



# CONTRASTIVE PHRASEOLOGY

*LANGUAGES AND CULTURES IN COMPARISON*

Edited by

**Paola Cotta Ramusino** and **Fabio Mollica**



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## FOREWORD

The idea behind this volume was to gather into a single publication the papers presented at the congress “**Contrastive Phraseology: Languages and Cultures in Comparison**”, held in Milan from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> of November 2016. To these have been added other relevant articles. We would like to thank all the colleagues who participated in the congress, and all of those who contributed subsequently. We are also indebted to our students, without whose support this congress would not have been possible. Last but not least, we would like to thank Claire Archibald for her precious help in proof-reading the articles in English.

We dedicate this volume to the memory of the late *Elisabeth Piirainen*, our plenary speaker and highly respected colleague, whom we had the great honor to meet at the congress.





# CHAPTER ONE

## CONTRASTIVE PHRASEOLOGY: PRELIMINARY REMARKS

PAOLA COTTA RAMUSINO / FABIO MOLLIKA

Phraseology has come to occupy an ever more central role in linguistic studies. It has embraced numerous, often interacting, theoretical approaches and has generated practical applications in areas from language teaching to translation and the production of ever more accurate lexicographic tools.

Among the currents of research that have arisen within phraseology, that of contrastive, or comparative, phraseology has seen intense development since the 1960s, although a historical-comparative tradition involving examination of the evolution and etymology of mainly proverbs and sayings, dates back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Dobrovol'skij 2011a, 219). Fifty years on, comparative phraseology can rightly be considered one of the mainstays of phraseology, a rich source of inspiration for research that in turn opens new perspectives for further investigation (Colson 2008). It is not within the scope of this introduction to describe all the approaches and aspects of phraseology that have emerged over time, or to refer to the whole of the immense body of literature that has been produced: our objective is simply to give a brief outline of those areas of research represented by the papers published in this volume.

According to Dobrovol'skij / Piirainen (2005) and Korhonen (2007), 'contrastive' has at least two main meanings, to which can be added a third. In the first, broader sense, 'contrastive' and 'cross-linguistic' can be considered synonymous, and any comparison of phraseological units in different languages can be considered to be contrastive phraseology (Colson 2008, 194; Dobrovol'skij 2011a, 219). In a more restricted sense, 'contrastive' implies a systematic comparison of the phraseologies of different languages (Colson 2008, 194). Thirdly, as Colson notes, phraseology

is contrastive only when it takes into consideration the differences between languages.

The contrastive approach is so stimulating because from the concrete analysis of phraseological units in different languages, there emerge simultaneously theoretical and practical issues (Colson 2008, 192). Comparisons are concerned with the relationship between the semantic and the syntactic levels of meaning; between the cognitive level—especially metaphor and metonymy—and the syntactic level; and with the manifestation of this relationship in concrete phraseological units. Finally, it is also concerned with phrasemes as carriers of culture, which oblige research to give attention to cultural phenomena (Pirainen 2008).

In terms of methodology, contrastive analysis has benefitted from corpus linguistics, which, as in many other areas, has transformed research. Access to large corpora of texts in different languages has been decisive in clarifying the nature of phraseological units and in giving them the relevance they deserve (see, for example, Bubenhofer 2009; Cowie 1998; Sinclair 1991; Steyer 2013). In the light of these large quantities of authentic samples, idiomatic expressions—until then one of the main focuses of phraseological research—were seen to make up an almost irrelevant proportion of language, whereas far more frequently occurring word combinations with varying degrees of semantic and syntactic fixedness, like collocations, have acquired central importance in phraseographic as well as in phraseological studies. This is also due to the practical importance of the results of comparative studies in translation and foreign language teaching.

More abstract phraseological units, like *constructional phrasemes* or *syntactic phrasemes* (see Croft / Cruse 2004, 234; Dobrovolskij 2011b, 114; Fillmore / Kay / O'Connor 1988, 505-506; Fleischer 1997, 30; Mellado Blanco 2015; Schafroth 2015, Ziem 2018a, 2018b), still largely uninvestigated in interlinguistic phraseological research, can be considered the embodiment of conceptual structures that are at the heart of the differences and similarities between languages. Long neglected in phraseological studies because they were considered to be an expression of the overlap between lexis and syntax, constructional phrasemes have been rediscovered and reevaluated because of their frequency in language. These partially lexically specified phraseological units are what have attracted the attention of phraseologists in recent years, thanks also to the growing impact of studies in the area of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Fillmore / Kay / O'Connor 1988).

Probably the largest contribution to contrastive studies in the last few decades has come from the cognitive approach, which has also recast the

cultural aspect of phraseological units. That culture played an important role in phraseology has never been in doubt: definitions like *culture-specific*, *culture-based*, and *culturally-marked* have always been widely used in studies. Although intuitively obvious, however, the concept of culture has a range of different acceptions (Piirainen 2008, 209). As Sabban (2007, 2008) suggested, it would be better to speak of cultural boundness (Bragina 1996, 199; Glaser 1999, 156) than of culture specificity. In the case of referential phrasemes, the investigation of cultural boundness involves “establishing explicit links between the phraseme’s literal level, [...] and culturally relevant aspects” (Sabban 2007, 592). In terms of the cultural aspect of phrasemes, Piirainen’s (2012) and (2016) studies on widespread idioms in 74 European and 17 non-European languages, which deal with interlinguistic convergences, could have an important influence on foreign language teaching and on phraseography.

One new theoretical framework based on the cognitive approach is Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen’s (2005) Conventional Figurative Language Theory (CFLT). Anchoring them culturally, this theory applies the key concepts of cognitive metaphor—source domain and target domain—to the analysis of idiomatic language from a large number of languages. It shows the relevance of the image component to the meaning of figurative units, and discusses whether it is possible to establish regular correspondences between the literal, image-based readings of figurative units and their conventional meanings. Within this perspective, comparison between figurative units in different languages may lead to the simultaneous identification of what is universal and what is specific to each culture, based on the understanding of the processes ruled by general principles of human cognition. The image component also accounts for some of the restrictions to the use of figurative units, and by extension, to the problems that arise when translating figurative units from one language to another, or to the pragmatic and semantic differences between quasi-equivalent figurative units (Dobrovol’skij / Piirainen 2005, 5). One example of a figurative unit with an image component is the English idiom (*to be caught*) *between a rock and a hard place* (Dobrovol’skij / Piirainen 2005, 15), explained as ‘to be in a very difficult position’. According to Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen, in this case the key elements of the image—*rock and hard place* (the source domain or concept)—are the realization of the conceptual metaphor DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO MOTION: it is this underlying conceptual structure, reflecting the mental idea of ‘lacking freedom of movement’, that accounts for the differences in usage. This

example shows a cognitive relationship that is not culturally marked but that can be defined as universal instead.

Because it categorizes the cultural knowledge structures that underlie them, CFLT allows the establishment of regular relationships between the literal level of figurative phraseological units and their conventional, lexicalized meaning. Dobrovolskij and Piirainen have proposed a 5-category typology of the main cultural phenomena they believe underlie phrasemes: a) textual dependence; b) pre-scientific conceptions of the world; c) cultural symbols; d) aspects of material culture; and e) aspects of culture-based social interaction (Piirainen 2008, 210). Categories d) and e) enable recognition of the culture of provenance of the referential material, from aspects of daily life, to social roles, to institutions, to other traditions and so on (Sabban 2007, 593). In them, the image component is motivated by direct experience of some phenomenon or aspect of daily life, and its perceived meaning relies on metonymic and metaphoric processes. Sabban (2007, 593) offers as an example a phraseme from the Westmunsterlandic dialect *he is in 'n Diiüstern wossen*—(lit. he has grown (up) in the dark—that is, ‘he is not very bright’, studied by Piirainen (1998, 683), according to whom this phraseme reflects the human experience that a tree does not grow in the dark.

As Sabban observes, in cases like these, the term culture-boundness can be taken in a broad sense to mean human experience as perceived in a certain way in a specific context. From a cognitive point of view, the very fact that the same portion of reality is frequently selected both demonstrates its importance in human experience and reiterates the specific vision of the world it reflects. While idioms make up the lion’s share of image-based figurative language, other types of phraseological units such as similes, collocations, and proverbs too, likewise contain figurative elements with cultural implications. Take, for example, the simile in *it. fumare come un turco* (lit. smoke like a Turk) ‘smoke like a chimney’ (Mollica / Schaefroth 2018), which draws from aspects of culture-based social interaction (the excessive use, from the Italian point of view, of tobacco by the Turks), whilst others, like *to eat like a wolf*, found in several languages, is probably motivated by cultural symbolism rather than by direct observation of the phenomenon (Piirainen 2008, 214). Some types of collocations, and obviously many proverbs, also reveal a connection with other cultural texts and with types of social interaction.

But the types of phraseological units mentioned so far, those with an image component that reveals a cultural aspect, by no means account for the entire range of structures embraced by phraseology. Indeed, “comparison between languages reveals that phraseology turns out to be a

major aspect of all languages” (Colson 2008, 197). The co-occurrence of linguistic elements has become one of the main foci in the comparison between languages, both in the process of translation and in foreign language acquisition. Access to corpora has made a critical difference, on the one hand, confirming the frequency of certain co-occurrences within single languages, and on the other favouring inter-linguistic comparison of how fixed expressions are distributed in different languages, on their degree of equivalency, and lastly on the different types of equivalence (Colson 2008, 197–199).

The translation-phraseology relationship is bidirectional: while translation highlights phraseological discrepancies—especially in the case of collocations, which are less easily distinguishable, as opposed to more easily detectable idiomatic expressions—it must also develop strategies to fill the gaps in the transition from one language to the other. Despite the obvious need for research, work in the field of phraseology and translation is still at an early stage (Colson 2008, 200). This volume contains several contributions to this area, which is characterized by complexity and interdisciplinarity. Possibly one of the most perspicuous of the recent classifications is that of Dobrovol’skij (2011a, 2014), which traces the entire, heterogenous field of interlinguistic correspondences to four fundamental types, i.e. total equivalents, partial equivalents, phraseological analogues and phraseological units without equivalents.

One linguistic phenomenon that has implications both for foreign language didactics and for translation is that of the so-called “phraseological false friends” (see Dobrovol’skij / Piirainen, 2005, 2009; Siegrist 1998). These are mostly idiomatic expressions and collocations that are false friends at a semantic and/or structural level (Siegrist 1998). An example of semantic false friends, the most-studied of these types of interference error (see Dobrovol’skij / Piirainen 2004, 2005; Guławska-Gawkowska 2013; Piirainen 1999; Szpila 2006), is the pair *it. non avere peli sulla lingua* (lit. not to have hairs on one’s tongue) ‘to be outspoken’/ ‘to make no bones about saying something’ and *ger. Haare auf den Zähnen haben* (lit. have hairs on one’s teeth) ‘to be overbearing/a bully’. The difference in meaning, in contrast with the resemblance between the images, is due to the different types of motivation that underlie the two phraseological units: metaphorical in Italian, symbolic in German, see Mollica / Wilke (2019). Still, lexical (*it. fare di una mosca un elefante*—eng. *to make a mountain out of a molehill*—ted. *aus einer Mücke einen Elefanten machen* (lit. to make an *elephant* out of a *mosquito*) and syntactic asymmetry (*it. far girare la testa a qcn.* and *ger. jdm den Kopf verdrehen*, lit. make someone’s head turn ‘make someone fall in love’),

i.e. to do with the formal aspects of phraseological units, can lead the learner and even the translator to make lexical and/or morphosyntactic errors (see Mollica / Wilke 2019).

It is now widely recognized in the field of L2 acquisition that naturalness in the use of language is due above all to the competent use of phraseological units (Granger 1998; Hasselgren 2002). Of the various types of phraseological units, collocations and—amongst these—light verbs, are especially insidious: from a comparative point of view, they show a wide range of variety and risk going unnoticed; and if they have not been noted, are very likely to result in interference errors (Altenberg / Granger 2001; Nesselhauf 2005; Cotta Ramusino / Mollica 2019). We present some examples of typical interference errors from comparisons between Italian and other languages: eng. *\*to make a photo* from the it. *fare una foto*, instead of eng. *to take a photo*; rus. *\*delat' èkzamen* from the it. *fare l'esame*, instead of *sdavat' èkzamen* (lit. dare l'esame); sp. *\*hacer parte* from the it. *fare parte*, instead of *formar parte* (lit. formare parte); and ger. *\*eine Frage machen* from the it. *fare una domanda*, instead of *eine Frage stellen* (lit. mettere (= porre) una domanda). While it is well-known that greater difficulty is encountered in L2 production, than in the passive competences, in the comprehension of L2 texts, context may still not always be enough to clarify the meaning of a phraseological unit.

Collocational competence is an issue not only in the learning of typologically distant languages, but also—and maybe more so—in typologically similar languages like Spanish/Italian (Bini / Pernas / Pernas 2007), whose L2 learners take a long time to integrate collocations into their interlanguage. Briefly put, collocational competence creates difficulty in the passage from L1 to L2 for the following main reasons: a collocation in L1 may have a non-collocational equivalent in L2 (frequent especially, but not only, with light verbs); the L1 collocation may have an L2 collocational equivalent that does not resemble it; the L2 collocation may not correspond to a collocation in L1; and there are apparent equivalents, but these actually have different meanings (false friends) (Cotta Ramusino / Mollica 2019).

The phraseology of languages constitutes an extremely complex, continually evolving system that is consequently difficult to commit to lexicographical description. Nevertheless, in recent years, concerted efforts have been made to improve mono- and bilingual dictionary entries of phraseological units, in terms of both quantity and quality. The following are the most crucial issues in the treatment of phraseological units: what lemma they should be recorded under; how they should be recorded; their position within the dictionary entry; and how to paraphrase

them and what stylistic value to attribute to them. Bilingual dictionaries are also burdened with the problem of finding a functional equivalent with the same meaning, which may nevertheless have a different formal structure. Mono- and bilingual phraseological dictionaries, i.e. those specialized in phraseological units, are very helpful both to native speakers and to L2 learners, with collocational dictionaries being particularly helpful to learners.

Authentic data drawn from corpora now form the basis for lexicographical description, influencing both the choice of items—those effectively having the highest frequency—and their description. Indeed, it is only by means of automated access to vast corpora of data that the most relevant phraseological units can be selected and described accurately in accordance with the objectives of the dictionary, without neglecting the requirements and expectations of those who will use the dictionary.

The contributions to this volume, written in several languages—English, French, Italian, Russian, Spanish and German—bring a variety of perspectives to the issues presented here. The theme that unifies them is that of contrastive analysis, with sometimes very different languages being compared, from the more widely-spoken—English, French, Spanish and German—to the less diffused—Thai, Latvian, Greek and Georgian.

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**PART 1**

**PHRASEOLOGY AND CULTURE**



## CHAPTER TWO

# WIDESPREAD IDIOMS AND WIDESPREAD IDIOMATIC PATTERNS: RESULTS FOR PHRASEOLOGY AND RELATED DISCIPLINES

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### Abstract

The starting point for this article is widespread figurative units, in other words linguistic signs which exist in a variety of languages with a very similar formal structure and with an almost equal meaning, and that at the same time have the feature of figurativity (semantic irregularity). The aim of my paper is to present this outstanding group of linguistic elements, to identify the possible causes of their widespread dissemination, and to discuss some theoretical and practical results. The data are drawn from extensive surveys carried out in collaboration with competent native speakers of various languages in the context of two large-scale research projects.

### 1 Categories of widespread figurative elements

Widespread figurative elements manifest themselves in quite different ways. The following is an attempt to map them to three basic categories, although there are overlaps. Categories 1 and 2 consist of *idioms* in the sense meant in European phraseology research. By definition, idioms, have the characteristic of figurativity (they are semantically ambiguous, having a literal, and a secondary, figurative meaning). As recent work has shown, *widespread idioms* (i.e. category 1) exist in large numbers.

However, certain lexically unspecified *syntactic patterns* can be spread across a number of languages in the same way. Here, the syntactic pattern itself contributes to the non-literal meaning. Realizations of the same pattern with different lexical fillers can thus lead to the same or a similar semantic result.

A subset of common construction patterns (category 2) has long been known to researchers. These are idioms (as well as proverbs, which will be neglected here), which share a similar syntactic structure and figurative core meaning, but differ lexically. This group was a popular subject of ethnographic and semiotic proverb research, both in terms of multilingual comparisons and in terms of formalizations of the syntactic-semantic structure on a more abstract level. From the earliest ages onwards, paremiology usually made no distinction between proverbs and proverbial sayings. Thus, the “proverbial sayings” of this group are *de facto* “idioms” in a more modern linguistic terminology. I suggest the term *widespread idiomatic patterns* for this category.

