Others were the names of small organisations or placenames, which may not be listed in lexicons, e.g. *Fonduireacht Teagascóirí Gaeilge* ‘Irish Language Tutors Foundation’, or *Oileáin an Mhachaire* ‘Magharee Islands’.

Category	Full Match	Partial Match	Overlapping	Missed
CC	10	3	1	7
FE	113	8	11	8
IAV	10	7	8	8
IP	3	0	1	1
LVC	2	2	26	10
NC	35	1	5	14
NE	18	8	19	40
VID	3	0	5	0
VPC	6	0	0	0

Table 3. Evaluation of MWE categories annotated in Test-100-gold ga with regards to their automatic tagging in MWE-MT-100 ga.

3.3. Implications for annotation of MWEs in Irish

Table 1 demonstrates how the categories of MWEs are distributed in Irish. While the small sample size does not have the statistical basis to demonstrate statistically significant patterns, there is a correlation between the frequency of categories in both corpora, where those categories align. Comparing vMWEs annotated as VID, LVC, VPC and IAV, in PARSEME ga these categories are in the proportion of 16.0%, 48.8%, 7.3% and 27.9% respectively, while in Test-100-gold ga these categories are in the proportion of 9.2%, 46.0%, 6.9% and 37.9% respectively. Assuming the distribution of other MWE categories in Test-100-gold ga is also representative of their distribution in Irish text, NCs, NEs and FEs make up the largest

proportion of MWEs for Irish. Both NCs and FEs had a relatively high accuracy, however, the automatic tagging failed to capture many NEs.

The automatic tagging method presented generally captures MWEs that are shorter (i.e. 2 tokens), fixed, and contain less context-dependent or specialised language. It also appears to capture roughly the same number of MWEs as manual annotation, although MWEs that are productive, syntactically flexible, context-dependent or rely on specialised language are less likely to be accurately tagged.

4. Conclusions

This paper describes the automatic tagging of a parallel MWE corpus for the purpose of building a MWE-aware machine translation system, and the manual annotation of a test corpus for the purpose of evaluating the handling of MWEs by the MT system. We compare this corpus with the PARSEME corpus for Irish, finding patterns in the frequency of MWE categories, and investigating MWE length. The manually annotated test corpus Test-100-gold ga is compared to the automatically tagged sample from the large parallel corpus, and we present an analysis of the MWEs captured by the automatic tagging method, as well as the quality of the tagging method. We find that fixed expressions and nominal compounds are captured well by the automatic tagging, however light verb constructions and named entities are not.

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Une ressource phraséologique et son accès en chinois pour l'aide à la rédaction académique

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Abstract

This article presents the adaptation of a lexical resource integrating single words, idioms and collocations based on a corpus of scientific articles for a lexical writing aid in French that students can use independently. The aim of the study is to provide easy access to the resource through Chinese translation to Chinese-speaking learners, an important community in French higher education. We will show the semantic and syntactic treatment in the translation work and didactic comments derived from the comparison of the French and Chinese scientific lexicon.

Keywords

lexical resources, academic writing, French didactics, Chinese translation, phraseology

1. Introduction

Dans la rédaction des écrits académiques, les difficultés des étudiants allophones sont non seulement d'ordre méthodologique, mais aussi d'ordre linguistique : ils sont confrontés à la maîtrise d'un lexique et d'une phraséologie propres au genre scientifique, particulièrement difficiles pour les étudiants allophones. Cependant, les méthodes de FLE n'incluent que très peu d'éléments lexicaux quasi figés ou figés (Cavalla et al. 2019).

Dans la lignée des travaux sur les ressources académiques fondées sur corpus pour l'aide à la rédaction telles que le LEAD (Granger & Paquot 2010), ARTES (Pecman & Kübler 2011), le Phrasebank (Davis & Morley 2018) ou HARTAS (Alonso-Ramos et al. 2017), nous souhaitons élaborer une ressource phraséologique d'aide à la rédaction en proposant des accès par la traduction en chinois pour des étudiants sinophones. Ce travail s'appuie sur la ressource du Lexique Scientifique Transdisciplinaire (désormais LST¹), lexique qui, selon Tutin et Jacques (2018), renvoie au lexique scientifique non spécifique à un domaine, mais

¹ Une plateforme a été développée afin d'explorer les différentes entrées du LST, elle intègre et présente les propriétés pour chaque entrée ainsi que les différents liens structurants le LST (liens paradigmatiques et syntagmatiques) : <http://lst.demarre-shs.fr/>

partagé par plusieurs disciplines scientifiques. Cependant, cette ressource destinée aux linguistes et enseignants linguistes n'apparaît pas pleinement adaptée à notre public sinophone, ce qui nous amène à proposer un accès par la traduction en chinois.

Dans cet article, nous présentons tout d'abord des ressources phraséologiques académiques multilingues, ainsi que la ressource LST dans laquelle s'intègre notre traduction. Nous exposons par la suite la méthodologie de traduction, suivie d'un exposé de quelques différences syntaxiques et sémantiques entre le LST en français et en chinois, avant de conclure sur les perspectives.

2. Ressources phraséologiques académiques intégrant la traduction

Même si le recours à la langue maternelle dans la rédaction n'est pas recommandé par les didacticiens, les étudiants ne peuvent pas se passer de la langue maternelle et la rédaction passe souvent par un acte de traduction mentale (Pecman 2004). La prise en compte de la langue maternelle constitue un paramètre pertinent dans l'élaboration d'un outil d'aide à la rédaction.

Dans ce qui suit, nous présentons deux ressources phraséologiques académiques multilingues qui ont inspiré notre travail de traduction dans la ressource du LST.

2.1. Dictionnaire LEAD (Louvain English for Academic Purposes Dictionary)

Dans le domaine de l'« English for Academic Purposes », le dictionnaire LEAD (Granger & Paquot 2010) élaboré par l'Université de Louvain est un dictionnaire académique largement utilisé. L'un de ses points saillants est qu'il permet aux utilisateurs de choisir leur langue maternelle² et d'effectuer des recherches par des entrées lexicales traduites dans ces langues. Prenons l'exemple d'une entrée par la traduction en chinois. Une lexie en chinois peut correspondre à plusieurs lexies en anglais (voir Figure 1), de la même façon qu'une lexie en anglais peut avoir plusieurs traductions en chinois. Dans notre projet, nous nous inspirons de ce fonctionnement et nous souhaitons également offrir des traductions multiples afin de satisfaire les différentes interprétations des utilisateurs.

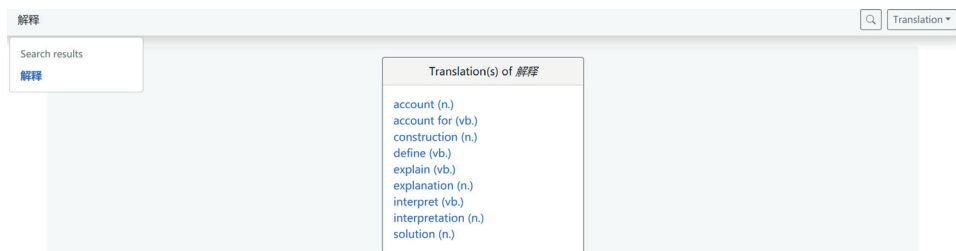


Figure 1. Exemple de l'entrée par la traduction en chinois dans LEAD

² Langues maternelles proposées : français, néerlandais, espagnol, chinois, allemand

Les traductions en chinois apparaissent pertinentes dans le LEAD, mais on peut regretter qu'il n'y ait pas d'exemples pour illustrer ces traductions qui présentent souvent une polysémie, ce qui peut entraîner des confusions pour l'utilisateur. Par ailleurs, quand les utilisateurs obtiennent plusieurs correspondances en anglais d'un mot en chinois, nous pensons qu'il est important de leur montrer les différences d'utilisation à l'aide des explications.

2.2. Ressource LexiTrans (Lexique Scientifique Transdisciplinaire)

Il est également intéressant d'évoquer ici le LexiTrans³, une ressource du LST bilingue français-anglais élaborée au Laboratoire OLST de l'Université de Montréal, sous la direction de Patrick Drouin (2007). Sans passer par la traduction, les éléments dans cette ressource bilingue sont extraits de deux corpus comparables en français et en anglais comportant chacun 4 millions de mots. Le LexiTrans comporte environ 3000 entrées portant sur les mots isolés⁴ (1500 dans chaque langue). Les équivalences entre les deux langues sont établies, et l'utilisateur peut indifféremment accéder aux entrées lexicales par le français ou l'anglais (voir Figure 2).

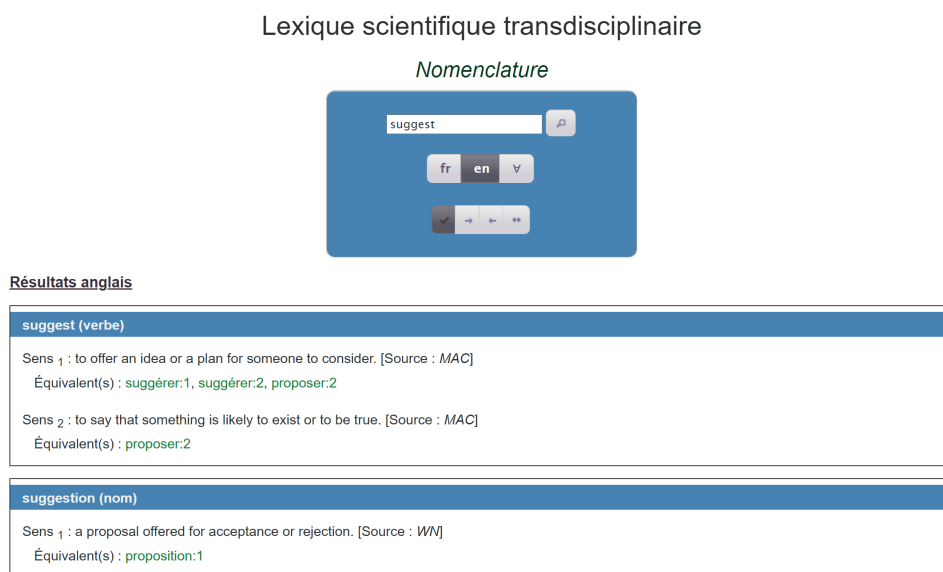


Figure 2. Exemple de l'équivalent anglais-français dans LexiTrans

L'objectif de cette ressource n'est pas didactique : il s'agit essentiellement de décrire les sens des unités lexicales en contexte à travers la mise en parallèle de deux langues. Du point de vue d'aide à la rédaction, nous pouvons regretter qu'il n'y ait pas d'indications sur la

³ Interface d'interrogation : <http://olst.ling.umontreal.ca/lexitrans/>

⁴ L'identification des collocations scientifiques transdisciplinaires et l'établissement d'équivalences entre les deux langues ont été envisagés, mais ne sont pas encore disponibles sur le site.

fréquence des équivalents, qui pourraient être utiles pour les scripteurs. Dans notre travail, nous allons présenter ces informations de fréquence aux étudiants pour les aider dans le choix des équivalents.

2.3. Ressource du LST au laboratoire LIDILEM

La ressource du LST élaborée au sein du laboratoire LIDILEM, sur laquelle s'appuie notre projet d'accès par la traduction, a été constituée à partir d'un corpus d'écrits scientifiques des sciences humaines et sociales (le corpus TermITH-Transdisciplinaire). Elle intègre 1297 mots simples (*argumenter*) et locutions (*point de vue*), 1500 collocations (*faire une hypothèse*), ainsi qu'un ensemble de routines sémantico-rhétoriques en cours de codage (Jacques & Tutin 2018).

Comme nous l'avons évoqué dans l'introduction, l'interface consultable du LST est une version bêta destinée aux linguistes et chercheurs en traitement automatique des langues, qui présente les propriétés sémantiques, syntaxiques et combinatoires des unités lexicales, accompagnées des exemples du corpus. Par exemple, le verbe *provenir* signifie « venir de » et s'inscrit dans le champ sémantique de « relation-source ». Il s'emploie dans la construction « qc provient de qc » (Figure 3). Les collocations associées sont *les données proviennent de...* et *provenir d'une enquête* (Figure 4).

provenir

Verbe - qc provient de qc relation / source

Glose : Venir de. (Les Verbes du Français)

Exemples Propriétés Collocations

Pour la condition contrôle, l'extrait sélectionné **provenait** d'un documentaire diffusé en 1999 sur ARTE (canal tél français). [spo-art-468]

En premier lieu, la faiblesse, voire l'absence, de résultats significatifs pourrait **provenir** du fait que la firme n'est peut-être pas autant affectée qu'on le suppose par la volatilité des changes. [sed-art-257]

Ces difficultés peuvent **provenir** de mécanismes d'embauche spécifiques qui sont notamment recensés dans FOUGÈRE et KRAMARZ. Il reste que des comportements individuels de recherche pourraient être, en fait, à l'origine de ces " inégalités " observées.

Les données dont nous disposons **proviennent** d'une enquête réalisée par l'IFPRI (International Food Policy Research Institute) au Pakistan entre 1986 et 1989

Figure 3. L'interface de la ressource du LST : exemple de provenir (1)

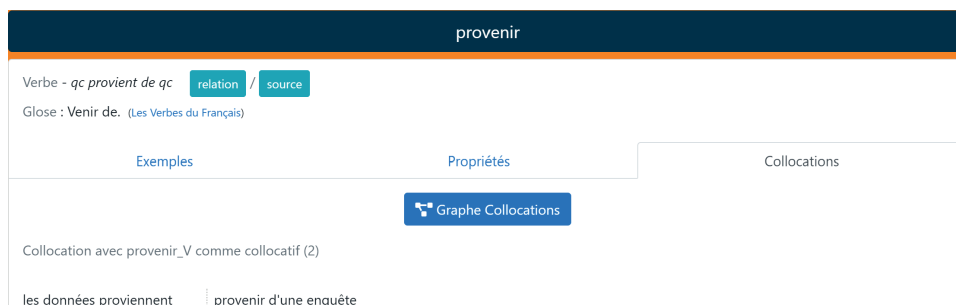


Figure 4. L'interface de la ressource du LST : exemple de provenir (2)

2.4. L'intégration de la traduction dans la ressource LST et l'élaboration d'un dictionnaire « bilingualisé »

Rappelons que la ressource LST recense les mots simples, les locutions et les collocations. Notre travail de traduction s'applique exclusivement aux mots simples et aux locutions pour que les apprenants sinophones puissent accéder à un ou plusieurs équivalents en français à partir du chinois. Nous avons choisi de ne pas traduire les collocations dans ce travail, parce que cela représente une tâche difficile à envisager à court terme faute de corpus scientifiques parallèles en français et en chinois. L'accès aux collocations en français passe par la base de la même façon que dans les travaux d'Alonso Ramos (2001) et d'Orenha-Ottaiano (2020) (pour explications précises, voir partie 3.2).

Nous souhaitons que les traductions figurent à côté des informations évoquées sur Figure 3 et 4 (voir Figure 5) : sous le verbe *provenir*, nous proposons quatre traductions possibles en chinois. En cliquant sur la première traduction, nous aurons un exemple correspondant traduit en chinois.

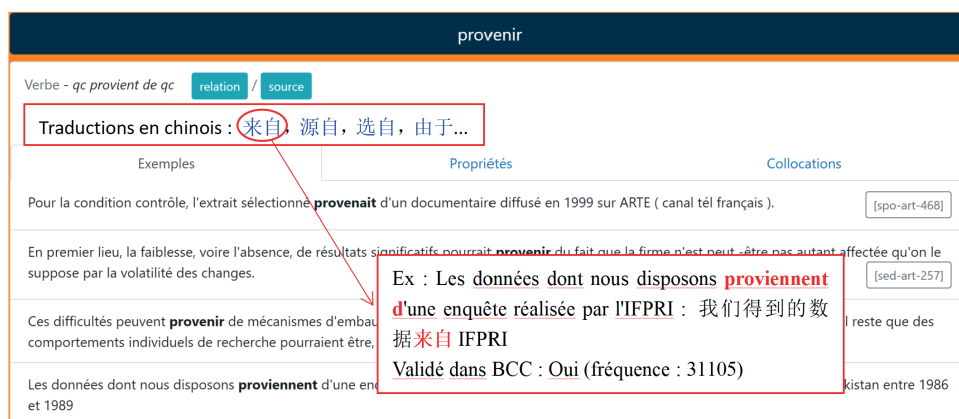


Figure 5. L'intégration de la traduction dans LST

En intégrant la traduction, nous allons élaborer un dictionnaire « bilinguisé », un sous-type de dictionnaire bilingue basé sur un dictionnaire monolingue, dont les entrées et les exemples sont traduits en totalité ou en partie dans une autre langue (Yao 2004).

Par rapport aux dictionnaires monolingues, les dictionnaires « bilingués » présentent l'avantage d'accélérer le temps de recherche et de favoriser la compréhension grâce à la traduction. Par rapport aux dictionnaires bilingues, ils permettent de fournir les propriétés sémantiques et syntaxiques des mots et le contexte de leur utilisation.

Pour résumer, nous élaborons un dictionnaire « bilinguisé » à partir d'une ressource monolingue du LST en proposant une traduction en chinois, afin d'aider les étudiants sinophones dans leur rédaction académique, particulièrement ceux qui sont inscrits en master ou en doctorat (notamment les domaines des sciences humaines et sociales) ayant un niveau de français B2 et plus.

3. Méthodologie de la traduction

Avant de procéder au travail de traduction, il faut connaître les besoins des utilisateurs (Tarp 2015). Nous avons élaboré un questionnaire et interrogé 26 étudiants chinois pour identifier leurs besoins rédactionnels et vérifier l'utilité de la traduction. Les résultats de notre enquête montrent que pendant la rédaction, les étudiants ayant peu rédigé d'écrits académiques ont l'habitude d'organiser d'abord leurs idées en chinois et de les traduire dans un deuxième temps, tandis que ceux qui sont plus expérimentés sont préoccupés par la répétition des formulations. La traduction est donc utile dans les deux cas, car certains peuvent bénéficier directement de la traduction, et d'autres peuvent éviter la répétition dans le sens où une lexie en chinois peut correspondre à plusieurs lexies en français. De plus, presque tous les étudiants recourent aux dictionnaires bilingues et aux traducteurs automatiques comme outils d'aide à la rédaction⁵, ce qui montre que la traduction représente une demande réelle de la part des étudiants. La traduction spécifique du LST est pertinente par rapport aux dictionnaires ou traducteurs automatiques généraux qui ne traitent pas le sens spécifique de mots polysémiques. Par exemple, les mots *contribution*, *entreprise*, *couple* prennent une acception particulière dans le discours scientifique. La traduction que nous proposons aidera les étudiants à comprendre des acceptions scientifiques abstraites qu'ils connaissent peu.

Dans ce qui suit, nous détaillerons les étapes du travail de traduction, suivies d'une illustration de l'accès par le chinois aux mots simples, aux locutions et aux collocations.

⁵ Principalement, 法语助手 (fǎ yǔ zhù shǒu, un dictionnaire électronique bilingue), Google translate et Deepl.

3.1. Étapes du travail de traduction

Notre méthode de traduction pour l'élaboration du dictionnaire « bilinguisé » suit plusieurs étapes :

3.1.1. Repérage des équivalences entre les deux langues et validation de la traduction

Rappelons que nous choisissons de traduire seulement les mots isolés et les locutions du LST vers le chinois. En nous appuyant sur les exemples du LST français, nous avons effectué les traductions en chinois dans des outils comme DeepL pour identifier les mots équivalents. La fréquence et l'adéquation des traductions sont ensuite vérifiées par deux linguistes natives chinoises dans un sous-corpus scientifique chinois du corpus BCC⁶. La traduction est validée quand elle apparaît plus de 5 fois dans au moins trois domaines des SHS dans ce sous-corpus scientifique.

Dans le cas où une lexie en français dispose de plusieurs traductions possibles en chinois, nous intégrons celles qui sont les plus fréquentes sur le site du LST. Toutes ces traductions fréquentes permettent à l'utilisateur d'accéder à l'équivalent en français.

3.1.2. Mise en place des exemples de traduction et des commentaires didactiques

Pour mieux illustrer les traductions isolées, nous fournissons des exemples traduits en chinois à partir de ceux du français, la fréquence de la traduction dans le corpus BCC, ainsi que quelques commentaires didactiques. À titre d'illustration, nous présentons dans le Tableau 1 les exemples de l'expression polysémique 允许 (*yǔnxǔ*), qui ont deux acceptions dans l'écrit scientifique : la première est « permettre, autoriser », et la deuxième est « comporter, supporter ». Si on cherche 允许 (*yǔnxǔ*), nous obtiendrons trois équivalents en français : *permettre* (Tableaux 1 : ex1), *autoriser* (Tableaux 1 : ex2) et *admettre* dans l'une des acceptions (Tableaux 1 : ex 3).

⁶ BCC : BLCU Chinese Corpus développé par l'Université des Langues de Pékin (480 millions de mots). Ce corpus est accessible en ligne : <http://bcc.blcu.edu.cn/>

1. Entrée en chinois	2. Entrée en français	3. Exemple en français	4. Exemple traduit en chinois	5. Dans BCC	6. Commentaire didactique	7. Synonymes (les autres traductions possibles)
ex1. 允许	Permettre_V	Ce résultat permet d'affirmer que...	结果允许我们肯定...	Validé	Attention : À distinguer avec <i>autoriser</i> : différente structure syntaxique <i>Qc permet de + Vinf</i> <i>Qc permet à qn de + Vinf</i>	使
ex2. 允许	Autoriser_V	Le format de cette contribution ne nous autorise pas à revenir en détail sur la multitude d'analyses produites sur cette question.	本稿件的格式不允许我们再详细讨论关于这个问题的众多分析结果	Validé	À distinguer avec <i>permettre</i> : différente structure syntaxique <i>Qc autorise qc</i> <i>Qc autorise qn à + Vinf</i>	
ex3. 允许	Admettre_V_1	Une même forme graphique admet en revanche des variations phoniques plus importantes.	相同的书写形式却允许显著的发音变化	Validé	<i>Qc admet qc</i> : À distinguer avec <i>permettre</i> et <i>autoriser</i> : « Comporter, supporter », Pour exprimer l'inclusion.	容许

Tableau 1. Exemple des équivalences de l'expression polysémique 允许 (yǔnxǔ)

Dans un premier temps, comme le mot chinois 允许 (*yǔnxǔ*) est polysémique, il faut mettre en place des exemples pour illustrer ses deux sens (Tableau 1, Colonne 4). À l'aide de ces exemples, la polysémie du mot apparaît claire et permet aux étudiants de vérifier s'il s'agit du sens visé.

Dans un second temps, le mot 允许 (*yǔnxǔ*) correspond à trois verbes différents en français : *permettre*, *autoriser* et *admettre*. Il est possible que les étudiants ne distinguent pas bien ces trois verbes français parce qu'ils correspondent à une même expression 允许 (*yǔnxǔ*) en chinois. Dans ce cas, nous indiquons les différences sémantiques et syntaxiques de ces trois verbes français à l'utilisateur à travers des commentaires pédagogiques (Tableau 1,

Colonne 6). Les commentaires pédagogiques seront également fournis dans les cas où il existe des différences entre les équivalents du LST en chinois et en français auxquelles les étudiants doivent être attentifs pendant l'apprentissage (voir partie 4.1).

3.2. Illustration de l'accès aux mots simples, aux locutions et aux collocations par la traduction

L'accès aux mots simples et aux locutions suit les mêmes étapes. Citons à titre d'exemple l'entrée du verbe 认为 (*rènwéi* « penser, supposer ») (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Exemple d'accès aux mots simples et aux collocations par la traduction

Comme nous choisissons de ne pas traduire les collocations, l'accès aux collocations s'effectue par les mots simples en français, souvent par la base des collocations. Par exemple, si on veut chercher comment exprimer 普遍认为 (*pǔ biàn rèn wéi* « admettre couramment ») en français, il faut commencer par la recherche de la base 认为 (*rèn wéi*) pour obtenir le verbe *admettre*, et puis accéder à la collocation *admettre généralement* à travers le bouton « collocation » sur la page correspondante (voir Figure 6).

Le travail de traduction permet non seulement de faciliter l'accès aux mots LST, mais aussi de mettre en contraste le lexique du LST en français et en chinois. En nous basant sur les différences identifiées, nous proposons dans la partie suivante quelques réflexions didactiques.

4. Les différences du LST en français et en chinois et quelques réflexions didactiques

La question que nous nous posons dans cette partie est : comment peut-on présenter les différences entre le LST en français et en chinois dans notre ressource afin de faciliter l'apprentissage du LST français ? Nous illustrons ce point avec quelques exemples d'explications syntaxiques et sémantiques.

4.1. Les variations syntaxiques des mots français

Le chinois apparaît comme « une langue à tendance sémantique » si l'on considère la position importante du thème dans la phrase chinoise (Ma 2022), tandis que pour le français, les phrases sont davantage conditionnées par les règles syntaxiques (Hou & Landragin 2019). En ce qui concerne le discours scientifique, les structures syntaxiques sont plus variées en

français qu'en chinois. En chinois, les verbes s'emploient souvent à la voix active tandis qu'en français, le passif et les constructions impersonnelles sont aussi fréquents. Il apparaît donc pertinent de souligner ces spécificités pour les apprenants, en présentant les syntaxiques préférées des mots, principalement pour les verbes. Cela se traduira dans notre ressource par des commentaires didactiques.

Par exemple, pour le verbe *attacher*, le passif est souvent utilisé (l'exemple 2) : « qc attaché à qc », ou avec le pronominal : « qc s'attache à qc », alors que l'équivalent en chinois 联系起来 (*lián xì qǐ lái*) s'emploie à la voix active (l'exemple 1). Lorsque l'étudiant obtient le verbe *attacher* à partir de l'entrée 联系起来 (*lián xì qǐ lái*), un commentaire lui indiquera que ce verbe s'emploie souvent au passif ou avec le pronominal.

- (1) 我们要把学生的特点与他们的年龄段联系起来。

Traduction : Il arrive qu'on **attache** les caractéristiques des élèves à leur classe d'âge.

- (2) *Les difficultés **attachées** à la comparaison au fil du temps de catégories*

4.2. Les notions scientifiques complexes

Nous avons relevé des notions conceptuelles scientifiques qui renvoient à des concepts abstraits et spécifiques en français, qui n'existent pas véritablement en chinois, comme *terrain*, *support*, *instance*.

Pour ces éléments, nous pouvons proposer des équivalences en chinois à l'aide de paraphrases, mais cela risque d'être assez abstrait pour les apprenants. Par conséquent, nous avons choisi de donner des explications sémantiques avec des « mises en scène » pour rendre les explications plus concrètes. Comme le souligne Eastes (2013), les individus comprennent mieux en fonction de leur vécu et de leur bagage cognitif. On pourra ainsi favoriser la saisie du sens par la visualisation d'une « scène » familière. Par exemple, pour le mot *terrain*, nous dirons qu'il s'agit de lieu concret ou abstrait où un scientifique exerce sa recherche : 研究进行的现实或虚拟阵地. À cela s'ajoutent différents cas d'utilisation : si on travaille sur le multilinguisme dans les régions tibétaines, les régions tibétaines sont les terrains de recherche. Si on travaille sur les phrases exclamatives dans un ensemble d'enregistrements d'audio, les enregistrements constituent également le terrain de recherche. Les connaissances scientifiques peuvent être acquises à l'aide des représentations mentales produites chez le récepteur.

4.3. Les routines discursives

Les routines discursives⁷ (Tutin & Kraif 2016) propres à chaque langue et à chaque type de discours constituent des difficultés dans la traduction. Ces routines comme *Le présent article s'attache à montrer, notre travail s'inscrit dans le cadre de* remplissant une fonction

⁷ Les routines sont définies comme « des énoncés récurrents construits autour d'un verbe et d'arguments remplissant différents rôles sémantiques dont une partie est actualisée dans le discours. Chaque routine peut être associée à une fonction discursive/rhétorique spécifique » (Tutin & Kraif, 2016, p. 121)

rhétorique importante sont spécifiques dans l'écrit scientifique français et se formulent très différemment dans l'écrit scientifique chinois. Ainsi, nous souhaitons proposer un accès onomasiologique par des fonctions discursives, ce qui permettra de mettre à disposition les constructions spécifiques. L'accès onomasiologique fonctionnel complète ainsi l'accès sémasiologique par la traduction.

5. Conclusion

Dans cette étude, nous avons présenté une ressource du LST en français avec un accès par la traduction en chinois afin de faciliter l'utilisation de la ressource aux étudiants chinois. Par ailleurs, l'étude comparative liée à la traduction nous a permis de réfléchir à des méthodes qui soulignent les spécificités du lexique scientifique français.

Nous projetons également de réaliser un test de traduction auprès des étudiants chinois, pour vérifier si la traduction proposée (traduction modèle, accompagnée de synonymes) correspond à leurs connaissances lexicales. La traduction doit être intuitive pour les utilisateurs et un test empirique est ainsi nécessaire pour valider la traduction.

Enfin, cette étude fait émerger des questions d'ordre théorique, méthodologique et pratique pour l'élaboration de la traduction des mots du corpus et pour son utilisation par des non-linguistes.

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De l'exploitation lexicographique des outils d'analyse de corpus pour les *chengyu* du chinois mandarin

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Abstract

In this article, we will study, from a translational and didactic point of view, the lexicographical treatment of the Chinese phraseological units known as *chengyu*. First, we will compare various dictionaries to identify their aporia for French-speaking trainees. Then, we will present how the automatic corpus analysis tools can contribute to the study of *chengyu*. We will use monolingual Chinese corpora to check their frequency, recurrence, and context of use. Then, the parallel corpus *OPUS2* will be employed to check their French translations. We will verify whether *chengyu* are always translated through PU and if translations are homogeneous in the parallel corpus. On this basis, we will establish a typical dictionary entry pattern for *chengyu* designed for trainee translators.

Keywords

chengyu, phraseology, lexicography, translation training, corpus linguistics

Introduction

Parmi les unités phraséologiques (UP) du mandarin, les *chengyu* sont celles que les Chinois voient comme les plus singuliers, à tel point que Chen (1999 : 122) les qualifie de «joyaux». Les spécialistes occidentaux, tel Conti (2017, 2019, 2020), confirment cette distinctivité (Conti 2020 : 412). Cependant, l'enseignement des *chengyu* est souvent absent des formations (Guo 2017 : 101) ; de même, les recherches dans le monde sinophone se concentrent sur la littérature et la presse (Guo 2017 : 85-86), tandis que les traductologues (Henry 2016b : 11) et didacticiens (Conti 2020 : 412) négligeraient les *chengyu*.

Dans cet article, après avoir défini les *chengyu*, nous illustrerons leur traitement dans les dictionnaires chinois monolingues et dans les dictionnaires bilingues CH-FR. Nous soulignerons les défauts de ces outils, et montrerons quelles améliorations peut offrir l'analyse statistique sur corpus monolingue.

Ensuite, nous examinerons, grâce à un corpus parallèle, la traduction anglaise du *chengyu* 一触即发 *yi-chu-ji-fa*. Après avoir fixé sa fréquence avec un diagramme de concordance, nous observerons sémantiquement leurs versions anglaises, et tenterons d'expliquer les choix traductifs par un survol des métaphores utilisées.

Enfin, nous proposerons un canevas d'entrée pour les *chengyu*, susceptible de répondre aux besoins des apprentis traducteurs.

1. 1. Définition des *chengyu*

La question définitoire des *chengyu* n'est pas réglée (Conti, 2020, p. 412), en raison de la relative jeunesse de la phraséologie, de «l'inconsistance théorique» et de «l'imbraglio terminologique» dans la discipline (Henry 2016b : 11 ; 32). Ne prétendant pas résoudre cette confusion, nous tenterons toutefois de dégager une définition opératoire des *chengyu*. En effet, une typologie spécifique pourrait mettre en relief les écueils que ces UP comportent en traduction et les différences de traitement qu'elles subissent lors de ce transfert (cf. Tidjon Djambong, 2016).

Nous retiendrons, à titre indicatif, la définition de Henry (2016a : 124) :

Les *chengyu* sont des structures intégratives du chinois mandarin, pouvant, contrairement aux autres phrasèmes de la langue, occuper n'importe quelle position fonctionnelle. Inscrites dans le patrimoine mémoriel des locuteurs et comportant fréquemment un fort contenu allusif, ces expressions originellement de registre élevé ou formel sont fortement conventionnalisées et présentent un éminent caractère citatif. Elles ont pour autres spécificités d'être relativement figées (fixité syntaxique, blocage lexical et éventuelle non-compositionnalité) et de suivre dans une écrasante majorité des cas un rythme quaternaire.

Sur les plans sémantique et métaphorique, Sabban (1980 : 68–97), affirme que ces UP réfèrent à la nature, au corps humain, aux animaux, au contexte socio-économique de la Chine, à la mythologie, à la religion, à l'histoire ou aux nombres (connotés culturellement [Nall 2009 : 2]).

Plus récemment, Conti (2020) dévie de Henry (2016a, 2016b) en citant Ni & Yao (1990), qui dressent une typologie des *chengyu* sur la base du concept de fixité : soit ces UP seraient tout à fait compositionnelles, soit leur sens idiomatique dériverait de leur sens littéral, soit aucune relation n'existerait entre les deux (Conti 2020 : 413). Cependant, il est compliqué de différencier les *chengyu* compositionnels de ceux dont l'acception métaphorique serait déduite de leur sens littéral.

En conséquence, nous retiendrons les traits suivants :

- les *chengyu* sont des expressions (normalement) quadrisyllabiques typiques du mandarin ;
- d'un registre au départ formel, ils peuvent faire partie de la communication quotidienne ;

- sémantiquement, ils peuvent référer à des éléments culturellement connotés (cf. Sabban 1980);
- ils ne se réduisent pas à une nature grammaticale et occupent diverses positions fonctionnelles;
- ils témoignent d'une fixité syntaxique et d'un blocage lexical manifestes, mais leur degré de motivation, de figuration, de transparence et d'analysabilité varie.

2. De l'usage des dictionnaires pour la traduction des *chengyu*

2.1. Pertinence de l'étude

Les *chengyu*, UP capables de véhiculer concisément des sens très subtils (Guo 2017 : 83), compliqueraient la tâche du traducteur.

En effet, les UP, en tant de ressorts de l'intertextualité, demandent aux traducteurs de les identifier comme telles dans la langue source et de dégager ainsi les plus petites UP dans les textes (Xatara 2002 : 442). En l'absence de segmentation lexicale, cet exercice est encore plus ardu en chinois (Wong et coll., 2009, p. 25).

De surcroît, en raison de la grande charge culturelle des UP, un équivalent dans la langue cible peut être impossible à trouver (Sadeghpour, 2012, p. 102). Les allusions que contiennent fréquemment les *chengyu* peuvent ainsi poser des obstacles aux traducteurs, qui ne partagent pas les mêmes référents que les sinophones natifs et pour qui les structures (sémantiques, pragmatiques et syntaxiques) ne sont pas directement identifiables (Sadeghpour 2012 : 102–103). Il serait donc malaisé de rendre à la fois le sens et potentiellement l'image des *chengyu* (Chen 1999 : 124).