Another subgroup of widespread patterns is best understood and described by Construction Grammar (CxG). This subgroup embraces constructions which are lexically unspecified but at the same time can be treated as units of the lexicon. A particularly relevant class from the point of view of CxG is the so-called *phaseme constructions*, which are rather neglected in traditional phraseology research. I restrict myself to this subgroup (category 3).<sup>1</sup> Phraseme constructions are syntactic structures which have a lexical meaning as a whole. Only certain positions in their lexical structure are filled. Other positions represent slots that must be satisfied. The lexical filling is not entirely free but subject to semantic restrictions.

So far there has been little preliminary work on which to base a multilingual approach to phraseme constructions. Construction Grammar is usually the subject of study of a single language, more rarely of comparative studies of two or three languages. Exceptions are Van Pottelberge’s study on the “*am*-progressive” in several West Germanic languages and Bücken’s (2012), in which he examines “non-finite predication constructions” in German and adds a chapter on parallels in 12 other European languages<sup>2</sup>. Patterns of the same or very similar formal

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<sup>1</sup> Various terms have been used to describe these phenomena, including those in the English-speaking world: *lexically open idioms* (Fillmore et al. 1988), *syntactic idioms* (Nunberg et al. 1994), *constructional idioms* (Booij 2002), *schematic idioms* (Croft / Cruse 2004, 248), etc. See also Dobrovolskij 2011b.

<sup>2</sup> The book title *Construction Grammar in a Cross-Language Perspective* (Fried / Östman 2004) seems to be misleading, as Hilpert (2007, 484) explains in his

structure and meaning can even occur in a larger number of languages, as evidenced by the initial investigations reported here. As far as I know, this finding is a novelty in phraseology and Construction Grammar research.

In the following, the three categories of “widespread figurative elements” are illustrated by means of examples. The difference between category 1 and 2 becomes visible through a multilingual approach. Category 1 consists of idioms present in many languages, which are largely the same in the three areas: syntactic structure, lexical structure and figurative meaning, see (1).

- (1) English *to swim against the current/stream*, Faroese *svimja moti streyminum*, North Frisian *töögen di Stroom swum*, Yiddish *shvimen kegn shtrom*, Welsh *nofio yn erbyn y llif*, Catalan *nedar contra la corrent*, Romanian *a înnota împotriva curentului*, Ukrainian *пливти проти течії*, Upper Sorbian *přećiwo prudej pluwać*, Serbian *пливати против струје*, Karelian *uija vaste virdoa*, Komi-Zyrian *ва паныд катны*, Tatar *агымга каршы йозу*, Azerbaijani *axına qarşı üzmək*, etc.

Example (1) from *category 1* presents only a small selection of our data. It can be seen that correspondences exist in standard languages and lesser-used languages throughout Europe. The literal reading of all idioms is ‘to swim against the stream’; the figurative meaning can be approximated by ‘to go against prevailing opinion or thought, to do or say something that is in opposition to what most other people are doing or saying at the time’. In the tradition of cross-linguistic phraseology, an idiom pair such as German *gegen den Strom schwimmen* and the English item above would have been called “full equivalents”.

*Category 2, widespread idiomatic patterns*, includes idioms which share only two features: a similar syntactic structure and the figurative core meaning; they are lexically different. Often, they are two-tier idioms of the type [OUT (OF) X IN/INTO Y], e.g. *out of the frying pan into the fire*, German *vom Regen in die Traufe* ‘from the rain to the eaves’, Irish *amach as na muineacha is isteach sna driseacha* ‘out of the scrub into the brambles’. X and Y are filled differently but are in the same semantic relation to each other (‘bad’ vs. ‘even worse’) within the same concept (FIRE, WATER, THORNS), which leads to the same semantic result ‘from a bad situation into an even worse one’.

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review, since “[t]he title suggests a comparative, typological approach which is never realized, as each study deals with just one individual language”. However, there are some multilingual approaches in the area of language contacts, of influence of a foreign language on constructions and borrowability of a construction; see Höder (2012); Doğruöz (2016) among others.



A prime example are idioms such as *to carry owls to Athens, to bring wood into the forest, to carry water into the sea* (example (2)) which, in addition to a similar syntactic structure [CARRY X TO Y], have a similar figurative meaning ‘X being something which exists abundantly in Y’.

- (2) French *porter de l’eau à la rivière*, Slovene *vodo v morje nositi* ‘to carry water into the sea’, Hungarian *a Dunába vizet hord* ‘sb. carries water into the Danube’, Finnish *kantaa vettä kaivoon* ‘to carry water into the well’; Polish *nosić drzewo do lasu* ‘to carry firewood to the forest’, Kashubian *wòzëc drzewò do lasa* ‘to take the wood into the forest’, Estonian *puid metsa kandma* ‘to carry wood into the forest’; West Frisian *turf yn it fean bringe* ‘to bring peat to the bog’; Norwegian *gi bakerens barn brød* ‘to give bread to the baker’s child’; Spanish *vender miel al colmenero* ‘to sell honey to the beekeeper’, etc.

Idiom pairs of this category have also been classified as “equivalents”; however, this is not correct since the different images evoked by the lexical structure prevent a real equivalence. An example is the pair *to carry coals to Newcastle* and German *Eulen nach Athen tragen*. They reveal subtle semantic differences, which can be described as either ‘to bring certain objects or pieces of information to a place where there are already many of that kind’ or ‘to present certain mental entities as being new when they are already well-known at a given place’.<sup>3</sup>

Let us look at example (3) to illustrate widespread phraseme constructions (category 3). Correspondences of the English construction *the simplest/best/most natural/most normal/... thing in the world* are reported for 20 European languages so far, among them Finno-Ugric languages, Turkish and Basque. We shall restrict ourselves to examples meaning literally ‘the simplest/easiest thing in/of the world’.

- (3) German *die einfachste Sache der Welt*, Swedish *världens lättaste sak*, French *la chose la plus facile du monde*, Italian *la cosa più semplice del mondo*, Spanish *la cosa más fácil del mundo*, Latvian *visvienkāršākā lieta pasaulē*, Belorussian *самая простая рэч на свеце*, Polish *najprostsza rzecz na świecie*, Czech *ta nejjednodušší věc na světě*, Croatian *najlakša stvar na svijetu*, Macedonian *najjednostavnata работа на светот*, Albanian *gjë e lehtë/thjeshtë në botë*, Greek *φιν πῦν βρῦλ ρεβγδ εϋφνι κϋμν*, Hungarian *a legegyszerűbb dolog a világon*, Finnish *maailman helpoin asia*, Estonian *lihtsaim asi maailmas*, Turkish *dünyanın en basit şeyi*, Basque *munduko gauzarik errazena*, etc.

Idioms of all languages have the superlative of an adjective (or: THE MOST + adjective) as an open slot, while the lexical-syntactic template

<sup>3</sup> See Dobrovolskij / Piirainen 2005, 233f.

correlates with the intensification of the meaning of the adjective, ‘very, particularly’. For example: *to drive a car is the easiest thing in the world* meaning ‘to drive a car is very easy’, Italian *superare l’esame di tedesco non è la cosa più semplice del mondo* ‘to pass the German exam is not very easy’, Spanish *la preparación de un plato sabroso es la cosa más sencilla del mundo* ‘preparing a tasty dish is very simple’. Due to the typology of the languages in question, the formalization of the pattern [THE adj<sup>superlative</sup> THING IN THE WORLD] (as for English) may result in different sub-formalizations such as [THE WORLD’S adj<sup>superlative</sup> THING] (Swedish, Finnish), [THE THING THE MOST adj OF THE WORLD] (French), [THE MOST adj OF THE WORLD] (Spanish), and so on. The question whether these “similar” constructions can be subsumed under one generalizing model concerns the degree of abstractness in the formalization.

## 2 Historical excursus

Some of the topics addressed in this article have a long tradition. Interlinguistic similarities in the area of figurative expressions have attracted the attention of researchers and, above all, proverb compilers, for a long time. Multilingual proverb collections and proverb dictionaries have enjoyed great popularity in Europe since the time of Humanism and Reformation. Let us recall Hieronymus Megiserus’ *Paroemiologia Polyglottos*, in which he unveiled similarities in the figurative lexicons of a variety of classical and modern languages. His first edition from 1592 was expanded to become a collection of proverbs and proverbial sayings in more than 13 languages (final edition 1605). Various other scholars have presented extensive polyglot collections of proverbial units up to the modern age.

Erasmus of Rotterdam should be mentioned in another and wider context since he was one of the first to recognize the existence of a pattern underlying several figurative units. The first edition of his *Adagia* (1500) swelled to 4,151 monographs on proverbs and proverbial sayings in his famous *Adagiorum Chiliades* (1536) which is still a standard work for cultural studies on phrasemes. Erasmus listed “idiomatic patterns” in the sense of our category 2 above, i.e. syntactically consistent but lexically different “sayings” (*idioms* in contemporary linguistics) which convey the same abstract “proverb idea” (i.e. the same figurative meaning)<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> See, for example, his *adagia* (1 v 10–13) “as like as one egg to another / as milk to milk / as water to water / as bees to bees” all meaning ‘(of two persons) to resemble each other very much’ or (1 iii 80) “when I am dead the earth can burn

Modern proverb research has continued this line. Multilingual approaches have now been accompanied by structural proverb research; and efforts have been made to formalize the syntactic and logical deep semantic structures of proverbs. An early attempt is signalled in Milner's (1969) claim "that far too much attention has been given, in the past, to the meaning of proverbs, and far too little to their formal structure" and—including little-known and exotic languages—in his observation about Igbo "that in its most typical form a traditional saying is a quadripartite structure divided into two halves, each consisting of two quarters" (Milner 1969, 380f.). The structural approach to proverb studies was then implemented consistently, see Matti Kuusi's (1972) *International Type-system of Proverbs*. Let us also refer to Alan Dundes' study *On the Structure of the Proverb* (1975). His attempts to deduce "formulaic patterns" (A = B; Where there is an A ...) and semantic oppositions (few-many; always-never, little-great, etc.) from proverbs of different languages clearly show similarities with our above-mentioned categories 2 and 3.

These ideas were introduced much earlier by the Russian scholar Grigory Permyakov [Григорий Пермяков], although they were received by the Western world only later. His work *Grammar of Proverb Wisdom* (1979a), provides a logical-semiotic classification of proverbs; see also Grzybek (2004). Permyakov's logical modeling of the relation between two things, for example, can be applied to various idioms of the structures [Y out of X], [from X to Y], such as (*to make*) *a mountain out of a molehill*, German *aus einer Mücke einen Elefanten (machen)* which are common to many languages with various lexical fillings. According to Permyakov (1979b, 297), the relation can be logically modeled on a deep-semantic level [X←Y], [X→Y] (Y being something big or strong and X being something small or weak)—within the same semantic field (HILL, ANIMAL, etc.). From this perspective, the work of Permyakov and other scholars may be regarded as the simpler precursors of the form-meaning pairing carried out by Construction Grammar researchers.

To sum up, paremiologists have long been aware of the wide diffusion of figurative units across many languages and their formulaic character which can be modeled. Proverb studies were carried out on a European, if not worldwide, scale from the beginning, and included languages of non-European continents. Thus, paremiology is familiar with terms like *world*

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up" / "even if earth mixes with sea" meaning 'I don't worry about the future; it doesn't matter what happens when I have gone' (Erasmus of Rotterdam 1982–2006, vol. 1, 39f. and 299).

*history of a saying* (Kuusi 1957) or *common European proverb* (see Mieder 2004, among others). This is in contrast to the European idiom research of the last decades which has tended to focus on cross-linguistic, usually bilingual or trilingual studies alone and has not looked at the linguistic situation as a whole. Next to nothing is presently known about the actual similarities that exist between idioms in the European languages. There is no tradition of Europe-wide idiom research that can compare to the prosperous international cooperation in the field of proverb research; a gap that was not even recognized until recently.<sup>5</sup>

There have been observations on the part of the numerous phraseology researchers who have discovered that there are many equivalent idioms in two or more languages, even in genetically unrelated languages. Often researchers have meticulously described the subtle cross-linguistic differences and created classifications detailing various degrees of equivalence (for an overview see Korhonen 2007). As valuable as such results may be for many practical purposes, they have not significantly contributed to our overall understanding of the common figurative language in Europe. Neither the numerous studies on idioms of various individual languages nor the equally comprehensive work on contrastive comparisons of the idioms of two or more languages have so far been able to change this situation. They have not been able to name the actual idioms that have equivalents in many European languages and thus to determine which idioms can be counted among the core inventory of a lexicon of common figurative units. This leads us to the next section.

### 3 Causes of the wide dissemination of figurative units

The widespread idioms (WIs), i.e. the representatives of the above-mentioned category 1, are idioms which occur in many languages in a very similar lexical and semantic structure. Equivalents of the idioms in example (1) were reported for 56 Indo-European languages as well as for around 10 languages beyond Europe. The total number of WIs is approximately 500. Such are the results of the more than ten-year research project “Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond”, which covered 78 European and several non-European languages. The main objective of the

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<sup>5</sup> An exception is the early and outstanding multilingual work by the Finnish researcher Oiva Johannes Tallgren-Tuulio (1932), which has received too little attention in idiom research. Using material from at least 14 languages, the author discovered that there are many equivalent figurative units in several languages across Europe and beyond.

project is to identify as many widespread figurative units as possible by means of systematic investigation. The results were completely unpredictable.

For category 2 (widespread idiomatic patterns, i.e. idioms with approximately the same structure and meaning but different words, see example (2)) and for category 3 (widespread phraseme constructions), no numerical values are available yet as it is only recently that the “Widespread Idiomatic and Formulaic Constructions” project was launched. This project is methodically linked to the project “Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond”. Once again, the data are collected by interviews with competent native speakers. First of all, pre-tests are used to limit the number of possible widespread structures before sending questionnaires to all collaborators. Particular emphasis is put on the fact that the participants provide suitable contexts for the structural patterns to ensure the equality of the form-meaning pairs of idioms in different languages. The project is currently limited to 30 standard languages. Initial results show that individual lexically unspecified patterns can be common in many languages, see example (3).

The issue of potential causes of the diffusion of figurative linguistic elements across many languages is certainly the most challenging question that these projects raise. As yet, however, only some answers can be given about the distribution of WIs (the representatives of the first category), and those only with due caution. Here follows a brief overview. It should first be noted that the 500 widespread idioms are quite a heterogeneous group and that each idiom has its own individual history. In the literature on phraseology are reported various attempts at explaining cross-linguistic similarities. These group around the following aspects (i) – (v) and partly overlap:

(i) Earlier phraseology research sometimes postulated the same *genetic affiliation* of two or more languages as the cause of interlingual similarities, as if idioms could be attributed to a common “proto-language” of a distant past, in analogy to single words (such as Latin *pater* and English *father*). For the majority of WIs, however, this explanation can be excluded, since the idioms belong to a much younger layer. As becomes obvious, distribution crosses genetic boundaries. As regards causes for the diffusion of constructions and patterns, both genetic and typological relationships must certainly be considered (see below).

(ii) Most cross-linguistic studies agree on one of the explanations for the dissemination of idioms across several languages: the *contact linguistic model* of lexical transfer from one language to another. According to this

model, processes of borrowing take place constantly across language boundaries and especially in situations of bilingualism. A language may adopt a new idiom by using it first as a calque, loan coinage or loan translation, before it becomes conventionalized, i.e. transformed into a unit of the figurative lexicon of the new language. The contact linguistic model can be used to explain the spread of idioms to a certain extent, particularly in view of the intensive cultural contacts between speakers (or to be more precise: the educated people) of the various European languages. It explains restricted regional borrowings, but cannot explain the whole picture of Europe-wide dissemination of idioms.<sup>6</sup> Further analyses within the philology of each language would be needed to answer questions as to how a donor language can be identified and how an idiom can be judged to be a borrowed one.

(iii) Another explanation for the wide dissemination of idioms is the increasing *influence of English*. Actually, this is a subcategory of borrowing and loan translation, in a narrower sense: it is about idioms which have been borrowed into various languages in the context of the so-called globalization. The WI-project included this modern layer of cross-linguistic contacts, i.e. borrowings and translations from recent Anglo-American idioms. However, among the 500 widespread idioms detected so far, only about 30 come from the adaptation of an English idiom into a number of other European languages in the most recent times.