2.2. Des lacunes des dictionnaires

Si les dictionnaires font partie de l'arsenal auquel devraient recourir les apprentis traducteurs, nous avançons que leurs entrées pourraient être revues.

D'abord, les *chengyu* sont rarement identifiés comme tels; et, quand ils le sont, les critères taxonomiques ne sont pas précisés.

Ensuite, dans les dictionnaires bilingues, la recherche d'«équivalents naturels» ou de paraphrases semble privilégiée à de réelles définitions. Du reste, en général, au lieu de proposer des exemples contextualisés en chinois moderne et des explications concrètes sur la signification ou l'usage du *chengyu*, les dictionnaires en donnent la première attestation, le plus souvent dans un état ancien de la langue. Bien que cette information démontre l'attachement des lexicographes chinois à la philologie, un apprenti traducteur, moins familier avec ce bagage classique, ne pourra adéquatement en tirer profit pour rendre des textes contemporains.

Par ailleurs, les dictionnaires chinois, comme dans d'autres domaines linguistiques, ne font guère mention du degré de fréquence des *chengyu* ou, quand c'est le cas, cette indication semble découler de l'intuition des lexicographes et non d'une démarche scientifique. Il faut toutefois reconnaître que, jusqu'il y a peu, l'absence d'outils numériques pour l'analyse automatique de corpus compliquait cette tâche.

Dès lors, une étude plus poussée du traitement lexicographique des *chengyu* permettrait de dégager les lacunes de ces ouvrages et de proposer un canevas d'entrée à visée didactique.

2.3. Illustration

En guise d'exemples, analysons les entrées consacrées à deux *chengyu* dans divers dictionnaires : 半斤八两 *ba-jin-ba-liang* {DEMI-LIVRE –8-ONCE} «du pareil au même», et 三顾茅庐 *san-gu-mao-lu* {3-VISITER-ROSEAU-HUTTE} «solliciter avec insistance le concours d'une personne de talent». Les références retenues couvrent tout le spectre des ouvrages consultables : le 《多功能成语词典》 *Duogongneng Chengyu Cidian* (dictionnaire électronique spécialisé monolingue, 2010), le *CFDICT* (dictionnaire électronique général bilingue CH-FR), le *Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise* (dictionnaire encyclopédique bilingue CH-FR, 2001 [version électronique]), le *Dictionnaire des chengyu* de Doan & Weng (dictionnaire papier spécialisé bilingue CH-FR, 1999), et le 《汉法大词典》 *Grand dictionnaire chinois-français contemporain* (dictionnaire papier général bilingue CH-FR ; Huang 2014).

▼ CY

解释 旧制十六两为一斤,八两为半斤。比喻彼此一样,不相上下。

语见 《水浒传》一百零七回:“众将看他两个本事,都是半斤八两的。”

用法 本成语常用来比喻彼此程度相当,分不出高下。

例句 自己业务经验和大家差不多,半斤八两,有啥本事来当领导?(周而复《上海的早晨》四部六十二)

近义 毫无二致、平分秋色、旗鼓相当

反义 大相径庭、截然不同

辨析 半斤八两和毫无二致,都有“相同”的意思。但半斤八两指不相上下,大致相同,语义较轻;毫无二致则指完全相同,没有两样,语义较重。半斤八两多含贬义;毫无二致为中性。

14:18

< banjinba + ^ v

半斤八两 [---兩]

PY **bànjīnbāliǎng** (M)

DICT STROKE CHARS WORDS SENTS

▼ CF

1 (expr. idiom.) du pareil au même

2 blanc bonnet et bonnet blanc

▼ GR

(loc.) Une demi-livre et huit onces : bonnet blanc et blanc bonnet; c'est du pareil au même. – *Anton.* : 判若云泥 pàn ruò yún ní. – *Note* : Seize onces faisaient une livre chinoise ancienne.

Figure 1. Captures d'écran de l'entrée 半斤八两 dans le *Duogongneng Chengyu Cidian*, *CFDICT* et le *Grand Ricci*

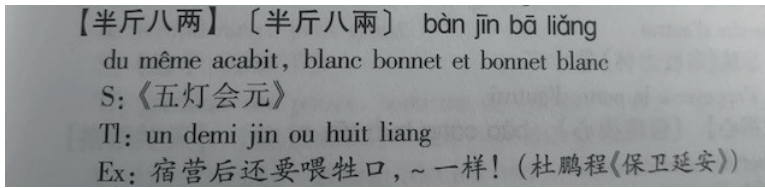


Figure 2. Reproduction de l'entrée 半斤八两 dans le *Dictionnaire des chengyu* (Doan & Weng 1999 : 11)

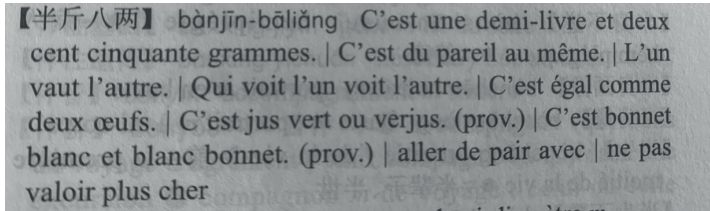


Figure 3. Reproductions de l'entrée 半斤八两 dans le *Grand dictionnaire chinois-français contemporain* (Huang 2014 : 43)

Figure 4. Captures d'écran de l'entrée 三顾茅庐 dans le *Duogongneng Chengyu Cidian* et le *Grand Ricci*

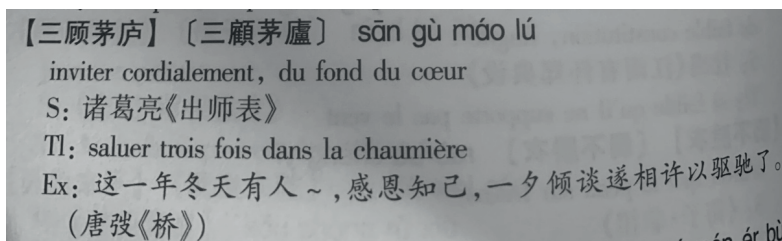


Figure 5. Reproduction de l'entrée 三顾茅庐 dans le *Dictionnaire des chengyu* (Doan & Weng 1999 : 11)

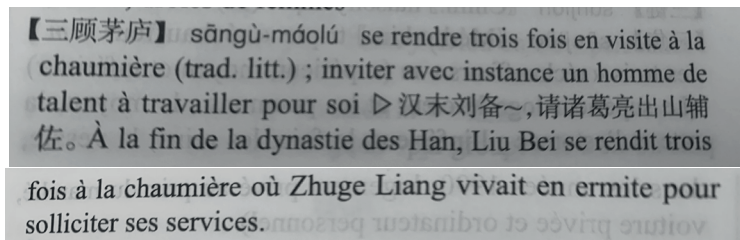


Figure 6. Reproductions de l'entrée 三顾茅庐 dans le *Grand dictionnaire chinois-français contemporain* (Huang 2014 : 1327–28)

Observons tout d'abord que les dictionnaires généraux diffèrent sur l'appellation à conférer aux *chengyu* : pour 半斤八两, le *CFDICT* parle d'« expression idiomatique » et le *Grand Ricci* de « locution », tandis que le *Grand Dictionnaire chinois-français contemporain* demeure muet sur la question, même s'il qualifie certaines traductions de « proverbiales » ; s'agissant de 三顾茅庐, le *Grand Ricci* évoque son caractère « idiomatique » et « allusif », là où le *Grand Dictionnaire* reste vague.

S'agissant du sens, les dictionnaires bilingues procèdent de la même façon, en apportant une traduction littérale (nommée ainsi chez Doan & Weng et parfois dans le *Grand Dictionnaire*) accompagnée de versions « équivalentes » censément plus idiomatiques, sans que le comportement syntaxique des UP ne soit considéré (par exemple, sous l'entrée 半斤八两 dans le *Grand Dictionnaire*, la locution phrastique « c'est blanc bonnet et bonnet blanc » est mise sur le même pied que le syntagme « aller de pair avec »). Le *Duogongneng*, pour sa part, divise la partie définitoire en deux : dans la sous-entrée « 解释 *jieshi* », il explicite les éventuelles acceptions plus obscures des sinogrammes constitutifs du *chengyu*, tandis que dans la sous-entrée « 用法 *yongfa* » il s'attache à donner le sens global de l'UP ; mais il n'est pas aisé de faire le départ entre ces deux informations.

Il se confirme que la première attestation des *chengyu* jouit de la faveur des lexicographes spécialisés, puisqu'il apparaît tant dans l'ouvrage de référence chinois monolingue (sous-entrée « 语见 *yujian* » dans le *Duogongneng*) que dans un dictionnaire bilingue (Doan & Weng) ; les ouvrages généraux, eux, semblent ne pas s'embarrasser de ces considérations. Mentionnons malgré tout que le *Grand Ricci* offre des informations encyclopédiques (sous

la forme d'une «Note») pour expliciter l'origine et le sens des *chengyu* — le *Duogongneng* procède pareillement, dans la sous-entrée «典故 *diangu*».

Contrairement à nos hypothèses, les dictionnaires spécialisés proposent des exemples contextualisés censés présenter l'usage des *chengyu* en chinois moderne; de même, dans le *Grand Dictionnaire chinois-français contemporain* pour 三顾茅庐, la phrase livrée sert aussi à fournir la source de l'expression. Toutefois, ces exemples sont forgés par les lexicographes ou extraits d'œuvres littéraires, et pourraient donc manquer de représentativité. De plus, aucun dictionnaire ne précise la fréquence des *chengyu*, ce qui pourrait aussi conduire les apprenants à se méprendre sur leur usage contemporain. L'analyse d'autres ouvrages et corpus de référence, tels que le 《新华成语大词典》 *Xinhua chengyu da cidian* (2013) et le 《现代汉语词典》 *Xiandai hanyu cidian* (2017), ainsi que le *Corpus and Dictionary of Chinese Chengyu* (1994), montre que, dans les rares cas où la fréquence est indiquée, les lexicographes ne précisent pas la méthode derrière leur catégorisation. Une consultation du *Chinese Internet Corpus* (Sharoff 2005), riche de 280 millions de tokens, montre par exemple que 半斤八两, attesté 95 fois, est le plus souvent introduit par le verbe copule 是 *shi*, qui marque une identité entre un sujet et son attribut (voir exemple [1]); quant à 三顾茅庐, attesté 74 fois, il est utilisé surtout dans une fonction syntagmatique ou prédicative, souvent avec une antonomase sur le personnage de Zhuge Liang (voir exemples [2] et [3]).

- (1) 我看你们俩是半斤八两, 一个埋怨, 一个不说话。(Notre traduction : *Pour moi, vous êtes tous les deux du pareil au même : quand l'un se plaint, l'autre se tait.*)
- (2) 但不管是什么原因, 虽然他们是“三顾茅庐”, 但却都是竹篮打水一场空。(Notre traduction : *Peu importe la raison, bien qu'ils aient fait appel aux meilleurs talents, ce fut en pure perte.*)
- (3) 真正的人才 是诸葛亮, 你不三顾茅庐, 他不会出山的。(Notre traduction : *Les vrais talents sont comme Zhuge Liang : ils ne sortent de leur retraite que lorsqu'on vient les solliciter avec insistance.*)

Notons enfin que certains ouvrages offrent d'autres indications potentiellement profitables en didactique. Ainsi, le *Duogongneng* propose des antonymes (反义 *fanyi*) et des synonymes (近义 *jinyi*) — qui sont toujours eux-mêmes des *chengyu*; le dictionnaire va même, parfois, jusqu'à expliciter les finesses (sémantiques, syntaxiques et discursives) de certaines synonymes (sous l'entrée «辨析 *bianxi*»). Pour l'entrée 半斤八两, le *Grand Ricci* livre un antonyme, mais ce choix éditorial n'est pas généralisé (aucune mention similaire pour 三顾茅庐). Le *Duogongneng* prend aussi soin (dans la sous-entrée «提示» *tishi* pour 三顾茅庐) de signaler de possibles confusions graphiques.

3. Étude expérimentale

Dans cette partie, nous procéderons à une recherche montrant les apports des outils de l'analyse linguistique de corpus, en particulier des corpus parallèles, pour optimiser l'intégration des *chengyu* dans les dictionnaires traductifs.

Ce travail reprend les résultats obtenus par Manon Hayette lors de son Master en traduction à finalité approfondie à l'Université de Mons. Bien que ceux-ci portent sur la traduction CH-EN, nous avançons qu'une transposition au couple CH-FR pourrait facilement être exécutée selon un protocole identique et avec les mêmes outils (avec toutes les précautions d'usage vu la différence de composition des corpus parallèles).

Les *chengyu* comprenant des numéraux sont considérés comme les plus caractéristiques et dignes d'étude (Nall 2009 : 2-3). Sur la base d'une analyse du *Corpus and Dictionary of Chinese Chengyu*, Nall (2009 : 46) affirme que les numéraux les plus fréquents sont, dans l'ordre : 一 1, 三 3, 千 1000, 百 100 et 万 10 000. Pour des raisons pratiques, nous nous sommes limités, dans le présent article, à une UP qui comporte le chiffre 一 1, en l'occurrence 一触即发 *yi-chu-ji-fa*, qui, selon *CFDICT* se traduit par «menacer d'éclater au moindre choc» ou «être à deux doigts de la crise». Ce choix se justifie par le fait que cette locution est qualifiée de «courante» (常用) sur le site Difanwen.com, l'un des rares outils en ligne à évoquer la fréquence, même de façon imprécise et subjective — puisqu'aucune motivation n'est fournie pour l'étayer. L'un de nos objectifs est de combler ces insuffisances à l'aide d'un dispositif plus scientifique.

3.1. Composition des corpus

La recension des occurrences de 一触即发 et de ses traductions a été menée sur la plateforme *SketchEngine*. Une première analyse a été engagée sur un corpus chinois monolingue, le *Chinese Web Corpus 2017 Simplified (zhTenTen17)*, composé de plus de 16,5 milliards de tokens (sinogrammes *hanzi*). Nous avons découvert que l'UP y apparaît 27090 fois (0,00016 % du corpus).

Pour étudier les versions anglaises du *chengyu*, deux corpus parallèles ont été exploités sur *SketchEngine* : *OPUS2 Chinese Simplified* (plus de 299 millions de tokens) et *OPUS2 English* (près d'un 1,4 milliard de tokens). Le premier comporte très majoritairement (plus de 96 % des tokens) des textes issus de l'ONU; le second, s'il englobe une large portion de textes onusiens (plus de 30 %), comprend aussi une grande part de sous-titres (plus de 55 %). Ces sous-corpus sont complétés par des publications en informatique et en droit et par des rapports de diverses agences internationales. Lors de la conduite de cette étude, on observe que toutes les occurrences sauf une étaient issues des sous-corpus MultiUN et UN, qui touchent surtout aux interventions lors de conflits armés. Les textes inclus dans MultiUN ont été compilés de janvier 2000 à juin 2011 par le biais du système de documentation officiel de l'ONU (Eisele & Chen 2010). Le sous-corpus UN, quant à lui, contient des textes traduits de 1990 à 2014 (<https://conferences.unite.un.org/UNCorpus/>).

3.2. Analyse descriptive et résultats

En étudiant la traduction de 80 occurrences de 一触即发, nous notons (voir Figure 7) que, en majorité, cette UP a été rendue en anglais par l'adjectif *hair-trigger*. Cependant, l'emploi de ce terme comme adjectif est considéré, selon *Google Books Ngram Viewer*, comme

assez rare entre 1990 et 2014. En outre, *hair-trigger* serait informel d'après le *Cambridge Dictionary*, et son usage devrait donc être évité dans un contexte formel comme celui de l'ONU. Néanmoins, comme notre échantillon est surtout composé de textes décrivant les interventions de l'ONU, il n'est pas étonnant qu'un tel terme référant à la détente d'une arme ait ainsi été utilisé.

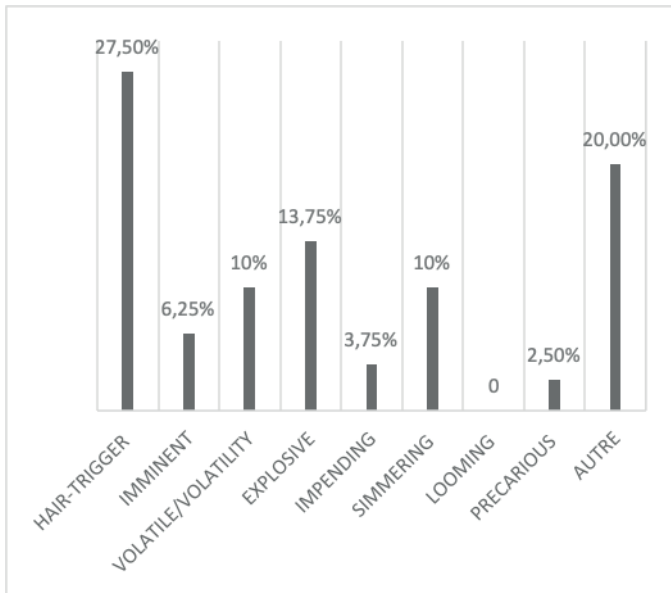


Figure 7. Relevé des traductions anglaises de 一触即发 dans le corpus parallèle OPUS2

La section «Autre» renvoie à des hapax (seulement 1,25 % des items) : *erupt in violence at the slightest trigger* ; *touch-and-go* ; *inflammable* ; *combustible* ; *require only a small trigger* ; *catching fire* ; *breaking point* ; *powder keg* ; *incendiary* ; *on the verge of* ; *may break out at any moment* ; *tinderbox* ; *flashpoint* ; *delicate* ; *virtually unbearable* ; *is about to bear its teeth*.

Ensuite, comme l'illustre la Figure 8, plus de la moitié des traductions comprend des métaphores référant au feu, aux armes et aux explosions.

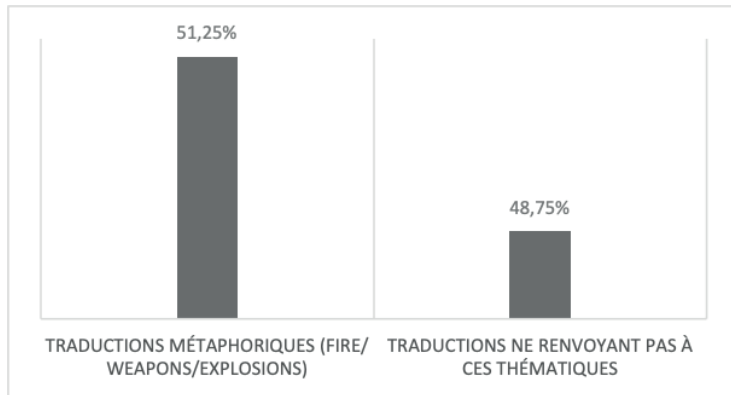


Figure 8. Relevé des métaphores dans les traductions anglaises de 一触即发

Près de 60 % des images réfèrent aux armes, tandis qu'environ 32 % contiennent des allusions aux explosions et que 10 % de ces dernières sont liées au feu.

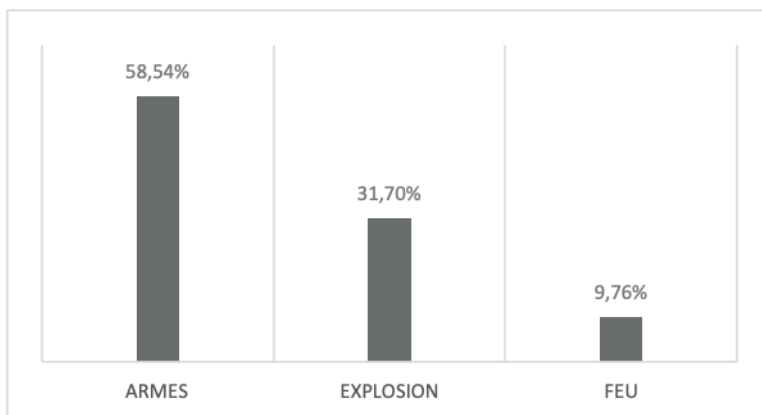


Figure 9. Relevé des traductions anglaises de 一触即发 par thématique

Le nombre élevé de références aux armes illustré dans la Figure 9 pourrait être lié à l'acception originale de l'UP en chinois : «une flèche sur le point d'être tirée». Cependant, la signification des *chengyu* étant généralement conditionnée par leur première attestation, on peut se demander si celle-ci a pu influencer sur les métaphores déployées afin de traduire 一触即发. Cette UP apparaît pour la première fois dans le «乖崖集» *Guaiyaji* [Recueil des sages sur la falaise], une anthologie de poèmes sur la bienséance datant des Song (960-1279). Cette piste s'avère donc peu fructueuse. Par ailleurs, comme rien dans le corpus chinois n'aurait pu déclencher le recours à ces métaphores (aucune occurrence de 爆炸 *baozha* «explosion/exploser» ou de 武器 *wuqi* «arme» n'a été trouvée et le mot 火 *huo* «feu» n'émerge que trois fois dans les textes sources), seuls le contexte onusien et le sens original du *chengyu*

expliqueraient la présence de ces métaphores. En effet, tous les items sauf trois ont été inclus dans un cadre militaire. Cette hypothèse est soutenue par Charteris-Black (2017 : 3), selon qui les métaphores du feu sont largement exploitées dans le discours politique en Occident, car cet élément serait lié au pouvoir et aux armes. Cette observation pourrait justifier la tendance de l'ONU à utiliser ces mêmes images.

4. Conclusion

La traduction de *chengyu*, à l'instar de toutes les UP, dépend étroitement du contexte discursif et du cotexte. Or, comme nous l'avons montré avec 半斤八两 et de 三顾茅庐, ces informations sont souvent peu reprises dans les dictionnaires. Le recours aux outils d'analyse automatique des corpus s'avère très prometteur, et ce, malgré leurs insuffisances, comme nous l'avons vu dans la discussion sur les traductions de 一触即发.

Nous concluons cet article en dessinant les contours d'un patron d'entrée de *chengyu* pour les apprentis traducteurs. Selon nous, celui-ci devrait contenir minimalement : l'énoncé du *chengyu* en sinogrammes (simplifiés et traditionnels) et en transcription phonétique (*pinyin*); une traduction littérale de l'UP, de morphème à morphème; une mention de la fréquence, suivie d'un ou plusieurs exemples contemporains du *chengyu* accompagnés d'une traduction, idéalement extraite d'un corpus parallèle (et non une version «idiomatique» et «équivalente» non contextualisée); une note sur l'origine philologique du *chengyu* dans le cas où il serait connoté historiquement ou marqué culturellement (par exemple, 三顾茅庐).

Bien entendu, de plus amples recherches restent à mener pour juger de la validité et de l'exhaustivité de ces informations. D'abord, nous ne pourrions faire l'économie d'une réflexion sur la représentativité des corpus. Ensuite, une critique comparée de la qualité de traductions d'apprenants grâce à différents outils (corpus, dictionnaires, etc.) serait éminemment profitable. Enfin, un sondage auprès des traducteurs néophytes serait à envisager.

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Section 5

Phraseology and constructions

Le temps figuratif dans le lexique et la phraséologie des langues romanes

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Abstract

The expression of TIME is essentially metaphorical (Lakoff & Turner 1989; Langacker 2012; Filipovic & Jaszczolt 2012). Typological research states a predominance of the mapping from the space domain over the temporal domain (Clark 1973; Haspelmath 1997, Evans 2004; Pamies & Wang 2020). However, space is not the only relevant source domain involved in the most productive models of conceptual transfer. This contrastive study analyses other archi-metaphors expressing figurative temporality in the periphrases, phrasemes and lexical units of five Romance Languages (French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and Catalan), with special attention to *collostructions* or ‘constructional idioms’.

Keywords

Grammatical metaphor, temporality, phraseology, Romance languages, constructional idioms, phraseological constructions

Introduction

Certains spécialistes affirment que la notion de TEMPS est universelle (Goddard 2001), d’autres considèrent par contre que le sens correspondant au mot anglais *time* n’existe pas dans toutes les langues (Silva Sinha 2019: 5). L’existence du temps ne s’impose pas d’elle-même, puisque, physiquement, seul l’espace est perceptible, et ce sont les changements observés dans celui-ci qui font émerger la notion de temps (Evans 2004: 150-151; Langacker 2012: 214).

Le français confond sous un même nom le sens TEMPS₁, désignant une durée indéterminée, et le sens TEMPS₂, signalant un point dans la chronologie, car il hérite de sa racine latine (*tēmpus*) un sens plus large que celui de l’universel sémantique primaire que Goddard et Wierzbicka (2002) appellent WHEN. Mais, à priori, rien n’empêche qu’une langue oppose entre eux ces deux sens par des mots complètement différents, comme fait le russe, en distinguant entre *pora* (пора) et *vremja* (время) (cf. Gladkova 2012: 173-184). P.ex., *pora*

жатвы (*le temps des moissons*) ≠ в мирное время (*en temps de paix*) [Lingvo x3], alors que le *temps* français est polysémique (fr. [durée] avec *le temps /mettre du temps* ≠ [chronologie] *arriver à temps /en même temps*). Cela ne l'empêche pas toutefois d'opposer *de nos jours à maintenant*, ce dernier ajoutant une nuance adversative : *tu es un adulte maintenant* introduit un contraste temporel implicite avec un autre moment antérieur où l'évènement ne se produisait pas, comme pour le russe сейчас ('actuellement') ≠ теперь ('actuellement et pas comme avant') (Gladkova 2012). La DURÉE fait également l'objet de projections spatiales si l'on en juge par le sens littéral de ses adjectifs (Mellado 2012: 36). P.ex. fr. *longue /courte /brève*; esp. *larga /corta /breve*; pt. *longa /curta /breve*; it. *lunga /corta /breve*; cat. *llarga /curta /breu*; le français a même 'spécialisé' des adverbes temporels d'origine spatiale comme *longuement* et *longtemps*.

La projection spatio-temporelle serait, en principe, un universel sémantique (cf. Clark 1973; Kranjec 2006; Fauconnier et Turner 2008), en tout cas, les observations empiriques de la typologie semblent favorables à l'ubiquité de cette analogie. P. ex., Haspelmath (1997) la signale pour 53 langues¹. En diachronie, on constate aussi que L'ESPACE est le domaine source des métaphores spatio-temporelles, et non pas l'inverse (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Sweetser et Gaby 2017: 626). Le mot fr. *moment* provient du lat. *momentum*, dérivé à son tour de *movimentum* ('mouvement' / 'durée du mouvement')², quant au mot *temps* (lat. *tēmpus*), il provient d'une racine indo-européenne (**ten*) qui signifiait littéralement 'étendre' ou 'étirer'³, notions spatiales et dynamiques conservées dans sa polysémie actuelle. Cognitivement, cela pourrait s'expliquer du fait que le présent n'est perçu que par contraste avec un passé n'étant accessible que pour la mémoire et un futur qui ne l'est que pour l'imagination (Tenbrink 2007: 25), alors que l'espace compte sur une base sensorielle plus évidente : ses trois dimensions, visuellement perceptibles, grâce auxquelles les langues conceptualisent des notions plus abstraites (cf. Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Haspelmath 1997: 24). Cependant, même au sein de la projection spatio-temporelle, certaines langues ont développé des modèles métaphoriques différents, p.ex., les langues amérindiennes (cf. Núñez et al. 1997; Núñez et Cornejo 2012; Brown 2012; Bourdin 2014: 35; Le Guen 2017: 453) ou le chinois (cf. Hong et al. 2017; Pamies & Wang 2020).

Les langues romanes permettent de distinguer un grand nombre de métaphores temporelles, que nous analysons en fonction de leur domaine source, classées en plusieurs *archi-métaphores* et multipliées par un nombre variable d'instanciations particulières dans cinq langues romanes: français, espagnol, portugais, italien et catalan. Quant aux formes linguistiques correspondantes, elles sont assez variées, on y trouve des syntagmes libres, des

¹ Voir également, entre autres, les travaux de Givón (1973); Scott (1989); Johnson (1989); Dahl (1995); Yu Ning (1998; 2012); Gentner et al. (2002; 2006); Galton (2010); Radden (2011); Mellado (2011); Brown (2012); Sinha & Bernárdez (2015); Krohn (2018); Pamies (2019); Pamies & Wang (2020); Feist & Duffy (2020); Pamies & Monteiro (2020).

² [ROB] 1996:92.

³ D'où proviennent le grec *τείνω* ('étirer') et le persan *tanīdan* ('tresser'), et dont on retrouve aussi la trace dans des mots savants comme fr. *tension* ou *hypoténuse* (cf. Roberts & Pastor 1997: 179).

lexèmes polysémiques, des composés, des préfixes, des collocations, des locutions, des péri- phrases verbales ou des constructions partiellement figées (*phrasèmes syntaxiques*).

1. Le temps nous appartient

La possession est le domaine source d’une grande variété de métaphores grammaticales (Seiler 1983, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2003; Pamies 2002; Pamies & Zhai [sous presse]), mises en correspondance avec de nombreux domaines cibles, y compris la temporalité. Cette archi-métaphore regroupe des images mentales qui conceptualisent le temps comme un objet de valeur. Comme les participants de l’acte de parole sont témoins du moment présent, la sensation d’appartenance y est transparente, motivant, entre autres, l’adverbe composé français *maintenant* (<lat. *manūtenēre* *avoir en main) ou la parémie anglaise *time is money*⁴, devenue un proverbe international⁵.

Ces métaphores correspondent essentiellement à deux structures formelles:

- (a) Un syntagme nominal, dont la position N est occupée par le mot *temps*, au sens propre, précédé d’un déterminant possessif au sens figuré⁶.

Fr. <i>de mon temps /dans ma jeunesse /les souvenirs de mon enfance /vos années de service /avoir sa minute de gloire /de nos jours /passer son temps à lire /au temps de Napoléon</i>	
Esp. <i>en mis tiempos /en mi juventud /los recuerdos de mi niñez /vuestros años de servicio /tener su minuto de gloria /en nuestros días /pasar su tiempo leyendo /en los tiempos de Napoleón</i>	Pt. <i>no meu tempo; na minha juventude /as lembranças da minha infância /os seus anos de serviço /ter seu minuto de fama /nos nossos dias /passa o seu tempo a ler /no tempo de Napoleão</i>
It. <i>ai miei tempi /alla mia giovinezza /i ricordi della mia infanzia /i loro anni di servizio /avere il suo minuto di fama /nei nostri giorni /passa il suo tempo a leggere /ai tempi di Napoleone</i>	Cat. <i>en els meus temps /en la meva joventut /els records de la meva infantesa /els vostres anys de servei /tenir el seu minut de glòria /en els nostres dies /passa el seu temps llegint /en el temps de Napoleó</i>

Tableau 1. Le temps nous appartient (SN).

⁴ Maxime attribuée à Benjamin Franklin (*Letter to a Young Salesman*, 1748), bien que d’autres sources citent des exemples français antérieurs, tels que **Le temps est la mesure des affaires, comme l’argent est la mesure des marchandises** (François Pacon, XVI^e S.) [https://www.expressions-francaises.fr/] (accès 24/07//2021).

⁵ fr. *le temps c’est de l’argent*, esp. *el tiempo es oro*, pt. *o tempo é ouro/dinheiro*, it. *il tempo è oro/denaro*, cat. *el temps es or /el temps son diners*.

⁶ Le haut degré de coïncidence inter-linguistique entre ces unités n’écarter pas qu’il puisse y avoir aussi des formes spécifiques divergentes. P.ex., le phrasème français *avoir fait son temps*, signifie ‘avoir purgé sa peine de prison’ mais aussi, et surtout, ‘être révolu’. Par contre, en espagnol, catalan, portugais et italien, la séquence n’existe qu’au sens ‘pénitentiaire’.

- (b) Un syntagme verbal (SV → [V+SN]) où la position N est occupée par le mot *temps* au sens propre, précédé d'un verbe au sens figuré.

Fr. avoir du temps /gagner /prendre /mettre /demander /exiger /requérir /investir /épargner /économiser /garder /conserver /gérer /profiter /chercher /trouver /perdre /dépenser /épuiser /gaspiller /dilapider /donner; offrir /partager /manquer de /emprunter /rendre /rattraper /voler /récupérer /rattraper le temps perdu	
Esp. tener tiempo /ganar /tomar /costar /pedir /exigir /requerir /sacar /invertir /ahorrar /escatimar /guardar /conservar /gestionar /aprovechar /buscar /encontrar /perder /gastar /agotar /desperdiciar /dilapidar /malgastar /dosificar /calcular /regalar /dar /compartir /faltar /sobrar /devolver /robar /recuperar /recuperar el tiempo perdido /dedicar tiempo /usar tiempo /ocupar tiempo /consumir tiempo /desocupar tiempo /conseguir tiempo /liberar tiempo	Pt. ter tempo /ganhar /tirar /custar /pedir /exigir /investir /poupar /guardar /conservar /gerir /procurar /encontrar /perder /gastar /esgotar /desperdiçar /calcular /dosar /dar /partilhar /falta /devolver /roubar /recuperar /recuperar o tempo perdido
It. avere tempo /guadagnare /prendere /mettere /chiedere /richiedere /esigere /investire /risparmiare /tenere /conservare /gestire /approfittare /cercare /trovare /perdere /spendere /esaurire /sprecare /calcolare /dosare /dare /condividere /prendere in prestito /mancare /restituire /rubare /recuperare /recuperare il tempo perduto	Cat. tenir temps /guanyar /prendre /costar /demanar /exigir /requerir /invertir /estalviar /guardar /conservar /gestionar /aprofitar /buscar /trobar /perdre /gastar /esgotar /malgastar /dilapidar /calcular /dosar /regalar; donar /compartir /faltar /sobrar /retornar /robar /recuperar /recuperar el temps perdut

Tableau 2. Le temps nous appartient (SV).

Formellement, les exemples de ce tableau ressembleraient à des collocations à verbe support (CVS) si leur verbe était désémantisé, mais ce n'est pas le cas puisque *perdre du temps* s'oppose de façon parfaitement régulière à *gagner du temps* ou *économiser du temps*. Ce n'est pas non plus une locution, puisque le mot *temps* y est littéral et contribue individuellement au sens global, ni une collocation, car sa base nominale est remplaçable par des hyponymes (*heures, minutes, semaines, mois, etc.*). Ce modèle est donc partiellement productif et partiellement figé (*collostruction*) et permet des manipulations plus ou moins créatives:

Toute une génération a peut-être perdu quelques heures de cours mais vient de gagner des années de réflexion sur la société (reseaucitoyens-st-etienne.org apud. FrenchTenTen2017).

Le maître du temps, c'est le virus malheureusement (Emmanuel Macron, apud. Libération 16/03/2021).

Tous les verbes qui y participent désignent soit la propriété elle-même ('avoir'), soit un transfert de propriété ('gagner', 'perdre', 'dépenser', 'économiser', 'donner', 'prendre', 'voler'...), ils appartiennent donc à une même classe sémantique ('VERBES DE POSSESSION'), un ensemble non nécessairement fermé, mais quand même relativement réduit.

2. Nous appartenons au temps

Une autre métaphore grammaticale, dérivée de la précédente, renverse les rôles, de façon que, paradoxalement, nous appartenons au temps que nous étions censés posséder (Pamies 2002, Pamies & Wang 2020), p.ex., fr. *je suis d'une époque révolue, d'une ville qui meurt, d'un passé sans gloire* (FrTenTen2017).

Formellement, elle se manifeste de deux façons:

- (a) Syntagme prépositionnel dont la préposition (fr. *de*) exprime une possession figurative et précède un substantif (ou SN) qui désigne littéralement une période: SP → [Prep^{POSS} + SN^{PERIODE}].

Fr. <i>je suis d'une autre époque /cette tradition n'est plus de notre temps /des costumes d'époque /on dit aussi, qu'un auteur est du moyen âge, pour dire, qu'il n'est ni ancien, ni nouveau</i> ⁷	
Esp. <i>yo soy de otra época /un coche de antes de la guerra /trajes de época /la basilica de Stara Mitropolia y la fortaleza son de la Edad Media</i> ⁸	Pt. <i>eu sou de outro tempo /um carro de antes da guerra /vestuário de época /as pioneiras lendas sobre gremlins são da Idade Média</i> ⁹
It. <i>io sono di un'altra epoca /una macchina di prima della guerra /costumi d'epoca /è un pellegrino del XX secolo, ma senza quel biglietto aereo potrebbe essere del Medioevo</i> ¹⁰	Cat. <i>jo sóc d'una altra època /un cotxe d'abans de la guerra /vestits d'època /el pont que es conserva es de la Edat Mitjana</i> ¹¹

Tableau 3. Nous appartenons au temps (SP).

⁷ <https://journals.openedition.org/crm/11092?lang=es> [accès 11/07/2021].

⁸ <https://whc.unesco.org/es/list/217> [accès 11/07/2021].

⁹ <https://super.abril.com.br/mundo-estranho/o-que-sao-duendes/> [accès 11/07/2021].

¹⁰ <https://ilmanifesto.it/camminare-verso-lutopia/> [accès 11/07/2021].

¹¹ <http://km369.blogspot.com/2008/04/nord-despanya-v-covadonga.html> [accès 12/07/2021].

- b) Syntagme verbal figuré avec le verbe *appartenir* et la préposition qu'il régit (*à*), suivis d'un nom (ou SN) désignant une période, de façon que les personnes et les choses «appartiennent» métaphoriquement à celle-ci: SV → [V^{appartenir} + Prep^à + SN^{PERIODE}].

Fr. <i>Madame Gonfalonet, qui appartenait à l'âge héroïque du féminisme /même si son architecture semble appartenir au Moyen Âge</i> ¹²	
Esp. <i>el poeta, Hesíodo, pertenece a la edad de hierro /esta hermosa obra pertenece a la Edad Media</i> ¹³ /	Pt. <i>estes depósitos pre-cerâmicos, que pertencem à idade arcaica, têm sido descritos como ortoíroides /incrível como certas mentalidades ainda pertencem à Idade Média</i> ¹⁴
It. <i>le costruzioni che si vedono oggi nel sito archeologico appartengono all'età arcaica /una situazione che sembra appartenere al Medioevo</i> ¹⁵	Cat. <i>aquest tipus de sepulcres pertanyen a l'Edat del Bronze /ara els tècnics analitzaran si pertanyen a l'Edat Mitjana</i> ¹⁶

Tableau 4. Nous appartenons au temps (SV).

Dans les deux variantes de cette archi-métaphore, les structures sont partiellement productives, quoique subissant des restrictions lexicales quant à la classe sémantique de leurs deux composants (verbe d'appartenance et noms de période).

3. Le temps est un créateur

Cette archi-métaphore conceptualise le temps comme l'agent responsable des processus créatifs de longue durée et de leur résultat (par analogie avec la physique, la génétique, le commerce, l'artisanat ou l'agriculture). Sémantiquement le prototype servant d'hyperonyme de toutes ces métaphores serait *causé par le temps*, dont le verbe est remplaçable par de nombreux synonymes ou hyponymes. Grammaticalement, le prototype est à la forme passive, car le fait qu'elle participe à deux fonctions (verbale et adjectivale) multiplie sa fréquence alors que la forme active est nettement plus rare. P.ex.:

[<causer> + *par le temps*^{AGENT}] = 61 cas > [*le temps*^{SUJET} + <causer>] = 1

[<créer> + *par le temps*^{AGENT}] = 13 cas > [*le temps*^{SUJET} + <créer>] = 4

Cependant, sémantiquement, l'archi-métaphore est la même.

¹² https://actu.fr/loisirs-culture/journee-patrimoine-2017-normandie-comment-reconnaitre-styles-architecture-eglises_11849694.html [accès 12/07/2021].

¹³ <http://historialiteraturapaula.blogspot.com/p/literatura-medieval.html> [accès 12/07/2021].

¹⁴ <https://www.autosport.pt/velocidade/nascar-kyle-larson-despedido/> [accès 12/07/2021].

¹⁵ <https://www.areaonline.ch/Salari-sottoterra-99d98800> [accès 12/07/2021].

¹⁶ <https://www.regio7.cat/cerdanya-alt-urgell/2021/04/12/alp-proposa-recuperar-torre-medieval-49906151.html>. [accès 12/07/2021].

<p>Fr. <i>causé par le temps /créé /provoqué /occasionné /engendré /génééré /apporté /accumulé /légué /acquis /construit /formé /modelé /dessiné /façonné /travaillé /opéré /forgé /taillé /creusé /sculpté /buriné /poli /patiné /bruni /affûté /labouré /silloné</i> (frTenTen17)</p>	
<p>Esp. <i>creado por el tiempo /causado /ocasionado /provocado /motivado /producido /formado /generado /engendrado /originado /añadido /acumulado /construido /modelado /diseñado /moldeado /tallado /esculpido /curtido /pulido /patinado /labrado/surcado /abonado</i> (esTenTen18)</p>	<p>Pt. <i>criado pelo tempo /causado /provocado /ocasionado /motivado /gerado /nascido /originado /formado /produzido /composto /trazido /fornecido /adquirido /acrescentado /acumulado /desenhado /moldado /trabalhado /talhado /esculpido /polido /patinado /destilado /lavrado /sulcado</i> (Pt-TmsJSI-14-20)</p>
<p>It. <i>creato dal tempo /costituito /causato /provocato /prodotto /costruito /portato /apportato /aggiunto /accumulato /trasportato /predisposto /tramandato /consegnato /lasciato /generato /nato /disegnato /sagomato /tracciato /plasmato /modellato /intagliato /scolpito /squadrate /lucidato /levigato /forgiato /temprato /distillato /lavorato /arato</i> (itTenTen16)</p>	<p>Cat. <i>creat pel temps /causat /ocasionat /provocat /generat /originat /produït /constituït /format /conformat /desencadenat /proporcionat /aportat /acumulat /afegit /operat /treballat /modelat /solcat /llaurat /adobat /operat /tallat /esculpit /polit /patinat /forjat</i> (CTILC & Cat-TmsJSI-14-20)</p>

Tableau 5. Le temps est un créateur.

Il y a une structure grammaticale figée, dans laquelle une préposition (*par*) et un SN (*le temps*), tous deux au sens propre, suivent le participe passif d’un verbe au sens figuré (VPP), mais son sens lexical lui permet de commuter avec de nombreux synonymes et hyponymes. Il s’agit donc aussi d’une forme productive, limitée toutefois à des verbes de la même classe sémantique («VERBES DE CRÉATION»):

$$VPP^{CREAT} + Prep^{par} + SN^{TEMPS}$$

4. Le temps est un transformateur

Le modèle mental que Lakoff & Turner appellent *TIME IS A CHANGER* (1989: 40) est également métonymique : le fait que les choses changent au long du temps se conceptualise comme si celui-ci était l’auteur des mutations qui le constituent. Il apparaît comme une force invisible qui modifie, préserve, renforce, affaiblit, consacre ou dévalue les choses, les êtres et les idées, comme dans la parémie *le temps change tout*¹⁷, dérivée de la même archi-métaphore.

Suivant le même raisonnement que pour le TEMPS-CRÉATEUR, l’hyperonyme prototypique de ces métaphores serait le participe passif (*modifié par le temps*), dont le verbe admet de nombreuses variations synonymiques et hyponymiques inspirées dans l’économie, la physique, la chimie ou la biologie.

¹⁷ Esp. *el tiempo todo lo cambia*; pt. *o tempo muda tudo*; it. *il tempo cambia tutto /il tempo cambia ogni cosa*; cat. *el temps ho canvia tot*.

<p>Fr. <i>modifié par le temps /changé /transformé /altéré /conservé /figé /dégagé /séparé /écarté /groupé /masqué /retravaillé /amplifié /accru /accentué /renforcé /favorisé /nettoyé /expurgé /endurci /amorti /refroidi /atténué /anobli /embelli /amélioré /bonifié /doré /lustré /guéri /pansé /mûri /usé /dévalué /découragé /déformé /froissé /durci /pétrifié /vieilli /ridé /noirci /flétri /fané /séché /desséché /défraichi /obscurci /tanné /jauni /terni /estompé /décoloré /délavé /blanchi /pâli /lessivé [frTenTen17]</i></p>	
<p>Esp. <i>modificado por el tiempo /cambiado /transformado /alterado /conservado /aumentado /acrecentado /favorecido /mejorado /suavizado /madurado /reforzado /fortalecido /prestigiado /ennoblecido /enriquecido /cimentado /endurecido /petrificado /atenuado /apaciguado /agravado /depreciado /devaluado /depauperado /deformado /tergiversado /distorsionado /degradado /gastado /malgastado /desgastado /limado /consumido /roído /corroído /carcomido /marchitado /envejecido /avejentado /arrugado /ajado /resecado /inclinado /doblegado /empolvado /fossilizado /manchado /oscurecido /ennegrecido /amarilleado /enrojecido /palidecido /encanecido /blanqueado /nublado /disipado /descolorido /deslucido /deseñido /desvaído /desdibujado /opacado /empañado /velado /difuminado /empeorado por el tiempo [esTenTen18]</i></p>	<p>Pt. <i>modificado pelo tempo /transformado /mudado /metamorfoseado /transfigurado /preservado /conservado /fossilizado /aumentado /melhorado /ressarcido /favorecido /valorizado /naturalizado /avalizado /amadurecido /potenciado /reforçado /refinado /compensado /recompensado /amadurecido /diminuído /atenuado /amaciado /suavizado /aliviado /minimizado /agravado /deformado /envelhecido /enrugado /dobrado /amarrotado /corrompido /mofado /manchado /ressecado /emurhecido /escurecido /empalidecido /esverdeado /amarelado /amarelecido /nublar /borrar /esfarelado /detonado /esbatido /desbotado [Pt-TmsJSI-14-20] & [pTenTen11]</i></p>
<p>It. <i>modificato dal tempo /cambiato /trasformato /trafigurato /toccato /conservato /cresciuto /ingigantito /indurito /pietrificato /guarito /maturato /migliorato /affinato /ammorbidito /addolcito /impreziosito /nobilitato /rafforzato /cementato /rimpiccolito /intaccato /raffreddato /placato /peggiolato /aggravato /avvilito /svenduto /deformato /deteriorato /distorto /invecchiato /incanutito /incurvato /piegato /raggrinzito /sgualcito /accartocciato /marcito /ammuffito /sfogliato /macchiato /sporcato /offuscato /oscurato /scurito /annerito /imbrunito /ingiallito /ingrigitto /sbiancato /opacizzato /appannato /scolorito /sbiadito /lavato /annebbiato /sfuocato /scemato [itTenTen16]</i></p>	<p>Cat. <i>modificat pel temps /canviat /transformat /alterat /conservat /amplificat /augmentat /millorat /afavorit /madurat /endurit /petrificat /aquilotat /resolt /endolcit /daurat /embellit /enruiquit /ennoblit /curat /prestigiat /madurat /atenuat /suavitat /refredat /asserenat /agreuja /acuitat /depreciat /tergiversat /distorsionat /devaluat /deformat /adulterat /envellit /arrugat /afeblit /llepat /sucat /arrodonit /entelat /corsecat /emmusteït /marcit /inclinat /doblegat /tacat /empolsat /pigallat /enfosquit /ennegrit /renegrit /embrunit /esgrogueït /empal·lilit /enrogit /esvaït /deslluït /destenyït /descolorit /esfumat /difuminat /entelat /desdibuixat [CTILC; Cat-TmsJSI-14-20] & [Google.com]</i></p>

Tableau 6. Le temps est un transformateur.

Nous assignons également la forme canonique à la voix passive. La structure syntaxique (VPP + *par* + SN) et le contenu lexical du SN (*le temps*) sont fixes, contrairement au verbe qui est lexicalement variable, quoique dans les limites d'une classe sémantique composée de synonymes et hyponymes du prototype ('VERBES DE MODIFICATION'): VPP^{MODIF} + Prep^{par} + SN^{TEMPS}.

5. le temps est un décideur

Si son omnipotence lui octroyait jadis le rang de divinité (*Chronos/Saturne*), il n'est pas étonnant que le temps ait également été personnifié par les langues (cf. Piata 2018: 129-133), comme un arbitre suprême des éventuels changements qui l'accompagnent, un juge omniscient ou un législateur tout-puissant, archi-métaphore qui motive aussi la parémie *le temps nous le dira*¹⁸. Le prototype serait *gouverné par le temps*, et le corpus abonde en substitutions synonymiques et hyponymiques du verbe¹⁹.

<p>Fr. <i>gouverné par le temps /asservi /soumis /régenté /dominé /imposé /dicté /exigé /ordonné /requis /marqué /concedé /affecté /guidé /influencé /impacté /contraint /forcé /conditionné /limité /borné /restreint /empêché /frustré /pressé /stressé /séparé /dispersé /pris /respecté /épargné /protégé /innocenté /validé /accrédité /vérifié /prouvé /corrigé /idéalisé /sacralisé /confirmé /dévoilé /démenti /accusé /pénalisé /pourchassé /poursuivi /emprisonné /condamné</i> [frTenTen17] [Google.com]</p>	
<p>Esp. <i>governado por el tiempo /esclavizado /sometido /regido /tiranizado /avasallado /dominado /obligado /forzado /impuesto /condicionado /presionado /apremiado /apurado /impedido /frustrado /limitado /restringido /inducido /protegido /respetado /alejado /separado /relegado /distanciado /encubierto /probado /demostrado /evidenciado /confirmado /legitimado /justificado /consolidado /avalado /validado /idealizado /consagrado /santificado /mitificado /indultado /corregido /desmentido /castigado /encarcelado /perjudicado /sentenciado /condenado</i> [esTenTen18] [Google.com]</p>	<p>Pt. <i>governado pelo tempo /submetido /dominado /regido /avassalado /controlado /imposto /decretado /guiado /ditado /exigido /pressionado /restringido /impedir /atrapalhado /respeitado /protegido /condicionado /impactado /influenciado /afetado /marcado /limitado /afastado /separado /espalhado /unido /testado /julgado /consolidado /comprovado /escondido /confirmado /evidenciado /corrigido /legitimado /consagrado /sacralizado /culpado /sentenciado /castigado /penalizado /prejudicado /danificado /amaldiçoado /condenado</i> [Pt-TmsJSI-14-20]</p>
<p>It. <i>governato dal tempo /sottomesso /schiavizzato /dominato /addomesticato /imposto /forzato /regolato /scandito /determinato /condizionato /influenzato /premiato /frustato /impedito /stressato /limitato /segnato /cadenzato /selezionato /risparmiato /rispettato /nascosto /provato /dimostrato /collaudato /consolidato /validato /falsato /rinnegato /ovattato /separato /avulso /lucidato /nobilitato /consacrato /santificato /imprigionato /giudicato assolto /pregiudicato /condannato</i> [itTenTen16]</p>	<p>Cat. <i>governat pel temps /dominat /esclavizat /regit /dictat /determinat /guiat /obligat /impost /imposat /constret /impedit /exigit /frustrat /ignorat /pressionat /apurat /condicionat /influït /afectat /marcat /limitat /delimitat /restringit /allunyat /distanciats /separat /espatllat /relegat /respectat /provat /evidenciat /confirmat /consolidat /acreditat /avalat /validat /enfortit /afermat /justificat /legitimat /consagrats /santificat /mitificat /idealitzat /falsejat /desmentit /castigat /perjudicat /condemnat</i> [CTILC; Cat-TmsJSI-14-20] & [Google.com]</p>

Tableau 7. Le temps est un décideur.

¹⁸ Esp. *el tiempo lo dirá*; pt. *o tempo dirá*; it. *il tempo ci dirá*; cat. *el temps ho dirá*.

¹⁹ La bidirectionnalité de cette métaphore est possible dans certains cas, par métonymie entre agent et objet. Ainsi, fr. *un temps limité* > *limité par le temps*.

La fixité de la structure syntaxique (VPP + *par* +SN) et du contenu lexical du SN (*le temps*) contraste avec la grande variabilité du verbe, qui demeure cependant dans les limites lexicales d'une classe sémantique, celle des synonymes et hyponymes du prototype ('VERBES DE GOUVERNANCE'), ce qui écarte aussi bien la collocation que le syntagme libre: VPP^{GOUV} + Prep *par* + SN^{TEMPS}.

6. Le temps est un destructeur

Cette archi-métaphore conceptualise la fugacité de notre univers comme le fruit d'une destruction systématique et impitoyable, par analogie avec la guerre, les accidents, l'érosion ou les catastrophes naturelles, et dont le temps serait l'auteur, comme dans la parémie fr. *le temps détruit tout*²⁰, ou les locutions actives comme esp. *el tiempo nos come* /*el tiempo se nos echa encima* (Luque Nadal 2012). L'hyperonyme prototypique serait la construction **détruit par le temps**, dont le verbe est remplaçable par ses synonymes et/ou hyponymes, formant toute une gradation qui va de la simple menace à la destruction totale.

<p>Fr. <i>détruit par le temps</i> /attaqué /démoli /dévasté /ravagé /ruiné /brûlé /écrasé /dévorer /vaincu /meurtri /brisé /rompu /fragmenté /avalé /perdu /englouti /submergé /noyé /enfoui /effacé /oublié /perdu /emporté /défoncé /balayé /menacé /outragé /balloté /bousculé /battu /maltraité /malmené /attaqué /assiégé /harassé /blessé /abîmé /endommagé /déchiré /écorché /défiguré /cabossé /amoché /fustigé /gâché /dépossédé /éprouvé /raviné /ébréché /écorné /ratiné /miné /délabré /troué /détérioré /décomposé /dégradé /dénaturé /craquelé /ébranlé /fragilisé/affaibli /essoufflé /tordu /rabougri /rongé /rogné /mangé /grignoté /râpé /corrodé /érodé /lézardé /décrépi /miné /raboté /piqué /émietté /émoussé /rouillé /oxydé /pourri /moisi [frTenTen17]</p>	
<p>Esp. <i>destruido por el tiempo</i> /roto /deshecho /perdido /enterrado /sepultado /soterrado /sumergido /derrotado /vencido /aplastado /ahogado /devorado /tragado /engullido /absorbido /arrastrado /barrido /olvidado /derretido /estragado /quemado /devastado /borrado /reventado /insultado /amenazado /acosado /acorralado /asediado /atacado /hostigado /mutilado /derrumbado /lesionado /dañado /herido /maltratado /estropeado /desquiciado /quebrado /fragmentado /destrozado /desfigurado /averiado /desmembrado /desgarrado /horadado /atropellado /golpeado /vapuleado /mordisqueado /arreatado /traicionado /azotado /fustigado /deteriorado /torcido /retorcido /debilitado /erosionado /oxidado /herrumbrado /desvencijado /descascarillado /rajado /resquebrajado /astillado /agrietado /descascarado /desmigajado /minado /socavado /podrido /agusanado /apolillado /enmohecido [esTenTen18] /quebrado por el tiempo</p>	<p>Pt. <i>destruído pelo tempo</i> /vencido /conquistado /derrotado /destruçado /despedaçado /fragmentado /abatido /afogado /abafado /lapidado /devorado /engolido /tragado /apagado /derretido /depredado /devastado /pulverizado /dilapidado /suprimido /varrido /perdido /esquecido /enterrado /soterrado /soçobrado /mumificado /embalsamado /ferido /mutilado /machucado /estragado /arrastado /batido /surrado /queimado /torpedeado /atropelado /arreatado /ameaçado /acossado /traído /judiado /maltratado /desfigurado /fustigado /deteriorado /quebrado /torturado /fraturado /distorcido /debilitado /degradado /gasto /desgastado /fragilizado /limado /riscado /desmanchado /descascado /consumido /comido /carcomido /roído /corroído /erodido /oxidado /enferrujado /minado /apodrecido [Pt-TmsJSI-14-20]</p>

²⁰ Esp. *el tiempo lo destruye todo* /*el tiempo todo lo destruye*; pt. *o tempo destrói tudo*; it. *il tempo distrugge tutto* /*il tempo distrugge ogni cosa*; cat. *el temps ho destrueix tot*.

<p>It. <i>distrutto dal tempo</i> /demolito /cancellato / spazzato /devastato /schiacciato /sconfitto /diroccato /bruciato /perduto /rovinato /stinto /funestato / sotterrato /sepolto /sommerso /imbalsamato / dimenticato /inghiottito /fagocitato /rotto / crepato /fratturato /frantumato /dissolto /svanito / minacciato /rapito /tradito /tormentato /rubato / danneggiato /colpito /ferito /mutilato /menomato / maltrattato /smontato /forato /scavato /storpiato / strappato /fracassato /deteriorato /degradato / svuotato /usurato /roso /corroso /eroso /consumato /sfregiato /ossidato /arrugginito /stemperato / limato /sbrecciato /risucchiato /sfaldato /sciupato /scalfito /scheggiato /scrostato /sfibrato /logorato /obliterato /incrostato /scardinato /incrinato /sgretolato /smozzicato /corrotto /fermentato /tarlato [itTenTen16]</p>	<p>Cat. <i>destruït pel temps</i> /desfet /estriat / maltractat /vençut /derrotat /apagat /borrat / esborrat /suprimit /abatut /perdut /escombrat / arruïnat /enterrat /soterrat /oblidat /capbuçat /ofegat /devorat /engolit /devastat /cremat / rebentat /destrossat /trencat /fragmentat / esmicolat /menjat /devorat /absorbit / amenaçat /injuriat /arraconat /batut /fustigat /ferit /mutilat /lesionat /mossegat /colpejat / estripat /aixafat /danyat /maltractat /malmès /sacsejat /esperonat /fet malbé /foradat / arrossegat /atropellat /assotat /arrabassat /esquinçat /esgotat /deteriorat /torçat / degradat /usat /atrotinat /gastat /malgastat / desgastat /reblanit /fragilitzat /esquerdat / erosionat /corroït /consumit /rovellat /podrit / corcat /rosegat [CTILC; Cat-TmsJSI-14-20] & [Google.com]</p>
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Tableau 8. Le temps est un destructeur.

De même que les collocations, ces expressions multi-lexicales contiennent une composante littérale (*par le temps*), associée de façon récurrente à une composante figurative (le participe passif de *détruire*), sémantiquement et fonctionnellement séparable. Mais le verbe est variable, commutant avec un longue liste de synonymes et hyponymes, donc avec la classe sémantique des ‘VERBES DE DESTRUCTION’, trait incompatible avec la collocation: VPP^{DESTR} + Prep^{par} + SN^{TEMPS}.

Ces quatre archi-métaphores (CRÉATEUR, MODIFICATEUR, DÉCIDEUR et DESTRUCTEUR) sont à leur tour des variantes d’une macro-métaphore grammaticale qui transforme un circonstant en actant (LE TEMPS EST UN AGENT).

7. Le temps est un déplacement

Ce macro-modèle spatial englobe plusieurs archi-métaphores, selon la forme et la direction du mouvement.

7.1. Le temps se déplace (horizontalement)

Dans ce scénario, le temps se déplace sur un axe horizontal vers un *ego* de référence qui, par contre, est immobile (Clark 1973: 50-52; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Haspelmath 1997; Evans 2007 : 751; Fauconnier & Turner 2008; Pamies & Wang 2020). Cette projection cognitive est appelée MOVING TIME (Clark 1973) ou TIME PASSING IS MOTION (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Le passé s’y trouve derrière et l’avenir devant, mais il vient à notre rencontre à mesure que le passé s’enfuit derrière nous, comme une rivière qu’on regarde couler: *a highway consisting of a succession of discrete events: moving past us from front to back* (Clark 1973: 50). Des

exemples français prototypiques seraient *par les temps qui courent* et *le jour de gloire est arrivé*.

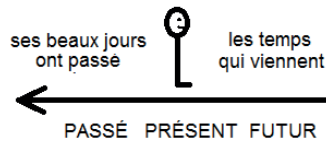


Figure 1. Le modèle MOVING TIME (adapté de Pamies & Wang 2020)

Les langues romanes font un usage très homogène de ce modèle sémantique, qui, se manifeste formellement par des expressions idiomatiques.

<p>Fr. <i>le temps passe /par les temps qui courent /dans l'année qui court /au courant de l'année /au cours de l'année /en attendant des jours meilleurs /attendre un enfant/les souvenirs s'éloignent /faire face au futur /voir venir les conséquences /que l'année qui vient soit meilleure que l'année qui s'en va /les jours à venir /les générations qui viennent /le printemps vient avant l'été /le bonheur est au coin de la rue /ma jeunesse est partie</i> [frTenTen17] & [Google.com]</p>	
<p>Esp. <i>el tiempo pasa /en el año que corre /por los tiempos que corren /en el curso del año /corría el año 1492 /esperando días mejores /esperar un hijo /los recuerdos se alejan /enfrentarse al futuro /encarar el futuro /plantar cara al futuro /ver venir las consecuencias /que el año que viene sea mejor que el año pasado /los días venideros /las generaciones por venir /la primavera viene antes del verano /la felicidad está a la vuelta de la esquina /mi juventud se fue</i> [esTenTen18] & [Google.com]</p>	<p>Pt. <i>o tempo passa /no ano que corre /pelos tempos que correm /no curso do ano /corria o ano de 1942 /à espera de dias melhores /esperar um filho /as memórias se afastam /enfrentar o futuro /encarar o futuro /até chegar as consequências /que o ano que vem seja melhor do que o ano passado /os dias vindouros /as gerações vindouras /a primavera vem antes do verão /a felicidade está ao virar da esquina /a minha juventude foi embora</i> [Pt-TmsJSI-14-20], [pTenTen11] & [Google.com]</p>
<p>It. <i>il tempo passa /nel'anno che corre /con i tempi che corrono /nella corrente dell'anno /nel corso dell'anno /correva l'anno 1492; /aspettando giorni migliori /aspettare un bambino /i ricordi si allontanano /affrontare il futuro /di fronte al futuro /vedere arrivare le conseguenze /che il prossimo anno sia migliore dell'anno scorso /i giorni a venire /le generazioni che verranno /la primavera viene prima dell'estate /la felicità è alle porte /la mia gioventù è andata</i> [itTenTen16] & [Google.com]</p>	<p>Cat. <i>el temps passa /l'any que corre /en el curs de l'any /corria l'any 1492/pels temps que corren /esperant dies millors /esperar un nadó /els records s'allunyen /plantar cara al futur veure venir les conseqüències /veure venir les conseqüències /que l'any que ve sigui millor que l'any passat /els dies esdevenidors /la primavera ve abans de l'estiu /la felicitat és a la volta de la cantonada /la meva joventut ha fugit</i> [CTILC;Cat-TmsJSI-14-20] & [Google.com]</p>

Tableau 9. Le temps progressif

Les métaphores du temps comme DÉPLACEMENT n'ont pas une direction unique universelle, l'image inverse existe aussi: le TEMPS RÉGRESSIF, où le passé est devant et le futur est derrière. Ce modèle est très productif dans les langues amérindiennes (Núñez & Sweetser 2006, Bourdin 2014; Gaby & Sweetser 2017) et en chinois (Yu 2012; Chen 2017), où il possède

deux variantes, l'une *déictique* (qui dépend du moment de la parole) et l'autre *relative* (qui dépend d'un point de repère contextuel), formellement différenciées entre elles par l'ordre des mots.

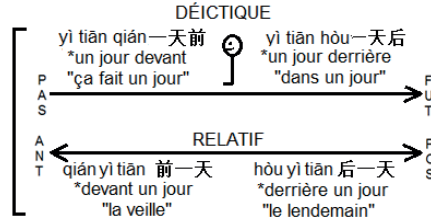


Figure 2. Le temps régressif en chinois (Pamies & Wang 2020)

Cognitivement, ce schéma serait motivé par le fait que nous ne pouvons ‘voir’ que ce que nous avons déjà vécu, alors que le futur est *invisible* par définition (Bourdin 2014). Cette métaphore est assez rare dans les langues romanes, cependant, elle était très courante en latin classique, et on en trouve les traces dans l’étymologie de certains mots actuels. Non seulement elle était littéralement spatiale, mais son orientation était l’inverse du *moving ego*, puisque, comme leurs noms l’indiquent, l’ANTÉRIORITÉ s’y trouvait devant nous, et la POSTÉRIÉTÉ derrière:

- lat. *abante* ‘devant’ > fr. *avant* /cat. *abans*
- lat. *ante* ‘devant’ > esp/pt. *antes* (‘avant’)
- lat. *de+post* ‘de derrière’ > esp. *después* /pt. *depois* /it. *dopo* (‘après’).

D’un point de vue strictement synchronique, on pourrait évidemment nier l’existence actuelle de ce modèle *régressif* dans les langues romanes modernes, mais il a aussi laissé quelques traces dans la morphologie:

Fr.	Esp.	Pt.	It.	Cat.
<i>postérité</i>	<i>posteridad</i>	<i>posteridade</i>	<i>posterità</i>	<i>posteritat</i>
<i>posthume</i>	<i>póstumo</i>	<i>póstumo</i>	<i>postumo</i>	<i>pòstum</i>
<i>antique</i>	<i>antiguo</i>	<i>antigo</i>	<i>antico</i>	<i>antic</i>
<i>ancêtre</i>	<i>antepasado</i>	<i>antepassado</i>	<i>antenato</i>	<i>avantpassat</i>
<i>antécédent</i>	<i>antecedente</i>	<i>antecedente</i>	<i>antecedente</i>	<i>antecedent</i>
<i>antécesseur</i>	<i>antecesor</i>	<i>antecessor</i>	<i>antecessore</i>	<i>antecessor</i>
<i>anticiper</i>	<i>anticipar</i>	<i>antecipar</i>	<i>anticipare</i>	<i>anticipar</i>
<i>devancer</i>	<i>adelantarse</i>	<i>se adiantar</i>	<i>anteciparsi</i>	<i>avançar-se</i>
<i>avant-hier</i>	<i>anteayer</i>	<i>anteontem</i>	<i>avantieri</i>	<i>abans d'ahir</i>

Tableau 10. Vestiges du temps régressif latin

Notons que des mots de création récente comme *post-moderne* ou *post-édition* témoignent de la productivité actuelle du préfixe *post* (lat. ‘derrière’). Quant à la variante non-déictique

de la métaphore, elle motive des verbes d'origine locative devenus temporels, comme *précéder* (<lat. *praecedō* 'je marche devant') ou *suivre* (<lat. *sequor* 'je marche derrière'), où le passé se trouve également 'devant' et el futur 'derrière' l'évènement de référence:

Fr. <i>pour faire un bilan de la guerre et de ses conséquences dans les années qui suivirent l'armistice</i> ²¹
Esp. <i>tratar sobre la Historia de España en los años que siguieron a la guerra civil no resulta precisamente tarea agradable</i> ²²
Pt. <i>os anos que se seguiram ao início da República foram de grande agitação social</i> ²³
It. <i>Gli anni che seguirono il secondo conflitto mondiale fecero registrare una crescita di organico e di visibilità</i> ²⁴
Cat. <i>aquest creixement de l'estat va arribar al seu punt màxim en els anys que van seguir al final de la Segona Guerra Mundial</i> ²⁵ .

Tableau 11. Le temps progressif relatif

7.2. Le temps est un chemin à parcourir

Appelée également *TIME PASSING IS A MOTION OVER A LANDSCAPE* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) ou encore *MOVING EGO* (Clark 1973; Radden 2011), c'est la variante inverse du modèle précédent. Le temps y est conceptualisé comme un chemin statique sur lequel l'ego de référence se déplace horizontalement, en allant du passé vers l'avenir: *we are moving along, with future time ahead of us and the past behind us* (Clark 1973: 50)²⁶. Ce que nous appelons 'ordre chronologique' est donc une métaphore culturelle que nous prenons pour une réalité.

La métaphore spatio-temporelle du modèle *MOVING EGO* projette toute la structure du déplacement sur celle de la temporalité, en distinguant l'*emplacement*, l'*origine* et la *destination* (cf. Zovko-Dinković & Gros 2018: 23-28).

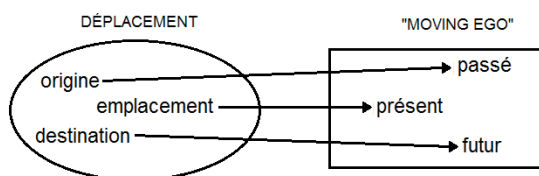


Figure 3. Projection du déplacement dans le schème *MOVING EGO*

²¹ (<https://www.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/fr/web/guest/564>)

²² <https://www.artehistoria.com/es/contexto/el-primer-franquismo> [accès 25/07/2021]

²³ <https://www.infoescola.com/historia-do-brasil/republica-velha/> [accès 25/07/2021]

²⁴ <https://www.ficr.it/toscana/siena/chi-siamo.html> [accès 25/07/2021]

²⁵ http://cv.uoc.edu/annotation/39d399c8f4f6b9fd47f2a1d49431da21/593088/PID_00245827/PID_00245827.html [accès 25/07/2021]

²⁶ Voir également, entre autres, Lyons (1977); Lakoff & Turner (1989); Haspelmath (1997); Lakoff & Johnson (1999); Evans (2004, 2007); Radden (2011); Bender & Beller (2014); Piata (2018); Pamies & Wang (2020).