(iv) *Polygenetic origin* is another potential cause of ‘widespreadness’. By polygenesis is meant that similar figurative units have come into being independently in various languages. It is a phenomenon well known to paremiologists who also use the terms *analogous proverbs* and *parallel proverbs*. Common human experiences or general perceptions of the world have been proposed as causes of parallel figurative units. This assumption is a major contender in the study of widespread idioms. It is due to polygenesis based on common experiences and perceptions that even the earliest written texts may, independently of one another, share the same images which later also appear in the idioms of many modern languages. For most of our widespread idioms, however, polygenetic origin alone cannot be assumed to be the cause of their popularity. Most probably no single cause is responsible, rather several reasons must have come together.

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<sup>6</sup> This model seems to apply to the smaller languages. In view of example (1) we can assume that the idiom is acquired from the more dominant languages by the smaller ones, e.g. from Finnish to Karelian, from English to Welsh or from German to Upper Sorbian, etc.

(v) Among the attempts to explain the wide diffusion of idioms, there is yet one further consideration; namely, the independent recourse of various individual languages to one single textual source. As for idioms of biblical origin, there is usually no doubt that most of them go directly back to the Bible and represent one of the many translations into the individual languages—this can often be recognized by the specific wording of the underlying Bible version. Loan translations and borrowings or polygenesis have hardly ever been postulated for biblical idioms. As our documentation of widespread idioms shows, there are many other widespread idioms that also go back to once well-known texts, to stories told by classical authors, fables, folktales and gesticulations, to literary works, and even titles of books and movies. For these widespread idioms, it may be true as well, that they were not primarily borrowed from one language into the other in each individual case. Since they clearly go back to one particular source text, as is the case with biblical idioms, their usage in many languages can best be explained in the same way: the individual languages may have independently derived these idioms from the texts (e.g. from the stories) that were once well known in various language communities. A conclusion may be that it is not only the idioms that spread across many languages, but the texts themselves that were widely distributed so that they both *caused* and *supported* the wide dissemination of the idioms. The same assumption applies to “texts” in a broader sense, to historical events, innovations or other well-known scenarios which serve as source concepts for idioms of different languages.

This explanation for the causes of a wide distribution of idioms—the fact that the source itself was widespread and the languages used it independently of each other—is based on investigations of idioms in their cultural context, which have clarifying the origin of the idioms.

At the same time, this explanation is more closely connected with the specifics of *figurative* lexical units than with non-figurative ones. In contrast to non-figurative units, these are processed on two conceptual levels, and it is precisely their literal reading connected to text knowledge or fragments of world knowledge (ideas, scenarios) that was probably widespread and allowed for independent recourse by individual languages.

This last explanation can therefore only apply to representatives of category 1 (WIs). For idioms of category 2, both polygenetic origin and borrowings of various kinds can be observed, more rarely also a recourse to well-known texts. The situation is quite different with the representatives of category 3. Nothing can be said yet about the reasons why there are very similar phraseme constructions in several languages. As for constructions in general, the statement of Goldberg (1995, 23) also



applies to phraseme constructions: “Finding two constructions in two different languages that are absolutely identical in form, function, and distribution is a rare occurrence outside of cases of shared diachronic history or language contact.”

## 4 Conclusions for theory and practice

From the results of the long-term project “Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond” and the recently launched project “Widespread Idiomatic and Formulaic Constructions”, some conclusions may be drawn for phraseology research and related disciplines. First, let us turn to *Contrastive Phraseology*, where a look at *widespread idioms* might be useful. When comparing an idiom in two or three languages, it will be helpful to ask whether or not we are dealing with a widespread idiom in order to avoid misjudgments. Let me illustrate the problem by means of an example, deputizing for similar cases. I am referring to a trilingual study on English, Russian and Tatar idioms (Ayupova 2008). The author discovers a wide range of similarities between idioms in these three languages. She writes about the idiom *by the sweat of one’s brow*: “When a Russian works very hard his face sweats (*в поте лица*), whereas sweat will be on the Englishman’s brow and the Tatar’s forehead (*мангай тире белэн* – with sweat on the forehead).” The author’s focus is exclusively on these three languages, a fact that seems to block the view of the real connections. What is striking from this trilingual viewpoint are the three different constituents: *face*, *brow* and *forehead*, whereas the cultural background is neglected. However, these three idioms go back to the same well-known passage in Genesis, chapter 3.

The author has an explanation for the differences of the constituents: “Such differences in the componential structure of interlingual phraseological equivalents cannot be due to any other factor than people’s differing mentalities, linguistic images of the world, or the associations speakers of these languages make” (Ayupova 2008, 51). This statement is all wrong. Rather, the three idioms are a good example of an independent recourse to the same textual source outlined in section 3(v). The “differences in the componential structure” clearly refer to the different Bible translations and have nothing to do with a “mentality” or the like. The example shows that contrastive phraseology research needs to distance itself from accidental observations on “similarities” or “differences” between idioms in a few languages while ignoring the rest: this idiom is known in at least 60 European languages.



The point here is not to voice criticism of this one particular article but to illustrate this kind of indifference it exemplifies towards the real cultural, historical and multilingual background of the idioms. This type of error could have been avoided by looking at more languages than these three and at the literature on biblical idioms. Today we know which idioms are widespread (see Piirainen (2012, 2016), and these results can be included in a *modern phraseography* from now on. A reference to the status of a widespread idiom in idiom dictionaries would be sufficient to avoid errors. Therefore, I suggest that a small note—consisting just of the two upper-case letters WI—be used to point to the fact that an idiom is spread across a large number of languages.

The next point I want to discuss is the explanation of the figurative meaning of idioms that are “similar” in two or more languages. This point concerns both bilingual phraseography and idiom teaching. Let me quote the title of an article by Dobrovol’skij (2011a): *Cross-linguistic equivalence of idioms: does it really exist?* The author claims that interlingual “equivalence” hardly ever exists. As corpus analyses have shown, there are often some subtle differences between idioms that seem to be “similar” in two or more languages, be these differences of a semantic, pragmatic, functional or diasystematic nature.

However, basing myself on the results of the research on widespread idioms, I would like to point out that there *are* cases in which similar idioms of two languages really are full equivalents. Such pairs of idioms are found especially among the very widespread idioms. Let me illustrate this with the WI *to be in seventh heaven* which has parallels in about 60 European languages. I maintain that the German idiom *wie im siebten Himmel sein* and the Finnish one *olla kuin seitsemännessä taivaassa* “to be as in seventh heaven”, both meaning something like ‘to be extremely happy because something good has happened to you recently; to be in a state of sheer delight, of supreme happiness or rapture’ do not differ in their figurative meanings and pragmatic properties. The analysis of more than a hundred contexts in the corpora showed that the seventh heaven idioms in the two languages are fully in accord with each other and are not interchangeable with any other expressions.

In terms of phraseography, this means a lot of space can be saved in paper dictionaries. Comments on semantics and paraphrases are unnecessary. This finding may be important for *idiom teaching* as well. While the syntactic structures of the idioms must be practiced, the figurative meaning does not need to be explained or practiced. Knowledge of one’s own mother tongue can be used directly and time can be saved. I know that this claim may be somewhat controversial and needs to be proven in every

single case; but I do not claim that all 60 parallel idioms are equivalent to each other in the same way as the German–Finnish pair of idioms.

My last point is about *Construction Grammar* from a multilingual perspective. As mentioned above, this research direction has so far been almost exclusively the topic of study in one language at a time. As has been shown, not only lexically fully specified figurative lexical units (such as idioms) but also lexically unspecified patterns with a similar semantic-syntactic structure can be spread across many languages. On the one hand, I would like to introduce the term of *widespread idiomatic patterns*. This concerns certain patterns that underlie a number of idioms with the same semantic but a different lexical structure. On the other hand, I would like to introduce the concept of *widespread phraseme constructions* which are hitherto unknown in the realm of theoretical and empirical CxG research. The widespread constructions themselves are characterized by an overall lexical meaning, while the slots are filled differently. A systematic multilingual approach to common phraseme constructions would be desirable. A new field of research opens here which may be useful in didactics, phraseography and other empirical studies as well as in the theory of figurative language and formulaicity.

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## CHAPTER THREE

# COLLOCATIONS IN CONTRAST: A QUESTION OF *FOOD* AND *CIBO*

LAURA PINNAVAIA

Collocations can give insight into how people experience the world. Research on collocational behavior in the last few years has highlighted the evident presence in language of sexism and ethnicity, often triggered by fixed ideas and commonplaces. Stereotypes also exist between peoples of different nationalities and their eating habits, and yet little research seems to have been done in this direction. By examining word sketches of the lemmas *food* and *cibo* retrieved from The Sketch Engine corpus, we will show, among other things, that in Italy *cibo* is a prerogative; in England *food* is a privilege.

### 1 Introduction

Phraseology is a relatively recent discipline. It arose in the 1930s with Harold Palmer's realization that the difficulty in teaching English goes beyond the grammar:

[...] it is not so much the words of English nor the grammar of English that makes English difficult, but that vague and undefined obstacle to progress in the learning of English consists for the most part in the existence of so many odd comings-together-of-words. (Palmer 1933, 13)

It was this observation that led Palmer to start a research project to collect and classify all these *comings-together-of-words*. His findings appeared in 1933 as the "Second Interim Report on English Collocations", in which the term *collocation* was employed for the first time in its linguistic sense to mean "a succession of two or more words that must be learned as an integral whole, and not pieced together from its component parts" (Palmer 1933, i).

As we all know, since then this phraseological phenomenon has been at the centre of extensive linguistic research all over Europe and beyond, with two principal schools of thought developing. For one school, collocations are identifiable by means of the semantic and lexical relations between their components and belong to a taxonomy that distinguishes them from other phrasemes, such as binomials, idioms, and proverbs (see, among others, Benson / Benson / Ilson 1986; Cowie (ed.) 1998; Hausmann 1989; Mel'čuk 1998). For the other, collocations are words that frequently co-occur (see, among others, Halliday 1966; Greenbaum 1970; Sinclair 1991).

While certainly originating from Firth's foresighted observation that collocations are "statements of the habitual or customary places of that word" (Firth 1968, 181), this second definition, based upon the notion of co-occurrence, gained true credibility only with the advent of corpus linguistics:

Now that it has become possible to track thousands of occurrences of words and phrases, in their real settings, linguists have begun to see just how informative a record of use in context can be [...]. (Yallop 2004, 49–50).

And now, even though two schools of thought continue to exist, it appears that the predominating approach in identifying collocations is the statistics-based one because lexical research in the field of phraseology relies heavily on the data yielded by computer-aided analyses.

Third generation corpus tools like Antconc, Wordsmith tools and Xaira can now very quickly and efficiently process texts, identify co-occurring word patterns and list them in order of frequency for applied linguists, translators, and lexicographers to explore further and to evaluate whether they are includable or not in teaching aids, translations and dictionaries. Just "as the telescope is indispensable to the astronomer, so the corpus is indispensable to the linguist" (McEnery / Hardie 2012, 53) for a clear vision of lexical constellations.

A fourth-generation corpus analysis tool, Sketch Engine<sup>1</sup> is a query system that allows users to analyse a wide range of corpora for lexical and lexico-grammatical patterns (McEnery / Hardie 2012, 45). More precisely, it can draw from 173 corpora belonging to 52 different languages. What truly distinguishes Sketch Engine from other tools and gives it its name is its capacity to provide word sketches. That is, on top of generating lists of

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<sup>1</sup> Sketch Engine (founded by the late Adam Kilgarriff) is accessible at <https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/> for a free thirty-day trial followed by a periodic subscription payment.

the key or node word in context as well as in word clusters like other corpus tools, Sketch Engine provides “word sketches” which show the collocational behavior of words within syntactic patterns. Each word sketch “shows which grammatical roles a lemma prefers or avoids and also displays its collocates in dozens of grammatical relations” (Pearce 2008, 5).

Below is a screen shot of what a word sketch looks like. It refers to the word *food* in the enTenTen08 corpus:

object_of	140,557 0.25	subject_of	54,043 0.09	adj_subject_of	17,549 0.03	modifier	182,342 0.32	modifiers	195,701 0.34
eat +	11,879 9.49	label +	531 6.92	delicious +	295 7.59	junk +	2,805 8.75	chain +	5,725 8.80
cook +	2,726 8.69	ration +	204 6.81	scarce +	277 7.56	fast +	3,716 8.48	supply +	6,552 8.33
consume +	1,233 7.45	taste +	262 6.33	plentiful +	172 7.43	processed +	1,932 8.38	stamp +	2,328 8.18
prepare +	3,020 7.28	color +	142 5.57	insecure +	129 7.14	organic +	2,408 8.20	allergy +	2,074 8.18
digest +	722 7.22	taboo	76 5.49	tasty +	124 6.86	healthy +	2,682 7.90	processor +	2,438 8.04
buy +	3,432 7.12	contain +	1,192 5.17	nutritious	52 6.16	GM +	1,511 7.70	intake +	2,226 7.98
wean +	621 7.09	bowel	65 5.03	spicy	53 6.08	pet +	1,267 7.64	poisoning +	1,648 7.89
import +	722 6.75	ok	62 4.78	abundant +	113 6.06	nutritious +	215 7.31	shortage +	1,958 7.80
taste +	579 6.62	nourish	55 4.69	excellent +	445 5.65	delicious +	250 7.18	clothing +	1,937 7.64
modify +	818 6.53	colour	46 4.42	bland	44 5.58	canned +	845 7.18	additive +	1,139 7.46
serve +	2,351 6.51	vend	39 4.42	superb	86 5.56	staple +	805 7.15	production +	4,798 7.44
package +	451 6.50	stall	43 4.32	fantastic +	141 5.52	fresh +	1,469 7.11	aid +	2,898 7.43
grow +	2,610 6.46	tend +	124 4.30	mediocre	41 5.47	favorite +	1,192 7.03	safety +	3,195 7.35
process +	632 6.22	pair	38 4.09	palatable	32 5.43	solid +	1,195 6.88	crop +	1,809 7.33
produce +	2,630 6.22	consist +	192 4.07	rich +	286 5.41	Mexican +	816 6.82	shelter +	1,116 6.97
enjoy +	1,376 6.21	hamper	40 4.05	inedible	24 5.39	fatty +	666 6.79	ingredient +	1,139 6.91
distribute +	821 6.21	supply +	138 4.02	edible	28 5.18	Chinese +	1,229 6.77	item +	3,117 6.85
engineer +	368 6.16	nestle	31 4.01	cheap +	220 5.10	spicy +	622 6.74	store +	2,229 6.82
store +	704 6.12	franchise	28 4.01	expensive +	207 5.07	enough +	2,115 6.74	industry +	4,133 6.78
contaminate +	347 6.12	log	56 3.99	unhealthy	31 5.01	contaminated +	640 6.74	consumption +	1,167 6.69
purchase +	769 6.06	trigger	53 3.94	fresh +	171 4.92	snack +	647 6.64	security +	3,551 6.68
chew +	325 6.03	cost	82 3.85	yummy	20 4.91	fried +	566 6.59	preparation +	1,356 6.67
avoid +	898 6.01	smell	43 3.85	safe +	329 4.88	prepared +	560 6.51	insecurity +	676 6.66
donate +	429 5.98	stuff	36 3.78	fabulous	36 4.72	comfort +	877 6.47	coloring +	624 6.64
supply +	641 5.85	arrive +	164 3.70	wholesome	23 4.70	cat +	967 6.46	ration +	621 6.57

Table 1: An example of a word sketch for *food* in the enTenTen08 corpus

The word sketch contains lists of collocations, ranked by saliency under the syntactic patterns in which the node word is found. Table 1 shows the first five syntactic patterns. Starting from the left, the sketch shows *food* as the direct object of the verb (e.g. *eat food*), followed by that in which it is subject of the verb (e.g. *food labelling*). The third and fourth grids see the node word as subject of the modifying adjective (e.g. *delicious food*) and as the noun being modified by another word (e.g. *junk food*). The fifth grid reports the collocates that are modified by the node word (e.g. *food chain*). What is important is the order of the lists: they are presented from left to right in decreasing order of saliency. This means that the most salient syntactic pattern for *food* is when it is object of the verb. Similarly, the collocates of the node word within each grid are listed in decreasing order of saliency; consequently, *eat food* is the most salient collocation in the first grid. The overall statistical saliency of a collocation is expressed by the progressively decreasing decimal number <10 to the right of the raw figure of occurrence. These decimal numbers are obtained



by calculating the likelihood of *food* occurring in these patterns compared with nouns in the whole corpus (see also Kilgarriff et al. 2004 for information on Sketch Engine). Therefore, the noun *food* is 0.25 times more likely to occur as the object of the verb than nouns in general (see “object of” in grid 1), and it is 9.49 times more likely to occur as the direct object of the verb *eat* than as direct object of any other verb (see “eat” in grid 1). Saliency thus accounts for collocates that are not necessarily frequent combinations overall but that are prominent within a given syntactic-semantic context.