Fr.	Esp.	Pt.	It.	Cat.
<i>dorénavant</i> ²⁷	<i>de ahora en adelante</i>	<i>doravante /de agora em diante</i>	<i>d'ora in avanti</i>	<i>d'ara endavant</i>
<i>rétrospectif / tourner le dos au passé /laisser le passé derrière soi</i>	<i>retrospectivo / dar la espalda al pasado /dejar atrás el pasado</i>	<i>retrospectivo / dar as costas ao passado/deixar o passado para trás</i>	<i>retrospectivo / lasciarsi il passato alle spalle / lasciarsi il passato indietro</i>	<i>/retrospectiu donar l'esquena al passat /deixar enrere el passat</i>
<i>les pays avancés / un pays arriéré / pays en voie de développement / être sur la bonne voie /être en avance sur son temps /devancer les événements / ma montre avance / sauter les étapes</i>	<i>los países adelantados /un país atrasado / países en via(s) de desarrollo /estar en el buen camino /adelantarse a sus tiempos / adelantarse a los acontecimientos / mi reloj adelanta / saltarse las etapas</i>	<i>os países avançados /um país atrasado / países em via(s) de desenvolvimento / estar no caminho certo /estar à frente de seu tempo /se adiantar aos acontecimentos /o meu relógio adianta /saltar etapas</i>	<i>i paesi avanzati / un paese arretrato /paesi in via di sviluppo /essere sulla buona strada /essere in anticipo sui tempi /anticipare gli eventi /il mio orologio va avanti / saltare le fasi</i>	<i>els països avançats /un país atrassat / països en vies de desenvolupament /estar en el bon camí /avançar-se als seus temps / avançar-se als esdeveniments / tinc el rellotge adelantat /saltar-se les etapes</i>
<i>atteindre la vieillesse /arriver à l'âge mûr dépasser le centenaire /d'un âge avancé /ne pas atteindre la fin du mois /ne pas joindre les deux bouts /approcher de la soixantaine</i>	<i>alcanzar la vejez /llegar a viejo /llegar a centenario /pasar de los cien años /de edad avanzada /no llegar a fin de mes /estar cercano a la edad de jubilación</i>	<i>alcançar a velhice /chegar a velho /alcançar o centenário / ultrapassar os cem anos /de idade avançada /não chegar ao fim do mês /se aproximar da velhice</i>	<i>raggiungere la vecchiaia /arrivare a centenario / passare i cent'anni /in età avanzata / non arrivare a fin mese /avvicinarsi alla vecchiaia</i>	<i>arribar a la vellesa /arribar a vell / arribar a centenari /passar dels cent anys /d'edat avançada /no arribar a fi de mes /acostar-se a la vellesa</i>
<i>revenir 20 ans en arrière /revenir au Moyen Âge</i>	<i>volver 20 años atrás /regresar a la Edad Media</i>	<i>voltar 20 anos atrás /regressar à Idade Média</i>	<i>ritornare 20 anni in dietro /ritornare al Medioevo</i>	<i>tornar 20 anys enrere /tornar a l'Edat Mitjana</i>

Tableau 12. Le temps est un chemin à parcourir.

Naturellement, tous les phrasèmes de cette famille ne sont pas nécessairement aussi mimétiques dans ces cinq langues. P. ex. l'espagnol, le catalan et l'italien situent les actions passées de quelqu'un 'dans son dos' là où le portugais et le français diraient 'derrière lui'²⁸.

²⁷ Fr. *dorénavant*, (< lat. *de hora in abante* [*de cette heure en avant], d'où provient l'ancien français *dores en avant* [TLFi]). L'image spatiale est devenue opaque en français actuel, par contre elle demeure transparente dans les autres langues romanes.

²⁸ Il existe une autre traduction française pragmatiquement plus fréquente, mais hors des modèles spatio-temporels: *avec de nombreux crimes à son palmarès*.

Fr.	Esp.	Pt.	It.	Cat.
<i>un gang terroriste avec de nombreux crimes derrière lui</i>	<i>una banda terrorista con muchos crímenes a sus espaldas</i>	<i>um bando terrorista com muitos crimes atrás de si</i>	<i>una banda di terroristi con molti crimini alle spalle</i>	<i>una banda terrorista amb molts crims a la seva esquena</i>

Tableau 13. Le temps est un chemin parcouru.

Ce transfert spatio-temporel est également mis en évidence par la polysémie du préfixe *retro* (derrière) opposant les mots *rétrovisueur* (sens exclusivement spatial) et le mot *rétrospectif* (sens exclusivement temporel), tous deux figurés, et dont le sens global littéral serait le même : ‘qui regarde derrière’.

Toute la rhétorique *progressiste* repose sur cette association d’idées : du latin *progredior* [lit. *devant+marcher : ‘avancer’] est opposée à *retrograde* <lat. *retrogradus* [lit. *en+arrière+marche: ‘qui recule’]. La propagande politique et la publicité commerciale nous exhortent mille et une fois à *regarder vers le futur*, ou à *tourner le dos au passé*, comme si ces actions étaient réellement possibles. P. ex.:

- *Nous avons tiré un trait sur le passé, maintenant, nous regardons vers le futur*²⁹.
- *Pongámonos de acuerdo, perdonemos, y miremos hacia el futuro*³⁰

Cette image est elle-même une variante d’un modèle plus général, que Lakoff et Johnson (1999) appellent *LA VIE EST UN VOYAGE*. Dans cette vision, nos buts sont des *destinations* et nos moyens sont des *chemins* vers celles-ci (Lakoff 1990: 57), comme l’illustrent les métaphores employées par les dirigeants politiques, qui conceptualisent aussi la pandémie comme un trajet à parcourir :

- ...*nous sommes sur la bonne voie* (Jean Castex)³¹
- *si nous restons unis, solidaires, si nous savons nous organiser les prochaines semaines, nous verrons la lumière au bout du tunnel* (Emmanuel Macron)³²
- ...*des mesures de déconfinement à l’horizon du 11 mai 2020*³³.

Cette dernière analogie évoque l’image des anciens navigateurs scrutant l’horizon, oubliant que ce mot désigne en fait une *ligne imaginaire qui s’éloigne à mesure qu’on veut en approcher* (cf. [TFLi]).

La métaphore grammaticale du temps-chemin motive également des périphrases verbales aspectuelles : fr. *je vais manger* ≠ *je viens de manger* (cf. Givón 1973: 918). Le français offre dans ce cas-là une parfaite symétrie entre la valeur figurée de l’auxiliaire *aller* (prospectif) et celle de l’auxiliaire *venir* (rétrospectif) (Bres 2020 : 3).

²⁹ Benpoît Mat: *DH Les Sports* [08-06-2112] (<https://www.dhnet.be/>) [accès juin 2021].

³⁰ Pape François: *Bulletin officiel du Vatican* [27/06/2016] (<https://press.vatican.va/>) [accès juin 2021].

³¹ *Le Figaro* [21/04/2021] (<https://www.lefigaro.fr>) (accès 21/04/2021).

³² *France Inter* [<https://www.franceinter.fr>] (accès 21/04/2021)

³³ *Le Figaro* [21/04/2020] (<https://www.lefigaro.fr/>) (accès 21/04/2021).

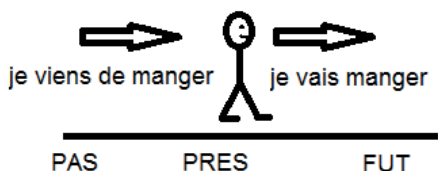


Figure 4. Le modèle MOVING EGO en français (Pamies & Wang 2020)

Cette opposition est moins évidente dans les autres langues romanes³⁴, car elle entre en concurrence avec d’autres tournures beaucoup plus fréquentes pour la rétrospectivité (les périphrases ibéro-romanes utilisent surtout l’auxiliaire [*finir de] (*acabar de*), et l’italien, un adverbe [*juste] (*giusto*). Cela dit, elle existe, même si elle y est moins fréquente :

Fr. <i>cette liste complétera celle que vous venez de lire</i>	
Esp. <i>enfrente estará el Levante, que viene de ganar y eliminar al Olympiakos</i>	Pt. <i>este fenómeno não difere do de que vimos de falar</i>
It. <i>vengo di spegnere la televisione all’istante</i>	Cat. <i>avui mateix vinc de parlar amb el regidor de medi ambient</i> ³⁵

Tableau 14. Le temps est un trajet (horizontal).

L’aspect verbal représente le *temps impliqué* (Guillaume 1929 [1970]:7), ou *temps interne* d’une action (Bres 2020 : 3), en distinguant sa totalité (*perfectif*) des différentes étapes de son déroulement: la phase pré-processuelle (*prospectif*), le début (*inchoatif*), la réalisation en cours (*progressif*), la fin (*terminatif*), la phase post-processuelle (*rétrospectif*).

D’autres métaphores spatiales associent l’inchoativité à une ‘entrée’, le progressif à un ‘passage’, et le terminatif à une ‘sortie’, mais, à la différence des périphrases régulières, les structures formelles correspondantes sont ici des phrasèmes.

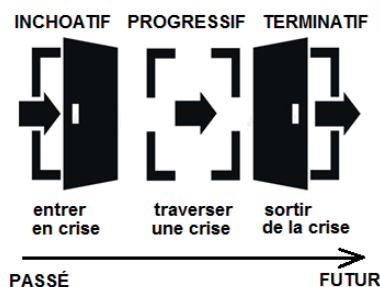


Figure 5. Trois phases du ‘temps interne’

³⁴ P.ex. 69,34 occurrences par million de *tokens* en français (*frTenTen2017*), contre 4,49 en espagnol (*esTenTen2018*).

³⁵ Sources respectives de ces exemples réels: *frTenTen2017*, *esTenTen2018*, *ptTenTen2011*, *itTenTen2016*, et, pour le catalan, *Rapsòdia* (<https://august-rapsodia.blogspot.com/2015/08/una-tarda-amb-els-ramats.html>).

a-inchoatif : SV → [V^{entrer} +Prep +SN^{PERIODE}]:

Fr. <i>entrer dans une nouvelle ère / entrer en crise</i>	Esp. <i>entrar en una nueva era /entrar en crisis</i>	Pt. <i>entrar numa nova era /entrar em crise</i>	It. <i>entrare in una nuova era /entrare in crisi</i>	Cat. <i>entrar en una nova era /entrar en crisi</i>
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b-progressif : SV → [V^{passer} +Prep +SN^{PERIODE}]:

Fr. <i>passer par une crise / traverser une crise</i>	Esp. <i>pasar por una crisis / atravesar una crisis</i>	Pt. <i>passar por uma crise/ atravessar uma crise</i>	It. <i>passare attraverso una crisi /atravessare una crisi</i>	Cat. <i>passar per una crisi / travessar una crisi</i>
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c-terminatif : SV → [V^{sortir} +Prep +SN^{PERIODE}]:

Fr. <i>sortir du sous-développement / sortir de la crise</i>	Esp. <i>salir del subdesarrollo / salir de la crisis</i>	Pt. <i>sair do subdesenvolvimento / sair da crise</i>	It. <i>uscire dal sottosviluppo / uscire dalla crise</i>	Cat. <i>sortir del subdesenvolupament / sortir de la crisi</i>
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Tableau 15. Le 'temps interne' des périphrases aspectuelles

Il ne s'agit pas de trois collocations indépendantes, mais plutôt des variations d'une *construction phraséologique*, car non seulement le verbe est variable, mais le substantif aussi, car il commute avec d'autres, désignant une période ou un événement, mais qui occupe la position d'un complément de lieu (métaphore grammaticale) : *entrer en guerre /en colère /en coma /en vigueur /en action /en contact /en chaleur /en possession /en pourparlers /en raison /en vrille /en appétit /en rut*. La substitution se produit surtout au sein d'une même classe sémantique :

- *entrer en guerre /conflit /en bataille /en lutte /en combat /en lice /en affrontement /en querelle /en bagarre /en dispute*
- *entrer en en désaccord /en litige /en procès*
- *entrer en vente /en location /en dette / en faillite / en banqueroute*

Ces noms ne sont pas éligibles selon une règle générale, mais forment un paradigme lexical imprévisiblement limité, puisque l'on ne dit pas **entrer en paix / *entrer en grippe / *entrer en déraison / *entrer en tâche*. On peut aussi *entrer en panique*, mais pas **entrer en peur*, ni **en trousse* ni **en frousse*.

Esp. <i>entrar en cólera /en coma /en vigor /en acción /en contacto /en calor /en posesión /en negociaciones /en razón /en celos /en barrena /en tarea /en apetito /en celo /en conflicto /en guerra /en batalla /en lucha /en liza /en enfrentamiento /en disputa /en riña /en desacuerdo /en litigio /en juicio /en venta /en alquiler /en arrendamiento /en deuda /en quiebra /en bancarrota</i>	Pt. <i>entrar em cólera /em coma /em vigor /em ação /em contacto /em cio /em posse /em negociações /em razão /em ciúmes /em giro de cauda /em tarefa /em apetite /em zelo /em conflito /em guerra /em batalha /em luta /em confronto /em disputa /em desacordo /em litígio /em julgamento /em venda /em arrendamento /em dívida /em falência /em bancarrota</i>
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<p>It. <i>entrare in collera /in coma /in vigore /in azione /in contatto /in calore /in possesso /in negoziazione /in ragione /in gelosia /in spirale /in compito /in appetito /in zelo /in conflitto /in guerra /in battaglia /in lotta /in lite /in confronto /in disputa /in disaccordo /in processo /in vendita /in affitto /in locazione /in debito /in fallimento /in bancarotta</i></p>	<p>Cat. <i>entrar en còlera /en coma /en vigor /en acció /en contacte /en calor /en possessió /en negociacions /en raó /en tasca /en apetit /en zel /en conflicte /en guerra /en batalla /en lluita /en lliça /en enfrontament /en disputa //en desacord /en litigi /en judici /en venda /en lloguer /en arrendament /en deute /en fallida /en bancarrota</i></p>
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Tableau 16. L’aspect inchoatif est une entrée.

Par sa productivité, cette forme partage avec les collocations la sélection plus ou moins ‘capricieuse’ du verbe à partir du nom : on *entre* en coma mais on *attrape* la grippe, on *entre* en guerre mais on *fait* la paix, on peut *entrer en froid* mais ce n’est pas l’antonyme d’*entrer en chaleur*. Mais elle correspond aux constructions phraséologiques par la grande variabilité du substantif, et ceci d’une façon commune aux langues romanes, même si les séquences identiques ne signifient pas toujours la même chose. On peut rapprocher cette fonction inchoative du verbe *entrer* avec la valeur prospective de la préposition *dans*. Les autres langues examinées partagent aussi cette association entre le mouvement vers l’intérieur et l’aspect prospectif (cf. Luque Nadal 2012).

<p>Fr. <i>dans cinq minutes /dans dix ans</i></p>	<p>Esp. <i>dentro de cinco minutos dentro de diez años</i></p>	<p>Pt. <i>dentro de cinco minutos /dentro de dez anos</i></p>	<p>It. <i>entro cinque minuti /entro dieci anni</i>³⁶</p>	<p>Cat. <i>dintre de cinc minuts /dintre de deu anys</i></p>
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Tableau 17. L’aspect prospectif est une entrée.

Cette projection se manifeste également dans l’étymologie de nombreux verbes désignant un changement d’état, par dérivation à préfixe d’origine locative *in* (‘dedans’), *ex* ou *dé* (‘dehors’)³⁷. Métaphoriquement, le début d’un état est devenu une ‘entrée’ (fr. *endormir* < lat. *indormire* [*dedans+dormir] ‘faire dormir quelqu’un qui était éveillé’) et sa fin est devenue une ‘sortie’ (fr. *éliminer* <lat. *ex+liminare* [*hors+seuil+SUFF.V.] ‘mettre dehors quelqu’un qui était dedans’).

Diachroniquement, des préfixes ingressifs sont devenus inchoatifs et des préfixes égressifs sont devenus résultatifs (cf. Trabelsi 2020) par métaphore spatio-temporelle. P.ex., *inculper*, *engager*, *engourdir*, *encourager* quelqu’un, c’est le faire ‘entrer’ dans un endroit, dont il pourra éventuellement ‘sortir’ (*exculper*, *dégager*, *déjourdir*, *décourager*). Certains de ces

³⁶ En italien cette valeur n’est pas exprimée par *in* (‘dans’), mais par *fra* (lit. ‘entre’) et *tra* (lit. ‘derrière’): *fra cinque minuti*; *tra dieci anni*, (cf. *Treccani* <https://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/fra1/>). Ces métaphores spatio-temporelles seraient plus proches de la métaphore du chemin. Par contre, la préposition *entro* (‘dans’) a une valeur durative qui signale prospectivement la fin d’une période *entro due giorni devi finire quel lavoro* (https://dizionari.corriere.it/dizionario_italiano/E/entro.shtml).

³⁷ Ces préfixes conservent par contre leur valeur littérale d’origine dans des verbes comme fr. *inclure* (< lat. *includere* [*dedans+fermer] ‘enfermer’) vs. *exclure* (<lat. *excludere* [*dehors+fermer] ‘laisser dehors’).

préfixes locatifs à valeur aspectuelle peuvent aujourd'hui s'appliquer même à des substantifs, comme l'emploi de *ex-* ('hors') dans *ex-mari*, *ex-amant*, *ex-vicomte*, *ex-jésuite*, *ex-putain*, *ex-empereur* ou *ex-président* [ORTO].

7.3. Le temps est un déplacement en miroir

Il s'agit d'une archi-métaphore spatio-temporelle peu courante que Radden (2011) appelle 'perspective bilatérale' (*both-sided perspective*), en citant quelques exemples lexicaux où la même analogie spatiale fonctionne dans deux directions temporelles symétriquement opposées. P.ex. fr. *arrière-grand-père* vs. *arrière-petit-fils* où le passé et le futur sont exprimés par 'arrière'.

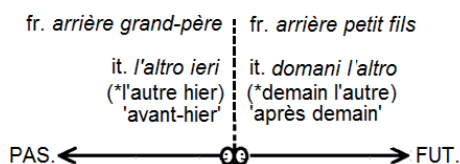


Figure 6. La perspective bilatérale (adapté de Radden 2011)

Cette analyse serait aussi applicable aux deux conjugaisons analytiques du catalan, où l'auxiliaire *anar* ('aller') transforme le verbe principal aussi bien en futur qu'en passé: *vaig a menjar* [*je+vais à manger] ('je vais manger') vs. *vaig menjar* [*je+vais manger] ('j'ai mangé').

Le temps 'en miroir' n'affecte donc que des couples d'expressions, où le même composant formel signale deux directions temporelles opposées. C'est aussi le cas des emplois auxiliaires des verbes esp. *volver* et cat. *tornar* ('revenir'), orientés vers le futur dans des périphrases inchoatives comme esp. *volverse viejo* /cat. *tornar-se vell* (*retourner vieux = 'devenir vieux'), mais vers le passé dans esp. *volver a la infancia* /cat. *tornar a l'infància* ('revenir à l'enfance'), ou esp. *volver al principio* /cat. *tornar al principi* (*retourner au début = 'recommencer à zéro'). Cette dualité est mise en évidence par le contraste avec le français, où *revenir* ne fonctionne que vers le passé (fr. *revenons à nos moutons*).

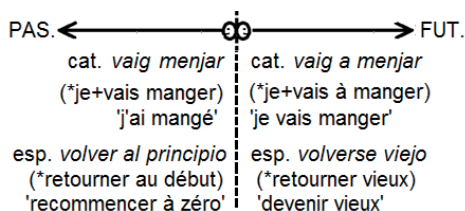


Figure 7. Le 'temps en miroir' en catalan et en espagnol

7.4. Le temps est un déplacement vertical

Des métaphores qui organisent le temps verticalement ont été signalées en quechua, en tzeltal et en chinois (Faller & Cuéllar 2009; Brown 2012; Yu 2012; Scott 1989; Radden 2011; Chen 2014; Pamies & Wang 2020). Le sens du mouvement y offre deux variantes : soit avec la postérité en haut et l’antériorité en bas, comme en quechua, soit avec l’antériorité en haut et la postérité en bas, comme en chinois³⁸. Il y a peut-être une correspondance entre cette image et la position du soleil dans le ciel, ou celle du sablier ou la clepsydre, qui mesurent le temps par la tombée d’un fluide. Cette association existait aussi en latin classique où elle était très productive (Short 2016: 386-387) et il en reste plusieurs vestiges dans les langues romanes.

En latin, *supra* [lit.*au+dessus] signifiait aussi ‘avant’, et *infra* [*en+dessous] signifiait aussi ‘après’. Cela explique des locutions actuelles comme esp. *a altas horas de la madrugada* [lit. *à hautes heures de l’aube] ‘très tôt’ (Mellado 2012:47); ou esp. *a estas alturas* [lit. *à ces hauteurs] ‘au moment où nous en sommes’, *a estas alturas de la vida* [lit. *à ces hauteurs de la vie] ‘à cet âge-là’; pt. *naquela altura* [lit. *à+cette hauteur] ‘à cette époque-là’ *na altura da guerra da independência* [lit. *à+la hauteur de+la guerre de l’indépendance] ‘à l’époque de la guerre d’indépendance’.

Au sens propre, le verbe *précipiter* désigne un mouvement vertical dans l’espace : ‘jeter, faire tomber de haut’ [ORTO] mais il a aussi un sens figuré temporel (‘accélérer’, ‘hâter’, ‘presser’ [ORTO]). On dit également que *le temps s’écoule*, ou même *écouler des heures* [TFLI]. Un événement futur à échéance explicite peut se représenter comme une ‘chute’ (fr. Noël **tombe** un dimanche /date de **caducité** /à la **tombée** du jour /à la **tombée** de la nuit), par contre, le passé semble pouvoir s’élever à l’infini: **remonter** à la nuit des temps.

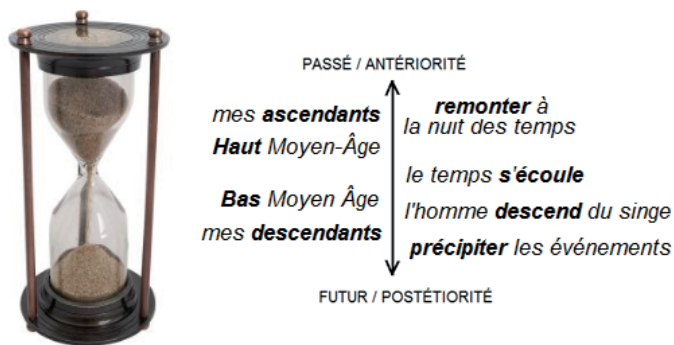


Figure 8. Le temps vertical en français

En espagnol, l’image de la ‘chute’ s’applique aussi pour mesurer la durée d’une peine de prison imposée par le juge : *Si no hace la confesión, pero la hace el compañero, quien*

³⁸ P.ex., chn. *shàng xīngqī* (*semaine supérieure) ‘la semaine dernière’ vs. *xià xīngqī* (*semaine inférieure) ‘la semaine prochaine’ (Pamies & Wang 2020).

quedará en libertad será el otro y a él le caerán diez años ('s'il n'avoue rien mais son complice le fait, c'est l'autre qui sera relâché, et lui il en prendra pour dix ans') [esTenTen18] [littéralement : *dix ans lui tomberont dessus].

La temporalité 'verticale' persiste donc dans la phraséologie de ces langues :

<p>Fr. <i>l'homme descend du singe /mes ascendants /mes descendants /Haut Moyen Âge /Bas Moyen Âge /Haut Empire romain /Bas Empire romain /avoir des procès pendants /demander la suspension de l'exécution /le temps s'est écoulé /en amour ou en amitié, il est essentiel de ne pas se précipiter afin de trouver la bonne personne /Noël tombe un dimanche /date de caducité /à la tombée du jour /remonter à la nuit des temps //remonter au Néolithique</i> [Google.com]</p>
<p>Esp. <i>el hombre descende del mono /mis ascendentes /mis descendientes /a estas alturas /Alta Edad Media /Baja Edad Media /Alto Imperio Romano /Bajo Imperio Romano /tener juicios pendientes /solicitar la suspensión de la ejecución /en el gobierno insisten en que no conviene precipitarse en una decisión de este tipo /la Navidad cae en domingo /la fecha de caducidad /al caer la noche /los invitados están al caer</i> [Google.com]</p>
<p>Pt. <i>o homem descende do macaco /meus ascendente /meus descendentes /naquela altura /Alta Idade Média /Baixa Idade Média /Alto Império Romano /Baixo Império Romano /ter juízos pendentes/pedir a suspensão da execução /não convém se precipitar nos juízos críticos sobre regulamentações muito complexas /O Natal cai num domingo /a data de caducidade /a tardinha cai /ao cair da noite /remontar à noite dos tempos /remontar ao Neolítico</i> [Google.com]</p>
<p>It. <i>l'uomo discende dalla scimmia /i miei ascendenti /i miei discendenti /Alto Medioevo /Alto Impero Romano /Basso Impero Romano /avere dei giudizi pendenti /domandare la sospensione dell'esecuzione /non conviene forse di precipitarsi a chiedere l'adesione /il Natale cade di domenica /la data di scadenza /quando cade la notte /rimontare alla notte dei tempi /rimontare al Neolitico</i> [Google.com]</p>
<p>Cat. <i>l'home descendeix del mico /el meus ascendents /els meus descendents /Alta Edat mitjana /Baixa Edat mitjana /Alt Imperi Romà /Baix Imperi Romà /tenir un judici pendent /demanar la suspensió de l'execució /no convé precipitar-se: salvar un país no es bufar y fer ampolles /el Nadal cau en diumenge /la data de caducitat /al caure la nit /remuntar-se a la nit dels temps /remuntar-se al Neolític</i> [Google.com]</p>

Tableau 18. Le temps vertical

L'étymologie de la préposition française *pendant* renvoie elle aussi à la dimension verticale (lit. *qui pend) : les évènements futurs dont on ignore l'issue sont représentés comme une sorte d'épée de Damoclès 'suspendue' au dessus de nos têtes, P.ex. fr. *laisser en suspens /suspendre l'exécution /un débat pendant*; esp. *tener una deuda pendiente* [*avoir une dette pendante] 'avoir une dette à régler', *se suspende el juicio* [*le procès est suspendu] 'le procès est remis à plus tard'.

Dans une autre variante de la verticalité, le TEMPS est conçu comme un FARDEAU qui *nous plie vers le bas, comme dans la fable française* :

*Un pauvre bûcheron tout couvert de ramée
Sous le faix du fagot aussi bien que des ans
Gémissant et courbé marchait à pas pesants... (La Fontaine).*

Fr. <i>l'âge lui pèse /les années lui pèsent /appesanti par l'âge /plié par les années /chargé d'années / surchargé d'années /le poids des siècles /alourdi par les ans la lourdeur des années /le fardeau du temps /le fardeau des siècles /le fardeau des années /courbés sous le faix des années /plier sous le faix des années</i> [frTenTen17]	
Esp. <i>le pesan los años /le pesa la edad /cargado de años /doblado por los años /doblado por el tiempo /sobrecargado por el tiempo /el peso de los años /el peso de los siglos/cada vez más encorvado bajo el peso de los años</i> [esTenTen18]	Pt. <i>pesam-lhe os anos /pesa-lhe a idade / carregado de anos /dobrado pelo tempo / dobrado pelos anos /o peso dos anos /o peso dos séculos /o fardo do tempo /o fardo dos anos /dobrados pelo peso dos anos</i> [Pt-TmsJSI-14-20] & [pTenTen11]
It. <i>appesantito dagli anni /appesantito dal tempo /appesantito dall'età /caricato di anni /piegato dagli anni /il peso degli anni /il peso dei secoli / inclinate dal peso del tempo /cadere sotto il peso del tempo /sono crollati sotto il peso del tempo / curvo sotto il peso degli anni</i> [itTenTen16]	Cat. <i>li pesen els anys /li pesa l'edat /doblegat pel temps /doblegat pels anys /carregat d'anys /el pes dels segles /encorbat sota el pes dels anys /sols ha cedit sota el pes dels anys /duu el pes de l'edat a les espatlles /cau el pes del temps /el pes del temps ja era una càrrega feixuga</i> [CtILC;Cat-TmsJSI-14-20] & [Google.com]

Tableau 19. Le poids du temps

7.5. Le temps est un déplacement circulaire

Il existe également une image spatiale circulaire du temps appelée *CYCLIC TIME* (Radden 2011). Certains psycholinguistes affirment que, sauf dans la communication gestuelle, aucune langue ne représente le temps par des mouvements latéraux (cf. Gijssels & Casasanto 2017 : 662), ce qui est discutable, puisqu'un mot comme *période* que l'on définit aujourd'hui comme *espace de temps*, [ORTO] désignait à l'origine un mouvement circulaire ('trajectoire des astres') ou oscillatoire ('onde périodique') [*<gr. περί 'autour' + ὁδός 'chemin'*]³⁹, ce qui exige des déviations latérales, ne serait-ce que comme phases intermédiaires.

L'unidirectionnalité temporelle en forme de *flèche* invoquée par Clark (*sagittal time*, 1973), n'empêche pas certaines langues d'en faire un 'boomerang', avec des trajectoires changeantes, voire complètement circulaires, comme celles décrites pour plusieurs langues amérindiennes (Klein 1981; Le Guen 2017) ou pour le chinois (Radden 2011, Pamies & Wang 2020).

Selon Radden (2011) et Bourdin (2014), ce schéma serait cognitivement lié à la perception visuelle : seul notre présent est visible, tandis que le passé devient de plus en plus opaque, se rapprochant progressivement du futur lointain, invisible par définition, mais redevenant visible car la roue continue à tourner, rapprochant de nouveau ce futur de notre présent.

³⁹ TLFi (<https://www.cnrtl.fr/etymologie/p%C3%A9riode>) (Consultation 13/05/2021).

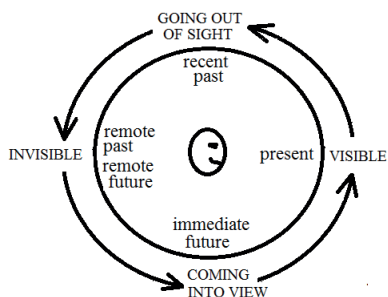


Figure 9. Motivation du temps cyclique (Radden 2011)

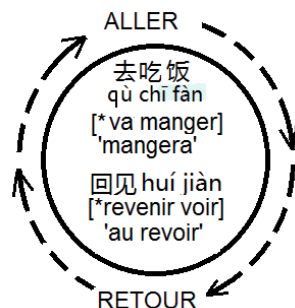


Figure 10. Le temps cyclique en chinois (Pamies & Wang 2020)

Le fait que Radden utilise pour son analyse des étiquettes qui sont elles-mêmes des métaphores spatiales avec des verbes vectoriellement opposés ('going out of sight' / 'coming into view'), prouve que l'anglais peut aussi, en cas de besoin, introduire cette image d'aller-retour dans la trajectoire imaginaire que les langues imposent au temps.

Dans certaines langues romanes, cette circularité est actualisée par le renversement directionnel du déplacement dans les périphrases aspectuelles. Il existe ici quelques divergences d'une langue à l'autre car l'italien exprime le changement d'état avec le verbe 'aller' (it. *andare pazzo / andare matto* [*aller fou] 'devenir fou')⁴⁰. Mais dans les langues ibéro-romanes, même si le futur est 'devant', les changements d'état sont conceptualisés comme un 'retour' vers le nouvel état, par la périphrase 'revenir' + Adj. (esp. *volverse loco* [lit. *s'en revenir fou] / pt. *virar maluco* [*tourner fou] / cat. *tornar-se boig* [*s'en retourner fou] = 'devenir fou'). En plus, cette forme peut coexister dans le même syntagme avec son antonyme, l'auxiliaire 'aller' dans une étonnante 'volte-face' en boomerang spatio-temporel: esp. *nos vamos a volver locos* [lit. *nous allons à revenir fous] 'nous allons devenir fous'.

- esp.** *nos vamos a volver locos*
[lit. *nous allons à revenir fous]
- pt.** *vamos virar malucos*
[lit. *nous+allons retourner fous]
'nous allons devenir fous'
- cat.** *ens anem a tornar bojos*
[lit. *nous allons à retourner fous]

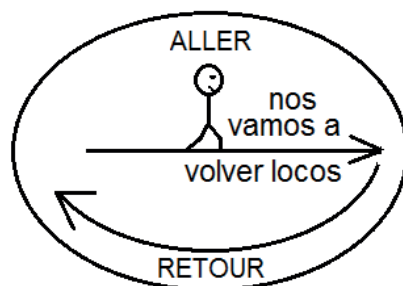


Figure 11. Le 'temps circulaire' des langues ibéro-romanes

⁴⁰ En français, l'arrière-plan spatial est opaque, car les locuteurs ne perçoivent plus le lien étymologique entre *devenir* et *venir*.

D’autres périphrases avec des auxiliaires de mouvement complètent le cercle. Le prospectif, l’inchoatif, le progressif et le continuatif se partagent ‘l’aller’, et toutes les nuances temporelles de l’itératif se partagent le ‘retour’.

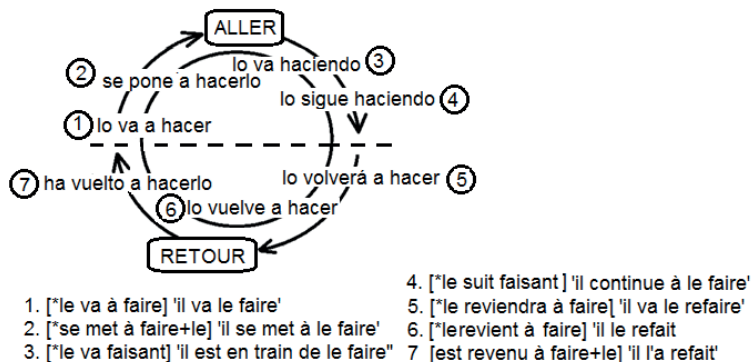


Figure 12. Cycle des périphrases temporelles en espagnol (d’après Pamies & Wang 2020)

Les périphrases verbales des autres langues ibéro-romanes disposent du même trajet temporel imaginaire que l’espagnol. L’italien permet aussi de compléter le cercle des périphrases temporelles, bien qu’avec moins de nuances.

<p>pt. <i>vai fazer > está a fazer (está fazendo) > vai fazendo > segue a fazer > vai voltar a fazer > voltou a fazer > vai ir fazendo > vai seguir fazendo.</i></p>
<p>cat. <i>va a fer-lo > es posa a fer-lo > l'està fent > va fent-lo > segueix fent-lo > va a seguir fent-lo > el tornarà a fer > el torna a fer > l'ha tornat a fer.</i></p>
<p>it. <i>andiamo a farlo > si mette a farlo > sta a farlo > segue a farlo > tornerà a farlo > torna a farlo > è tornato a farlo.</i></p>

Tableau 20. Cycle des périphrases temporelles en portugais, catalan et italien

Par contre, le français ne peut pas fermer le cercle, car il ne dispose pas de périphrases aspectuelles avec ‘revenir’ ni avec ‘suivre’.

8. Implications taxonomiques

Les expressions examinées dans ce travail appartiennent à des catégories formelles variées (*mots, collocations, locutions, périphrases verbales, etc.*), parfois polémiques pour les phraséologues. C’est le cas des *phrasèmes syntaxiques* ou *collostructions*, dont le caractère limittrophe entre la combinaison syntaxique et la collocation pourrait même faire douter de leur caractère phraséologique. De nombreux exemples idiomatiques recueillis dans ce travail ne sont que partiellement figés, ils ont un *slot* variable, mais soumis à des restrictions lexico-sémantiques aussi fortes que cohérentes, ce qui confirmerait leur caractère phraséologique.