And it is these lexico-grammatical patterns that have now become fundamental data for applied linguists when helping foreign learners of English. For lexicographers, especially, this is essential information given that, next to specialized dictionaries of collocations, general monolingual learner’s dictionaries are now considered to be the best resources for the collocational behavior of words (see Frankenberg-Garcia 2011). While the saliency of collocations is clearly important for the compilation of dictionaries, it can also be a very interesting starting point for work that goes beyond the purely linguistic to embrace social and cultural concerns too. Salient data reflect linguistic choices that are also expressions of people’s ideological positions. In other words:

If people speak or write in an unexpected way, or make one linguistic choice over another, [...], then that reveals something about their intentions, whether conscious or not. (Baker 2006, 48)

Collocations can therefore give insight into how people experience the world. For example, research on collocational behavior in the last few years has highlighted the evident presence of sexism in language (see also Caldas-Coulthard / Moon, 1999; Romaine, 2000). Particularly interesting is Pearce’s (2008) work that draws attention to the different ideologies English speakers have towards men and women via the different collocates of the lemmas *man* and *woman* found in the BNC and with Sketch Engine. Another sensitive issue that has been examined by means of word sketches is ethnicity. By analysing the noun collocates of Muslim and their semantic prosodies in the British Press, Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery (2013) show the existence of a rather negative western opinion of who Muslims are and what they do. While hidden ideologies are unveiled in all these critical discourse analyses and many others not mentioned here, it is important to remember that all social research is to some extent biased (Burr 1995). Since it relies on the interpretation of data, it will necessarily be influenced by the identity of who is researching and by their ideas or stereotypes of the object under observation. It is indeed these social ideas and commonplaces that trigger the research in the first place: because

women are considered weaker than men and ethnic minorities inferior to white caucasians, they become the object of critical discourse analyses.

Commonplaces also exist between peoples of different nationalities and their habits, and yet little research seems to have been done in this area via collocational behavior. We therefore decided to use Sketch Engine to probe the relationship between eating habits and national identities. By examining the word sketches of the lemmas *food* and *cibo*, we will attempt to expose some ideologies hidden behind the English-speaking and Italian-speaking communities' attitudes to food<sup>2</sup>.

## 2 Methodology

To conduct this study, an English and an Italian corpus had firstly to be selected. Because the number of Italian corpora are fewer than the English ones in Sketch Engine, the size of the Italian corpus determined the choice of the English one. Consequently, the largest Italian corpus (Italian Web 2010, or itTenTen), made up of almost 2600 million words, was matched with the closest English equivalent (English Web 2008, or enTenTen08), made up of almost 2800 million words. Secondly, for each noun, *food* and *cibo*, a word sketch was drawn up. The word sketch for *food* in the enTenTen08 consists of eight tables containing 61 grids (or syntactic patterns), while the word sketch for *cibo* in the itTenTen comprises four tables with 32 grids. The third step was to compare and contrast the collocations in each language in an attempt to find collocations existing in one language and not in the other. This was done by analyzing English and Italian collocations with the same grammatical function, grouped together in a single table made up of different grids according to the individual language's syntactic patterns. In other words, under the main grammatical function and table of *food/cibo* as objects or subjects of a verb, we found the concept of vitiating food expressed as *to contaminate food* in English and as *cibi contaminati* in Italian recorded in two different grids reflecting the differing syntactic patterns: *food* as object of the verb in English and *cibo* as subject of the verb in Italian. Therefore, within each grouping or table all the grids had to be checked before concluding that there was a collocational lacuna in either language. In case of lacunae, the culture-bound collocations were then examined in their co-texts to understand their meaning and usage.

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to specify that for this research the noun *mangiare* was also initially considered as a node word along with *cibo*. It was excluded because the itTenTen lists collocations with *mangiare* as a verb only.

### 3 Results

Time and space constraints prevent reporting the collocational behavior of *food* and *cibo* in all the grids and thus in all their syntactic structures. Three syntactic structures have thus been chosen to show the similarities and differences between collocations with *food* and *cibo*. The three syntactic patterns consist of *food* and *cibo* as object of the verb, *food* and *cibo* as nouns modified by adjectives, and *food* and *cibo* coordinated to another noun by means of the linkers *and/or*; *e/o*. They are the three most statistically significant syntactic patterns in the two word sketches.

If we consider the syntactic pattern with *food* and *cibo* as objects of a verb, we have the following twenty-five verb collocates for each.

VERB	VERBO
eat	mangiare
cook	procurare
consume	consumare
prepare	procacciare
digest	cuocere
buy	gustare
wean	rifiutare
import	cucinare
taste	assaggiare
modify	ingerire
serve	insaporire
package	assaporare
grow	preparare
process	somministrare
produce	comprare
enjoy	distribuire
distribute	digerire
engineer	degustare
store	masticare
contaminate	ingurgitare
purchase	produrre
chew	rubare
avoid	(non) toccare
donate	evitare
supply	conservare

Table 2: Verb collocates of *food/cibo*

As you can see from the table above, most of the verbs that collocate with *food* and *cibo* are equivalent in the two languages. The verbs that represent

the actions of producing food (*produce-produire*), purchasing (*buy/purchase-comprare*), cooking and preparing (*cook-cucinare/cuocere; prepare-preparare*), serving or donating (*serve/donate/distribute-somministrare/distribuire*), eating (*eat-mangiare; consume-consumare*), enjoying (*enjoy-assaporare/degustare; taste-gustare*), and digesting it (*digest-digerire*) are salient collocates common to both node words. And even when it might appear that some collocates do not have equivalents, such as *contaminate, engineer, package* in Italian and *procurare, pro-cacciare* in English, they have equivalents in other structural forms. We can find *cibi contaminati, cibi manipolati, cibi (pre)confezionati*, whereby the Italian verb is a past participle; just as we can find *hunt for food* that corresponds to the collocations *procurare / procacciare cibo*, in which *food* is preceded not just by the verb, as it is in Italian, but also by the particle *for*. Looking at all the different syntactic patterns in all the grids, there are in fact few verb collocates of *food* and *cibo* not shared by both languages.

Two expressions that are, nonetheless, salient in one corpus only are *import food* in the enTenTen08 and *rubare cibo* in the itTenTen. Looking at the concordances, the British people's concern with "imported food" comes out: its cost is not to be underestimated and it needs to be regulated to avoid the entry of harmful produce. From the Italian concordances emerges the difficulty of obtaining food, and the too frequent solution of stealing it ("avevamo solo una soluzione: rubare il cibo"). In sum, stealing food preoccupies the Italians; importing food the British.

In Table 3 are the twenty-five most salient modifiers that qualify *food* and *cibo*. As in Table 2, most of the collocates modifying *food* and *cibo* are similar. It is striking how these adjectives reflect a preoccupation with healthy and unhealthy eating habits in both linguistic communities (see *healthy-sano/genuino; organic-biologico; GM-transgenico; nutritious-nutriente; fresh-fresco*). Industrialised and processed food, commonly denominated as *junk food*, has not contaminated the English-speaking world only. As the expression *cibo spazzatura*, translated verbatim from English and not in this table for syntactic reasons<sup>3</sup>, indicates Italy too has succumbed to the attack of bad food<sup>4</sup>. It is, however, not so much the

<sup>3</sup> *Spazzatura* is a nominal modifier of *cibo* and thus the Italian collocation, having a different syntactic structure to the English *junk food*, belongs to the "n modifier" grid of the itTenTen corpus.

<sup>4</sup> "*Junk food* <ġɔŋk fju:d> locuz. ingl. [comp. di *junk* «spazzatura» e *food* «cibo»] (pl. *junk foods* «... fju:dz»), usata in ital. come s. m. –Termine con cui si indica polemicamente un tipo di preparati dell'industria alimentare di largo consumo (per es., merendine, bevande analcoliche, patatine fritte in sacchetti), prediletti dai

quality of food that distinguishes the two countries, but the attitude to it. An indication of this might come from the collocations *fast food* and *comfort food*, which exist in Italian as borrowings from English but which, unlike *junk food/cibo spazzatura*, have not been translated into Italian. That these English collocations have been imported as opposed to having been translated could point to food concepts that may still feel ‘foreign’ to most Italians.

<b>MODIFIER</b>	<b>MODIFICATORE</b>
junk	transgenici
fast	cotto
processed	genuino
organic	precotto
healthy	sano
GM	grasso
pet	biologico
nutricious	prelibato
delicious	piccante
canned	crudo
staple	solido
fresh	buono
favourite	fresco
solid	salato
mexican	consumato
fatty	salutare
chinese	fritto
spicy	surgelato
enough	ottimo
contaminated	nutriente
snack	vegetariano
fried	ricco
prepared	scadente
comfort	sufficiente
cat	proteico

Table 3: Modifiers of *food/cibo*

Indeed, while both *fast food* and *comfort food* exist as collocations in the Italian corpus, only *fast food* is recorded in the Treccani online. Incidentally, the meaning of *fast food* is not really the same in Italian as in

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bambini, caratterizzati da un alto contenuto calorico ma da scarso valore nutrizionale” (see Treccani online s.v. *cibo spazzatura*).

English: if in English it now more commonly refers to the type of food eaten:

food that is made and served very quickly, especially food such as a burger that you can take away with you (MED s.v. *fast food*);

in Italian it still refers to the places in which such food can be eaten<sup>5</sup>:

*fast food* {*fàast fīud*} locuz. ingl. (propr. «cibo rapido», e quindi «pasto veloce»), usata in ital. come s. m. –Denominazione di pubblici esercizi, ormai diffusi anche in varie città italiane, organizzati in modo da consentire, con largo uso di precotti, un servizio e quindi un consumo rapido di pasti, costituiti in genere da un’ampia scelta di vivande (panini, hamburger, pollo fritto con patate, pizza, dolci, ecc.) (Treccani online s.v. *fast food*).

This semantic difference is interesting. It underlines a very important fact: in Italy *fast food* is not as often consumed at home as it is in Britain.

We [The British] regard food as a privilege, not a right. We also have no proper regional cookery; families no longer eat together but instead consume junk food in front of the television; our diet consists mainly of salty or sweet snack foods—chips, crisps, chocolate bars, ready-meals, microwave pizzas and other rubbish. Even those with an interest in good food, tend to have neither the time nor the energy to shop for and cook fresh ingredients in what other nations would regard as a normal proper manner.

As the anthropologist Kate Fox (2004, 108) explains, the British are generally not interested in dedicating too much time to food. In British homes, food is consumed quickly and without much attention.

In contrast with this attitude to food, which apparently established itself after the mid-twentieth century, a second one arose and is reflected in the expression *comfort food*, coined at the end of the 1970s in North America to mean “food that comforts or affords solace [because] it is associated with childhood or with home cooking” (OED s.v. *comfort food*). If no equivalent exists in Italian, it may be because *cibo* is intrinsically comforting and, notwithstanding the fast world we live in, it is still being consumed without haste and has a naturally consoling effect:

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<sup>5</sup> The expression *fast food* was coined in the 1950s in North America first to mean an “outlet where food is kept hot and ready to serve, or partially prepared so that it can be served quickly” and second “the type of food served in a fast-food restaurant; convenience food which can be prepared quickly at home” (see OED s.v. *fast food*). The former meaning corresponds to the contemporary Italian usage, the latter to the contemporary English usage of the collocation.

For centuries Italians have sought, and usually found, consolation at the table. We don't think that a sauce is tasty, or that olive oil is good. We know it is. (Severgnini 2007, 22)

And yet the expression *comfort food* appears in the itTenTen too. Unlike in the English corpus where it appears in far more concordances in which the comforting role is expressed, as shown below:

Angel says she'll come back to visit and Cordelia clearly is hoping she will. We see a giant insect looking in the window. Cordelia says she's going home to eat some comfort food and have a good cry (enTenTen08);

in the Italian corpus it is used principally in culinary blogs to denominate a type of food/dish:

Seguono i ristoranti. Nella categoria comfort food (la buona cucina) stravince—a ragione—La Beppe Fioraia. Ambiente rustico e colorato, la buona cucina toscana e l'inesauribile creatività sono senza dubbio i punti forti del locale (itTenTen).

In sum, even though *comfort food* and *fast food* both exist in Italian, they do not really have the same function in Italian as they do in English. If in English they point to two different food-related mindsets, in Italian they act as denominators of a certain type of dish or a certain type of restaurant. In spite of the introduction of these two collocations into Italian, the attitude to food does not seem to have undergone enormous changes: the enjoyment of traditional homemade food consumed in amicable company is still a prerogative of most Italians.

That food has a slightly different social and cultural role in Britain and Italy can also be gathered by looking at the nouns to which *food* and *cibo* are joined (Table 4). As we have already seen for other syntactic patterns, many of the noun collocates that *food* and *cibo* are coordinated with are similar in the two languages. In Table 4, it can be noted how both terms are connected to nutrition (*feed-alimentazione*) and drink, both alcoholic and non- (*beer-birra*; *wine-vino*; *water-acqua*). They are also related to energy (*fuel-carburante*), housing, shelter, relaxation (*accommodation/lodging-alloggio*; *shelter-rifugio*; *sleep-sonno*), clothing (*raiment-vestiario/vestito*), and health (*medicine-medicina*). As one would expect, these associations underscore that *food/cibo* has the primary role of assuring man's primary well-being in both linguistic communities.

NOUN	SOSTANTIVO
drink	bevanda
clothing	vestito
beverage	vino
shelter	vestiario
water	medicinale
medicine	acqua
wine	riparo
clothes	medicina
lodging	bibita
nutrition	alloggio
ingredient	coperta
raiment (=clothing)	sexso
fuel	birra
supply	alcol
agriculture	indumento
beer	verdure
housing	rifugio
supplement	carburante
accommodation	sonno
feed	alcool
entertainment	mangime
blankets	alimentazione
sleep	cucina
fiber	abito
meat	frutta

Table 4: Nouns with which *food/cibo* are coordinated

When *food/cibo* goes beyond the primary role of providing nourishment, warmth, and energy then some differences seem to exist between the English- and Italian-speaking communities. Two collocations that do not seem to have correspondents in the other language are *food and entertainment* and *cibo e cucina*.

As the concordances in Figure 1 show, *entertainment* in the English corpus goes hand in hand with *food*. Most of these concordances represent texts that publicise events such as fund raisers, charities, or simply parties where food and entertainment will be provided. The British manner of advertising events in precise detail explains the co-occurrence of these two words. If one of the two were to be omitted, it would imply that it had not been contemplated. This is because by British standards entertainment does not necessarily mean food nor food mean entertainment. The fact that this collocation does not exist in Italian may point to two facts: firstly, that another intrinsic quality of *cibo* is entertainment; secondly, that at most



events in Italy food is always available and it is not necessary to publicise it.

doc#11760 /). This major fund raiser will feature food , *entertainment* , door prizes, and more.  
 doc#17771 security, technology, computers, charities, food and *entertainment* and less about road cones  
 doc#20364 a fun media junket where they give them food , *entertainment* and access to the stars...  
 doc#29648 activities, motherhood tips, healthy living, food , *entertainment* and shopping. </p><p> Several  
 doc#44902 exhibitions, a puppet show, a square dance, more food , live *entertainment* , a tour of the museum  
 doc#49756 live without leaving that space - ordering food , *entertainment* and everything else I needed  
 doc#50093 custom-tailored to German tastes, and encompass food , *entertainment* and amenities. German will  
 doc#64724 budget on around £30-40 a week to spend on food , *entertainment* , going out and books. I  
 doc#66807 children's art center, live *entertainment* , food and kayaking on the canal. </p><p> Good Neighbor  
 doc#79716 walk around Kapi'olani park, ending with food and *entertainment* at the Kapi'olani bandstand  
 doc#84256 from the growing popularity of celebrity, food and comfortbased *entertainment* . GOOD TASTE  
 doc#97110 want to help us with planning, decorations, food , *entertainment* , email us now! </p><p> Silver  
 doc#99286 You got what you pay for! In addition, the food and *entertainment* here actually cost considerably  
 doc#99838 or visit the Hawk's Nest at Lamberton for food and *entertainment* late into the evening  
 doc#114703 also need to budget for other costs such as food and *entertainment* . </p><p> The semi-mobile  
 doc#116961 family storybook walk, live *entertainment* , food and prizes. Over 350 people participated  
 doc#118378 themselves while providing waiting fans with food and *entertainment* in an alcohol-free atmosphere  
 doc#119375 including, but not limited to, *entertainment* , food , fashion, animation and video games. Prime  
 doc#145010 traditional tailgate party will feature American food , *entertainment* and performances by the  
 doc#160670 </p><p> After the walk, there will be free food , *entertainment* and a health fair. There

Figure 1: Concordances for *food/entertainment*

What *cibo* is instead frequently associated to is *cucina*, as the concordances taken from itTenTen in Figure 2 below show.

Whilst the association of food with cooking, cookery, and cuisine is not statistically significant in the enTenTen08, the collocation *cibo e cucina* suggests how important cooking is in Italy. It means choosing a recipe (either local or foreign) and following it carefully with love and passion, thus obtaining a delicious healthy meal. Like the non-similar collocations mentioned earlier, *food and entertainment*, *cibo e cucina* illustrate further how the concept of *food/cibo* varies in its secondary role as a social and cultural phenomenon: in English the gratifying nature of food wants highlighting; in Italian the preparation of food cannot be overstated enough.

<p>doc#6374  doc#6767  doc#13403  doc#24515  doc#55582  doc#100010  doc#106291  doc#109277  doc#166173  doc#169729  doc#193355  doc#246533  doc#302055  doc#307040  doc#343998  doc#345537  doc#408012  doc#421511  doc#425191  doc#487852</p>	<p>Davide Dutto. Dieci scatti, immagini di cibo e <i>cucina</i> nello carcere piemontese di Fossano confessato la sua passione per la <i>cucina</i> e il cibo , dichiarandosi "migliore di Breo ", il sognatrice ha tra i suoi interessi la <i>cucina</i> , il cibo di qualità e il lavoro all'aria aperta corso di recitazione a partire dal tema del cibo e della <i>cucina</i> condotto dall'associazione dal suo amore viscerale per la <i>cucina</i> e i cibi che consuma con avidità e passione, così in un approccio educativo e divertente al cibo e alla <i>cucina</i> ), vi spongiamo il sito babysitter. In queste pagine la <i>cucina</i> e il cibo si trasformano in un gioco educativo: cucinare Boccaccio sarà il suo passaporto per il buon cibo e la buona <i>cucina</i> e persino il suo ultimo partire da altri argomenti come la <i>cucina</i> e il cibo , la musica, l'etnologia e la letteratura sincera di generi diversi, <i>cucina</i> etnica e cibo sano, il tutto da gustare in compagnia, ha la passione per la buona <i>cucina</i> e il cibo sano sarà felice di sapere che l'azienda materassi, coperte, attrezzi da <i>cucina</i> , cibo , medicinali &lt;/p&gt;&lt;p&gt;Non mancava una: la <i>cucina</i> , il cibo . Questanno l'ho colmato disegnando per protagonista sono talmente ricchi di riferimenti al cibo e alla <i>cucina</i> che Rex Stout nel 1973 ha riprese e proiezioni, oltre a tende, <i>cucina</i> , cibo e vestiti, per 15/18 persone, ma soprattutto uomini una buona cena favorisce l'intimità. Cibo e <i>cucina</i> , binomio ancora garantito per tutti mangiassimo sempre e solo lo stesso cibo , la <i>cucina</i> non avrebbe alcuna importanza &lt;p&gt; Il mondo è pieno di libri dedicati al cibo , alla <i>cucina</i> ed alle ricette. Ma in tempi studenti e professori. &lt;/p&gt;&lt;p&gt; Lessico dei cibi e della <i>cucina</i> tradizionale &lt;/p&gt;&lt;p&gt; In Alto nuove idee. Ci spiega il suo rapporto con i cibi e le <i>cucine</i> estere, e di come le "contaminazioni</p>
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Figure 2: Concordances for *cibo/cucina*

## 4 Conclusions

The patterns analysed have brought to the fore some interesting results that show how *food* and *cibo* have many equivalent collocations and few differing ones in English and in Italian. The equivalents seem to tell us that in both societies food has the same primary role of feeding and nourishing people; the non-corresponding collocations have been read as clues to the secondary role food can have, and that is of distinguishing national identities. Studies in the fields of sociolinguistics and anthropology have shown that people can be approached in cultural and identity terms through an appreciation of what they eat and drink (Sutton 2001, 7). Food and drink have in fact long been associated in the popular imagination with the personality, mentality, character, and social, political, and cultural identification of individuals and groups (Wilson 2006, 14).

As far as the role of food in Britain is concerned, the eighteenth-century image of the English gentleman who continues to eat and drink tea unperturbed notwithstanding the battles raging around him—showing that food is “affluence, strength, health and confidence” (Spiering 2006, 38–39)—may explain why even now food is considered a privilege in Britain. Spiering (2006, 42) still believes English food and particularly beef are signifiers of national identity in Britain despite the foreign dishes that have been introduced over the centuries. The intrusion of European directives regarding food and drink at the end of the twentieth century, moreover, may explain the British preoccupation over importing food, which has

been experienced as a threat to the British way of life (Spiering 2006, 43). The only gastronomic contamination that does not seem to have been a worry is the American one: since the mid-twentieth century junk food and fast food have revolutionised British eating habits so much so that homemade food is now a remote and rare comfort in Britain.

On the contrary, “the idea that food is something to be consumed as quickly, efficiently and inexpensively as possible” (Ritzer 1996, 8) is still somewhat foreign to Italians, which might explain why fast food and comfort food are only English borrowings. While there is no denying that the temptations of industrial foods are luring Italians away from traditional homemade food, Italians go to fast food restaurants for lunch or dinner only “to infringe upon the dietary rule”, and still eat at “home to feel reassured” (La Cecla 1998, 103). After all, Castellanos and Bergstresser (2006, 193) claim that a proper Italian meal is one prepared at home by a woman with a large investment of time and effort, because right from an early age food plays an important role in Italians’ lives and social world. Children are encouraged to acquire individual tastes that will be connected to the development of their personality. By comparing and contrasting food preferences, food becomes a resource for socializing a relationship of identity with family members (Ochs / Pontecorvo / Fasulo 1996, 11). “It is through this socializing process that Italian children learn that food can be regarded not only as an element of nutrition, but it is also viewed as something pleasurable” (Castellanos / Bergstresser 2006, 188).

In the light of these reflections, it might not indeed be a biased interpretation to consider the collocational lacunae in Italian (*import food*, *fast food*, *comfort food* and *food and entertainment*) and in English (*rubare cibo* and *cibo e cucina*) in the following sociocultural terms. In Italy, *cibo* is a prerogative and an important social catalyst that draws family and friends together; it is a natural synonym for consolation and pleasure. In Britain, *food* is considered a privilege: when food is available it is publicised, when food is comforting it earns itself a new name. Because only three syntactic patterns in the word sketches for *food/cibo* have been analysed (i.e. *food/cibo* as objects of the verb, qualified by modifiers, and joined to another noun by a coordinating conjunction), further analyses on other syntactic patterns and on other English and Italian corpora will be carried out in future research to complete this tentative profile of Italian and British identities through the examination of the collocates of *food* and *cibo*.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

# GASTRONOMIC PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN RUSSIAN, ENGLISH AND GERMAN: LINGUO-CULTURAL ASPECTS

BABAEVA RAISA / IVANOVA LUDMILA<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

The article deals with English, German and Russian gastronomic phraseological units (GPhU) containing food and drink lexemes. Based on the presence or absence of a culturally salient component, all the units analyzed were categorized into three main groups: internationalisms, which do not contain a culturally salient component, multicultural gastronomic phraseological units, where the given component is present in several languages, and ethnocultural gastronomic phraseological units, where the culturally salient component determines the meaning of a phraseologism that does not have equivalents in other languages. It is the units in the third group that reflect the uniqueness of culture and history of a particular nation.

### 1 Introduction

In present-day linguistics there is a line of inquiry devoted to the nomination of food culture-specific concepts in different cultures. This interest is accounted for by the fact that food preparation and consumption are of great importance in the life of every nation. In every language, food-related meanings occupy a vast lexical layer that is constantly replenished with new lexical units reflecting changes in the gastronomic sphere. The

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semantic domain of “FOOD” is characterized by a high frequency of usage in the main lexicon, which explains the growing number of metaphorical units.

In this paper we focus upon gastronomic phraseological units (GPhU), i.e. phraseological units that contain a food or drink lexeme, hereafter called a *gastronomic component*. GPhUs have been the object of investigation of many linguists in the context of a variety of languages.

First, we will briefly review the literature on gastronomic lexemes and phraseologisms. The studies can be classed as intralingual, contrastive or multilingual according to the number of languages analysed.

Intralingual studies are based on material from one language, e.g. Babaeva (2015), Lyubimova (2014), Pinnavaia (2018), and Wotjak (2010) et al. These studies are concerned with the semantics, the structure, the pragmatic and cultural features, and the context of usage of gastronomic phraseological units. Other language units are used to interpret their meanings.

In contrastive papers the primary emphasis is on comparing idioms in two languages, in order to reveal equivalent levels of the units and on identifying national and common stereotypes, e.g. Andreeva (2012), Koslova / Grebenkina (2013) et al. Such terms as “complete equivalence”, “partial equivalence” and “zero equivalence” are used to describe them (Dobrovolskij 2013, 530). This approach is suitable for investigating issues in the field of translation theory.

Multilingual studies encompass three or more languages, e.g. Kharitonova (2015), Marushkina (2014), Pinnavaia (2015) et al. The wide reach of the material enables national peculiarities to be highlighted, and motivation of the GPhUs in different languages to be clarified in the light of specific historical developments and national traditions. This method of linguistic analysis provides depth by taking a closer look at the cultural aspects of phraseology.

It is frequent in modern linguistics to consider phraseologisms in the light of cognitive as well as contrastive and cross-cultural approaches, e.g., Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005, 2009), Piirainen (2012), Schindler (2005) et al.

## **2 Theoretical Prerequisites for the Study of Gastronomic Phraseological Units**

The present research is carried out within the framework of a multilingual approach presented in the works of Dobrovolskij and Piirainen (2005, 2009). The aim of this paper is to systematize the selected Russian,

English and German GPhU and reveal their similarities and distinctions caused by cross-cultural peculiarities recurring in these linguistic communities, which are reflected in the gastronomic component of the phraseological unit. We define a phraseological unit (PhU) as a group of words that exists in the language as a ready-made unit carrying expressive figurative meaning. In this paper we take a broad approach to the term *phraseological unit* and include idioms, proverbs and sayings.

We based our assessment of the L1-L2 equivalence of GPhUs on Dobrovol'skij's theory of equivalence levels. GPhUs are viewed from a language system perspective following Dobrovol'skij (2013, 536), who defines this as the "relationship between the corresponding phraseologisms of L1 and L2 at a system level".

We consider GPhUs in terms of the presence of a culturally salient component, which can be international, multilingual or national (or culturally salient/nationally biased).

The nationally biased component can be described by what Kovshova (2009, 5) refers to as "cultural semantics" or "cultural connotation":

A phraseological unit is a special sign of a language, its semantics is "intertwined" with cultural semantics, or cultural connotation, which is created by the reference of the phraseological unit to the subject domain of culture. This reference is carried out in the process of perception and reproduction of a phraseological unit in speech by ordinary speakers, and a phraseological unit performs both a linguistic and cultural function itself, conveys information about the origin in the world and simultaneously translates cultural meanings, prescriptions of culture, stereotypes, etc.

We proceeded as described below. For each step, we also discuss how we confronted the inherent issues.

(1) Firstly, we fixed a definition of the notion "gastronomic component" and identified which lexemes would fall into this group in Russian, English and German. A list of culinary words was compiled based on the consideration of the gastronomic field/domain as a frame, which includes slots of different levels. The selection of the component was not restricted to nouns denoting various types of food: *fish, fruit, meat, drinks*, etc. but also included non-edible and non-drinkable elements that cover the semantic domain of food and eating habits and cooking, e.g. such nominations as dishes, kitchen utensils and cutlery (*frying-pan, spoon*) as well as meals (*breakfast, dinner*), places for cooking (*oven*), traditions and customs associated with eating (*5 o'clock tea*). Verbs *eat, drink*, etc. also were subject to the analysis. Definitions from phraseological dictionaries were an integral part of our analysis.



(2) Secondly, we selected Russian, English and German phraseological units having a gastronomic component. These were selected from various monolingual (Duden, Herzog/ Michel/ Riedel 1993, ODI 2008, Siefiring 2004, Speake 2008), bilingual (Kunin 1984, Kuzmin 2001) and multilingual dictionaries (Walter / Mokienko 2006, Puccio 2012), internet sites and corpora (British National Corpus, Redensartenindex). The main criterion for selecting the units was the presence of a gastronomic component in the phraseological unit, which belongs to the concept FOOD. We then compiled a corpus of 690 units including 137 Russian, 304 English and 256 German GPhUs for the analysis.

(3) Thirdly, we examined the equivalents of the GPhUs in the languages under study, comparing them to find out their extent of coincidence.

(4) Finally, we explained the similarities and differences on the basis of cultural specificity, thus distinguishing universal, present in all the three languages, from unique culturally-bound expressions. The number of GPhUs with a culture-specific lexeme was indicative of cultural value. The units were classified according to their cultural saliency.

### 3 Results

The presence or absence of a culturally salient component in the semantic structure of a GPhU, divided the selected figurative expressions into three groups. The first group—*International GPhUs* (§ 3.1)—includes GPhUs containing information belonging to world culture (the Bible, ancient heritage and world-famous literary works by W. Shakespeare, J. Swift, L. Carroll et.al.). D. Dobrovolskij (2013, 530) refers to them as *internationalisms*.

Many GPhUs contain semantic components that reveal connections between nationally specific units and multicultural European space. These universal GPhUs, characterized by the variability of the form and similarity of content in the languages under consideration, were allocated to the second group called *multicultural GPhUs* (§ 3.1).

Of particular interest are the GPhUs that contain unique national cultural information in their semantics, and which constitute the third group of *ethnocultural GPhUs* to be discussed in more detail in § 3.2.

#### 3.1 International and multicultural GPhUs

This group of GPhUs comprises expressions that were found in Russian, English and German research materials as having a similar meaning and

almost identical form, owing to their common origin. Such units are in fact considered as phraseological *internationalisms*, because they appear in most European languages. One significant example is biblical and ancient figurative expressions.

The most widespread common source for such expressions is the Bible. The group of biblical GPhUs contains the following expressions: *manna from heaven, daily bread, forbidden fruit, to sell for a mess of pottage, man does not live by bread alone, the salt of the Earth, Balthazar feast*, etc.

- (1) Ne *khlebom* yedinyim zhiv chelovek / Man does not live by *bread* alone / Der Mensch lebt nicht vom *Brot* allein.

All the above biblical GPhUs are loan translations from Latin or Greek and are used in Russian, English and German in their figurative metaphorical meaning. Moreover, they all include the most productive food components, such as *bread, apple, fish, milk, honey, salt*, etc.

International GPhUs also include phraseological units that originate from ancient myths. In Russian, they were most often introduced in the XVIII century, when the interest in antiquity increased sharply. Let us consider some examples.

- (2) Rog Amalfei, *rog izobiliya* / *Horn of Amalthea, horn of plenty* / Das *Horn der Amalthea, Füllhorn*.

The Russian expression *rog izobiliya*, also known as *horn of Amalthea*, has correlates in English and German that are used to point to illimitable wealth, welfare, prosperity and source of plenty (FDF).

This phraseological unit comes from the ancient Greek myth of Zeus, who was nourished with the milk of the goat Amalthea, and conferred magic properties on one of her broken horns: it would provide the owner with an endless variety of dishes or delicious drinks.

In the languages studied the GPhUs that have a similar general idea at their core, but differ at times in structure, in constituent elements, and even sometimes in content, have been singled out as a separate group—multi-cultural GphUs. Usually they are due to contacts of the Russians, English and Germans, and thus result from a process of borrowing. Phraseologisms can in fact be transferred by loan translation (or calquing) and can either coincide completely, or be modified under the influence of cultural conditions, national traditions, and sometimes even features of the language.

Indeed, both biblical and literary GPhUs can acquire further meanings in different languages. Their structure and forms can also vary. The

following example shows this variability.

(3) *Zelen vinograd / Sour grapes / Die Trauben sind ihm zu sauer.*

This expression originating from Aesop's fable *The Fox and the Grapes* describes the inner conflict that arises when someone who wants something, realizing that it is impossible to attain, denies its attraction. A person who fails to attain something justifies themselves by saying that, in fact, he/she did not really want it. In the Russian version, the expression *zelen vinograd—the grapes are green (not ripe)* was widely spread thanks to I. Krylov's fable. It is used ironically (from visual to qualitative), while in English and German adjectives *sour* and *sauer* are used.