P. ex., dans l'archi-métaphore LE TEMPS EST UN DESTRUCTEUR, le prototype *détruit par le temps* aurait pu, par sa fréquence, être considéré comme une collocation (61 exemples dans le corpus). Mais ce dernier critère ne serait extrapolable qu'à certains de ses synonymes (p.ex., *ravagé par le temps*: 44 cas), ou hyponymes (p.ex. *endommagé par le temps* : 66 cas), mais pas à d'autres, qui n'atteindraient pas la fréquence suffisante (p.ex., *brûlé par le temps*, 2 cas; *ratatiné par el temps*, un seul cas). Cette façon d'envisager la fréquence nous mènerait au paradoxe de devoir considérer ces derniers exemples comme des syntagmes libres. L'option complètement opposée mènerait à considérer la totalité de ces expressions synonymiques comme des variantes d'une unique collocation, ce qui multiplierait son taux de co-occurrence mais exigerait de redéfinir le concept de *collocation*, pour que ses composants ne soient plus de simples *mots*, ce qui aggraverait le foisonnement et la confusion terminologiques. Un calcul de fréquence strictement lexical ignorerait le lien sémantique évident entre ces mots.

Par ailleurs, dans le modèle du TEMPS DESTRUCTEUR, le substantif peut lui aussi subir des substitutions hyponymiques (p. ex., *détruit par les années* : 6 cas), ce qui multiplierait les variations par celles du verbe : fr. *meurtri par les années* (12 cas), *vaincu par les siècles* (1), *effacé par les années* (3), *ravagé par les ans* (2), *flétri par les années* (3), *dévoré par les siècles* (1), *vaincu par les années* (2) *défoncé par les années* (2), *brisé par les siècles* (1).

Esp. <i>destruido por los años /destruido por los siglos /destrozado por los años /sepultado por los años /comido por los siglos</i> [esTenTen18]	Pt. <i>destruído pelos anos /machucado pelos anos /derrotado pelos anos /soçobrado pelos anos /apagado pelos séculos /fraturado pelos séculos</i> [ptTenTen17]
It. <i>distrutto dagli anni /cancellato dai secoli /scavato dagli anni /inghiottito dagli anni</i> [itTenTen16]	Cat. <i>destruït pels anys /maltractat pels segles /devastat pels anys /enterrat pels segles /rosegat pels anys</i> [Google.com]

Tableau 21. Variation des composants nominaux

Dans le modèle LE TEMPS EST UN FARDEAU, les *slots* correspondant au 'poids' peuvent être occupés par des substantifs ou des verbes, voire les deux en même temps, mais cela n'empêche pas ce *moule locutionnel* d'imposer des restrictions, sauf que celles-ci ne sont pas lexicales (comme dans les collocations) mais exclusivement sémantiques :

les années lui pèsent /l'âge lui pèse /chargé d'années /appesanti par l'âge /plié par les années /le poids des siècles /le fardeau du temps /le fardeau des siècles /le fardeau des années /la lourdeur des années /courbé sous le faix des années /plier sous le faix des années...

Les 'remplaçants' du substantif sont quand même peu nombreux, et cette variation partielle ne contredit pas le caractère idiomatique de ces expressions. Toutes les instanciations de cette archi-métaphore présentent une structure homogène : une construction avec deux parties, l'une variable et figurée (le participe passif de toute une classe sémantique de verbes),

l'autre stable et littérale, occupant métaphoriquement la position du complément d'agent. P.ex., pour les 'verbes de destruction' :

[PPV^{DESTR} + Prep^{par} + SN^{TEMPS}]

Ce raisonnement est extensible aux archi-métaphores du TEMPS CRÉATEUR, du TEMPS MODIFICATEUR du TEMPS DÉCIDEUR. Dans les cinq langues, on aperçoit la même structure figée : un participe passif suivi du même complément d'agent, ce qui élimine le syntagme libre. Leur compositionnalité partielle écarte également la locution, et leurs substitutions hyponymiques écartent la collocation. Il ne reste donc que la construction semi-phraséologique, que la lexicologie russe appelle 'phrasèmes syntaxiques' (*синтаксические фразеологизмы*, Ushakova 2018):

Un phrasème syntaxique est une unité idiomatique ayant une structure syntaxique figée et des variables lexicales, appartenant généralement à un ensemble sémantique restreint.
(V. Apresjan 2012: 105).

Des termes français ont été également proposés pour désigner les figements partiels, tels que *moule locutionnel* (Mejri 1998, Zhu 2019) ou *matrice lexicale* (Anscombe 2019), quoique leur sens soit un peu plus large.

Dans prendre une décision, la non saturation de cet espace fait qu'on peut opérer plusieurs commutations avec l'élément nominal, dégageant ainsi les différentes distributions. Le figement restreint les emplois en occupant l'espace par des items précis (Mejri 1998: 51)

le moule est le résultat d'une équation dont la fonction (mathématique) est la catégorie grammaticale et dont la variable est l'ensemble des éléments de différents niveaux linguistiques [...] Par exemple, le moule [de ... en ...] dispose d'une structure syntaxique qui est un élément linguistique que l'on dénote en tant que L1; cette structure est pourvue d'un sens lorsque l'on y injecte du lexique : de mal en pis, de mieux en mieux, de pire en pire, etc., que l'on dénote comme L2; la catégorie adverbiale de ces séquences susmentionnées est leur fonction C (Zhu 2019: 5).

Un autre terme français très proche serait *matrice lexicale* (Anscombe 2019).

Une matrice lexicale sera un schéma comportant des unités linguistiques fixes et des linguistiques variables, et tel que (a) les unités linguistiques fixes sont des éléments grammaticaux (b) Les variables linguistiques représentent des éléments lexicaux. (c) ce schéma est productif, au moins dans une certaine mesure (d) Les contraintes régissant l'instanciation des variables proviennent uniquement de la structure elle-même, et des relations préexistant entre les unités lexicales servant à cette instanciation (Anscombe 2019: 25).

La linguistique anglo-saxonne utilise *collostruction* et *constructional idiom*

Les lexèmes qui sont attirés par une construction particulière sont appelés collexèmes de cette construction; inversement, une construction associée à un lexème particulier peut

être appelée collostructure; *la combinaison d'un collexème et d'une collostructure sera appelée* collostruction (Stefanowitsh & Gries 2003 :215):

Les phrasèmes constructionnels sont des constructions syntaxiques dont le sens (partiellement ou totalement) non compositionnel est apporté par la construction, dans laquelle - contrairement aux idiomes au sens traditionnel - seul un sous-ensemble (éventuellement vide) des éléments terminaux est figé. (Booij 2002: 302).

Pour l'espagnol, on peut citer *locuciones con casillas vacías* 'locutions à cases vides' (Montoro 2008), *esquemas fraseológicos* 'schémas phraséologiques (Mura 2019) ou *construcciones fraseológicas* 'constructions phraséologiques' (Mellado 2020; Penadés 2021).

les constructions phraséologiques occupent une place intermédiaire dans ce continuum, car elles ne sont que partiellement saturées dans leurs constituants lexicaux. (Mellado 2020: 31).

9. Conclusions

(a) La comparaison détaillée entre ces cinq langues romanes permet de distinguer un ensemble cohérent et très productif d'archi-métaphores temporelles :

1. Le temps nous appartient
2. Nous appartenons au temps
3. Le temps est un créateur
4. Le temps est un transformateur
5. Le temps est un décideur
6. Le temps est un destructeur
7. Le temps est un déplacement
 - 7.1. Le temps se déplace horizontalement
 - 7.2. Le temps est un trajet à parcourir
 - 7.3. Le temps est un déplacement en miroir
 - 7.4. Le temps est un déplacement vertical
 - 7.5. Le temps est un déplacement circulaire

(b) Les instanciations de ces macro-modèles métaphoriques présentent un haut degré de similitude formelle et sémantique d'une langue romane à l'autre, dû, soit à une origine commune, soit à des évolutions semblables de leur polysémie. Du point de vue cognitif, cette homogénéité correspondrait non seulement à une façon commune de 'dire' le temps, mais aussi de le 'penser' dans les langues romanes.

(c) On observe une certaine corrélation entre les modèles sémantiques et les formes grammaticales. P. ex., l'archi-métaphore LE TEMPS EST UN DÉPLACEMENT CIRCULAIRE est exprimée principalement par des périphrases aspectuelles, alors que dans le modèle LE TEMPS SE DÉPLACE

HORIZONTALEMENT ce sont les locutions idiomatiques qui prédominent, et que dans les modèles LE TEMPS EST UN CRÉATEUR /DESTRUCTEUR, ETC. interviennent principalement des phrasèmes syntaxiques. Cela pourrait être un argument de plus en faveur d'une compatibilité, voire une synergie, entre la productivité combinatoire et le figement.

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German light verb constructions with non-eventive nouns

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Abstract

Light verb constructions are complex predicates consisting of a semantically light verb and a phrasal element. It is commonly assumed that the phrasal element contains an eventive noun. In the paper, I investigate this view on the basis of a corpus study and argue that it is too restrictive. Light verbs also combine with non-eventive nouns, and there is no reason not to subsume these expressions under the notion of a light verb construction.

Keywords

Light verb constructions, (non)-eventive nouns, corpus linguistics

1. Introduction¹

Light verb constructions – in German ‘Funktionsverbgefüge’ – have been a recurrent topic in German linguistics for about 60 years now. In 1963, von Polenz (1963) introduced the notion ‘Funktionsverb’ (‘light verb’), and five years later Heringer (1968) coined the notion ‘Funktionsverbgefüge’. Since the 1960s, different suggestions to define the notion of a light verb construction (LVC) have been put forward (see Heine 2020 for an overview). Unfortunately, no such attempt has been successful, which has finally resulted in the claim that the notion ‘LVC’ is neither a valid nor a useful descriptive category (Van Pottelberge 2001). Although it seems that most linguists are less pessimistic than Van Pottelberge, there is still no accepted definition of the term.

Despite the lack of an agreed-upon definition, various authors have proposed properties which are supposed to be characteristic of LVCs. One prominent claim is that the nominal component of an LVC should be an eventive noun (e.g., von Polenz 1963, 1987, Engelen 1968, Helbig 2006, Langer 2005). Due to the lack of a commonly accepted definition, such a claim can hardly be tested empirically. In this paper, I adopt a bottom-up approach to LVCs

¹ The research reported in this paper is part of the project ‘Funktionsverbgefüge: Familien & Komposition’ founded by the German Research Foundation (HE 8721/1-1).

which allows for the claim to be evaluated without presupposing a general definition of LVCs.

2. Eventive nouns

Eventive nouns refer to an eventuality which is either an event (some happening in the world) or a state. I follow Bach (1986) and subsume events and states under the notion of an ‘eventuality’. Eventive nouns can be distinguished from non-eventive ones by the fact that only eventive nouns license, for example, temporal modifiers (1).

- (1) *die gestrige Beobachtung*
 the yesterday observation
 ‘yesterday’s observation’

Non-eventive nouns also combine with temporal modifiers, but require the inference of an eventuality. The example in (2) can mean, for example, ‘the book I bought yesterday’ or ‘the book I talked about with someone yesterday’. Crucially, it is not the referent of *Buch* ‘book’ which is temporally located by *gestrig* ‘yesterday’ but some eventuality in which *Buch* figures as a participant. Such an eventuality can usually be inferred from the (sentence) context, but it is not contributed by the lexical meaning of the noun. This is different for *Beobachtung* ‘observation’ (1), which denotes an eventuality and does not require the inference of some (other type of) eventuality.

- (2) *das gestrige Buch*
 the yesterday book
 ‘yesterday’s book’

Eventive nouns can be derived from a verb, as, for example, *Beobachtung*, which is derived via the suffix *-ung* from the verbal stem *beobacht-* ‘to observe’, but they can also be ‘born’ nouns such as *Stress* ‘stress’, which is the basis for a conversion into the verb *stressen* ‘to stress’.

Why should, as claimed by a number of researchers, the nominal element of an LVC be an eventive noun? An LVC consists of a light verb and an additional phrasal element which is either an NP (3a) or a PP (3b).

- (3) a. *eine Antwort geben*
 ‘give an answer’ (lit. an answer give)
 b. *unter Beobachtung stehen*
 ‘be under observation’ (lit. under observation stand)

The light verb is semantically reduced compared to its use as a heavy verb. As a heavy verb, *stehen* ‘stand’ expresses that its subject referent is statically located in an upright posture at some specific location which is specified by its PP-complement (4a). The predicational content of *stehen*, as used in (4a), can be informally represented as in (5a). Besides its use as a posture verb in (4a), *stehen* also has a purely locational use (4b). The sentence expresses that *stehen*’s subject referent is spatially located, although it cannot be in an upright posture. Thus, the purely locational use of *stehen* is already semantically reduced and lacks the last conjunct of posture verb *stehen* (5b). The two uses have in common that *stehen* can be substituted with a locational predicate like *positioniert sein* ‘be positioned’ or *lokalisiert sein* ‘be located’ (6a/b). As a posture verb, *stehen* can also be substituted with different posture verbs like *sitzen* ‘sit’ or *liegen* ‘lie’. In its light use (4c), *stehen* can be substituted with neither a posture verb nor a locational predicate (6c). Thus, the light verb does not express a spatial localization of its subject referent. Nevertheless, it is still a stative predicate as all LVCs headed by *stehen* express stative predications (e.g., Fleischhauer & Turus 2021). We can arrive at an informal meaning representation of light *stehen* as in (5c).

- (4) a. *Der Mann steht unter einer Brücke.*
 the man stands under a bridge
 ‘The man is standing under a bridge.’
- b. *Die Wolken stehen vor den Sternen.*
 the clouds stand in_front_of the stars
 ‘The clouds are in front of the stars.’
- c. *Der Mann steht unter Beobachtung.*
 the man stands under observation
 ‘The man is under observation.’

- (5) a. *stehen* as a posture verb: stative & spatially locating & upright posture
- b. *stehen* as a locational verb: stative & spatially locating
- c. *stehen* as a light verb: stative

- (6) a. *Der Mann ist unter einer Brücke positioniert.*
 the man is under a bridge positioned
 ‘The man is positioned under a bridge.’
- b. *Die Wolken sind vor den Sternen positioniert.*
 the clouds are in_front_of the stars positioned
 ‘The clouds are positioned in front of the stars.’
- c. **Der Mann ist unter Beobachtung positioniert.*
 the man stands under observation positioned
 *‘The man is positioned under observation.’

Light *stehen* is a defective predicate; it does not contribute a specific state predication. It just contributes stativity, which is an *aktionsart* feature. This view is in line with von Polenz's (1987) analysis of light verbs as basically contributing *aktionsart* features like stativity (as in the case of *stehen*), inchoation (as in the case of *kommen* 'come') or causativity (as in the case of *bringen* 'bring'). If the light verb does not denote an eventuality, the eventuality predication has to be contributed by some other component of the complex predicate. An obvious source is the nominal component, which, as many assume, therefore has to be eventive. This is indeed a reasonable view, especially given the fact that if one substitutes the nominal element of an LVC with a different noun, the LVC denotes a different type of eventuality. The LVC *unter Beobachtung stehen* 'be under observation' denotes an event in which the subject referent is undergoing an observation event. If we substitute *Beobachtung* with *Kontrolle* 'control', the resulting LVC *unter Kontrolle stehen* 'be under control' denotes an eventuality in which the subject referent is being controlled (by someone).

I admit that the eventuality denoted by an LVC is contributed by its nominal element. But does this mean that this nominal element has to be an eventive noun? Rather than speculating about an answer, I would like to answer the question on the basis of a corpus study.

3. Corpus study on *stehen unter*-LVCs

As already mentioned, there is no consensus on how to define the notion of an LVC within German linguistics. Therefore, we are lacking criteria which allow us to decide whether a specific multiword expression consisting of a verb and a phrasal element is an LVC or not. For this reason, I decided to start from certain individual constructions which a number of authors agree are LVCs. Table 1 contains a collection of multiword expressions of the form '*stehen unter NP*' 'stand under NP' and references to some of the authors which treat the individual constructions as LVCs.

Light verb construction	Authors
<i>unter Kontrolle stehen</i> 'be under control'	Pape-Müller (1980: 28), So (1991: 49), Kamber (2008: 188)
<i>unter Schutz stehen</i> 'be under protection'	Kamber (2008: 188), Hermann (2021: 95, 105)
<i>unter Verdacht stehen</i> 'be under suspicion'	Pape-Müller (1980: 154, 168), Kamber (2008: 155)
<i>unter Beobachtung stehen</i> 'be under observation'	Pape-Müller (1980: 28, 154, 161, 168), Hermann (2021: 105)

Table 1. Individual light verb constructions of the type *stehen unter NP* 'stand under NP'

The LVCs in table 1 have in common that they express a passive-like meaning. This has already been indicated with reference to the LVC *unter Beobachtung stehen*. An illustrative example for this LVC is shown in (7). The noun *Beobachtung* is derived from the transitive verb *beobachten* 'to observe'. The subject argument of the LVC is the individual or entity

being observed and corresponds to the verb's object argument. The observer – realized as the verb's subject argument – is only optionally realized with the LVC. If the observer is realized, it can be expressed in, for example, a *durch*-PP like the actor-argument in a passive construction. In addition, the LVC can be paraphrased by a passive construction. Thus, *unter Beobachtung stehen* is paraphrased as 'beobachtet werden' ('be observed').

- (7) *Seit 175 Jahren steht die Erde unter Beobachtung durch lebende, intelligente Wesen von einem anderen Planeten.*

(S50/MAR.00324 Der Spiegel, 30.03.1950, S. 33; Sie fliegen aber doch)

'For 175 years, the earth has been under observation by living, intelligent beings from another planet.'

The aim of the corpus study consists in identifying further LVCs of the type presented in table 1. Within the German Reference Corpus DeReKo (archive Tagged-C2; Leibniz-Institut 2021), I searched for all occurrences of *stehen* 'stand' and the preposition *unter* 'under' within the same sentence (search criterion '&stehen /s0 unter') using the search engine COSMAS II (Leibniz-Institut 2020). The verb and the preposition are the constant elements of this particular type of LVC. As (8) shows, the two components are not necessarily realized adjacently. The search criterion yielded 80,225 hits, of which 8,023 randomly collected examples have been manually annotated (cf. Fleischhauer 2021a for a more detailed description of the corpus study and the annotation procedure).

In a first annotation step, it was checked whether the *unter*-PP is realized as a complement of *stehen* or not. In its light as well as heavy use, *stehen* takes a prepositional complement. Whether the *unter*-PP is a complement of *stehen* was checked by asking the question whether the PP can be deleted from the sentence without affecting the sentence's acceptability. Deleting the *unter*-PP in (7) results in an ungrammatical sentence; as expected, the PP is classified as a complement of *stehen*. In 5,822 sentences, the *unter*-PP is realized as a complement of *stehen*.

In a second annotation step, heavy uses of *stehen* were distinguished from non-heavy uses. This step was just carried out with respect to those sentences in which the *unter*-PP is realized as the complement of *stehen*. An occurrence of *stehen* was classified as a heavy use if the verb can be substituted with a different posture or location predicate (cf. the discussion in the previous section). As a result, 562 occurrences of *stehen* were classified as 'heavy' and 5,260 as 'non-heavy'.

The last annotation step consisted in identifying all constructions among the 5,260 non-heavy uses of *stehen* which have a passive-like interpretation. This was done by paraphrasing the individual sentences. Such a passive-like interpretation was identified for 52 different construction types, which resulted in the identification of 52 *stehen unter*-LVCs (the full list of nouns occurring in the LVCs can be found in Fleischhauer 2021a).

Concerning the passive-like LVCs, two sub-patterns can be identified. *Unter Beobachtung stehen* is paraphrased by an event passive (German ‘Vorgangspassiv’), as exemplified by its paraphrase ‘beobachtet werden’ (‘be observed’). In German, the event passive is expressed by the combination of a passive participle and the passive auxiliary *werden*. The LVC *unter Stress stehen* (8) has a state passive paraphrase (German ‘Zustandspassiv’), which is expressed by the combination of a passive participle and the auxiliary *sein*. The paraphrase for the LVC in (8) is therefore ‘gestresst sein’ (‘be stressed’).

(8) *Die Rinder standen in der ungewohnten Situation sichtlich unter Stress [...].*

(SOL17/MAI.01857 Spiegel-Online, 21.05.2017; Bundesstraße 9 wegen ausgebüxter Rinder gesperrt)

‘The cows were visibly stressed in the unfamiliar situation [...].’

As argued in Fleischhauer (2021a), the distinction between an event-passive interpretation and a state-passive one correlates with the semantic type of the PP-internal noun. An event-passive interpretation results with event-denoting nouns, whereas the state-passive reading obtains with state-denoting nouns. Following Fleischhauer (2021a), I call the two classes of LVCs the ‘event-passive family’ and the ‘state-passive family’.

More relevant for the current topic is the fact that a number of nouns which occur in the construction are non-eventive. Within the event-passive family, the following non-eventive nouns are attested: *Fittich* ‘wing’, *Fuchtel* ‘sword’ and *Vertrag* ‘contract’.² The state-passive family contains the following non-eventive nouns: *Alkohol* ‘alcohol’, *Beruhigungsmittel* ‘sedatives’, *Drogen* ‘drugs’, *Dampf* ‘steam’, *Feuer* ‘fire’, *High Voltage*, *Medikamente* ‘medication’, *Strom* ‘electricity’ and *Suchtmittel* ‘addictive substances’.

One might argue that the very fact that nouns like *Alkohol* or *Fittich* are non-eventive indicates that *unter Alkohol stehen* ‘be under the influence of alcohol’ (9) and *unter jemandes Fittichen stehen* ‘be under the protection/ care of someone’ (10) should not be considered LVCs. This is not the view I adopt in this analysis since the constructions in (9) and (10) differ neither morphosyntactically nor regarding their interpretation from clear instances of the LVC-category like *unter Beobachtung stehen* (7) or *unter Stress stehen* (8). I discuss the interpretation of the two LVCs in more detail in the following sections.

(9) *Bei der Kontrolle des 36jährigen Fahrers stellten die Beamten fest, dass dieser erheblich unter Alkohol stand.*

(RHZ06/FEB.11722 Rhein-Zeitung, 13.02.2006; Führerscheine sichergestellt)

‘During a traffic check of the 36-year-old driver the officers found that he was considerably under the influence of alcohol.’

² For a detailed discussion of the LVC *unter Vertrag stehen* ‘be under contract’, see Fleischhauer (2021b).

- (10) *Das Vokalensemble wurde 1998 als Projektchor zur 30-Jahr-Feier des Gemischten Chores Weitersborn – unter dessen Fittichen er heute noch steht – aus der Taufe gehoben.*
(RHZ06/OKT.21126 Rhein-Zeitung, 23.10.2006; “Makkaroni” servierte schmackhaftes Musikmenü)
‘The vocal ensemble was founded in 1998 as a project choir for the 30th anniversary of the Weitersborn Mixed Choir, under whose leadership it still is today.’

4. *Unter jemandes Fittichen stehen* – Metaphorically interpreted nominal elements

The noun *Fittich* is somehow old-fashioned and originally referred to a bird’s wing. It occurs 1,591 times in the archive Tagged-C2 of the DeReKo. I manually analyzed 160 (10%) of these hits. In 159 cases, the noun is realized in a PP headed by *unter* ‘under’. The single example of *Fittich* occurring in an NP rather than a PP is shown in (11). In all the examples, including (11), *Fittich* cannot be interpreted as meaning ‘(bird’s) wing’. Nevertheless, it is also possible to find literal uses of the noun in the corpus (12). Depending on the exact context, *Fittich* is interpreted as meaning ‘control’, leadership’, ‘care’ or ‘charge’. In (11), the noun’s interpretation comes close to ‘control’, whereas ‘leadership’ comes closer to the meaning of the noun in (10).

- (11) [...] *der rauen Erwachsenenwelt ebenso wenig gewachsen wie den Fittichen der starken Mutter* [...]
(Z13/NOV.00384 Die Zeit (Online-Ausgabe), 28.11.2013; Das vierte B)
‘as little a match for the rough adult world as for the wings of the strong mother’
- (12) *Dem Geier gleich, der auf schweren Morgenwolken mit sanftem Fittich ruhend nach Beute schaut, schwebe mein Lied.*
NUZ04/JUN.01269 Nürnberger Zeitung, 10.06.2004)
‘Like the vulture, who resting his gentle wings on the heavy morning clouds searches for prey, my song soars.’

If the noun occurs in a PP, the PP is realized as an adjunct in 41 cases (25.8%) and as a complement of the verb in the remaining 118 sentences (74.2%). As the two examples in (10) and (11) show, the noun *Fittich* is used non-bare but is preceded by a modifier (e.g., a possessive pronoun or definite article). Table 2 lists all the verbs within the analyzed sample which take *unter X Fittich* as a complement; ‘X’ stands for any type of modifier preceding the noun.

Verb	N	%	Verb	N	%
<i>befinden (sich)</i> 'to be somewhere'	1	0.85	<i>kommen</i> 'to come'	2	1.69
<i>begeben (sich)</i> 'to proceed somewhere'	4	3.39	<i>nehmen</i> 'to take'	66	55.93
<i>fliehen</i> 'to flee'	1	0.85	<i>schlüpfen</i> 'to slip somewhere'	3	2.54
<i>haben</i> 'to have'	39	33.1	<i>stehen</i> 'to stand'	2	1.69

Table 2. List of verbs which take *unter X Fittich* as a complement; 'N': absolute frequency; '%': relative frequency

The complement PP only co-occurs with a limited number of verbs, but it is clear that it is not an idiom since it combines with different verbs which contribute to the overall meaning of the construction. As an example, with *nehmen* 'to take' there is a causative interpretation (13). Crucially, the noun *Fittich* can be interpreted as meaning 'charge' in this context.

- (13) [...] *Frau Miesig nimmt den Polizisten unter die Fittiche.* (M11/DEZ.06579 Mannheimer Morgen, 20.12.2011, S. 17; Auf K.o. im Büro folgt Glück im Stück)
 '[...] Mrs. Miesing takes the police officer under her wing.'

As this discussion reveals, the metaphorical interpretation of *Fittich* is not restricted to LVCs of the type '*stehen unter* NP' but is found quite regularly in various uses of the noun. One might even argue that we are no longer dealing with a metaphorical use of the noun but that the noun has acquired a new sense: a quite general interpretation which might best be paraphrased as 'care'. Within the event passive-family we encounter a number of nouns which have a similar meaning, for example, *Leitung* 'leadership', *Kommando* 'command', *Führung* 'leadership/command' and *Kontrolle* 'control'. Thus, *Fittich* fits into this class semantically, and there is no motivation for treating, for instance, *unter jemandes Kontrolle stehen* 'be under someone's control' as an LVC but not *unter jemandes Fittichen stehen*.

A similar analysis holds for other non-eventive nouns which are used metaphorically, such as: *Fuchtel* 'little sword', which has a metaphorical interpretation similar to *Fittich*, and *Dampf* 'steam', *Feuer* 'fire', *High Voltage* and *Strom* 'electricity', all of which are interpreted roughly as meaning 'pressure, strain'. Like in the case of *Fittich*, these interpretations are also attested if the nouns are not used in *stehen unter*-LVCs (cf. (14)).

- (14) *Wir standen in den vergangenen Wochen alle unter Strom, ich hab es noch immer nicht realisiert, dass wir jetzt Meister sind*
 (BVZ14/JUN.00260 Burgenländische Volkszeitung, 05.06.2014; Ganz Güssing feiert: „Das war der Traum“)
 ‘We’ve all been under pressure in the past weeks, I still haven’t realized that we won the championship.’

The *stehen unter*-constructions discussed in this section qualify as being LVCs since the PP-internal noun has an eventive interpretation due to metaphorical shift. It is an entirely different situation with the noun *Alkohol* ‘alcohol’, which I discuss in the next section.

5. *unter Alkohol stehen* – Inferred events

The nouns *Alkohol* ‘alcohol’, *Drogen* ‘drugs’ and *Beruhigungsmittel* ‘sedatives’ are used literally in the *stehen unter*-LVCs. An example has been shown in (9) above. It can be paraphrased as ‘to be under the influence of alcohol’. In this case, the event predicate ‘influence’ (in German *Einfluss*) is inferred (Fleischhauer 2021b: 369). Such an event predicate needs to be inferred as the nouns under discussion are non-eventive and do not receive a figurative eventive interpretation but are used literally denoting, for instance, alcoholic liquid. The range of possible predicates inferred on the basis of these nouns is narrowed down by their lexical meaning. The nouns under discussion are artefact nouns denoting natural or produced chemical substances which are intended to have some effect on the consumer. The substances differ with regard to the respective effect they have on the consumer, but what they have in common is that the effect can be characterized as ‘influencing the consumer’.

It is thus not surprising that these nouns also occur in composite expressions such as *Alkoholeinfluss* ‘influence of alcohol’ (lit. ‘alcohol.influence’) in *stehen unter*-LVCs. In (15), the LVC *unter Alkoholeinfluss stehen* can be substituted with the LVC *unter Alkohol stehen* without affecting the sentence’s interpretation.

- (15) *Laut Pressemitteilung stand er zum Tatzeitpunkt unter Alkoholeinfluss.*
 (M15/MAR.01072 Mannheimer Morgen, 04.03.2015, S. 24; Kriminalität: 48-Jähriger in der Neckarstadt-West tödlich verletzt / Tatverdächtiger festgenommen)
 ‘According to the press release, he was under the influence of alcohol at the time of the crime.’

If one agrees that *unter Alkoholeinfluss stehen* is an LVC and that the noun *Alkohol* is used literally, there is no reason not to also treat *unter Alkohol stehen* as an LVC. Probably the existence of the LVC *unter Alkohol stehen* presupposes the existence of the LVC *unter Alkoholeinfluss stehen*, and it emerged by dropping the head of the nominal compound. This is a reasonable hypothesis concerning the diachronic origin of the construction and explains why the noun is used literally in both occurrences, but providing evidence for this view goes beyond the limits of the current paper.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued against the widely held assumption that the nominal component of an LVC needs to be an eventive noun. Based on corpus data, I identified two types of non-eventive nouns occurring in passive-like LVCs of the type ‘*stehen unter NP*’: (i) nouns such as *Fittich*, which receive an eventive interpretation due to metaphorical shift, and (ii) artefact nouns such as *Alkohol*, which are used literally and give rise to the inference of an event predicate meaning ‘influence’. The rationale for treating constructions that have a non-eventive component as LVCs is that they behave exactly like LVCs with an eventive nominal component. In the current paper this has been demonstrated with respect to their interpretation, but see Fleischhauer (2021a, b) for further shared features, such as their causativization patterns.

If one accepts the view that the nominal component of an LVC is not necessarily eventive, one can keep searching for the occurrence of further non-eventive nouns in LVCs formed with different light verbs or with different prepositions.

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Intensifying constructions in Italian

Types, function and representation

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Abstract

This investigation proposes a qualitative description of phraseological constructions playing the role of an intensifier and showing lexically empty slots. In particular, the analysis aims at identifying the set of *partially lexically specified intensifying constructions* of Italian, and at providing i) a general classification on the basis of different parameters (e.g. syntactic structure, lexical variability, degree of schematicity, productivity), and ii) a formal constructionist representation of their syntactic-semantic schemas. The investigation aims at demonstrating that the set of partially lexically specified constructional intensifiers is extremely variegated in Italian, and that new combinatory forms can be created from lexically empty patterns, and new abstract constructions and productive schemata can arise through frequency of use, routinisation and conventionalisation.

Keywords

constructional intensifiers, partially lexically specified patterns, schematicity, Italian

1. Introduction

Intensification strategies are devices scaling a quality (Bolinger 1972: 17), which are used by speakers to signal an intensifying value. Intensification is a functional-semantic category encompassing several scales (Van Os 1989). The set of markers of intensity is not closed (Labov 1984) and may change according to language features and speaker's choices: “[i]ntensity is signaled by a large and miscellaneous class of devices [...]: verbal and non-verbal gestures; expressive phonology, including sudden changes in length, pitch, duration, and vowel quality; repetition; and the use of quantifiers” (Labov 1984: 48). In particular, syntactic intensification (e.g. cleft or dislocated sentences), phonological intensification (e.g. intonation), morphological intensification (e.g. prefixes, superlative suffixes, partial reduplication), and lexical intensification (e.g. full reduplication) are generally the most commonly used intensifying linguistic strategies.

Even though in Italian “intensifiers have neither exactly the same semantic and pragmatic properties [...] nor the same intensifying force” (Napoli and Ravetto 2017: 3), lexical

intensification is one of the most productive strategies. Lexical intensifiers typically attribute an intensifying meaning to the lexemes they co-occur with. The set of lexical intensifiers is mainly composed of co-occurrence patterns requiring an intensifier and an intensified. Co-occurrence patterns can be often associated to more general and abstract combinatorial schemas, which are closely related to each other in the mental lexicon and may be described as *constructions*, in the frameworks of Construction Grammar (among others, at least Fillmore *et al.* 1988; Goldberg 2003, 2006) and of Categories and Constructions Grammar (Simone 2007). Constructions are “stored pairings of form and function, including morphemes, words, idioms, partially lexically filled and fully general linguistic patterns” (Goldberg 2003: 219), conveying a specific ‘constructional’ meaning, which is not strictly predictable from its components (Goldberg 2003: 219) and is specifically associated to the construction and “fades away outside of it” (Simone 2007: 215). Through an increasing frequency of use (Bybee 2010) and routinisation, constructions fixed in both syntactic and semantic terms.

For the purpose of this analysis, we will consider a specific set of constructions of Italian, namely *constructional intensifiers* (hereinafter CIs). CIs are stable and recurrent combinations of lexical items conveying an intensifying value and showing variable degrees of predictability, schematicity and productivity. In particular, the set of *partially filled* (or *partially lexically specified*) *constructional intensifiers* (hereinafter PFCIs) will be described. These constructions are characterised by the presence of some empty slots from a lexical point of view. Semi-fixed pattern gives rise to different word combinations, with a similar semantic or functional value.

The paper is organised as follows: section 2 is devoted to the description of the notion of PFCIs; section 3 briefly presents the method of analysis and data classification; section 4 describes different types of PFCIs; section 5 contains the discussion of findings and the general conclusions.

2. Partially filled constructional intensifiers

PFCIs are represented by semi-fixed syntactic patterns, which are partially variable from the lexical point of view and are characterised by a constructional semantics. The construction in (1) is composed of the adjective *nero* ‘black’, preceded by a noun:

- (1) X_{NOUN<time unit>} +*nero* ‘black’
 a. anno/epoca/fase/stagione *nero/a* ‘bad/difficult year/age/phase/season’

The construction has a fixed slot, represented by the adjective *nero*, which expresses the meaning of ‘very difficult’ in all the sequences. The nominal element is the slot subject to variation and has to be filled by a noun of a time unit. The constructional meaning is thus ‘very difficult X_{<time unit>}’¹.