Similar phraseological units can also be created by different peoples independently of each other, which is due to similar conditions, as well as universality of human thinking. This phenomenon is illustrated in the following GPhU based on simile:

(4) *Rashkodit'sya kak goryachiye piroshky / To sell like hot cakes / Weggehen wie warme Semmel.*

The slight difference regarding the gastronomic element is a result of the difference in national and cultural traits.

### 3.2 Ethnocultural GPhUs

Some gastronomic phraseological units can be called ethnocultural, because they contain unique cultural components in their semantic structure that is related to national characteristics. Awareness of national cultural peculiarities contributes to a more effective dialogue of cultures through the use of phraseological units. Further on we will consider phraseological units that express the characteristics of Russian, English and German ethnocultures.

#### 3.2.1 Russian ethnocultural GPhUs

In Russian gastronomic phraseological units national mentality is manifested in the preferences of native speakers. One of the Russian national traits is known to be Russian hospitality. In our corpus this is testified by the following GPhUs:

(5) *Yesh'te, peyte: khozyayskogo khleba ne zhaleyte! / Eat, drink: do not grudge master's bread!; Kipite shchi, chtob gosti shli / boil, cabbage soup, so that the guests will come; Pivo vari da gostey*

*zovi!* / *Brew beer* and invite guests; *Chto yest' v pechi, vse na stol mechi* / Put everything, you have in the *oven*, on the table.

In the above proverbs a welcome guest is appreciated, he/she is offered all the best, the guest should not refuse what he/she is offered so as not to offend the host. Sometimes Russian hospitality reaches the point of absurdity. The phraseological unit *Demyan's fish soup* is a vivid example of this.

(6) *Dem'yanova ukha* / *Demyan's fishsoup* / *Demyans Fischsuppe*.

This GPhU originates from the title of I. Krylov's fable "Demyan's fish soup". The main character Demyan treats his neighbour Foka to fish soup. The guest is already full up but the host insists on his having another plate of soup, so in the end the guest hastily escapes the house. The expression means something imposed on somebody in an immoderate quantity, beyond any measure. We did not find any equivalents either in the English or in the German GPhUs corpora.

Russian phraseology is rich in examples in which interpersonal and ancestral relationships are characterized by means of food images: *otrezannyi lomot', sed'maya voda na kisele*:

(7) *Sed'maya voda na kisele* / The seventh water on *berry drink* /  
Sieben Meilen *Gelee* schlürfen.

This colloquial phrase with a negative connotation has the meaning of 'a very distant relative'. It has no correlates with a food component either in English or in German: *second cousin twice removed*. Our corpus did not contain any German phraseological equivalents.

Russian phraseology reflects peculiarities of national everyday life, national traditions and history: *Za sem' verst kiselya khlebat', s nim kashi ne svarish*.

(8) *S nim kashi ne svarish'* / You cannot make *porridge* with him / Mit jemandem kann man *Brei* nicht kochen.

*Kasha* 'porridge' is an important foodstuff in the life of the Russian people. In ancient times kasha used to be a ritual, ceremonial dish, a result of collaborative cooking, which was a sign and a symbol of unity and cohesion. If a person refused to take part in the preparation of porridge, it would earn them the community's disapproval, and was considered symptomatic of the unreliability of that person. The tradition gave rise to this GPhU. There are no equivalent GPhUs in English and German. No equivalent GPhUs in English or in German have the same metaphorical meaning, and those that were found—e.g., *you won't get anywhere with him*

/ mit ihm ist nichts anzufangen—do not include a food component.

Every language has unique words—lexemes reflecting peculiarities of its culinary traditions, national dishes that do not exist in other cultures. In Russian these are various nominations for baked products such as *kalach*, *kulich*, *kovrizhka*, *bublik* as well as culture-specific drinks *kisel'*, *shchi*, *kvas* etc.

Of some interest is an idiom with a pronounced culturally salient component—*kisel'* / *berry* / *fruit drink*. The word comes from an Old Slavic word “sour” and means a traditional Russian soft starch drink which is not in the least sour nowadays: *za sem' verst kisel'ya khlebat'*.

Another culturally salient product—*klyukva/cranberry*—is reflected in Russian phraseology: *razvesistaya klyukva*, *vot tak klyukva*. It can be likened to the word “cranberry” found in English PhUs.

(9) *Vot tak klyukva* / What a *cranberry* / So ist eine *Moosbeere*.

The equivalent English expressions for it—(well,) *this is a fine kettle of fish!* *well, this is a fine pickle!*; *what a pickle!*—contain other food equivalents, while the German does not—*da haben wir's!*

National traits reflect peculiarities of mode of life and culturally salient products are the basis for creating ethnocultural phraseological units which, as a rule, do not have corresponding equivalents in the languages under study. This observation is true of English GPhUs too.

### 3.2.2 English ethnocultural GphUs

By analyzing figurative expressions stemming from food or drink lexemes “it might be possible to glean how the English think and communicate” (Pinnavaia 2018, xvi). GPhUs reflect habits and an English way of life. In England much attention and respect is paid to ranks and status of people. Nobility enjoys respect and at the same time is envied by common people (cp. *Drunk* as a lord). On the other hand, respect of nobility is made fun of:

(10) A nod from the lord is *breakfast* for a fool / Kivok lorda yavlyayetsya zavtrakom dlya duraka / Ein Nicken vom Herrn ist das Frühstück für einen Narren.

Neither Russian, nor German has similar phraseological units with a food component. In these languages the same idea is expressed in other ways.

The English have great piety towards their traditions. Tea drinking is an important part of their culture. The so called 5 o'clock tea turned into a social event that gives people an opportunity to talk and relax. Love of the

English towards tea is expressed in the following GPhUs: *5 o'clock tea; high tea; husband's tea; weak tea; not one's cup of tea; to read tea-leaves; not for all the tea in China; a storm in a teacup; a tempest in a teakettle, etc.*

- (11) Not for all the *tea* in China / Ni za kakiye *kovrizhki* / Nicht für allen *Tee* in China.

When the traditional Chinese drink–tea–appeared in England, it was so expensive that not everybody could afford it, which gave rise to this GPhU. Later on it acquired the meaning ‘to refuse to do a thing for any inducement in the world’. In the Russian language this idea is expressed by a GPhU having another culturally salient component–ni za kakiye *kovrizhki* / not for any *gingerbread*. We failed to find a German equivalent for this GPhU.

What influenced England greatly is its imperial past. It had many colonies in different parts of the world forming a great Empire, which enabled them to import many exotic kinds of fruit, nuts, spices, tea, etc.: *orange, banana, pineapple, melon, fig, pepper*, etc. that became the basis of many phraseological units in English: *mix apples and oranges; squeeze an orange; all Lombard Street to a China orange; go gathering orange blossoms; pepper and salt; go bananas; top banana; to have hold of the wrong side of the pineapple; not give a fig, etc.*

- (12) Go gathering *orange blossoms* / Idti sobirat' *apel'sinovyy tsvet* / *Orangenblüten* sammeln.

This expression means ‘to look for a wife’. The phrase refers to the use of orange blossoms as wedding decorations (FDF). The tradition to incorporate orange blossoms into the costume of a bride comes from ancient China where they were the emblems of purity and innocence and became the symbol of fruitfulness. This tradition became especially popular in England after Queen Victoria's wedding to Prince Albert in 1840 when she wore an orange blossom wreath. Since then the expression *to gather orange blossoms* has meant ‘to seek a wife’ (Powell 2016).

The insularity of Great Britain could not but affect its vocabulary which was enriched with GPhUs containing such seafood components as *fish, herring, sardine, flounder, oyster*, etc. that are rare in the languages of hinterland states: *Cry stinking fish; fish and company stink in three days; have other fish to fry; as like as an apple to an oyster; packed like herrings / sardines (in a barrel)*.

Most of the above GPhUs, especially those that express peculiar British traditions, are unique and characteristic only to the English

language. This fact is exemplified by the proverb:

- (13) To drag a red *herring* across the path / Tyanut' *seledku* po tropinke / Einen roten *Hering* über den Weg ziehen.

This GPhU originates from a hunting tradition of dragging a sack of smoked herrings so as to create a distraction, while training dogs, to teach them to stick to the scent of game. Its shortened version *a red herring* is still in use, but its meaning is even further from the food concept than from that of hunting, i.e., to change the subject, to distract the attention. We have not found Russian and German equivalents for it.

Each nation has its own peculiar dishes. In the English culinary traditions they are pudding, sandwich, toast, jam, tea, etc. These culturally salient lexemes produced various phraseological units. One of the most profound culturally salient components is *pudding* that stemmed nine GPhU: *Praise is not pudding; as fit as a pudding for a friar's mouth; the proof of the pudding is in the eating; be in the pudding club; over-egg the pudding; pudding ring, pudding heart, black pudding.*

- (14) *Pudding heart / Pudingovoye serdtse / Puddingherz.*

The meaning of the phrase is 'a coward'. The idea comes from the softness of pudding. It has no equivalents either in Russian, or in German. This English idea of a coward is expressed by the Russian word *kisel'* (*berry jelly*) mentioned in § 3.2.1.

Thus, culturally biased components tend to create unique GPhUs with an expressive metaphorical meaning which, as a rule, do not find equivalents with gastronomic components in other languages.

### 3.2.3 German ethnocultural GphUs

The features of the national character and mentality are manifested linguoculturally in ethnocultural German GPhUs. The distinguishing feature of the German people is known to be thrift or economy, which extends to the attitude to products and situations associated with the process of food intake. Recording this relationship in the gastronomic phrasicon of the German language creates unique expressions and combinations that do not have exact correlates in other languages - *Krümchen sind auch Brot. (Krümchen machen auch Brot); Wo man die Krümchen nicht spart, da kriegt man Stücke nicht.*

- (15) *Krümchen sind auch Brot / Kroshki takzhe khleb / Crumbs are also bread.*

The meaning of this expression regarding the German attitude towards things shifted over time and became metaphorical. So the initial statement probably implied that crumbs should not be neglected; they should be treated as bread. Later the meaning expanded to the need of a respectful attitude to small things.

Focus on the future, the desire to foresee everything is another peculiar feature of the German mentality. This trait is fixed in folk art, for example, in the image of clever Elsa - a German fairy-tale character, who is upset because of something bad that might happen in the future. This ability to worry about something that is still to occur extends in German to the gastronomic sphere, which later undergoes metaphorization and turns into a phraseological unit that has no equivalent either in Russian or in English.

- (16) sich um ungelegte *Eier* kümmern / to look after unlaid *eggs* /  
zabotit'sya o nesnesennykh *yaytsakh*.

Pragmatism, thrift and prudence are other traits that can be attributed to the German national character. The pragmatic attitude of the Germans to various aspects of life can be illustrated by the proverbs in which people's experience, connected with the proper process of food intake, is recorded: *gut gekaut ist halb verdaut; zu satt macht matt; Abwechslung macht Appetit; Käse schließt den Magen*.

- (17) Gut *gekaut* ist halb verdaut / Khorosho *prozhevanno*e napolovinu peregarennoye / Well *chewed* is half-digested.

In Russian and English, the content of this proverb is transferred literally. The meaning of this proverb is that you need to eat slowly. This aphoristic statement in German-speaking discourse is used mainly when it comes to digestive problems, the advertisement of dental services, diets, or proper nutrition.

The call to be wiser and more collaborative also applies to the attitude towards food, which can be illustrated by the following figurative expression:

- (18) *Brätst* du mir *wurst*, so lösche ich dir den *durst* / *Podzharish'* mne *kolbasu*, a ya utolyu tebe *zhazhdu* / *Fry* me a *sausage*, and I'll quench your *thirst*

This German proverb does not have exact equivalents with a gastronomic element either in Russian or English. Its literal translation loses the metaphorical meaning of the German proverb. Sometimes the collaborative intention expressed in the German proverb acquires a negative meaning in other languages and cultures: it is with such a negative conno-



tation that the German proverb was borrowed into Russian.

- (19) *Wes brot ich ess, des Lied ich sing / Chey khleb zhuyu, togo i pesenki pou / Whose bread I eat, the song I sing.*

The corresponding Russian expression was borrowed from the German language by means of calquing or loan translation.

Features of national life and the history of the German people have also been reflected in GPhUs.

- (20) *Es geht um die Wurst / Rech' idet o kolbase / It's about the sausage.*

This phraseological unit is based on an old tradition of organizing competitions during national celebrations (*Wurstschnappen*, *Wurstangeln* and *Wurstklettern*), where the winner would receive a sausage as a prize. The change in the literal meaning of the saying *es geht um die Wurst* is due to the fact that the sausage was personified as being something very important in a certain situation, just as it was during the competition at the folk festivals.

- (21) *Mit jemandem nicht gut Kirschen essen / s kem-libo ne sovsem khorosho yest' vishni / not to eat cherries well with someone.*

The German phraseological unit stems from the disappearing phrase *Mit hohen Herren ist nicht gut Kirschen essen: Sie spucken einem die Kerne ins Gesicht*, in which getting along with someone is equated to eating cherries together. This is because in the Middle Ages cherries could be found only in the gardens of the rich or monasteries. The figurative statement was a warning to be cautious about associating with the rich because they might spit the stones to display their hostility towards the interlocutor.

As a rule, culturally salient connotations are manifested primarily in gastronomic expressions, in which a product of particular importance to a given ethnos is mentioned. For the German people such products are *Wurst*, *Kartoffel*, *Käse*, *Quark*, *Bier*, *Kohl*. In the first place in this list is the word *Wurst*, it is no accident that the Germans are called sausage makers. Searches in several scientific and lexicographic sources turned up 16 phraseological units with the word *Wurst*, while the instances of phraseological units with this component are rare in Russian and English. There is a large number of derivatives that are directly or figuratively related to the concept of “sausage” (eg. *Wurstblatt*) in modern German. High frequency usage of this lexical unit is likely to have caused the advent of metaphorical combinations.

Phrases with the words *Kartoffel* (*Rin in die Kartoffeln, raus aus den Kartoffeln; die dümmsten Bauern haben die dicksten Kartoffeln*), *Kohl* (*aufgewärmter Kohl; Kohldampf schieben*), *Bier* (*Das ist nicht mein Bier*) that have no equivalents with the corresponding gastronomic components either in Russian or in English, can be presumed unique in the German language. Thus, the reflection of the German national character, folk traditions and historical facts leads to the formation of phraseological units with ethnocultural connotations.

## 4 Conclusions

Our study of GPhUs allowed us to distinguish three substantial groups:

1. Internationalisms, the meaning of which belongs to the world culture. Such are Biblical and mythological phraseological units: rus. *khleb nasushchnij*, eng. *daily bread*, germ. *tägliches Brot*.

2. Russian, English and German GPhUs include a whole group of phraseologisms with cultural components shared by most European nations, and thus can be considered multiculturalisms. In Russian, English and German linguocultures multicultural GPhUs are very common, since these languages share a European space, traditions, stereotypes and beliefs.

3. At the same time, differences in geographical position, natural conditions, peculiarities of everyday life and cultural traditions led to the formation of unique ethnocultural phraseological units in which the mentality of the Russian, English and German peoples is reflected. And this is our main conclusion: these differences are what led to the predominance of the culturally salient gastronomic lexemes that are at the basis of notions unique to each language: *kisel', kalach, kasha, shchi, red'ka* in Russian; *ale, bacon, herring, jam, oyster, pudding, sandwich, tea* in English; and *wurst, schinken, bier, käse* in German. These lexemes, in turn, have produced metaphorical meanings, which we have defined as ethnocultural GPhUs. Our analysis showed that ethnocultural GPhUs can have gastronomic equivalents in the three languages examined. Thus, the German "*wes Brot ich ess, des Lied ich sing*" and the Russian "*chey khleb zhuyu, togo i pesenki poyu*" have identical meanings, just like Russian "*ne chelovek, a kisel'*" corresponds to the English "*pudding heart*". However, corresponding phraseological units do not always have a gastronomic literal meaning. For instance Russian GPhU "*ne laptem shchi khlebat'*", meaning to understand things as well as others do, be as good or capable as others, has the English analogous equivalent "*not to be just out of the trees*", and the German one "*sich die Hosen mit der Kneifzange anziehen*", which belong to a completely different semantic field of discourse.