¹ As the anonymous reviewer properly points out, these units might be instances of collocations. However, this does not preclude the sequences from deriving from a specific constructional scheme. On the contrary, the high frequency of co-occurrence and lexical/semantic predictability prove the scheme’s entrenchment.

As partially lexically specified constructions, PFCIs are characterised by i) a regular syntactic pattern showing a fixed order and presenting both filled and empty slots from the lexical point of view (e.g. in (1) the order *X+nero* is fixed, and *X* is the position subject to variation); ii) lexical restrictions: the flexible portion may admit only a restricted set of lexical fillers (e.g. in (1) the fillers belong to the semantic class of <time unit>); iii) different degrees of productivity may be associated to the pattern (Barðdal 2008, Traugott and Trousdale 2013): the number of new forms that can originate from the schema differs from one construction to another (e.g. (1) is not truly productive, since only admits a selected range of fillers); iv) a constructional meaning, which is predictable from the morphosyntactic/semantic pattern and is shared by different sequences responding to the same restrictions (e.g. sequences in (1)).

With respect to prototypical multiword expressions, PFCIs are not completely lexicalised, since they are characterised by different degrees of fixedness. Nevertheless, PFCIs can be considered as *constructions*, since they belong to the regular area of the lexicon, where pairings of forms and meanings can emerge. Furthermore, as constructions, i) they “have to be learned separately as individual whole facts” (Fillmore *et al.* 1988: 504), ii) they may be idiomatic in the sense that they may convey a semantic or pragmatic value which is different from its single components (Fillmore *et al.* 1988: 501), and iii) they are partially schematic constructions.

The interest in word combinations showing flexible slots dates back to the studies by Saussurian structuralism and by the functionalist approach; they have also been the interest of many German studies of phraseology². However, it is with the constructionist analysis made by Fillmore *et al.* (1988) that this kind of word combinations attracted the attention of more recent European phraseological studies³. As far as Italian is concerned, different works have been recently devoted to PFCIs⁴. These works are generally inspired to a broad constructionist perspective, that is also the one taken into account for this study.

3. Method of analysis

This investigation is driven on a corpus-informed approach. The *ITTenTen16* web-based corpus has been retrieved to extract CIs, by means of the Sketch Engine platform⁵. Actually,

² Cf. Piunno (in press) for an overview on the literature devoted to this issue.

³ Cf. among others, Mellado Blanco (2020a), Ziem and Lasch (2013), Schafroth (2015, 2020), Steyer (2018), Piunno (2018a).

⁴ Cf. superlative constructions (Berlanda 2013); *sì che* construction (Schafroth 2015); multiword PPs with adjectival/adverbial functions (Piunno 2018a); comparative constructions (Mollica and Schafroth 2018); obligatory negated patterns (Piunno 2018b); coordinated intensifiers (Piunno 2022).

⁵ Sketch Engine is an online text analysis tool able to extract lexical chunks and syntactic word clusterings from corpora (website: <https://www.sketchengine.eu>). By means of this platform, sequences of part-of-speech tags in a specific word order (i.e. PoS-grams patterns such as Verb+Prep+Noun, Adj+Noun, etc.) have been extracted through the simple concordance query and the CQL advanced query, combining the research of lexical and PoS patterns. PoS-gram patterns seem to be very useful for the automated identification of such sequences, which represent a significant challenge to the computational field, due to their difficulty in being identified using the current computational resources available, at least for Italian.

PFCIs are very difficult to identify in corpora: on the one hand, the presence of empty positions in the construction does not allow for precise queries (some empty positions may even be very large, containing entire sentence structures); on the other hand, these constructions are extremely variable in syntactic terms, and cannot be traced back to specific and stable patterns. It is worth noting that for the purpose of this analysis, the corpus has been only used for qualitative investigation.

CIs have been first classified on the basis of their morphosyntactic structure and their function in context. Subsequently, their degrees of lexical specification and semantic predictability have been discussed.

4. Types of partially filled constructional intensifiers

Intensifying constructions can operate at the phrasal level, such as single phrases, or at the syntactic level, such as whole and more complex sentence structures.

Sentence-level CIs present empty positions of a phrasal or sentence nature, and varying degrees of schematicity. In Italian, such sequences have been first analysed in Schafroth (2015, 2020), where they are defined as “syntactically fixed prefabs with a lexically open slot to be filled by an inflected transitive or intransitive verb” (Schafroth 2015: 327). They are characterised by the presence of a conventionalised pragmatic value, which is kept in all the sequences deriving from the same schema. Note, for example, the following sentences, where the pragmatic value of intensification is conveyed by the *non fare che* construction (Piunno, 2022).

- (2) Mio figlio *non fa che* parlare di me ‘my son constantly (*lit.* not does that) talks about me’
 (3) *non faccio che* pensare a te ‘I constantly (*lit.* not does that) think of you’

The *non fare che* construction is characterised by the presence of i) the negation marker, ii) the verb *fare* ‘do’, and iii) the subordinating conjunction. Despite the presence of the negation marker, the *non fare che* sequence does not show any negative polarity: false negative polarity is a common feature of several multiword phenomena showing different degrees of lexicalisation (cf. Piunno 2018b). The construction contains two empty slots: the first is represented by the noun phrase having the role of the subject of the main predicate, and the second is filled by a verb phrase, which has to contain a dynamic verb. In such cases, the construction acquires an intensified meaning of ‘doing something a lot and constantly’⁶. Sentence-level constructions of Italian very frequently convey intensifying values. This happens by means of several kinds of intensifying devices (e.g. the presence of specific discourse markers, reduplicated verb phrases; cf. Piunno 2022). Sentence-level constructions of Italian still deserve much attention, since they lack a homogeneous classification and of a comprehensive description.

⁶ In fact, this construction can also convey other semantic values that will not be considered for the purpose of this analysis, being related to specific lexical constraints involving the subject and the predicate. Cf. Piunno (2022) for an in-depth analysis of all the values of the *non fare che* construction.

The class of phrase-level CIs is rather heterogenous as well. It includes several types of phrases, whose function varies based on the context of use. Figure 1 shows some phrase-level CIs identified in the literature:

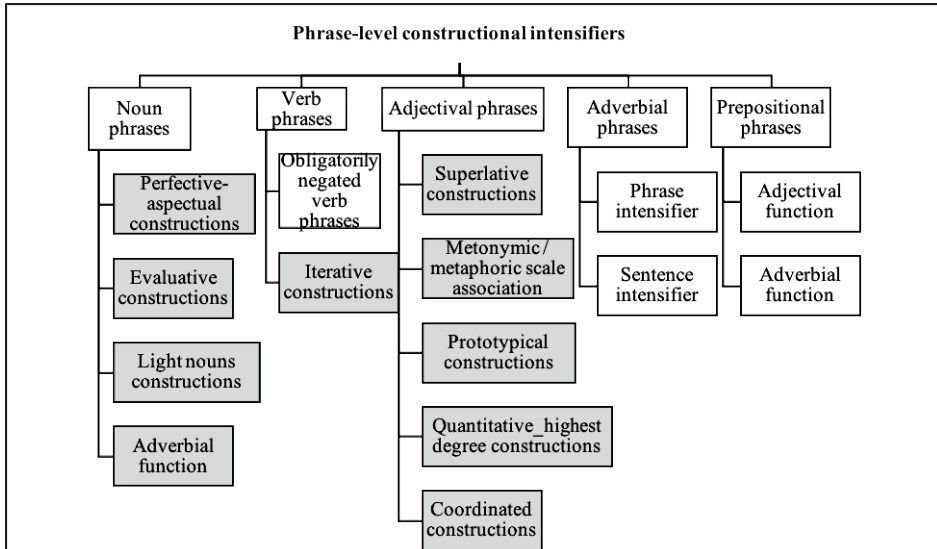


Figure 1. Types of phrase-level CIs

For lack of space, only the constructions in grey have been considered for the purpose of this study.

Among phrase-level combinations, such as single phrases, noun phrases are the most productive sequences employed in Italian to convey intensified meanings. The value of this kind of intensification strategy varies in nature, depending on the specific construction. For example, they can be distinguished among i) perfective-aspectual constructions, ii) evaluative constructions, iii) light noun constructions, iv) nominal constructions with an adverbial function.

Perfective-aspectual constructions include an indefinite article and a past participle as fixed slots, such as in (4):

- (4) Indefinite Article + $X_{\text{NOUN|ADJ}}$ + Past Participle
- uno sportivo nato* 'a very good sportsman', *lit.* a sportsman born
 - un attore finito* 'a dead actor', *lit.* an actor ended
 - un uomo arrivato* 'a satisfied man', *lit.* a man arrived

On the one hand, the variable slot may be either a noun or an adjective, without any particular semantic restrictions. On the other hand, the paradigmatic range of past participle intensifiers is limited to few lexical items. The meaning of the construction may vary according to the past participle, but a perfective aspectual value is conveyed by all the sequences.

The second group includes evaluative constructions, showing two fixed and two variable slots, as (5) shows:

- (5) $quel/un+X_{\text{NOUN}}+di+Y_{\text{NOUN} \langle \text{individual identity} \rangle}$
 a. *quel/un mostro/tesoro di donna* ‘bad/kind woman’, *lit.* that/a monster/treasure of woman

Determiner and preposition represent the fixed elements of the pattern, while the nominal elements fill the two empty slots. The first noun (in the first variable slot) is the intensifier, which may vary within a limited set of nouns (positively or negatively connotated); this noun always conveys an evaluative meaning expressing a quality. The second noun represents the entity to which the quality is associated. Several attributive (intensified) values can be codified by this construction, such as appreciative, pejorative, diminutive.

Another interesting issue which deserves special attention is the group of *light nouns* constructions. As Simone and Masini (2014) point out, these nouns typically provide a quantitative information about the noun they precede. They may be used as quantity intensifiers, (metaphorically) referring to the highest degree of a certain quantity, as in (6):

- (6) $\text{Det}+X_{\text{NOUN} \langle \text{collective/concrete} \rangle}+\text{Prep}$
 a. *un/una mondo/esercito/folla di* ‘many’, *lit.* a/an world/army/crowd of
 b. *un/una sacco/montagna/barca di* ‘many’, *lit.* a bag/mountain/boat of

Light noun intensifying constructions may include a collective/concrete noun. In both cases they codify an intensified value referring to a quantity.

The last class of this group is represented by constructions having the form of a noun phrase and an adverbial function, as (7) shows:

- (7) $\text{Indef. article}+X_{\text{NOUN}}$
 a. *un/una mondo/sproposito/fortuna* ‘a lot’, *lit.* a world/blunder/fortune

In all cases, the noun phrase modifies the predicate as an adverb, and acquires the meaning of ‘a lot’. The determiner is fixed, and the intensifying element belongs to a limited set of lexemes, which are mainly lexicalised entities. This means that only few lexical elements can occur in this intensifying function, depending on the verb they accompany, and that the construction is not productive.

The second group of intensifiers includes verb phrases. Among verb phrases CIs, it is possible to include constructions with double negation (cf. Piunno 2018b, Mellado Blanco 2020b), as well as iterative constructions. The latter, in particular, deserves special attention. In (8), the verb is the intensifier and is necessarily followed by the preposition *di* ‘of’:

- (8) $X_{\text{VERB}}+di+Y_{\text{NOUN plural}}$
 a. *riempire/ubriacare/sommergere di parole* ‘talk a lot’, *lit.* fill/get drunk/submerge of words

In such cases, the preposition is the only fixed element, and verb and noun the variable ones. While the number of verbs that can occur in this construction is rather limited, the nominal slot is not subject to particular semantic restrictions. What is interesting about this structure is that the verb only conveys the intensified/iterative value, while the predicative value depends on the nominal element, which has to be expressed in the plural form. In this case, the intensifier is generally a transitive verb and, apparently, no semantic preferences can be identified.

The last group that has been considered for the purpose of this analysis is represented by adjectival phrases. This group includes different kinds of word combinations having an adjective as head of the phrase. Among them, the so-called superlative constructions, i.e. sequences of two adjectives or past participles (Berlanda 2013), are noteworthy. These units are composed of two adjectives: the first one is the intensified lexeme, while the second one is employed as an intensifier (it attributes a scalar quality to the adjective it co-occurs with, and it intensifies the degree of the quality to the maximum value). Two groups can be distinguished: synonymous lexical superlative and metonymic/metaphoric scale association. In the first case the two adjectives are synonymous, but the intensifier is on a higher position in the scale, since it represents the lexical superlative of the first adjective.

- (9) Synonymous Lexical superlative
 a. pieno *zeppo* 'very full', *lit.* full packed
 b. fermo *impalato* 'totally still', *lit.* still impaled

This pattern gives rise to lexicalised constructions which are nowadays part of the Italian lexicon. In the case of metonymic/metaphoric scale association, we have again two adjectives. In this case the intensifier precedes the intensified. The two adjectives belong to different semantic fields, and the intensifier, through a metaphorical association, designates the highest degree of the scale of the first item (cf. Berlanda 2013):

- (10) Metonymic/metaphoric scale association
 a. stanco *morto* 'dead tired', *lit.* tired dead
 b. innamorato *pazzo* 'smitten', *lit.* in love mad

In the group of prototypical / highest degree constructions, the two subgroups differ between each other in terms of type of semantic relation encoded. In the first group, intensification is based on a relation of similarity involving semantic prototypicality and categorisation of the intensified item by prototypes, as in (11):

- (11) Prototypical intensifying constructions
 a. *perfetto/vero/emerito* imbecille 'totally idiot', *lit.* perfect/true/emeritus idiot

In such cases the first adjective is the intensifier, while the second one represents the intensified lexeme: the construct $X_{ADJ1_INTENS} X_{ADJ2}$ represents the most prototypical value of X_{ADJ2} . The intensifier is used to underline the proximity to the prototypical value. The group concerning quantity intensification includes an adjective or an adverb in the first position and an adjective in the second one.

- (12) Quantitative_highest degree intensifying constructions
 a. *tutto matto* ‘completely mad’, *lit.* all mad
 b. *totale demente* ‘completely idiot’, *lit.* total idiot

In such cases the first element makes the intensified item in the second slot gradual. It (metaphorically) refers to the highest degree of a certain quantity.

The last group of adjectival phrases is represented by coordinated adjectives (cf. Piunno 2021). This group generally includes two lexical units which have a similar meaning and are coordinated by a conjunction. In this case, the second adjective often reduplicates the meaning of the first one. This group includes both fully lexicalised phraseological constructions and partially lexically specified ones. The former (13) are syntactically invariable and also semantically fixed, the latter (14) are flexible to lexical variation.

- (13) $X_{ADJ}+e+Y_{ADJ}$
 a. *vivo e vegeto* ‘alive and kicking’, *lit.* alive and healthy
 b. *grande e grosso* ‘big and strong’, *lit.* great and big/robust

- (14) $puro+e+X_{ADJ}$
 a. *puro e semplice/santo/naturale/sincero* ‘pure and simple/saint/natural/sincere’

In (14), the Italian CI *puro e X_{ADJ}* (*lit.* pure and) represents the fixed slot; the variable slot can be filled with adjectival lexemes having a qualifying meaning, as the examples show. The construction acquires the peculiar meaning of ‘totally/extremely X_{ADJ}’ in combination with this class of adjectives.

5. Conclusions

CIs include several kinds of phenomena, which need to be analysed according to different parameters. Among them, PFCIs in particular can be considered. These groups of constructions represent only a small set of possible intensifying strategies of Italian. They are partially schematic constructions having the same status as morphological intensifiers. Even though PFCIs are language specific, the phenomenon is not peculiar to a particular language, and would need further investigation from a broader typological perspective. An in-depth analysis of the set of Italian PFCIs is needed in comparative terms.

PFCIs are a challenge for computational and lexicographic works: they are difficult to detect in corpora, and they are also an under-represented phenomenon in lexicography. Due to their schematic nature and the lack of lexical units, it is often difficult to reconstruct them to a lexical entry (Dobrovól'skij 2022). However, the different classes of PFCIs would deserve the inclusion in lexicographic works, and lexicographic layouts and categories should be refined in order to take into account these combinatorial units.

Finally, this also has implications language teaching: it has been shown that the teaching of this type of word combination would be very useful not only in fostering comprehension, but also in developing an active competence of the learner (Imperiale and Schafroth 2016).

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Multiword expressions of Manner in Italian containing indefinite quantifiers

Evidence from investigations on corpora

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Abstract

In line with the usage-based constructionist approach (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Bybee 2013), along with the theories about *polirematiche* (Voghera 2004, Squillante 2016), this research aims to show that in Italian some specific multiword expressions (MWE) express Manner through the use of indefinite items such as *niente* ('nothing'), *qualcosa* ('something.DIM.'), *certo* ('a certain'). These approaches argue that in language use speakers create and recognise as units MWEs characterised by syntactic peculiarities and non-compositional semantics. They can be defined as constructions and as their frequency increases, so does the conventionalisation of a new meaning and of a new conceptual association. In this respect, this research discusses the emerging conceptual association between Indefinite Quantity and Manner sense, along with an analysis of MWEs' syntactic and semantic peculiarities.

Keywords

manner, semantic change, construction grammar, *polirematiche*

1. Introduction and theoretical framework

1.1. Constructions and *polirematiche*

A family of theories tries to offer a method to analyse anomalous or, rather, idiosyncratic multiword expression (MWEs). Fillmore, Kay, O'Connor (1988) talk about "idioms" defining them as expressions whose syntactic, semantic, pragmatic properties are not predictable on the basis of knowledge of the vocabulary of a language or on the basis of knowledge of traditional grammatical rules. Goldberg (2006, 2019) talks about "constructions" in reference to linguistic patterns in which certain structural or functional aspects are not predictable on the basis of individual components or of similar constructions. The generic term MWE encompasses several types. Among those composed of familiar elements whose syntax and semantics are not predictable we find e.g. *nice of you* (Goldberg & Herbst 2021) and the Italian MWE containing indefinites (MWEI) *come niente* ('lit. like nothing') ((1)a.). Among those

composed of familiar elements with a familiar syntax but non-predictable semantics and pragmatic value we find e.g. *fare quattro chiacchiere* ('to chat leisurely') (Voghera 2017), *giornata nera* ('bad/difficult day') (Piunno this volume) and the MWEI (*un certo N_{event}*) ('lit. (a) certain N_{event}')((1)d.). In ((1)c.) we find *V qualcosina* ('lit. V something.DIM.') which is a MWEI in which familiar elements have a high level of structural and semantic predictability which, however, take on a particular meaning in certain contexts. Finally, these MWEI seem to share a path of semantic change from the concept of Indefinite Quantity to that of Manner.

Some examples of how Manner can be expressed in Italian through MWEIs are:

- (1) a. Ora gli capita di confondere **come niente** Mina con Milva (Corpus DiaCORIS)
'Now he happens to mistake very easily (lit. 'like nothing') Mina for Milva'
- b. E poi ci sono gli allacciamenti all'acqua e al sistema elettrico da completarsi: non **un lavoro da niente** (Corpus ItTenTen)
'And then there are connections for water and electricity to be completed: it's a particularly demanding/difficult job (lit. 'not a job da.PREP.¹ nothing')
- c. Ragazzi pensavo che potremmo trovarci a **mangiare qualcosina** noi della provincia di treviso, ...no? Così vediamo in quanti siamo da 'ste parti (Corpus ItTenTen)
'Guys, I just thought we could meet and eat together spending some time leisurely (lit. 'eat something.DIM.') we of the Treviso province, ...couldn't we? So we see how many we are around here'
- d. ci dà **certe occhiate** da commuovere i sassi (Corpus DiaCORIS)
'S/he gives us **certain** particular **glimpses**, the stones themselves weep.'

To account for this kind of peculiarities, it is useful to refer to the usage-based constructionist approach (Goldberg 2006, 2019; Goldberg & Herbst 2021; Bybee 2013). They consider that speakers' need to fulfil a certain function leads them to create unconventional MWEs suitable for the communicative purpose. The greater the frequency of exposure to such MWEs, the more they will be recognised as conventionalized form-function segments. Regarding the path of semantic change, it is not uncommon for a certain MWE to take on a particular meaning due to the fact that the elements that compose it must be interpreted with a figurative or sideways or metaphorical reading (Suadoni 2019). For example, just as in *it was big of him* (Goldberg & Herbst 2021:293) the adjective is coerced to an evaluative metaphor 'a big thing', in the same way in *citava come niente Cicerone* (lit. 's/he cited Cicero like nothing') the indefinite *niente* is coerced to a metaphorical downtoning manner meaning: 'sth. particularly easy to perform'. In order to account for the peculiarities of MWEs in which the form-function/meaning pairing is still in the process of conventionalisation, one can integrate this approach with the theories about *polirematiche*.

De Mauro & Voghera (1996) and Voghera (2004) define as *polirematiche* lexical MWEs with a non-literal meaning such as *patata bollente* ('buck') but also sentences with a

¹ Italian preposition *da* can be translated in English in many different ways: *from, to, at, through*. Since none of these seems to fit the Italian unconventional meaning of Manner MWEs, it is here indicated as *da.PREP.*

formulaic-pragmatic character e.g. *Ma che mi dici!* ('seriously!?!'). They provide a method for placing MWEs on a scale based on: the degree of syntactic cohesion and fixity of the items; the semantic non-compositionality and the basic or metaphorical meaning of the individual items that compose them. For ex. *bastian contrario* ('contrarian') is at the pole of maximum idiomaticity because it is completely opaque, whereas in *dare spago* ('encourage to talk') only *spago* has a metaphorical meaning. On the basis of the theoretical assumptions outlined here, an attempt will be made to offer an analysis of the still little investigated MWEs.

1.2. Manner and indefinites

This article focuses on the MWEs that speakers use to convey the notion of Manner. Manner expresses a peculiar performance of an event, i.e. an alteration of some properties of the event, perceived as salient by the speaker, when compared to its (proto)typical performance (Russo 2021). Manner can be expressed linguistically at all levels. Some of the most frequently cited means are adverbs e.g. *creare facilmente* ('create easily') and PP e.g. *creare con furbizia* ('create with cunning'); among the less frequently cited are ideophones e.g. *e paffete! Una pedata* ('and paffete! A kick'). The constructions seem to be neglected because they are not considered part of the categories of traditional grammar. However, to say that an event goes on in a particularly easy and relaxed way one can use the indefinite *niente* in the construction *è una cosa da niente* (lit. 'it's a thing da.PREP. nothing'); or to express an invitation assuming interpersonal closeness and informality one can use the indefinite *qualcosina* and say *beviamo qualcosina (fuori)* (lit. 'let's drink something.DIM. (out)'). These kinds of expressions represent an adapted use of indefinite quantifiers.

In effect, they lose their basic meaning of small indefinite or absent quantity and come to express Manner. This happens firstly because linguistic signs, especially semantically vague ones such as *certo* and *qualcosina*, have a greater range of interpretation that remains fuzzy and negotiable (Bazzanella 2011). Secondly, the meaning of small indefinite or absent quantity is conceptually contiguous to a diminutive/downtoning sense (Herda 2020) and associated with the metaphor MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Finally, when used in reference to an event, depending on the type of vague, multal or paucal quantifier, «they point to, respectively, a subjectively construed high or low quality/degree of what the associated nominal stands for» (Herda 2020:63), i.e. a downtoning of the manner in which the event is performed. It is the semantic contribution - extended, adapted, metaphorised - of the indefinite quantifier that contributes significantly to the construction of the general Manner sense of the MWEI.

2. Research questions

Previously the level of conventionalisation and frequency of use were mentioned. The MWEs such as *V qualcosina* or *è una cosa da niente* cannot be said to be fully conventionalized as their form is not univocally associated with a Manner meaning, but acquire it in certain contexts. In *mangiamo qualcosina* ('let's eat something.DIM.')

eat a small amount of food’ remains possible and *è una cosa da niente* can mean ‘it has little value/is not important’.

Since no specific study has been conducted on the types of MWEs in which the indefinite quantifiers *niente*, *qualcosa* and *certo* can be found, it was decided to conduct a corpus-based analysis with the intention of answering the following questions:

- How many types of MWEs containing the indefinite *niente*, *qualcosa* or *certo* can express Manner? Are they frequent?
- What level of structural cohesion do they show?
- What level of semantic opacity do they show?

The first hypothesis is that these MWEs are frequent in informal spoken language; the second is that MWEs containing *niente* are the most conventionalised form-meaning pairing; the third is that, on the basis of the meaning of *niente*, *qualcosa* and *certo* it is possible to have respectively three “nuances” of Manner along a cline of the type: ‘particularly easy and undemanding event’ - ‘informal event, close interpersonal relationship’ - ‘event performed in a peculiar but underspecified Manner’.

3. Methodology

In order to answer the research questions it was decided to collect and analyse 4000 occurrences from five corpora: CorDiC and VoLIP for spoken language; ItWac and ItTenTen for web language; DiaCORIS for written language (Table 1). The reasons why it was decided to collect 1000 occurrences for each indefinite item, distributing the extraction differently over several corpora, are twofold. First of all, at a first check each corpus seemed to contain a slightly different type of MWEI. Then, for PP *da niente* and for *qualcosa*, the results from the spoken language corpora were absent or very low (contrary to expectations).

	<i>niente</i>	<i>da niente</i>	<i>qualcosa</i>	<i>certo</i>
Cor_DIC_spoken	120	0	7	120
VoLIP	120	0	3	120
ItWac	120	480	490	120
ItTenTen	120	480	490	120
DiaCORIS	520	40	20	520
TOT.	1000	1000	1000	1000

Table 1. Raw amount of data extracted from corpora

The data collection is presented here as it appears in Russo (2021), in which *da niente* was given special attention, which cannot be taken up here. Note that the main objective of this work is the collection and analysis of the greatest possible variety of Manner MWEIs in order to legitimise their existence in Italian. For this reason, the lack of balance in the data

collected from the different corpora will not be a problem for the subsequent analysis and the quantitative data provided should be understood as merely indicative.

The second step consisted in extracting the Manner MWEs from each group of 1000 occurrences. To this end, all occurrences except those containing *certo* were subjected to an inference test based on consistency between utterances (Table 2). Drawing on Violi's (1997) semantic redundancy test and Traugott's (2003) invited inference theory, a test was created in which each occurrence is followed by the statements "It is in fact undemanding", "It is in fact very demanding", "It has in fact a short duration", "It has in fact a long duration"². If the occurrence is consistent with the following utterances, this means that it expresses Manner or invites to infer it, and is marked with '+'. The occurrences were also tagged according to general Manner labels: Manner Positive Attenuative; Manner Positive Intensifying; Manner Negative Attenuative; Manner Negative Intensifying; Manner Neutral or Ambiguous.

	It is in fact undemanding	It has in fact a short duration	It is in fact very demanding	It has in fact a long duration	Man. Pos. Atten.	Man. Pos. Intens.	Man. Neg. Atten.	Man. Neg. Intens.	Man. Neut. or Ambig.
la mia preparazione nella danza !!!!! ah ah ah !!! ho solo provato a fare qualcosina ... è ancora troppo presto per far venir fuori qualcosa di concreto	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
my preparation in dance !!!!! ah ah ah !!! I've only tried to do something.DIM. ... it's still too early to bring out anything concrete									

² The statements used in the test were in Italian. Here equivalent translations are provided. The description of the test is reduced to the indispensable aspects. The detailed version can be found in Russo (2021). The statements about short and long duration were used for a further analysis about the correlation between Manner and Aspectuality, which will not be discussed here.

ventiquattro coppie da guidare ; quarantotto frugoli [...] che in tutti modi volevano ballare e che non sapevano che cosa fosse l ' andar di passo ! Ma [...] il vecchio Fezziwig te li menava come niente , e così pure la signora Fezziwig.	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
twenty-four couples to guide; forty-eight children [...] who in any way wanted to dance and didn't know how to execute the steps ! But [...] the old Fezziwig guided them like nothing , and so did Mrs. Fezziwig.									

Table 2. Sample of the inference test aimed at identifying the Manner occurrences

Several times the Manner meaning and the Quality/Value meaning were not easily distinguishable. Nevertheless, it was decided to keep all cases that showed consistency in the inference test.

Manner expressed through *certo* always remains underspecified, so it was not possible to construct an utterance that tested the consistency of the expression of a specific Manner. Therefore, have been selected the occurrences in which *certo* is used in fixed locutions such as *occorre scendere in un certo modo* ('it needs to go down in a certain way') and the occurrences in which it was not possible to replace *certo* by *alcuni/e* ('some'), such as *certe risate, provocate da storie che le donne si raccontano* ≠ *alcune risate, provocate...* ('certain laughter caused by stories women tell each other' ≠ 'some laughter, caused by...').

The third step consisted in recognising the patterns of the MWEs and verifying their morphosyntactic fixity degree. The morphological flexibility, the possibility of interruption, the possibility of inversion, the pronominalisation and topicalisation were checked.

The last step consisted in recognising the degree of semantic opacity of the MWEs, based on the assumption that their meaning is non-compositional. The scale includes: cases in which the constituents have a meaning that can only be recovered etymologically; cases in which several constituents have a metaphorical/secondary sense; cases in which only one constituent has a metaphorical/secondary sense; cases in which each constituent is used in its basic sense and the meaning is highly predictable.

4. Results (Manner MWEI extracted)

4.1. Quantitative results

Relying on data in Table 3, it is possible to say that out of 4000 times when *niente*, *da niente*, *qualcosina* and *certo* are used, 7.2% of the times this use is intended to express Manner through a MWE. Contrary to predictions, in spoken language very small data have been found.

	<i>niente</i>	<i>da niente</i>	<i>qualcosina</i>	<i>certo</i>
Cor_DIC_spoken	3	0	2	5
VoLIP	2	0	2	2
ItWac	5	51	36	12
ItTenTen	3	52	55	3
DiaCORIS	10	10	2	33
TOT.	23	113	97	55

Table 3. Quantity of Manner MWEI identified

4.2. Manner MWEIs' morphosyntactic and semantic features

The types of Manner MWEIs extracted are:

<i>niente</i> ('nothing')		
All the following mean 'in a particularly undemanding/easy way':		
<i>come se niente fosse</i> (*) as if nothing was	<i>come niente</i> (*) like nothing	<i>non volerci niente</i> not take-CL ³ . nothing
<i>niente di che</i> (*) nothing of what	<i>non Pron[+dat] costare niente</i> not PRON.DAT. cost nothing	<i>bastare un niente</i> to be sufficient a nothing
<i>essere un niente</i> to be a nothing		
Excepted for: <i>fare finta di niente</i> to do pretend of nothing 'to behave as if nothing relevant happened'		

³ Clitic.

da niente ('da.PREP. nothing')	
NP [<i>da niente</i>] NP [da.PREP. niente] 'in a particularly undemanding/easy way'	
qualcosa ('something.DIM.')	
They can mean 'informally/in intimacy/in an undemanding and relaxed way'	
<i>V qualcosa fuori</i> V something.DIM. out	<i>qualcosa alla N</i> (*) something.DIM. alla.PREP. N
<i>V qualcosa</i> V something.DIM.	<i>qualcosa da Vinf</i> (*) something.DIM. to Vinf
certo ('a certain')	
They mean 'in a peculiar but unspecified Manner':	
<i>in (un) certo modo</i> (*) in (a) certain.M.SING. way	<i>un certo modo/tipo di Vinf/N_{event}</i> a certain.M.SING. way/kind of Vinf/ N _{event}
<i>N_{event} di un certo tipo</i> N _{event} of a certain.M.SING. kind	<i>(con) un certo N_{event}</i> (with) a certain.M.SING. N _{event}

Table 4. Inventory of the Manner MWEIs extracted

Table 4 shows that Manner MWEIs are totally filled patterns or have at most one open slot. Syntactic freedom and morphological flexibility are considered possible when the Manner sense remains unaltered and when the expression is not regionally marked or focused. They are all very syntactically cohesive and minimally morphologically flexible. MWEIs marked with (*) are totally fixed morphologically. The remaining MWEIs contain little inflection: in three-element MWEIs only one is morphologically flexible; in four-element MWEIs one or two are morphologically flexible. E.g.: **come se niente fossero* (only *fosse*, conj. imperf. 3per.sing., is possible, not *fossero*, conj. imperf. 3per.plur.); **qualcosa da bevi* (the verb has to be in the infinitive form); *un certo modo/certi modi di parlare* (the items *certo* and *modo* can be inflected for number).

Syntactic cohesion is very high. None of them allows inversion, nor topicalisation or pronominalisation of the head. Most of them are interruptible, especially by semantically light elements. E.g.: **un proprio certo risolino* (lit. 'a really certain laughter', interr.); *??qualcosa mangiamo fuori* (lit. 'something.DIM. we eat out', inv.); *?è un niente che basta* (lit. 'is a nothing that is enough', top.); *?da niente un lavoretto è* (lit. 'of nothing a job is', inv.); *?quello da niente è il lavoro di cui ti parlavo* (lit. 'that of nothing is the job I was talking about', pron.

head); *qualcosa facile/veloce/poi da scrivere* (lit. ‘something.DIM. easy/fast/then to write’, interr.).

About their semantics, we can say that they have a non-compositional Manner sense distinguishable in three classes. The first is that composed of the Manner MWEs containing *niente* and *da niente*. The intuition suggests that MWEs as *niente di che* and *NP [da niente]* can lead even out of context to the interpretation of an easy, undemanding Manner of performing the event. This means that there is a certain level of constructionist form-manner function pairing. However, it appears to be in the process of being conventionalised because the Quality/Value interpretation and the Short Duration interpretation are still possible.

The second class is composed of the Manner MWEs containing *qualcosa*. Out of context they keep the sense of small indefinite quantity. The Manner sense emerges in context through the co-occurrence of several semantic and pragmatic elements, including: verbs often pertaining to the semantic field of conviviality, food, drink; intimacy between the interlocutors; contexts in which the event is clearly not related to a small quantity. For example in (1) c. the context is the organisation of a lunch as a reunion between people who meet on the same online forum. Hence, intersubjective closeness can be assumed and a conceptualisation of the eating event not associated with small quantities but with a relaxed and undemanding Manner. The semantic non-predictable Manner sense of *qualcosa* MWEs now found only in specific contexts may in future extend and conventionalise.

The third class is composed of the MWEs containing *certo*. In this case, *certo* is only used in adjectival function before the noun, with an indefinite sense. The form-manner function pairing is quite strong as even out of context the MWEs induce the interpretation of a specific but never well-defined Manner, resulting from the indefinite semantics of *certo*.

Only the class of MWEs containing *qualcosa* stands at the level of higher semantic transparency. The other two are positioned between the level where only one element is used in a figurative/metaphorical sense (e.g. *come niente*) and the level where at most two elements are used in a figurative/metaphorical sense (e.g. *non mi costa niente*).

Finally, keeping aside the class containing *certo*, which expresses an unspecified Manner, the remaining MWEs all have the function of expressing a careless Manner of performing the event; they generally have a positive attenuative sense and the MWEs containing *niente* sometimes have a negative attenuative sense.

5. Discussion

The main objective of this research was to identify for the first time Italian Manner MWEs containing indefinite items. It seems possible to state that either a relaxed and undemanding Manner or a particular but underspecified Manner can be expressed through specific MWEs.