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# CHAPTER FIVE

## GESTURAL IDIOMS IN ITALIAN AND ENGLISH: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

FEDERICA CASADEI

### Abstract

This paper proposes a contrastive study of Italian and English gestural idioms, i.e. that describe gestures. The analysis of 568 Italian gestural idioms shows that 60% of them have an English equivalent (e.g., it. *incrociare le dita*, lit. to cross one's fingers, and eng. *to cross one's fingers*, it. *girarsi i pollici*, lit. to turn one's thumbs, and eng. *to twiddle one's thumbs*). The highest rate of equivalence is found in idioms referring to expressions and eye movements, and in idioms that have a metaphorical meaning. The results of the analysis are discussed in detail and a possible explanation of the data is presented.

### 1 Gestural Idioms: an Emblematic Case of Embodiment

Gestural idioms (GIs), i.e. idioms that refer to gestures, such as it. *girarsi i pollici* (lit. to turn one's thumbs) eng. *to twiddle one's thumbs* or *toccare ferro* (lit. to touch iron) eng. *to knock on wood*, are a complex phenomenon, both because the definition of gesture is not obvious and because gestural reference can occur in various forms. Sometimes GIs simply offer a verbal encoding of a bodily action, thus depicting a real gesture in their literal meaning, as in *schioccare le dita* 'to snap one's fingers'. More often, they convey an additional meaning both with and without a real gestural counterpart, as in, respectively, *rimboccarsi le maniche* eng. *to roll up one's sleeves* (which describes a real gesture) and *mangiarsi le mani* (lit. to eat one's hands) (an impossible gesture) eng. *to kick oneself*.

Given their reference to the body and to the symbolic value of bodily actions, GIs evoke the concept of embodiment in the meaning it has in cognitive linguistics. In the more general sense outlined by Lakoff / Johnson (1980, 1999) and Johnson (1987), embodiment is to be understood as the idea that the functioning of our body is essential for the development of our conceptual system, whose highest forms—*inference and abstraction*—are grounded in schemas derived from bodily experience. Embodiment is crucially linked to conceptual metaphor theory, also originated by Lakoff / Johnson (1980), which sees metaphor as a cognitive mechanism that permits the understanding of abstract concepts with reference to concepts rooted in bodily experience. Conceptual metaphor theory marked a decisive turning point for the analysis of idioms: from the semantically unanalyzable “scraps” they had been perceived to be, they are now a key phenomenon for describing the conceptual system’s metaphorical architecture. For example, still in the sphere of bodily actions, the fact that *it dare una spintarella* (lit. to give a little push to so.) means ‘to help’ while *fare lo sgambetto* (lit. to trip) means ‘to hinder’ may be explained in the light of, and provides linguistic evidence of, a conceptual metaphor *ACTIONS ARE PATHS*, in which aids and obstacles to movement correspond to aids and obstacles to action.

Along with the evolution of studies on metaphorical language, the debate on the notion of embodiment has also developed (Wilson 2002, Rakova 2002, Ziemke 2003, Violi 2004, Goschler 2005, Gibbs 2005, Rohrer 2006), an aspect of which is how to conceive the relationship between physical and cultural data. According to Gibbs, it is impossible to separate physical and cultural aspects in the study of cognition, and the body itself is not independent of culture “because all aspects of embodied experience are shaped by cultural processes” (Gibbs 2005, 13); therefore, “[t]heories of human conceptual systems should be inherently cultural” (Gibbs 1999, 153). Kövecses (2005, 2006, 2008, 2015) believes that cognition is grounded both in the body and in cultural contexts, and that “a cognitive-cultural theory of metaphor” (2008, 72) is needed to explain not only the universal aspects but also the cross-cultural variation of metaphorical systems. Sinha / Jensen de López (2000) state that the concept of embodiment “needs to be extended ‘beyond the body’” (22) and that, to remain central in cognitive semantics, it ought to be reformulated “in terms which (...) link it more explicitly to systems of cultural schematization and understanding” (26).

With regard to this debate, GIs are a paradigmatic case, since gesture, like all non-verbal communication, blends natural and cultural facts. The communicative use of the body calls into play both physical behaviours

independent of culture (which in fact are often innate or used by animals) and the values that cultures assign to body attitudes; this bodily communication constantly shifts between universal or almost-universal phenomena and phenomena subject to cross-cultural variability (Matsumoto 2006, Matsumoto / Hwang 2013). We may then expect to find this shifting in GIs in various languages—as has happened for the language of emotions, one of the fields in cognitive semantics in which the need has emerged to correlate embodiment with cultural data (Kövecses 2005, 2015). On the one hand, GIs may be presumed to differ between languages in the type of bodily actions they encode, because symbolic gestures are often culturally unique (such as the classic example of the “OK” sign), and the same gesture may have different meanings in different cultures (as in the system of head movements to express “yes” and “no”). On the other hand, strong interlinguistic correspondences may be hypothesized to exist in the encoding of the universal forms of bodily communication and—as cognitive metaphor theory suggests—in the way in which reference to the body is exploited to express abstract concepts. Analysis of GIs in different languages can therefore help cast light on some aspects of the complex relationship between bodily experience and culture.

## 2 GIs in Italian and English

Although idioms are a fertile field of research, few studies have addressed GIs. An exception is Burger (1976), who coined the term *Kinegramme* to indicate expressions that linguistically encode non-verbal behaviour, later used especially for idioms (Martin 2002, Dobrovolskij / Piirainen 2005, Hübler 2007). Interesting points for reflection, but no systematic analysis, may be found in studies on non-verbal description in literary texts (Newbold 1992, Poyatos 1992, Korte 1997) and in general studies on body language, which often mention the linguistic correlates of the non-verbal, idioms included (Birdwhistell 1952, Argyle 1975, Lamedica 1987, Telmon 1988, McNeill 1998). Gestures are mentioned in some studies on idioms containing body parts, which, however, are not necessarily GIs (Čermák 1995, Kövecses / Szabó 1996, Bertuccelli Papi 2013). In cognitive semantics no detailed analyses of GIs have been carried out, despite the interest in gesture in relation to metaphorical and metonymic processes (Müller 2008, Cienki and Müller 2008).

This work, then, aims above all to make a contribution to the description of GIs. I present an analysis of Italian and English GIs, to assess where the correspondences and differences between these two languages lie in this particular area, and what points for reflection the



interlinguistic perspective offers for a better understanding of embodiment phenomena.

## 2.1 Data

Starting from the corpus used in Casadei (1996), I created a database of about 700 Italian verbal GIs. From this database I extracted 570 GIs to be compared with English, excluding those not commonly used. The Italian data were obtained from general dictionaries, especially the *Grande Dizionario Italiano dell'Uso*, and from idiom dictionaries. Data for English were collected from bilingual and monolingual dictionaries, both general and specialized, including the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms* and the *Idiom Dictionary* on the website *thefreedictionary.com*. The uses of English idioms were sometimes submitted for checking by native speakers.

## 2.2 Kinesic and Semantic Classification of GIs

GIs may first be classified on the basis of the bodily behaviour they describe—an apparently elementary criterion, but one not without problems, because it is not easy to decide what a gesture is. Some researchers define gestures only as movements of the hands and upper limbs: according to Poggi / Magno Caldognetto (1997), a gesture is a movement made with the hands, or at most with one's arms and shoulders (which may be accompanied by movement of the head or of other parts of the body), produced in order to communicate; Kendon (2004, 12) defines gesture as “deliberately expressive movement”, excluding involuntary movements and proxemics. According to others, however, gestures include various types of actions and postures; as early as Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, *gestus* indicated not only the actions of the hands and arms, but also gaze, head movements, and body attitude.

The classification of gestures (however defined) based on their physical characteristics, also provides different outcomes depending on the purpose of the analysis. In robotics, for example, highly minute classifications of hand movements are employed, for the most part useless in linguistic analysis; however, in linguistics works too, detailed distinctions may occur: Pharies (1997) uses no fewer than thirty categories to classify about 350 locutions related to body movements and postures.

In this work I have chosen not to limit the notion of gesture to arm and hand movements, and not to use communicative intent as a discriminating

factor. Taking Argyle's (1975) classic essay on bodily communication as reference, I classified GIs into five categories, within which I drew some general distinctions, as can be seen in Table 1:

category	No.	
1) GESTURES	175 (31%)	1a (36) empty hand gestures, with no manipulation of objects, grasping, or contact ( <i>girarsi i pollici</i> 'to twiddle one's thumbs') 1b (53) gestures of self-manipulation ( <i>stroppicciarsi gli occhi</i> 'to rub one's eyes') and of body adapting ( <i>togliersi il cappello</i> 'to take one's hat off') 1c (86) movements of body parts other than the hands ( <i>incrociare le braccia</i> 'to cross one's arms')
2) EXPRESSIONS	135 (24%)	2a (34) facial expressions ( <i>corrugare la fronte</i> 'to furrow one's brow') 2b (54) gaze and eye movements ( <i>abbassare lo sguardo</i> 'to lower one's gaze') 2c (47) physiological reactions ( <i>arruffare il pelo</i> 'to ruffle one's fur')
3) HAPTICS	197 (34%)	3a (114) human contact ( <i>darsi la mano</i> 'to shake hands with so.'). 3b (83) gestures with contact/manipulation of objects ( <i>alzare i bicchieri</i> 'to raise glasses')
4) POSTURES	32 (6%)	positions of the body ( <i>mettersi in ginocchio</i> 'to get down on one's knees')
5) PROXEMICS	31 (5%)	spatial behaviour and interpersonal distance ( <i>stare addosso a qcn.</i> 'to stand over so.')
	570	

Table 1: Classification of GIs.

From a semantic point of view, GIs can be classified depending on whether they only describe a gesture or whether they also have an additional meaning (Burger 1976, 2003). I labelled the GIs as kinesic (K) if they name or describe a gesture, as metaphorical (M) if they have a metaphorical meaning without a gestural counterpart, and as KM if they have both meanings.

Kinesic (K) GIs (137, 24% of the corpus) can be denominative if they name a gesture without describing it (*fare le corna*, lit. to make the horns, an offensive gesture); or descriptive, if they describe a gesture either only physical (*schioccare le dita* 'to snap one's fingers') or associated with an additional but not metaphorical meaning (*abbassare gli occhi* 'to lower

one's eyes', *incrociare le dita* 'to cross one's fingers'). As Burger (1976) notes, idioms that merely describe gestures are rare, because a free description works just as well for this purpose. More often the idiom has an extra semantic value due to the fact that the described gesture expresses a behaviour that has a particular meaning. Sometimes, the two readings coexist and the same expression may indicate both the physical action and its symbolic value (*Si fregava le mani per spalmare la crema*, lit. he rubbed his hands together to apply the cream, and *Si fregava le mani per la buona notizia*, lit. he rubbed his hands together over the good news).

Metaphorical (M) GIs (125, 22% of the corpus) express a metaphorical meaning with no gestural counterpart, i.e. whose counterpart is an impossible gesture. In about one half of the cases, these gestures are possible only for animals (*abbassare la cresta*, lit. to lower one's crest) or towards animals (*fare pelo e contropelo*, lit. to rub against the hair); or they are human gestures but impossible to perform (*baciarsi i gomiti*, lit. to kiss one's elbows, *mangiarsi le mani*, lit. to eat one's hands).

Kinesic and metaphorical (KM) GIs are the most frequent (308, 54% of the corpus) and the most semantically interesting, because they refer to a bodily activity in order to express abstract concepts. Although a detailed analysis of the forms of motivation of GIs is outside the scope of this study, three cases may be distinguished: the case in which the motivation is more cultural, because the idiom refers to a culture-specific gesture (*gettare il guanto* 'to throw down the gauntlet') or to a gesture codified in a particular cultural tradition (e.g. in religious texts: *porgere l'altra guancia* 'to turn the other cheek'); the case in which the motivation is metonymic (*allungare le mani* 'to stretch out one's hands, fig. to grope', *incrociare le braccia* 'to cross one's arms'); and the case in which the motivation is fully metaphorical (*aprire gli occhi* 'to open one's eyes, fig. to realize', *prendere in mano* 'to take in one's hands, fig. to assume control', *stare al fianco di qcn.* 'to stay at so.'s side, fig. to support').

## 2.3 Equivalences in Italian and English GIs

### 2.3.1 Number and Type of Equivalences

I have classified two GIs as equivalent if they have the same form and the same meaning, as in it. *incrociare le dita* and eng. *to cross one's fingers*. I have also treated as equivalent those cases where, meaning being equal: (a) the monolexical Italian verb corresponds to an English phrasal verb (*gonfiare il petto* and *to puff out one's chest*); (b) at least one verbal head corresponds even though others may differ (*incrociare le braccia* and *to*

*cross/fold one's arms*, *tirare/stringere la cinghia* and *to tighten one's belt*) or there is a correspondence between at least one of the nouns but not between all of them (*gettare la spugna* and *to throw in the sponge/the towel*); and (c) the verbs/nouns are synonyms (*mettere il dito sulla piaga* and *to put one's finger on the sore spot*).

If formal differences are greater, or there is no full semantic correspondence between the two idioms, I have considered them as partially corresponding, as it. *dare le spalle a qcn.* (lit. to give the shoulders to so.) and eng. *to turn one's back to so.* or it. *abbracciare la croce* and eng. *to embrace the cross* (which coincide in the sense of 'to adhere to Christianity' but not in that of 'to tolerate'). I have classified the Italian GIs for which sources do not show an English equivalent (*baciarsi i gomiti*, lit. to kiss one's elbows, 'to be happy') as lacking correspondence, including cases in which two idioms, despite having the same meaning, are totally different (*mangiarsi le mani*, lit. to eat one's hands, and *to kick oneself*).

Table 2 summarizes the data regarding the number of Italian GIs that have an equivalent (YES), a partial correspondence (PAR), or no correspondence (NO) in English. As can be seen, more than 60% of Italian GIs have an English equivalent—a considerable percentage in the area of idiomatic forms.

The 346 equivalences are almost approximately equally distributed in the categories GESTURES (31% YES) and HAPTICS (30%), followed by EXPRESSIONS (28%). If, however, the percentage of equivalences within each single category is considered, the one with the most equivalences is EXPRESSIONS (where 73% of Italian GIs have an English equivalent), followed by POSTURES (66%). The distribution of YES in the semantic types K, M, and KM also reflects their presence in the sample, since the highest number of equivalences (53%) is found in the KM type, i.e. the one most represented in the corpus. However, proportionally, it is type K that accounts for the most equivalences: 66% of these Italian GIs have an English equivalent against 59% of M and KM.

The two data sets for the distribution of the YES value do not overlap, as the kinesic category and the type of meaning are independent variables: in EXPRESSIONS and POSTURES, the greatest number of equivalences regards KM-type GIs, and in both these categories the K type is the one least represented; conversely, the high percentage of equivalences in type K is due to the GESTURES category, which on its own produces one half (47%) of the K expressions that have an equivalent.

In the EXPRESSIONS category, the greatest number of equivalences is found in the subcategory 2c, where about 80% of Italian GIs have an

English equivalent: *arruffare le penne* ~ *to ruffle one's feathers*, *drizzarsi i capelli a qcn.* ~ *one's hair stands on end*, *tremare le gambe/ginocchia* ~ *one's legs/knees are shaking*. The percentage of equivalences is also high (72%) in 2b (*abbassare le ciglia* ~ *to lower one's eyelashes*, *aguzzare la vista* ~ *to sharpen one's gaze/sight*, *aprire gli occhi* ~ *to open one's eyes*, *buttare un occhio* ~ *to cast an eye*) while it is lower (65%) in 2a (*aggrottare/corrugare le sopracciglia* ~ *to knit/furrow one's brows*, *arricciare/storcere il muso* ~ *to wrinkle one's snout*, *mostrare i denti* ~ *to show one's teeth*). As mentioned above, the majority (41%) of equivalents in the EXPRESSIONS category are KM-type GIs, followed by M (33%) and lastly by K (26,5%).

	NO			PAR			YES				
	K	M	KM	K	M	KM	K	M	KM		
1	15	9	19	8	10	6	42	18	48	108 (31% YES, 62% cat)	175
2	8	8	8	2	6	5	26	32	40	98 (28% YES, 73% cat)	135
3	4	10	45	3	5	27	19	18	66	103 (30% YES, 52% cat)	197
4	1	1	3	2	/	4	2	6	13	21 (6% YES, 66% cat)	32
5	1	2	7	3	/	2	1	/	15	16 (5% YES, 52% cat)	31
	29	30	82	18	21	44	90 (26% YES, 66% K)	74 (21% YES, 59% M)	182 (53% YES, 59% KM)		
Tot	141 (25%)			83 (14%)			346 (61%)			570	

Table 2: Italian GIs with an equivalent (YES), a partial correspondence (PAR), and no correspondence (NO) in English

In POSTURES as well, the majority of equivalences (62%) are due to KM idioms (*andare a testa alta* ~ *with one's head held high*, *mettere in ginocchio qcn.* ~ *to bring/force so. to his knees*, *pregare in ginocchio* ~ *to pray on bended knee*), followed by M (*avere la coda tra le gambe* ~ *to*

*have one's tail between one's legs*) and by only two K cases (*sedersi sui talloni* ~ *to squat on one's heels*, *tirare su i piedi* ~ *to put one's feet up*).