In order to answer the first question, an inference test was created which identified 17 types of Manner MWEI in which an indefinite between *niente*, *qualcosa* or *certo* appears. This is a high number of indicatively infrequent types. Their low frequency of use is consistent with the fact that their form-function pairing is not fully conventionalised, as in fact ambiguous

interpretations of Quality/Value and Manner are possible. It is a set of MWEs in which some are closer to the concept of construction, others to pragmatically idiosyncratic expressions.

Regarding the subsequent questions concerning the structural cohesion and the semantic opacity it can be said that they are always morphosyntactically bound. This is due both to the idiosyncratic features of the MWEs themselves (e.g. in the basic use of *qualcosa* one does not expect it to be followed by the preposition *alla*, but it happens in *recitare qualcosa alla Shakespeare* which means ‘to act without particular commitment in the style of Shakespeare’) and to the fact that these MWEs are mostly composed of invariable items (*come, qualcosa, fuori* etc.). The semantic opacity is not homogeneous. Manner MWEs containing *niente, da niente* and *certo* appear more opaque; those containing *qualcosa* more transparent. Note that the opacity of MWEs increases as the abstractness of the indefinite item increases. Also the process of metaphorisation, which would lead one to read the absent or vague quantity as poor or imprecise quality of the event, appears more evident with *niente* and *certo* than with *qualcosa*, as it maintains a sense of greater concreteness.

Finally, the results of this work disprove the initial idea that Manner MWEs are more typical of the informal spoken language; they confirm, instead, the possibility of identifying three “nuances” of Manner that are: *niente* = ‘particularly easy and undemanding event’- *qualcosa* = ‘informal event, close interpersonal relationship’ – *certo* = ‘event performed in a peculiar but underspecified Manner’.

6. Conclusion

This research is a first study of the types of Manner MWEs and the different functions that some indefinite quantifiers can perform. We made the choice to use the term “multi-word expression” as a hypernym, emphasising cases better defined as constructions and cases of transparent expressions that acquire a pragmatic function; this decision is debatable but seemed appropriate. Whichever definition was chosen, one would agree that in Italian there are idiosyncratic expressions composed of several elements that allow speakers to express a peculiar way of performing an event.

The results of this work give an indication for further investigation also across languages. Further, a widening of the search range towards plural indefinites is needed in order to allow a comparison between MWEs in the whole domain of the indefinite quantity. This will allow us to repeat the inference test in order to refine it.

Finally, we consider it appropriate to focus future research on Manner MWEs on much larger spoken data because this is the domain in which speakers use language more creatively and because we should not make the mistake of excluding Manner MWEs under the pretext that in certain corpora no data was present.

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Postponing construction: recurrence, specification and productivity

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Abstract

According to the Construction Grammar paradigm, this paper concerns the recurrence, the specification and the productivity of the Postponing construction, a specific type of politeness formulas - as a grammatic and pragmatic class - in a corpus of Italian spoken language. From a formal point of view, the Postponing construction takes the form of the partially specific construction and partially specific multiword construction (Case study 1) and of the abstract multiword construction (Case study 2). From a functional point of view, the instantiations of Case studies 1 and 2 have been analysed with regard to the dimension of polite attenuation, the discursive properties and the different types of spoken texts in which they appear. The items analysed allow to identify an independent construction that produces an unlimited number of constructs in concrete language. The construction presented gives rise to politeness formulas with Postponing meaning and with ending function.

Keywords

politeness formulas, Postponing construction, Construction Grammar, spoken language, corpus linguistics

1. Introduction

This paper concerns the recurrence, the specification and the productivity of the Postponing construction, a specific type of politeness formulas in a corpus of Italian spoken language (Pagliaro 2018).

The work relates to the branch of studies that identifies speech structures that are more functional to the effectiveness of communicative immediacy and that Voghera (2017:34) defines as «constants of spoken discourse». From this point of view Construction Grammar allows you to identify certain regularities or constants of language, even when spoken, such as formulas.

2. Background

2.1. Politeness formulas: form, function and pragmatic aspects

The analysis of Ferguson (1976) represents the first study on politeness formulas as an integral part of the linguistic system and a universal phenomenon related to the greeting behaviour of animals. In fact, all linguistic communities have such formulas, although their character and the incidence of their use change considerably from one society to another. Moreover, the correlation between the linguistic structure of the formulas and the social dimension (sociotemporal and sociospatial) is universal.

Politeness formulas (Laver 1981; Kampf 2016; Pagliaro 2018) indicate elements of the linguistic system with a formal, specific routine and conventionalised character. The expression of “Politeness formulas” suggests that politeness is the basic dimension of the analysis of these fixed formula exchanges. The category encompasses greetings, apologies, thanks, congratulations, condolences, good wishes, but also insults, as an abandonment of politeness.

This set constitutes an autonomous functional class of a pragmatic nature, characterised by fixed and conventional expressions of linguistic politeness, thus ascribable to the macro class of formulaic language (Pagliaro 2018). Formulaic language, in fact, can be recognised through the traits of morpho-syntactic-lexical and intonational fixity, co-occurrence and semantic non-compositionality of the components, as well as high pervasiveness, both at the co-textual level and at the contextual level (Coulmas 1994; Bardovi-Harlig 2012).

From a formal point of view, politeness formulas do not fall into a single grammatical class, as they can consist of verbs (e.g., *scusa* “excuse me”, *prego* “please”), nouns (e.g., *congratulazioni* “congratulations”, *auguri* “best wishes”), or adverbs (e.g., *cordialmente* “with regard”), even though grammars ordinarily include them in the class of interjections. On the other hand, considering the perspective of studies that tend to evaluate the distinction between lexicon and syntax in a less clear-cut way, it can be stated that politeness formulas do not even occupy a fixed position within the lexicon-syntactic continuum. In fact, they can be made up of single words (e.g., *ciao* “hello”), collocations (e.g. *grazie mille* “thank you very much”), locutions (e.g. *buona fortuna* “good luck”) but also entire utterances (e.g. *come stai?* “how are you?”).

From a semantic and functional point of view, on the other hand, politeness formulas are highly conventional expressions of linguistic politeness as the set of strategies, norms and verbal conventions adopted by a community to contain conflict and foster harmony in communicative interaction (cf. Brown & Levinson 1987; Leech 2014).

Finally, politeness formulas can be analysed through the unique dimension of intensity as a modification of illocutionary force between the two opposite poles of intensification and mitigation, corresponding to the multiple strategies useful for modifying the illocutionary force of linguistic acts (Labov 1984).

Bazzanella and colleagues (1991) have provided a classification of the phenomenon according to three dimensions corresponding to propositional content, speaker’s attitude and interactional level.

From this perspective, politeness formulas properly fall within the scope of polite attenuation, as a verbal expression of social conventions useful for harmonious behaviour (Lakoff 1989), like a subspecies of the broader phenomenon of mitigation (Caffi 2007), as a form of mutual adaptation between interlocutors whereby the locutor acts by adapting to the addressee and to the communicative situation. As the diagram shows (see Figure 1), the dimension of polite attenuation belongs to the more general continuum of intensity, in the direction that tends to the pole of mitigation.

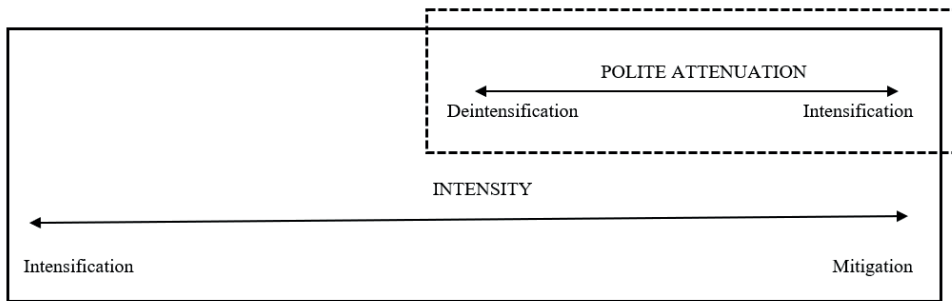


Figure 1. Polite attenuation as part of the more general continuum of intensity (adapted from Pagliaro 2018: 158, 2022: 269)

2.2. Politeness formulas in Construction Grammar

On the basis of the above, politeness formulas can be analysed within the framework of Construction Grammar. According to the literature, constructions are specific to each language and each element of a language can be examined on the basis of the unique dimension of the construction as a combination of a form - composed of phonological, morphological, and syntactic properties - joined through a symbolic correspondence link to a given function - composed of semantic, pragmatic, and discursive properties (Croft 2001; Masini 2016).

Based on Croft’s (2001:17) and Goldberg’s (2013:17) lexical-syntactic continuum, the following table (see Table 1) shows my version of the continuum applied to a portion of the language represented by politeness formulas¹.

¹ In the second column the boxes “Atomic construction” and “Totally specific multiword construction” are empty because they represent constructions already specified without any level of abstractness.

Types of constructions	Constructions (examples)	Items
Atomic construction		<i>ciao</i> «hello»
Partially specific construction	[<i>arriveder</i> -Pro]	<i>arrivederci</i> «good bye»
Totally specific multiword construction		<i>in bocca al lupo</i> «good luck (lit. in the mouth of the wolf)»
Partially specific multiword construction	[<i>buon(o/a)</i> N]	<i>buona fortuna</i> «good luck»
Abstract multiword construction	[[<i>FeCo</i>] _x [<i>FeCo</i>] _x] _{FeCo}	<i>ciao ciao</i> «bye bye»
Phrasal construction	[[<i>scus</i> -PRS] Cong Pro V]	<i>scusa se ti interrompo</i> «sorry if I interrupt you»

Table 1. The Lexicon-syntax continuum (Pagliaro 2018: 135): FeCO> formula di cortesia “politeness formula”, Pro >pronoun, N >noun, V >verb, Cong>conjunction, PRS >person

This way, the construction can represent different entities of varying complexity/simplicity at the syntagmatic level and varying specificity/schematicity at the paradigmatic level. The first parameter refers to the fact that Construction Grammar considers every element of the language to be part of the same continuum without clear boundaries between the traditional levels of morphology, lexicon and syntax, rejecting the distinction between regular (core) and peripheral (periphery) linguistic elements of the language system. The second parameter refers to the fact that constructions can be of different degrees of specificity/schematicity going from a totally specified level, consisting of the concrete words or expressions of the language, to gradually more schematic, hence abstract, constructions containing different slots to be filled (cf. Croft 2001; Goldberg 2006; Fillmore 2013).

The productivity of constructions would thus seem to be related to the abstractness of the constructions themselves whereby different degrees of abstractness correlate with different degrees of productivity, admitting that productivity is also a gradual property of constructions (Barðal 2008). Therefore, to have productivity, variable slots need to be filled, subject to formal and semantic-pragmatic restrictions so not all elements are compatible with certain empty positions. However, it is possible to reinforce the idea that the productivity of a construction, in addition to the restrictions imposed by the variables, does not depend exclusively on the more or less abstract and more or less complex type of the construction itself, but also depends on other factors, such as the level of entrenchment of a construction connected to the frequency of a form (Diessel 2004).

3. Materials and method

The data used for the current study was extracted from a corpus of 3,325 politeness formulas (Pagliaro 2018).

The corpus was collected manually selecting the items from two large corpora of Italian language: VoLIP (De Mauro *et al.* 1993; Voghera *et al.* 2014) and C-ORAL-ROM (Cresti&Moneglia 2005). Especially, the VoLIP is a corpus that contains about 500,000 tokens, organized in five sections: (a) face-to face conversations; (b) telephonic conversations; (c) communicative exchanges with constrained turn-taking; (d) unidirectional exchanges; (e) television or radio broadcasts. The Italian C-ORAL-ROM, instead, consists of about 300,000 tokens and its corpus design includes a first division between the informal register (50%) and the formal register (50%). The informal register is divided into family-private domain and public domain: both domains are divided into sections of monologue, dialogue and conversation. The formal register, instead, contains two sections, namely mass media and natural contexts. The formal register also includes the telephone domain divided into private conversations and human/machine interactions². The VoLIP and the C-ORAL-ROM corpora are homogeneous from the gender point of view.

Concerning the speech situation, the classification used in Pagliaro (2018) reorganises the two similar corpus designs of the VoLIP and the C-ORAL-ROM corpora adopting three parameters: face-to-face presence of speaker and addressee, freedom of turn taking and frequency of turns'succession (cf. Voghera 2017: 67), in order to distinguish between dialogical and monological texts. Among the first one there are face-to-face conversations, telephone conversations, school lessons, in-person interviews, radio and television interviews, debates, university lectures, closing arguments and conferences; among the second one there are sermons, voicemails, radio and television broadcast speech (cf. Pagliaro 2018: 128).

Regarding the selection of the data, in Pagliaro (2018) the items were manually collected by means of a corpus driven approach. Using this approach, the corpus itself suggests frequent phenomena and theoretical generalizations through the observation of regularity of use. This approach was necessary because of the lack of an inventory of politeness formulas in Italian spoken language. Consequently, it was possible to classify the politeness formulas in the lexical-syntactic continuum as in Table 1. In addition, the Table 2 shows numerical data for each type of construction as in Pagliaro (2018).

² Human/machine interactions are not considered in this paper.

Types of constructions	Constructions (examples)	N. of items
Atomic construction		1020
Partially specific construction	[<i>brav-g</i>], [<i>arriveder-Pro</i>]	450
Totally specific multiword construction		9
Partially specific multiword construction	[<i>a Avv</i>], [<i>buon(o/a) N</i>], [<i>per N</i>]	1516
Abstract multiword construction	[[<i>FeCo</i>] _x [<i>FeCo</i>] _x] _{FeCo}	189
Phrasal construction	[[<i>scus-PRS</i>] Cong Pro V]	141
		Total 3325

Table 2. Types of constructions (Pagliaro 2018)

Thus, the data used in the current study derives from the corpus contained in Pagliaro (2018). In particular, this paper focuses on the Postponing Construction as one of the most frequent constructions in the corpus. Thus, according to a corpus based approach, politeness formulas expressing a postponing meaning have been extracted. Then, the items have been analysed as the two dimensions of a construction, namely with regard to their formal and functional properties. Afterwards, the instantiations of the construction have been evaluated as regard the dimension of polite attenuation, the discursive properties and the different types of spoken texts in which they appear.

As in paragraph 2.1, politeness formulas fall within the sphere of polite attenuation, divided into the two poles of intensification and deintensification. The analysis of the Postponing construction according to these two poles focused on the greater or lesser determination of the propositional content expressed by the second variable of the construction (e.g., *a dopo* “see you later” – lesser determination vs *a domani* “see you tomorrow” – greater determination), together with the speaker’s commitment to the interlocutor and the desired perlocutionary effect.

Regarding discursive properties, the data analysis identified the position of each item both within the dialogic turn and within the communicative event, distinguishing, in both cases, between the beginning, middle, end, or holophrastic position.

Concerning the different types of texts in which the Postponing construction appears, the items have been divided into the different types of dialogic and monologic spoken texts as expressed above.

4. Results

The Postponing construction consists of 211 items. The smallness of the number corresponds to the smallness of politeness formulas that are generally found in corpora as they represent a marginal part of the lexicon.

From a formal point of view, the data were divided into the categories of the lexicon-syntax continuum (cf. supra). Table 3 shows the different occurrences for each type of expressing construction of Postponing construction. Of the 211 items, only 141 ones formally materialised in two case studies (Case studies 1 and 2) have been analysed here. The choice falls on these case studies because their constructions are more formulaic and therefore contain fixed elements; in addition, they are more frequent and they have a greater degree of productivity.

Regarding Case study 1, the Postponing construction takes the form of two types of constructions, partially specific construction and partially specific multiword construction. As for Case study 2, the Postponing construction takes the form of the abstract multiword construction type. The corresponding instantiations that were analysed here are underlined.

	Types of constructions	Constructions (examples)	N. of items	Examples
Case study 1	Partially specific construction	<u>[arriveder-Pro]</u>	110	<u>arrivederla</u> "goodbye"
	Partially specific multiword construction	<u>[a Prep Pro]</u> , <u>[a Avv]</u> <u>[[Pro ved-PRS] Avv]</u>	94	<u>a presto</u> , <u>a più tardi</u> "see you soon" "see you later" <u>ci vediamo domani</u> "see you tomorrow"
Case study 2	Abstract multiword construction	<u>[[arriveder-Pro]</u> <u>arriveder-Pro]</u>	2	<u>arrivederci arrivederci</u> "goodbye goodbye"
	Phrasal construction	<u>[[Pro ved-PRS] Prep</u> <u>Agg N]</u>	5	<u>ci vediamo in questi giorni</u> "see you these days"
			Total 211	

Table 3. The Postponing construction: Case studies 1 and 2

From a functional point of view, the Postponing construction is a politeness formula which, in the first place, corresponds to the general function of linguistic politeness of expressing the speaker's willingness to establish, preserve and maintain a relationship with his/her interlocutor in view of a future communicative event. However, it specifically expresses a meaning of referral - corresponding to the act of postponing the current situation to an established or to be defined future time - and a function of closure - corresponding to the function of ending an encounter and a communicative event (cf., for example, Goffman 1971, Ferguson 1976).

With regard to the dimension of polite attenuation, as shown in Figure 2, the speaker generally opted for a deintensification of the polite attenuation.

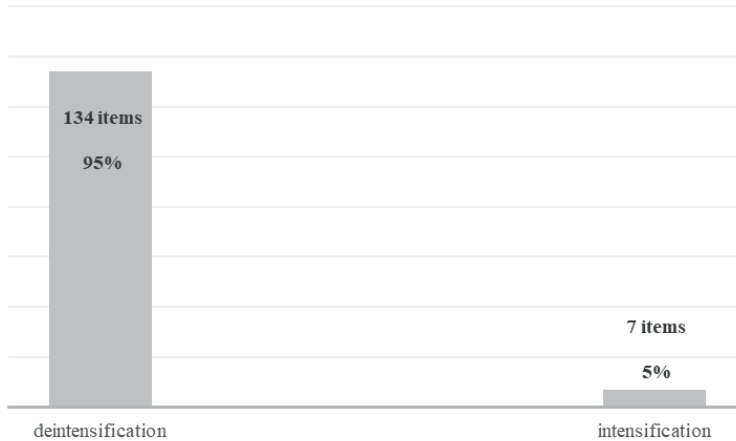


Figure 2. Polite attenuation results

With regard to the position of the construction within the dialogic turn (see Table 4), in most cases, the construction constitutes the dialogic turn per se, being in a holophrastic position. Of the remaining cases, most are placed at the end of the dialogic turn and often also at the end of chains of politeness formulas, thus emphasizing the closing function (e.g., *grazie arrivederci* “thank you goodbye”).

In turns	
Beginning	13 (9%)
Middle	9 (6%)
End	55 (39%)
Holophrastic	64 (45%)
	Total 141

Table 4. Construction position in dialogic turn

Relative to position within the communicative event (see Table 5), almost all of the occurrences are found at the end of the communicative event, as shown.

In communicative event	
Beginning	\
Middle	2 (1%)
End	139 (99%)
Holophrastic	\
	Total 141

Table 5. Construction position in communicative event

Finally, regarding the different types of text (see Table 6), the Postponing construction is mostly found in telephone conversations. The result is in line with the data found in Pagliaro (2017, 2018) where most of the politeness formulas were found in telephone conversations, probably to provide for the lack of the visual channel.

	Types of text	Number of items
Dialogue	Face-to-face conversations	34 (24%)
	Telephone conversations	81 (57%)
	School lessons	\
	In-person interviews	2 (1%)
	Radio and television interviews	15 (11%)
	Debate	\
	University lecture	\
	Closing argument	\
	Conference	\
	Monologue	Sermon
Voicemail		3 (2%)
Radio and television broadcast speech		6 (4%)

Table 6. Postponing construction in context

4.1. In-depth study of Case studies 1 and 2

4.1.1. Case study 1

Figure 3 represents the Postponing construction with its different instantiations. The two central arrows unite the form and function of the construction indicating a symbolic correspondence link. Regarding the form, on the left side of the diagram, the construction consists of two elements - a variable X and a variable Y - and has the same index as the function (i), as seen at the level of the abstract construction I. The two variable slots are subject to certain formal and semantic-pragmatic restrictions in order to be filled, as seen at the level of abstract construction II.

In fact, the first variable (variable X) is a fixed element, represented by the preposition *a* “to”, as it refers to a future time in which the speaker hopes to meet the interlocutor; the second variable (variable Y), on the other hand, is a variable element, represented by an adverb or an adverbial locution of time and refers to a more or less precise future temporal indication in which the interlocutors hope to see or hear each other again in the future, as can be seen from the levels of semi-specific construction I and II. This way, the partially specified construction, exemplified, for example, in the reminder formula *arrivederci* “goodbye” ([*arriveder*-Pro]) can also derive from the same construction. Moreover, the reminder formula *arrivederci* “goodbye” ([*arriveder*-Pro]) is also presented in the analytic form, for example *a risentirci* ([*a* [*risentir*-Pro]]), literally “when we hear from each other again”, derived from the unification of the same preposition with a verb. At the lowest level of exemplification there are the constructs, which are the concrete realizations of the language that are potentially infinite (*a presto* “see you soon”, *a più tardi* “see you later”, *a domani* “see you tomorrow”, *a domani mattina* “see you tomorrow morning”, *a lunedì* “see you Monday”, *alla prossima* “see you next time”, etc.).

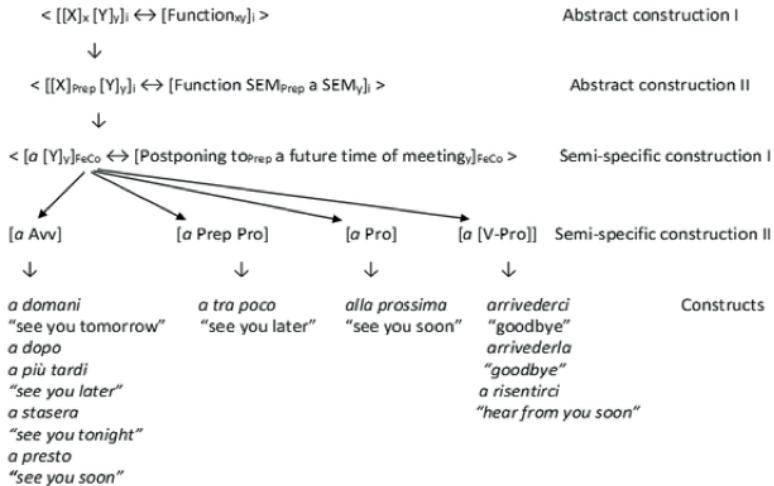


Figure 3. Instantiations of the Case study 1 (adapted from Pagliaro 2018: 179)

As previously mentioned, the second variable is a variable element that can be represented by a verb, in the case of the partially specified construction, or by an adverb or an adverbial locution of time, in the case of the partially specified multiword constructions. In both cases, the second variable has the function - together with the fixed element of the first variable - of referring to a future moment of encounter with the interlocutor. However, the two types of filling of the second variable connote the moment of reference in a different way.

The partially specified construction refers to a moment of indefinite reminder that specifies the communication channel (for example, visual, in the case of *arrivederci* "goodbye", audio-verbal, in the case of *a risentirci* "hear from you soon"). Therefore, the filling of the second variable is rather limited to verbal communication channels and this also determines a lower degree of productivity, despite the high frequency of some forms, such as *arrivederci*. On the other hand, these forms are currently also subject to a gradual opacity, since *arrivederci*, for example, is very frequent in telephone communication or even in written communication.

With partially specified multiword constructions, on the other hand, the filling of the second variable with a temporal indication is essentially unlimited. In fact, it is possible to choose between more precise temporal indications (tomorrow, Monday, next month, etc.) or more vague ones (later, in a while, next month, etc.). In both cases the filling is not subject to limitations due to the spoken (but not even written) communication channel. Consequently, given the high degree of rootedness of this type of construction, it is possible to confirm its greater productivity.

The more or less precise temporal indication pushes the level of intensity of the politeness formulas towards the direction of intensification of polite attenuation. Falling within the more general sphere of mitigation, as a strategy of mutual adaptation between the interlocutors and to the communicative situation, the speaker uses a more specific propositional content to contextually indicate the moment of closure of a communicative event and above all to refer to the next moment of the meeting.

4.1.2. Case study 2

With regard to Case study 2, Figure 4 shows the instantiations. This type of construction intends to show how the expedient of repetition can be considered a productivity strategy within constructionist grammar, applying the thesis to the politeness formulas (cf. Pagliaro 2018, 2020a, 2020b)³. Ontologically, repetition is inherent in formulaic language given the characteristics of phonetic, lexical-syntactic, and pragmatic fixity, while, stylistically, it is possible to analyse the connection between the phenomenon of repetition and formulaic sequences with intensifying effect (Wang 2005).

Finally, with regard to the productivity character of repetition and according to Bybee's (2006) usage-based paradigm analogous to Construction Grammar, repetition is seen as a frequency of use that has an impact on the cognitive representation of construction exemplars, whereby repetition and the context of use of particular construction exemplars would produce different levels of impact.

In the lexical-syntactic continuum constructed to represent different types of politeness formulas, items derived from this construction appear at the level of abstract multiword constructions. At the level of abstract construction I, the form, on the left, is connected via a symbolic correspondence link, to a function. The form consists of two unknowns, two variable elements that carry the same index. This indicates that the two variables are to be filled by the same politeness formula or repetition of the same item, as seen at the level of abstract construction II. The repetition of the politeness formula implies an intensification of the function expressed by one formula, as can be seen at the level of the semi-specific construction I. In particular, as can be seen at the level of semi-specified construction II, with the reduplication of the form there is a tendency towards the direction of intensification of the polite attenuation since, falling within the more general framework of mitigation, as a strategy of mutual adaptation between the interlocutors and to the communicative situation, the speaker uses a more emphatic form in order to trace the moment of closure of the communicative event as a moment that refers to the next moment of the encounter.

³ Particularly, Pagliaro 2020b analyses the two contrastive characters of repetition and reduction of politeness formulas in a gender perspective.

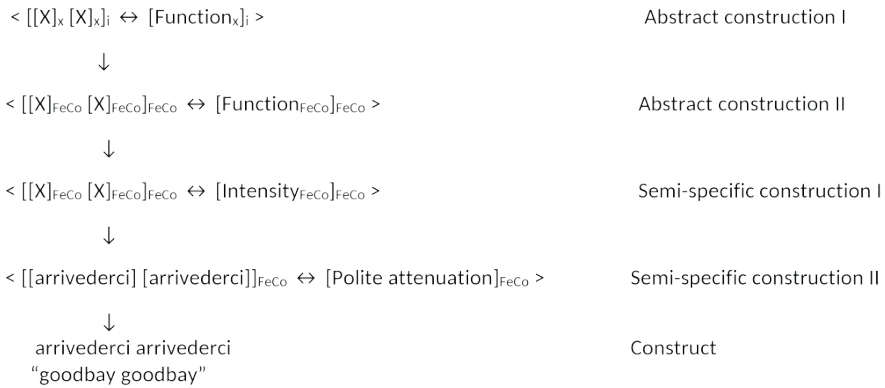


Figure 4. Instantiations of the Case study 2
 (adapted from Pagliaro 2018: 188 and Pagliaro 2020a: 191)

5. Conclusion

The items analysed allow to identify an independent construction that produces an unlimited number of constructs in concrete language. In fact, respecting the semantic-pragmatic restrictions provided by the second variable, the construction is very productive.

The construction presented gives rise to politeness formulas with postponing meaning and with ending function. These formulas are found, mainly at the end of the communicative event with the dual function of concluding a conversation and immediately referring to the next meeting.

Finally, the function performed by these politeness formulas does not seem to agree with Goffman’s (1971) view according to which farewell greetings represent the passage to a situation of lesser access, whereas beginning greetings instead signal the passage to a condition of greater access, since the Postponing construction, while ending a communicative event, immediately refers to the next one.

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Phrasemes and/or constructions? Periphrastic verbal expressions in Spanish, Italian and French revisited

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Abstract

Verbal periphrases are considered a central characteristic of all Romance languages. Many of them being not (or only partly) compositional in meaning, these periphrastic verbal units are commonly used for the expression of several semantic values. However, the structural and semantic make-up of the diverse multi-verb sequences seems to oscillate between a more ‘phraseological’ and a more ‘constructional’ end as far as flexibility of the individual constituent parts and variability in the selection of the non-finite verbal element are concerned. Taking these observations into consideration, the present paper puts forward a unified model for periphrastic verbal expressions, accounting for (rather flexible) schemata with open slots and (rather fixed) idiosyncratic units on an equal basis. Apart from shedding new theoretical light on periphrastic verbal expressions in Romance, the proposed model can also provide useful starting points for second or foreign language acquisition.

Keywords

verbal periphrases, phrasemes, constructions, Romance languages

1. A word on multi-word expressions

In recent times, it has been widely acknowledged that large parts of language are made up of chunks (up to 50-70% depending on counting procedures; cf. e.g. Erman/Warren 2000: 37, Aguado 2002: 28). Playing an important role in encoding and decoding messages, language strings have come more and more into the focus of linguistic analyses – from theoretical and empirical perspectives alike (cf. e.g. Wray 2002, Forsberg 2008, Conklin/Schmitt 2012, Siyanova-Chanturia/Spina 2020 as well as the papers in Schmitt 2004 and Siyanova-Chanturia/Pellicer-Sánchez 2019, only to mention some). However, it has proven difficult to seize formulaic language or, more generally, multi-word expressions (or units) in their full dimension, which has led to attributions such as the “elephant in the room” (Wray 2012: 237-239).

To sum up the most important points of this discussion in the context of the present paper, the following aspects shall be briefly addressed: first of all, multi-word units comprise varying degrees of formulaicity, reaching from fixed routine formulae (such as greetings and other discourse formulae) to fairly variable formulaic schemata (such as diverse – lexical or grammatical – constructions with open slots to fill according to communicational needs). From this, it already becomes obvious that the traditionally established categories of ‘lexicon’ and ‘grammar’¹ are concerned on an equal basis since multi-word expressions can take the shape of word combinations as well as of syntactic units, with different degrees of complexity. Multi-word sequences come into play in comprehension and production. However, it is under debate whether (or which of) these processes take place holistically vs. analytically (cf. e.g. Jiang/Nekrasova 2007, Siyanova-Chanturia 2015), an issue also often connected to questions on frequency and cognitive entrenchment (cf. e.g. Ellis 2002, Blumenthal-Dramé 2017 and many others). Still, part of this material is supposed to be prefabricated (and not necessarily freshly created on the spot), thus enabling faster and easier encoding and decoding of information, a fact often referred to as a ‘shortcut in processing’.

In view of the variety of facets coming into play when talking about *multi-word expressions*, it appears all the more important to sketch out the central tenets underlying the notions used in the present paper. The first to be cited here is Wray’s (2002: 9; emphasis BF) well-known definition of *formulaic sequence* as “a sequence, **continuous or discontinuous**, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, **prefabricated**: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar”. The second crucial tenet is the following – no less famous – definition by Goldberg (2006: 3; emphasis BF) who understands *constructions* as “conventionalized pairings of **form** and **function**” and elaborates further that

Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is **not strictly predictable from its component parts** or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with **sufficient frequency**. (Goldberg 2006: 5; emphasis BF)

These definitions also address several important issues in connection with the type of constructions at the heart of the present paper: to begin with, periphrastic verbal expressions can be continuous or discontinuous, depending on the flexibility of the individual elements to allow further material to be interposed (or not). Most importantly, many of them are “not strictly predictable from [their] component parts”, i.e. their meaning is often not (or only to some extent) deducible from the sum of the meanings of their individual parts. Still, most of them do occur “with sufficient frequency”² in order to deal with them as (more or less prefabricated) units or entities with their own meaning, rules and properties.

¹ By adopting a holistic constructional approach, this modular distinction becomes superfluous.

² Although the term “sufficient” is without doubt susceptible to discussing.

Figure 1 illustrates some of these multi-word units (with English examples) oscillating between morphosyntax and lexicon:

morphosyntax		←—————→			lexicon	
tense forms	verbal periphrases	collocations	idiomatic expressions	proverbs		
(strongly grammaticalised)					(strongly lexicalised)	
e.g.	e.g.	e.g.	e.g.	e.g.		
compound past, compound future	<i>be going to</i> + infinitive	<i>make/take</i> <i>a decision</i>	<i>be in the</i> <i>same boat</i>	<i>The early bird catches the early worm.</i>		

Figure 1. Multi-word units between morphosyntax and lexicon (with English examples)

The particular type of ‘verbal periphrases’, i.e. periphrastic multi-verb constructions, will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

2. The case of verbal periphrases in Romance

Periphrastic multi-word expressions in the verbal domain – multi-*verb* expressions, so to speak – are considered a central characteristic of all Romance languages (cf. Pusch/Wesch 2003b: 1 among others), although their inventory and frequency vary to some extent between the individual languages (cf. e.g. the wide range of verbal periphrases in Spanish and Portuguese vs. a rather restricted selection in French). These periphrastic verbal units are commonly used for the expression of several semantic values such as temporal, aspectual, modal and diathetic ones (e.g. sp. *soler* + inf.³ [‘used to’] for habitual values, it. *stare per* + inf. [‘be about to’] for imminential values or fr. *être en train de* + inf. [‘be doing’] for progressive values to give a few examples from the tempo-aspectual field). Verbal periphrases are generally defined as a combination of two (or more) verbs, sometimes joined by a preposition or conjunction, which form a single semantically non-compositional predicative unit. While the first (finite) verbal element (frequently a desemanticised auxiliary or semi-auxiliary) holds the flectional marks, the second (non-finite) verbal element (usually an infinitive, gerund or participle in Romance languages) contributes the main semantic information to the predicative unit (cf. e.g. Pusch/Wesch 2003b: 3 and Gómez Torrego 1999: 3325). As their meaning is often not (or only partly) compositional, i.e. not (or only in part) deducible from the sum of the single components (cf. also section 1), they sometimes pose problems to L2 learners. Still, many of these ‘phraseological constructions’ are highly idiomatic and fairly frequent, hence playing a crucial role in L2 acquisition as well. Table 1 gives a brief overview of some (tempo-aspectual) verbal periphrases in Romance and their English rendering:

³ In the present paper the following abbreviations are used: inf. = infinitive, ger. = gerund, part. = participle.

	Spanish	Italian	French	English
prospectivity	<i>ir a</i> + inf.	-	<i>aller</i> + inf.	<i>will/be going to</i> + inf.
retrospectivity	<i>acabar de</i> + inf.	-	<i>venir de</i> + inf.	<i>have just</i> + part.
progressivity	<i>estar</i> + ger.	<i>stare</i> + ger.	[<i>être en train de</i> + inf.]	<i>be</i> + ger.
habituality	<i>soler</i> + inf.	<i>solere</i> + inf.	-	<i>used to</i> + inf.
imminentiality	<i>estar por</i> + inf.	<i>stare per</i> + inf.	[<i>être sur le point de</i> + inf.]	<i>be about to</i> + inf.
terminativity	<i>dejar/parar de</i> + inf.	<i>smettere/cessare di</i> + inf.	<i>arrêter/cesser de</i> + inf.	<i>stop</i> + ger.
completivity	<i>acabar/terminar de</i> + inf.	<i>finire/terminare di</i> + inf.	<i>finir/terminer de</i> + inf.	<i>finish</i> + ger.

Table 1. Selected verbal periphrases from the tempo-aspectual domain in Romance (with English equivalents)

A quick glance at the above selection of constructions already shows their variability as to the number of words potentially accompanying the auxiliary verb (e.g. prepositions or diverse ‘phraseological’ material – such as in fr. *être sur le point de* + inf. [‘be about to’], for instance) and the grammatical form the lexical verb takes (infinitive, gerund or participle). Apart from that, several constructions show restrictions concerning the ‘fillings’ admitted in the individual slots, an issue also dealt with in the subsequent section.

3. A sample analysis

At closer sight, the structural and semantic make-up of the different polyverbal expressions proves to be considerably varied. In fact, the repertoire appears to oscillate between a more ‘idiomatic’ and a more ‘constructional’ end as far as flexibility of the individual constituent parts and variability in the selection of the non-finite verbal element are concerned. The following examples will briefly illustrate this matter: while e.g. sp. *comenzar/empezar a* + inf. and (a bit less so) *ponerse a* + inf. (both ‘start to’) can be combined with a variety of verbs (compatible with inchoative meaning), *echar(se)/romper a* + inf. (literally ‘break out to’) are restricted to a couple of verbs only (e.g. *reír* [‘laugh’], *llorar* [‘cry’], *andar* [‘walk’]), which also becomes evident from large corpora such as, for instance, CREA or CORPES XXI. Similar observations can be made for Italian and French. Figure 2 proposes a grouping of inchoative constructions in Spanish, Italian and French according to their slot-filling properties (which are, of course, also semantically induced):

Spanish:	<i>comenzar a + inf.</i> , <i>empezar a + inf.</i>	<i>ponerse a + inf.</i>	<i>echar(se) a + inf.</i> , <i>romper a + inf.</i>
Italian:	<i>cominciare a + inf.</i> , <i>iniziare a + inf.</i>	<i>mettersi a + inf.</i>	<i>scoppiare a + inf.</i> , <i>sbottare a + inf.</i>
French:	<i>commencer à + inf.</i>	<i>se mettre à + inf.</i>	<i>éclater de + inf.</i>
	↓	↓	↓
	fairly open	partly restricted	highly restricted

Figure 2. Periphrastic verbal expressions in Spanish, Italian and French from the domain of INCHOATIVITY grouped according to their slot-filling properties

A look into language-specific reference grammars confirms the above categorisation. Cf. e.g. Bertinetto (2001: 155; emphasis BF), who underlines the rather generic meaning of *(in)cominciare/iniziare a + inf.* ('start to') in contrast to the more specialised ones of, for example, *scoppiare a + inf.* (which is only combined with *cry* and *laugh*) or *sbottare a + inf.* (generally used with *verba dicendi*, indicating impatience) [both literally 'break out to'], or the (serial verb) construction *prende (su) e dice* (literally 'takes [up] and says'), which adds a touch of impulsivity to the action:

Oltre alle perifrasi di **senso più generico**, e quindi di applicazione più generale, quali <*(in)cominciare / iniziare a + inf.*>, c'è un certo numero di perifrasi incoative dal **significato più specializzato**. Tra queste ricorderemo in particolare: *scoppiare a*, *sbottare a*, *prendere a*, *darsi a*, *mettersi a*, *attaccare a*, tutte con l'infinito. Simile è il costrutto *prende (su) e dice*, che aggiunge una sfumatura di impulsività. Ma anche le precedenti perifrasi sono semanticamente connotate: per es. *scoppiare a* si può usare soltanto coi verbi *piangere e ridere*; *sbottare a* indica **impazienza**, e regge in genere i <verba dicendi>; le rimanenti sono più neutre, ma in taluni contesti possono indicare un atteggiamento improntato a risolutezza.

A similar stance is taken by Gómez Torrego (1999: 3374-3375; emphasis BF) for Spanish, who points out that the constructions *echar* and *echarse a + inf.* (literally 'break out to') only admit a very restricted list of infinitives (*walk*, *run* and *fly* for *echar*; *laugh*, *cry* and *tremble* for *echarse*) and add a notion of suddenness to the action – the reflexive form *echarse* with even greater intensity than the non-reflexive form *echar*:

Esta construcción [<*echar a + infinitivo*>] se caracteriza por admitir un abanico de infinitivos muy corto. En realidad, **sólo** tenemos las combinaciones *echar a andar*, *echar a correr*, *echar a volar*. [...] El valor aportado por esta perífrasis es el mismo que el de <*ponerse a + infinitivo*> (expresión del inicio puntual de una acción), pero con ella se destaca algo más **lo repentino del comienzo** de la acción. Esta [<*echarse a + infinitivo*>] es otra construcción con un número de infinitivos muy restringido. Prácticamente, aparece **sólo** en *echarse a reír*, *echarse a llorar* y *echarse a temblar*. [...] El valor aportado por esta

perífrasis es el mismo que el de <echar + infinitivo> y <ponerse a + infinitivo>, pero con un grado más de realce de la **intensidad en lo repentino** de la acción.

It may appear fairly logical that the fillings admitted in the open slots of the individual constructions are strongly connected to the verb semantics itself (e.g. suddenness of an action, impulsivity etc.). Still, in search of a unified model to account for the totality of (periphrastic verbal) constructions (cf. also the desideratum in Croft/Cruse 2004: 225), abstraction and categorisation processes are inevitable in order to establish a common basis for description and analysis. A suggestion for such a model (on a constructivist note) is discussed in the following section.

4. Suggesting a model

Periphrastic verbal expressions in Romance have already been dealt with from a variety of angles – including formal and functional perspectives, synchronic and diachronic ones (cf. e.g. the papers in Pusch/Wesch 2003a) as well as comparative studies across several (Romance and non-Romance) languages (cf. e.g. Squartini 1998, Katelhön 2016). Although there are also tentative cognitive-constructivist approaches (cf. e.g. Endruschat 2008, Füreder 2021), a unified account has not been proposed yet. Starting from the observations in the preceding sections, figures 3 and 4 try to model the continuum between constructions (on the more ‘constructional’ end) and phrasemes (on the more ‘idiomatic’ end). Figure 3 presents a general scheme of the proposed model:

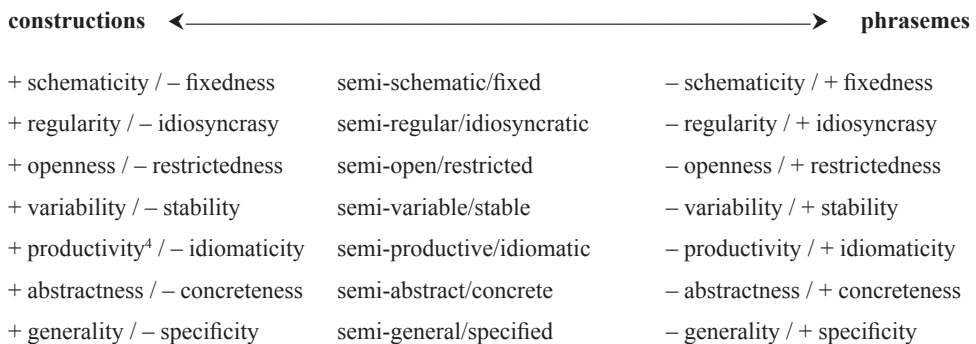


Figure 3. Continuum between constructions and phrasemes (general scheme)

⁴ The notions of openness, variability and productivity are strongly interconnected: greater openness allows greater variability, which in turn allows greater productivity – or the other way around: greater restrictedness leads to greater stability, which in turn leads to greater idiomaticity.

Figure 4 provides an application of the model to verbal periphrases in Romance:

constructions		phrasemes	
fully schematic	partly schematic	partially fixed	(almost) fully fixed
(highly systematic)			(highly conventionalised)
e.g. sp. <i>ir a</i> + inf., <i>acabar de</i> + inf., <i>estar</i> + ger. it. <i>stare</i> + ger. fr. <i>aller</i> + inf., <i>venir de</i> + inf.	e.g. sp. <i>hay que</i> + inf. it. <i>si deve</i> + inf. fr. <i>il faut</i> + inf.	e.g. sp. <i>echar(se)/romper a</i> + inf. it. <i>scoppiare/sbottare a</i> + inf. fr. <i>éclater de</i> + inf.	e.g. fr. <i>aller (en) + augmentant/ s'intensifiant</i> etc.
	sp. <i>estar a punto de</i> + inf. it. <i>essere sul punto di</i> + inf. fr. <i>être sur le point de</i> + inf.		

Figure 4. Continuum between constructions and phrasemes (exemplified by verbal periphrases in Romance)

Taking the above explanations into consideration, the model thus proposes to differentiate between the more 'idiomatic' and the more 'constructional' instances of periphrastic verbal expressions. This implies modelling periphrastic multi-word units from the 'constructional' end, on the one hand, as (rather flexible) schemata with open slots to be filled with a range of different options; expressions from the 'idiomatic' end, on the other hand, as (rather fixed) phraseological units with only limited slots to fill (if at all). Examples for typical constructional schemata would be e.g. sp. *ir a* + inf. / fr. *aller* + inf. ('be going to'), sp. *estar* + ger. / it. *stare* + ger. ('be doing') or sp. *acabar de* + inf. / fr. *venir de* + inf. ('have just done'), whereas e.g. fr. *aller* + ger. ('do gradually') – a construction only occurring with a couple of specific gradation verbs in highly restricted contexts in present-day French (cf. also Riegel/Pellat/Rioul 1994: 253) – would be considered a more fixed representative at the idiomatic end of the continuum. Constructions such as sp. *hay que* + inf. / it. *si deve* + inf. / fr. *il faut* + inf. ('must') or the various verbal expressions for 'breaking out' discussed in section 3, together with phrases such as sp. *estar a punto de* + inf. / it. *essere sul punto di* + inf. / fr. *être sur le point de* + inf. ('be about to'), would be situated somewhere in between the two extreme poles, representing constructions that are partly schematic/partially fixed. Owing to its straight, nonetheless flexible handling, such an approach might also prove useful in instructional contexts of second or foreign language acquisition.

5. Conclusion and outlook

As can be seen from the discussion above, verbal periphrases take a position somewhere in between phrasemes and constructions, thus lending themselves to phraseological and constructionist studies alike. In fact, the two fields do have much in common, as Ziem (2018: 11-12) also highlights. It might seem opportune, hence, to ‘join’ the two research approaches and take ‘the best of both worlds’, so to speak. The compound noun *phrase-me-constructions* (cf. e.g. Dobrovól’skij 2011: 114 or Mellado Blanco/Mollica/Schafroth in press) might be an option to come to terms with terminological issues. Still, aiming to provide a unified account which captures the full range of periphrastic verbal expressions (in Romance and beyond), it may be more practical (and somehow also more coherent) to go for a holistic model for description and analysis, which includes several dimensions and (ideally) multiple languages. The framework of Construction Grammar, broadly speaking, appears to fulfil these demands (cf. also Benigni et al. 2015: 278-279) – especially for the field of verbal periphrases, a kind of multi-verb expressions with varying degrees of schematicity, idiomaticity and complexity.

The model proposed in the present paper suggests a unified account for all periphrastic verbal expressions (be they on the more ‘constructional’ or ‘idiomatic’ end of the continuum), thus not only offering new perspectives on this polyverbal construction type, but also providing a possible conceptual frame for acquisitional contexts. In the future, finally – apart from theoretical-methodological concerns – it will also be indispensable to investigate the psycholinguistic and cognitive reality of such an account (cf. e.g. Gries/Wulff 2009, Christiansen/Arnon 2017) and to develop practical implementations for language acquisition and teaching (cf. e.g. Meunier/Granger 2008 and Discher/Meisnitzer/Schlaak 2016 for examples in the phraseological domain). In the case of periphrastic verbal expressions, this could potentially surface in a kind of ‘periphrasticon’ (cf. Füreder 2022).

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Table des matières

Introduction	5
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SECTION 1. PAREMIOLOGY

Im Schnittfeld von digitaler Lexikographie und modernem Sprachgebrauch

Mehrsprachige internetbasierte Sprichwortdatenbank

Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt	9
1. Einleitung und Zielsetzung	9
2. Dokumentieren des aktuellen Sprichwortgebrauchs mithilfe einer internetbasierten Sprichwortdatenbank	10
2.1. <i>Hochladen und Verwalten von Daten</i>	11
2.2. <i>Annotieren von Daten</i>	11
2.3. <i>Filtern von Daten</i>	11
2.4. <i>Visuelle Darstellung von Daten und Relationen</i>	12
3. Erfassen und Annotieren von Belegen zu traditionellen und modernen Sprichwörtern und ihren Modifikationen	14
3.1. <i>Annotieren der Belege</i>	14
3.2. <i>Annotieren der sprichwörtlichen Texte, die in den Belegen enthalten sind</i>	16
4. Schlusswort und Ausblick	18
Literaturverzeichnis	19

The issue of equivalence and the principles of creating a multilingual electronic database of idioms and proverbs

Manana Rusieshvili-Cartledge, Rusudan Dolidze	21
1. Introduction	21
1.1. <i>The Database of Georgian idioms and proverbs with their equivalents in English, Russian, French, German, Turkish and Arabic languages</i>	22
2. Methodology	23

3. Discussion of the material	24
3.1. <i>Intra-language and cross-language equivalents of Georgian idioms and proverbs in English, Russian, French, and German languages</i>	24
4. Conclusion	26
References	27
The 'coincidentia oppositorum' as a category of proverb types	
Outi Lauhakangas	29
1. Introduction	29
2. The complexity of proverbial contrasts	30
3. Fusion of opposites	32
3.1. <i>The world has two sides: white and black</i>	34
3.2. <i>God and devil are always near each other</i>	34
3.3. <i>Extremes meet</i>	34
3.4. <i>Profit and loss are companions</i>	35
3.5. <i>Consolation or warning</i>	35
3.6. <i>Paralyzing equilibrium of polarity</i>	35
3.7. <i>Half jest, half true</i>	36
3.8. <i>Paradoxical truth</i>	36
3.9. <i>Polarity in one person</i>	36
3.10. <i>A contrast shows the value of the other pole</i>	36
4. Conclusions	37
References	37
Vernacular proverbs in an everyday context	
Liisa Granbom-Herranen	39
1. Introduction	39
2. Some definitions of terms	40
3. Material and methods	42
4. Results	44
5. Conclusion	44
References	46

**To the Russian paremiological vision of the world
(as seen in the thematic groups of proverbs)**

Marina Yu. Kotova	49
1. Introduction	49
2. The specifics of the thematic groups of Russian proverbs as part of the Russian proverbial vision of the world (in comparison with Belorussian and Ukrainian)	50
3. Conclusions	56
Abbreviations	57
References	57

Concepts “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting” in Russian and Ukrainian proverbial vision of the world (based on the new Electronic dictionary of current East Slavonic proverbs)

Olesya S. Sergienko	59
1. Introduction	59
2. The new Electronic Dictionary of current East Slavonic proverbs	60
3. Thematic group “Home. Family. Children. Parents. Parenting”	60
4. Ukrainian proverbial parallels to the Russian proverbs	63
5. Conclusion	67
References	68

**Proverbs in the modern media discourse:
Iron Logic on Vesti FM Russian radio station**

Irina Zimonyi-Kalinyina	69
1. Introduction	69
2. Fragmentation	71
3. Transformation	73
4. Word replacement	73
5. Adding/skipping words	75
6. Mixing proverbs/sayings	76
7. Conclusions	76
References	77

SECTION 2. PHRASEOLOGY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

Hindi phraseology and culture: an interplay in the metaphor

Ideas are Food

Sunil Sharma	81
1. Introduction	81
2. Hindi Phraseology and the Metaphor <i>Ideas are Food</i>	82
2.1. <i>The Nature of Ideas</i>	82
2.2. <i>Food Preparation is Preparation of Ideas for Understanding</i>	84
2.3. <i>Understanding is digesting</i>	85
2.4. <i>Communication is Feeding</i>	87
2.5. <i>Stomach and the State of Mind</i>	87
3. Discussion	88
References	89

Unidades fraseológicas relativas al paraguas/ la sombrilla en chino cantonés

Chunyi Lei	91
1. Introducción	91
2. Bases teóricas de la investigación	92
3. Objetivos y método	93
4. El paraguas en la escritura y cultura chinas	93
4.1. <i>El paraguas en la escritura china</i>	93
4.2. <i>El paraguas en la cultura china</i>	94
5. Las UF del paraguas en cantonés	95
5.1. <i>Los nombres del paraguas en cantonés</i>	95
5.2. <i>Locuciones y compuestos del paraguas</i>	95
5.3. <i>Fraseotérminos del paraguas</i>	95
5.4. <i>Proverbios del paraguas</i>	96
5.5. <i>Frases proverbiales del paraguas</i>	97
5.6. <i>Xiehouyu (歇后语 “dicho alegórico de dos partes”) del paraguas</i>	98
6. Conclusiones	99
Agradecimientos	99
Referencias	99

Phraseological units with إضافة (ʾiḍāfah) structure in Modern Standard Arabic

Ludmila Torlakova	101
1. Introduction	101
2. Methodology	103
2.1. <i>Data</i>	103
2.2. <i>Method</i>	104
2.3. عصب (ʿaṣabu)	104
2.4. في ظل (fī ḡilli)	106
3. Findings and Discussion	107
4. Conclusions	108
5. References	109

From head to hoof

A classification of Croatian somatic idioms

Barbara Kovačević, Ivana Vidović Bolt	111
1. Introduction	111
2. Classification of idioms with zoonym component	112
3. Classification of idioms with zoonym somatic component	113
4. Instead of conclusion	117
References	118

Tabuisierung als Quelle von phraseologischem Wandel

Tamás Forgács	119
1. Einleitung	119
2. Tabuisierung als treibende Kraft bei der Entstehung metaphorischer und metonymischer Phrasemen	120
3. Tabuisierung als Auslöser elliptischer Phrasenbildung	122
4. Tabuisierung als treibende Kraft sekundärer Phrasenbildung	125
5. Fazit	127
Literatur	127

Edad y sexo, ¿factores esenciales para la competencia fraseológica?

Isabel Andúgar Andreu	129
1. Introducción	129
2. Descripción de la investigación	130
3. Fases de la investigación	131
3.1. <i>Planteamiento de la hipótesis</i>	131
3.2. <i>Elaboración del corpus</i>	131
3.3. <i>Redacción del cuestionario</i>	133
3.4. <i>Selección de informantes</i>	133
3.5. <i>Análisis de los datos</i>	134
4. Conclusiones	136
Referencias	136

La fraseología especializada en la metaforización de la política por el fútbol

Un enfoque de la espacialidad en corpus periodístico rioplatense

Ariel Novodvorski	137
1. Introducción	137
2. Corpus y metodología	141
3. Resultados	142
3.1. <i>ABAJO / ARRIBA</i>	142
3.2. <i>ADELANTE / ATRÁS</i>	143
3.3. <i>ADENTRO / AFUERA</i>	144
4. Conclusiones	145
Referencias	146

Sprachliche Formelhaftigkeit im Ritual

Pragmatische Phraseologismen im Kontext der Geburtstagsfeier

Dessislava Stoeva-Holm	147
1. Ritual und Sprache	147
2. Pragmatische Phraseologismen im Ritual	148
3. Das Geburtstagsständchen als Gratulation	151
4. Resümee	153
Bibliographie	153

Wittgenstein's Nephew's Parents and Children

Exploring a Digital Analysis of the Literary Text "Wittgensteins Neffe. Eine Freundschaft" by Thomas Bernhard with a Focus on Phraseology and Complex Lexical Units

Hanno Biber	157
1. Introduction	157
2. Question	158
3. The Text	159
4. Multiword Units	160
5. Methodology	162
6. Results	162
References	164

SECTION 3. PHRASEOLOGY, TRANSLATION, LANGUAGE TEACHING

Algunos apuntes sobre la fraseología en el Satiricón y su traducción al español

La expresión del desprecio

M. ^a del Pilar Lojendio Quintero	167
1. Introducción	167
2. Metodología	168
2.1. <i>Estudios preliminares</i>	168
2.2. <i>La expresión del desprecio en Petronio</i>	169
2.2.1. Bessalis, dupundiarus y sestertiarus	170
2.2.2. Hay otras locuciones en Petronio que tienen un origen diferente, ya relacionadas con partes del cuerpo (6) o funciones corporales (7) o con metáforas procedentes del mundo agrícola (8)	173
3. Conclusiones	174
Bibliografía	175

Building Motivational Bridges: Student Translators' Experience of Idioms Processing

Svetlana Y. Pavlina	177
1. Introduction	177
2. Material and Method	179

3. Results and Discussion	180
4. Conclusion	183
References	184

Mots tabous roumains et leurs équivalents français : le cas de *cur* [cul]

Anda Rădulescu, Alice Ionescu	187
1. Introduction	187
2. Démarche et méthode	188
3. Résultats de la recherche et discussion	189
3.1. <i>Classification formelle</i>	189
3.2. <i>Classification sémantique</i>	189
3.2.1. Sens concret de base 1 : « derrière, postérieur humain, séant, fessier »	190
3.2.2. Sens concret dérivé 1a : « aspect physique de la personne, silhouette »	191
3.2.3. Sens concret dérivé 1b: « partie postérieure ou inférieure d'un objet » (anthropomorphisation)	191
3.2.4. Sens concret de base 2 : « anus, orifice anal »	191
3.3. <i>Procédés de transfert des UP avec cur en français</i>	192
3.3.1. Équivalents formels avec cul / fesses	192
3.3.2. Équivalents dynamiques	193
4. Conclusion	194
Bibliographie	195

L'écart culturel vu à la loupe de l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique

*Exemple du mooré et du français dans La dynastie maudite,
roman de Yamba Élie Ouédraogo*

Salif Guibila	199
1. Introduction	199
2. Rappel de quelques précisions théoriques en rapport aux motivations liées à l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique	200
3. Analyses et résultats	201
3.1. <i>Hétérogénéité lexiculturelle</i>	201
3.1.1. Sur le plan folklorique	201
3.1.2. Sur les plans historique, mythologique et religieux	203
3.1.3. Sur le plan onomastique : anthroponymique et toponymique	204

4. Gestion de l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique dans <i>La dynastie maudite</i> : pour une compensation de l'écart culturel	205
4.1. <i>Recours aux traductions littérales et aux calques</i>	205
4.2. <i>Recours à l'incrémentalisation, au marquage métalinguistique ou aux notes infrapaginales</i>	206
5. Les unités phraséoparémiologiques entre contraintes traductologiques et libertés stylistiques : pour un rendement culturo-stylistique de l'intraduisible phraséoparémiologique	206
6. Conclusion	207
Bibliographie	207

Phraseological Competence and Translation

A Pilot Study in an Undergraduate-Level Translation Program in Colombia

José Luis Rojas Díaz, Juan Manuel Pérez Sánchez,
Alejandro Arroyave Tobón

	209
1. Introduction	209
1.1. <i>Phraseology: Definition and Denomination</i>	210
1.2. <i>Translation Competence</i>	210
1.3. <i>Phraseological competence</i>	211
1.4. <i>Think-Aloud Protocol</i>	212
2. Data, Tools, and Methods	213
2.1. <i>General methodology</i>	213
2.2. <i>Questionnaire and translation tasks</i>	214
2.3. <i>Questionnaire results and analysis</i>	216
2.4. <i>TAP analysis</i>	219
2.4.1. <i>Scratch one's head</i>	219
2.4.2. <i>Retomber sur ses pieds</i>	221
3. Conclusions	223
References	223

Der Prozess der Konventionalisierung von Wortverbindungen bei der Übersetzung der napoleonischen Gesetzbücher ins Italienische

Sarah Del Grosso

	225
1. Einleitung	225
2. Methodik	227

3. Ergebnisse	228
3.1. <i>sans préjudice de</i>	228
3.2. <i>à peine de nullité/sous peine de nullité</i>	229
3.3. <i>acte sous signature privée/acte sous seing privé</i>	230
3.4. <i>jugement arbitral, décision arbitrale und arbitrage</i>	232
4. Schlussbemerkungen	234
Bibliographie	235

Cross-linguistic intelligibility of idiomatic phrases in Polish-Russian translation tasks

Jacek Kudera, Irina Stenger, Philip Georgis,

Bernd Möbius, Tania Avgustinova, Dietrich Klakow

237

1. Introduction	237
1.1. <i>Aims and premises</i>	238
1.2. <i>Related work</i>	239
2. Method	239
2.1. <i>Audio stimuli</i>	240
2.2. <i>Participants</i>	240
2.3. <i>Normalized InDel</i>	240
2.4. <i>Mean phrase Word Adaptation Surprisal (WAS)</i>	241
2.5. <i>Lexical distance</i>	242
2.6. <i>Experimental procedure</i>	242
3. Results	243
3.1. <i>Open set</i>	243
3.1.1. Polish to Russian	243
3.1.2. Russian to Polish	244
3.2. <i>Closed set</i>	244
3.2.1. Polish to Russian	244
3.2.2. Russian to Polish	245
4. Discussion	246
4.1. <i>Polish to Russian</i>	247
4.2. <i>Russian to Polish</i>	247
5. Summary and outlook	247
Acknowledgments	248
References	248

Phraseodidaktische Kompetenz für (künftige) muttersprachliche Deutschlehrkräfte?

Überlegungen zu einem potenziellen Arbeitsfeld

Wenke Mückel	251
1. Problemaufriss zur Einleitung	251
2. Phraseodidaktische Kompetenz von Deutschlehrkräften im L1-Unterricht	253
2.1. <i>Phrasemgebrauch bei Lehramtsstudierenden des Faches Deutsch – Rekonstruktion einer Teilkompetenz der phraseodidaktischen Kompetenz</i>	254
2.2. <i>Phraseologische und phraseodidaktische Kompetenz der Deutschlehrkraft</i>	256
3. Ausblick	258
Literatur	258

Vermittlung von Idiomen im Präsenz- und Onlineunterricht im DaF-Studium

Übungsvorschläge, Erfahrungsbericht und Postulate

Elżbieta Dziurewicz, Joanna Woźniak	261
1. Phraseodidaktik – Lernziele und Schwerpunkte	261
2. Pandemiezeit und <i>Distance Learning</i>	262
3. Zielsetzung, Gruppencharakteristika und Auswahl der für den Fernunterricht geeigneten Aktivitäten	263
3.1. <i>Arbeit mit authentischen Texten</i>	264
3.1.1. Vermittlung von Phrasemen mithilfe von Memes	264
3.1.2. Vermittlung von Phrasemen durch Einsatz von Liedern	266
3.1.3. Vermittlung von Phrasemen mithilfe von Fernsehserien	267
3.2. <i>Einsatz von Korpora</i>	269
3.3. <i>Tools zur Erstellung von interaktiven formbezogenen (Drill)Übungen</i>	271
3.4. <i>Erstellen von Plakaten und Kreieren von eigenen Idiomen</i>	272
4. Zusammenfassung und Postulate für die universitäre (Online)Phraseodidaktik	274
Bibliografie	276

SECTION 4. PHRASEOLOGY, CORPORA, AUTOMATION

Comparing the production of a formula with the development of L2 competence

Results from a pilot study

Thomas A. Hammond	283
1. Introduction	283
2. Formulaic language and second language acquisition: The debate	284
2.1. <i>Defining 'formulas'</i>	284
2.2. <i>Formulas seed L2 grammar</i>	284
2.3. <i>L2 grammar develops independently of formulas</i>	285
3. Research Question	285
4. Methodology	286
4.1. <i>The Japanese Learner English Corpus (JLEC)</i>	286
4.2. <i>Identifying a formula in transcripts of the JLEC: I don't know</i>	286
4.3. <i>Syntactic properties of I don't know</i>	288
4.4. <i>Data extraction</i>	289
5. Results and discussion	289
5.1. <i>Rise of L2 competence across the three proficiency levels</i>	289
5.2. <i>Sample learner productions of I don't know</i>	290
5.2.1. Proficiency Level 2: A production 'shortcut'	292
5.2.2. Proficiency Level 5: External modification	294
5.2.3. Proficiency Level 8: Internal modification	296
6. Wider implications for the role of formulas in the SLA process	297
7. Conclusion	297
References	298

A balanced corpus of written language as a basis for compiling a phraseological optimum

Marie Kopřivová	301
1. Introduction	301
2. Corpus features and Czech data	303
3. Corpus of written Czech based on current data	304
4. Phraseme annotation in the written corpus	305

5. Conclusion	307
References	308
Analysis and comparison of Irish corpora annotated with multiword expressions	
Abigail Walsh, Teresa Lynn, Jennifer Foster	311
1. Introduction	311
2. Description of Corpora	312
2.1. <i>PARSEME corpus for Irish</i>	312
2.2. <i>Automatic tagging of a parallel Irish-English corpus for MWE-aware MT</i>	313
2.3. <i>Manual annotation of MWE test corpus</i>	314
3. Analysis and Discussion	315
3.1. <i>Analysis of MWEs annotated in each corpus</i>	315
3.2. <i>Quality estimation of automatic tagging</i>	317
3.3. <i>Implications for annotation of MWEs in Irish</i>	319
4. Conclusions	320
Acknowledgements	320
References	320
Une ressource phraséologique et son accès en chinois pour l'aide à la rédaction académique	
Jingrao Li, Rui Yan, Agnès Tutin	323
1. Introduction	323
2. Ressources phraséologiques académiques intégrant la traduction	324
2.1. <i>Dictionnaire LEAD (Louvain English for Academic Purposes Dictionary)</i>	324
2.2. <i>Ressource LexiTrans (Lexique Scientifique Transdisciplinaire)</i>	325
2.3. <i>Ressource du LST au laboratoire LIDILEM</i>	326
2.4. <i>L'intégration de la traduction dans la ressource LST et l'élaboration d'un dictionnaire « bilingualisé »</i>	327
3. Méthodologie de la traduction	328
3.1. <i>Étapes du travail de traduction</i>	329
3.1.1. Repérage des équivalences entre les deux langues et validation de la traduction	329
3.1.2. Mise en place des exemples de traduction et des commentaires didactiques	329
3.2. <i>Illustration de l'accès aux mots simples, aux locutions et aux collocations par la traduction</i>	331

4. Les différences du LST en français et en chinois et quelques réflexions didactiques	332
4.1. <i>Les variations syntaxiques des mots français</i>	332
4.2. <i>Les notions scientifiques complexes</i>	333
4.3. <i>Les routines discursives</i>	333
5. Conclusion	334
Références	334

De l'exploitation lexicographique des outils d'analyse de corpus pour les *chengyu* du chinois mandarin

Manon Hayette, Kevin Henry	337
Introduction	337
1. 1. Définition des <i>chengyu</i>	338
2. De l'usage des dictionnaires pour la traduction des <i>chengyu</i>	339
2.1. <i>Pertinence de l'étude</i>	339
2.2. <i>Des lacunes des dictionnaires</i>	339
2.3. <i>Illustration</i>	340
3. Étude expérimentale	343
3.1. <i>Composition des corpus</i>	344
3.2. <i>Analyse descriptive et résultats</i>	344
4. Conclusion	347
Bibliographie	347

SECTION 5. PHRASEOLOGY AND CONSTRUCTIONS

Le temps figuratif dans le lexique et la phraséologie des langues romanes

Antonio Pamies-Bertrán	353
Introduction	353
1. Le temps nous appartient	355
2. Nous appartenons au temps	357
3. Le temps est un créateur	358
4. Le temps est un transformateur	359
5. le temps est un décideur	361

6. Le temps est un destructeur	362
7. Le temps est un déplacement	363
7.1. <i>Le temps se déplace (horizontalement)</i>	363
7.2. <i>Le temps est un chemin à parcourir</i>	366
7.3. <i>Le temps est un déplacement en miroir</i>	372
7.4. <i>Le temps est un déplacement vertical</i>	373
7.5. <i>Le temps est un déplacement circulaire</i>	375
8. Implications taxonomiques	377
9. Conclusions	380
Références	381
Dictionnaires et corpus	385
German light verb constructions with non-eventive nouns	
Jens Fleischhauer	387
1. Introduction	387
2. Eventive nouns	388
3. Corpus study on <i>stehen unter</i> -LVCs	390
4. <i>Unter jemandes Fittichen stehen</i> – Metaphorically interpreted nominal elements	393
5. <i>unter Alkohol stehen</i> – Inferred events	395
6. Conclusion	396
References	396
Intensifying constructions in Italian	
<i>Types, function and representation</i>	
Valentina Piunno	399
1. Introduction	399
2. Partially filled constructional intensifiers	400
3. Method of analysis	401
4. Types of partially filled constructional intensifiers	402
5. Conclusions	406
References	407

Multiword expressions of Manner in Italian containing indefinite quantifiers

Evidence from investigations on corpora

Gina Russo	409
1. Introduction and theoretical framework	409
1.1. <i>Constructions and polirematiche</i>	409
1.2. <i>Manner and indefinites</i>	411
2. Research questions	411
3. Methodology	412
4. Results (Manner MWEI extracted)	415
4.1. <i>Quantitative results</i>	415
4.2. <i>Manner MWEIs' morphosyntactic and semantic features</i>	415
5. Discussion	417
6. Conclusion	418
References	419

Postponing construction: recurrence, specification and productivity

Anna Chiara Pagliaro	421
1. Introduction	421
2. Background	422
2.1. <i>Politeness formulas: form, function and pragmatic aspects</i>	422
2.2. <i>Politeness formulas in Construction Grammar</i>	423
3. Materials and method	425
4. Results	427
4.1. <i>In-depth study of Case studies 1 and 2</i>	430
4.1.1. Case study 1	430
4.1.2. Case study 2	432
5. Conclusion	433
References	433

**Phrasemes and/or constructions? Periphrastic verbal expressions
in Spanish, Italian and French revisited**

Birgit Füreder	437
1. A word on multi-word expressions	437
2. The case of verbal periphrases in Romance	439
3. A sample analysis	440
4. Suggesting a model	442
5. Conclusion and outlook	444
References	444

Phraseology, the study of idiomatic expressions and constructions in the broadest sense, never ceases to fascinate linguists, learners, and language lovers. Practicing a native or foreign language at high proficiency level requires a complex understanding of all its figurative and idiomatic meanings. Behind these meanings lie many cultural references, inherited from the history of nations and their traditions. Finally, translation, even in the age of artificial intelligence, comes up against the obstacle of idiomaticity, which is often difficult to render in a target language. This book contains selected contributions presented at the EuroPhras 2021 international conference (Louvain-la-Neuve, September 6-9, 2021). They cover a wide range of scientific disciplines related to idiomaticity: in particular, the study of proverbs (paremiology), cultural and contrastive studies, translation studies, corpus-based studies, and automated methods.

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