In GESTURES, the greatest percentage of equivalences (66%) is found in 1b (*battersi la fronte* ~ *to slap oneself on the forehead*, *grattarsi la testa* ~ *to scratch one's head*, *lavarsi le mani di qcs.* ~ *to wash one's hands of sth.*, *mettersi il cilicio* ~ *to wear a hair shirt*, *rimboccarsi le maniche* ~ *to roll up one's sleeves*, *rovesciarsi le tasche* ~ *to turn out one's pockets*, *stropicciarsi gli occhi* ~ *to rub one's eyes*, *togliersi il cappello* ~ *to take one's hat off*). The percentage of equivalences is slightly lower (61%) in 1c (*abbassare la guardia* ~ *to lower one's guard*, *piegare la testa* ~ *to bow one's head*, *alzare il gomito* ~ *to lift one's elbow*, *alzare le braccia* ~ *to raise one's arms*, *aprire la bocca* ~ *to open one's mouth*, *pestare i piedi* ~ *to stamp one's feet*, *drizzare le orecchie* ~ *to prick (up) one's ears*, *incrociare le braccia* ~ *to cross one's arms*, *mettere/ficare/cacciare il naso in qcs.* ~ *to put/stick/poke one's nose in sth.*, *sfoderare gli artigli* ~ *to put out one's claws*, *spiegare le ali* ~ *to spread/stretch one's wings*). The number of equivalences in 1a (*battere le mani* ~ *to clap one's hands*, *girarsi i pollici* ~ *to twiddle one's thumbs*, *incrociare le dita* ~ *to cross one's fingers*, *puntare il dito* ~ *to point at/the finger*, *schioccare le dita* ~ *to snap one's fingers*, *stringere i pugni* ~ *to clench one's fists*) is lower (55%). Unlike EXPRESSIONS and POSTURES, in GESTURES type K generates a high percentage of equivalences (39%), slightly below that for type KM (44%).

In HAPTICS, the greatest percentage of equivalences (57%) is found in 3a (*avere in pugno qcn.* ~ *to hold sb. in one's grasp*, *dare una pacca sulla spalla* ~ *to give/deliver a pat/clap on the shoulder*, *lasciare cinque dita in faccia a qcn.* ~ *to give/deliver five fingers to sb.'s face*, *mettere un dito nell'occhio a qcn.* ~ *to put/poke/stick a finger in sb.'s eye*). The percentage (46%) in 3b (*alzare i bicchieri* ~ *to raise glasses*, *battere i pugni sul tavolo* ~ *to bang/beat one's fists on the table*, *gettare la spugna* ~ *to throw in the towel/the sponge*, *lanciare i dadi* ~ *to roll the dice*) is lower. In this category, the majority of equivalences (64%) are KM idioms, while K and M idioms stand at 18%.

In PROXEMICS, too, 15 equivalences out of 16 are of the KM type (*stare al fianco di qcn.* ~ *to stay at sb.'s side*, *girare/voltare le spalle a qcn.* ~ *to turn one's back on sb.*, *stare addosso a qcn.* ~ *to stand over sb./to get on sb.*).

Basically, the greatest number of equivalences is found in:

1) GIs related to facial expressions and postures, most of which have a metaphorical meaning;

## 2) GIs with no metaphorical meaning.

These seemingly contradictory results may be explained by the fact that both cases involve the domain of emotion. Of the GIs with no metaphorical meaning, about one half of those with an English equivalent express emotions: anger (*stringere i pugni ~ to clench one's fists*), anxiety (*torcersi le mani ~ to wring one's hands*), astonishment (*stropicciarsi gli occhi ~ to rub one's eyes*), shame (*chinare gli occhi ~ to lower one's eyes*). And in the EXPRESSIONS category, 65% of GIs with an equivalent refer to emotions, both descriptively (*corrugare/aggrottare la fronte/le ciglia/le sopracciglia ~ to wrinkle one's forehead, to knit/furrow one's brows, to raise one's eyebrows*) and for the metaphorical meanings associated with the physical correlates of emotion (*arricciare il naso ~ to wrinkle one's nose 'to disapprove', avere la schiuma alla bocca ~ to be foaming at the mouth 'to be furious' avere i capelli dritti ~ one's hair stands on end 'to be terrified'*). Only a handful of emotion idioms fall under the NO group (and almost all have at least an analogue, as *avere le mani nel capelli*, lit. to have one's hands in one's hair, and eng. *to tear/pull one's hair out*). The involvement of the emotional domain thus seems to be a factor that significantly affects the existence of equivalents in the two languages.

### 2.3.2 Factors Hindering Equivalence

Many Italian GIs with no English equivalent show lexical peculiarities, for example they contain low-frequency lexemes or whose distribution is limited to the point that they appear only in set phrases, such as *tralice* (which outside of the Tuscan dialect only occurs in *guardare in tralice* 'to look askance') and *giacomo* (a proper noun used as a common noun only in *fare giacomo giacomo* 'on shaky legs'). Sometimes, the Italian idiom has a lexical-syntactic structure with no English correspondence, as *dare di + N* 'to give of + N' (*dare di gomito* 'to nudge').

The occurrence in idioms of lexemes indicating "cultural items" (*cerino* 'match', *guinzaglio* 'leash', *mestolo* 'ladle', *pala* 'shovel', *pinze* 'pincers') appears to greatly impact the possibility of equivalence. These idioms are the most frequent among those with no equivalent (33% belong to the NO category) and less so among those with partial correspondence (19% of PAR), and least of all among those with an equivalent (15% of the YES category). GIs containing lexemes for cultural items are also the most frequent in HAPTICS (64%) and in particular in 3b, while in EXPRESSIONS there are only two of them. In the sample investigated in this study, the vast majority of GIs containing lexemes for cultural items are metaphorical (74% are KM and 9% M), while only 17% belong to type

K. Reference to cultural items does not automatically mean that a GI will not have an equivalent (*agitare il fazzoletto* ~ *to wave one's handkerchief*), but it more frequently does not, or the same meaning is expressed with reference to different objects (it. *battere sullo stesso tasto*, lit. to hit the same key, and eng. *to harp on sth.*, it. *darsi la zappa sui piedi*, lit. to strike one's foot with the hoe, and eng. *to shoot oneself in the foot*).

Lastly, Italian GIs without an equivalent include many false friends, i.e. cases where English has the same locution but with a totally different meaning: it. *portare qcn. in palmo di mano* means 'to hold sb. in great esteem' while eng. *to have sb. in the palm of one's hand* means 'to control', it. *tirare per la giacca qcn.* means 'to force sb. to act in a certain way' while eng. *to pull sb.'s coat* means 'to warn', it. *piegare la schiena* means 'to yield' while eng. *to bow one's back* (borrowed from football) can mean 'to rush headlong'. These examples clearly show how the same bodily behaviour may be given different values both for cultural reasons (as in the football reference) and, more often, because the same gesture may have equally sound metonymic or metaphorical meanings (*to have sb. in the palm of one's hand* is motivated as 'to esteem' by the metaphorical link between visual salience and importance, and as 'to control' by the CONTROL AS MANUAL CONTROL metaphor). There are no false friends in the EXPRESSIONS and POSTURES categories—those in which equivalence between the two languages is most frequent—while the greatest number occurs in HAPTICS.

## 2.4 Conclusions

Of the 570 Italian GIs taken into consideration, about 60% have an English equivalent of the same form and meaning. Those that produce the highest number of equivalences are GIs—for the most part metaphorical—related to facial expressions or postures, and non-metaphorical GIs describing physical or symbolic gestures. On the other hand, GIs involving the haptic sphere and particularly the manipulation of objects generate the lowest number of equivalences. Bodily, cultural, and linguistic factors foster or hinder equivalence in the two languages.

As expected (see Par. 1), the greatest number of equivalences is found in the GIs referring to bodily behaviours that are more universal and shared across cultures: gaze; the expression of emotions through facial expressions, gestures and physiological reactions (the set of the affect displays); posture as an expression of dominance. Moreover, where these GIs have a metaphorical meaning, there is a strong correspondence in the way that reference to the body is exploited to express abstract concepts.



Significantly, there are no false friends (GIs describing the same gesture but with a different meaning) in the EXPRESSIONS and POSTURES categories—those that have the highest number of equivalences—demonstrating that metaphorization is identical in these cases in the two languages.

Linguistic structure is necessary for there also to be a formal equivalence: Italian GIs containing low-frequency or distributionally limited lexemes, or GIs created on peculiar lexical-syntactic structures, have no English equivalent. The occurrence in idioms of lexemes indicating cultural items also correlates with the absence of an equivalent: the percentage of these GIs is highest among those with no equivalent, and lowest among those with an equivalent; haptic GIs involving gestures made with objects are particularly penalized, precisely because these objects are often culture-specific items.

A common cultural reference may foster equivalence (*porgere l'altra guancia* ~ *to turn the other cheek*), but in general cultural factors get in the way: GIs often are without equivalents when they translate culturally variable gestures, such as symbolic emblems (*fare le corna*, lit. to make horns, offensive gesture) or apotropaic gestures (*toccare ferro*, lit. to touch iron, eng. *to knock on wood*). Finally, cultural factors can also influence the metaphorization of the same gesture (it. *piegare la schiena* 'to yield' and eng. *to bow one's back*, from football, 'to rush headlong').

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## CHAPTER SIX

# COMPARATIVE PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN THE UKRAINIAN AND ITALIAN LANGUAGES: LINGUO-CULTURAL ASPECTS

NATALIYA MUSHYROVSKA

### **Abstract**

This paper presents an analysis of the comparative idioms found in a contemporary Ukrainian language phrasebook in comparison with equivalent Italian phraseological units. Using selected phraseological material, we propose a system of concepts and cultural symbols which should provide a basis for the contrastive analysis of the features of prototypical concepts common to both world pictures. We reveal the structural features of the idioms in both languages and analyze their components and semantic attributes, connotation, idiomaticity, degree of cross-language equivalence or non-equivalence, and the linguo-cultural factors behind such differences. The comparative phraseological units were submitted to grammatical analysis and thematic classification of the lexical reference parts of comparison.

### **1 Introduction**

Contrastive linguistics is one of the most popular areas in modern linguistics. Reciprocal correlation, comparison and contradistinction of units, forms, categories and other linguistic phenomena are indispensable for characterizing the relationships between languages. In this context, a study of phraseological units (PUs) is of major interest.

Contrastive study reveals similarities and differences in the use of linguistic resources across different languages, allowing for the determination of the characteristics of each of the compared languages and

permitting the anticipation and removal of potential interference in foreign-language learning. Contrastive study provides a solid base for the linguistic theory of translation and delivers material for typology. For related languages, comparison leads to the establishment of historical linguistic affinity. For unrelated languages, the establishment of interlingual equivalents for different types serves the needs of translation and acquisition of foreign languages.

Phraseology is a verbalized part of the system of prototypical and stereotypical perceptions and assessments of a given society. An idiom is a valuable source of facts for speakers. A significant part of fixed expressions is associated with aspects of national life: historical facts, folk beliefs, customs, and rituals. Psychologists, ethnographers, and ethnopsychologists use linguistic facts (the internal form of words and phraseological units, rudimentary phenomena in idioms, perceptions of the world in paremias) in their studies of national character and mentality. One of the challenges facing cultural linguistics is setting out clear principles by which certain phenomena can be established as inter-lingual or as inherent to a certain language world picture.

The goal of this paper is to review and compare Ukrainian and Italian comparative phraseological units. This process will reveal the structural features of the idioms in both languages and analyze their components and semantic attributes. The degree of cross-language equivalence or non-equivalence and linguo-cultural factors arising from such differences will be identified. The objects of this study are the phraseological units of two unrelated languages which may, however, have a common literary heritage through cultural ties.

## 2 Methods

The change from the structural paradigm to the modern cognitive perspective revived contrastive studies and introduced new aspects into them, particularly the linguo-cultural aspect. The specific nature of language representations of the world entails typical ways to verbalize values. A whole range of factors, such as geography, history, culture, and religion generate the conceptual world picture of language groups. The national psychology, national linguistic identity, and national mentality are created under the influence of these factors (Levchenko 2005). The task of cultural linguistics is to “explicate the cultural importance of linguistic units (i.e. “cultural knowledge”) by comparing the prototype situation of phraseological or other linguistic units, characterizing them in terms of the

“codes” of culture which can be offered to a native speaker by a linguist” (Maslova 1997).

It is necessary to model a system of concepts and cultural symbols, which could provide a basis for the contrastive analysis of the features (e.g., semantic, symbolic, cultural) of prototypical concepts specific to a particular language picture of the world. The methodological principle is the use of information provided by different approaches, starting from the word as a unit of the verbal level to the concept as a unit of the conceptual level and from the concept to the word (Levchenko 2005).

Stable and reproducible expressions based on comparison, are called comparative phraseological units (Dolgova 2007). The structural and semantic character of comparative phraseological units is due to the presence of a comparative group or a comparative subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction *yak*, *mov*, *nemov*, *nache*, *nenache*, *nizh* (*yak*, *yak niby*, *chym*) or through a comparative instrumental case. For example: *prats'ovytyy yak bdzhola*; *holodnyy yak vovk*; *mov toy solovey*; *vertitysya dzygoyu* etc. This lexico-semantic group was chosen because of its wide prevalence, extreme imagery, emotionality and expressiveness as well as its pervasiveness in literary creativity. Scientific studies of phraseological units indicate a high frequency of the use of comparative phraseological units in spoken and written language.

The process by which comparative phraseological units—as opposed to lexical ones—are created is a special type of nomination, which is often associated with a metaphor. Evidently, the comparison of two objects is one of the stages in the creation of a metaphor. This stage provides the foundation for further cognitive operations (Croft/Cruise 2004). The Conceptual Metaphor Theory has had a great influence on modern linguo-culturology. From a cognitive point of view, the process of creating and understanding a metaphor is based on the interaction of two different conceptual spheres (i.e. mental spaces, or frames). Thus, the idea used for a metaphor acquires new imagery and associative links and becomes enriched. Research into the national and cultural specificity of concepts can be carried out by examining metaphors. In terms of methodology, we carried out grammatical analysis of the comparative phraseological units; and thematic classification of the lexicon of the reference parts of the comparisons, were used in the work.

The language materials used in this work are taken from the *Dictionary of phraseology of Ukrainian language* (Bilonozhenko / Hnatyuk / Dyatchuk / Nerovnya / Fedorchenko 2003), *Dizionario di Fraseologia dell'Italiano Regionale* (DFIR), *Dizionario Italiano on line* (Enrico Olivetti), the *Italian-Russian Phrasebook* (Cherdantseva / Retsker / Zor'ko

1982). Italian-Russian and Polish-Italian bilingual phrasebooks already exist; it is obvious that there is a need to create an Italian-Ukrainian phrasebook.

The most common structural and grammatical models and the main thematic groups of phraseology with a comparative component were analyzed by means of the *Corpus of Ukrainian Language MOVA.info*, the *Ukrainian National Linguistic Corpus UNLC*, the *Corpus of Written Italian CORIS/CODIS*, the *Corpus of Italian Web Texts PAISÀ*, the *Corpus e Lessico di Frequenza dell'Italiano Scritto Contemporaneo CoLFIS*, and the *Parallel Corpora of the National Corpus of Russian Language NKRYA*.

The comparative idioms analyzed were selected by a standard sampling method. In total, about 736 comparative phraseological units were identified and analyzed. About 160 Italian phraseological units were also analyzed.

### 3 Results

In terms of their comparative structural features, idioms can be classified into the following most common structural and grammatical models:

1) *verb + comparative component-noun:*

ukr. *krutytytsya yak bilka v koleci, nosytysya yak kurka z yaytsem, sypaty yak horokhom* etc.;

it. *nuotare come un pesce, andare dritto come una spada, addormentarsi come un sasso* etc.

2) *Verb + comparative component-adjective / participle:*

ukr. *znaty yak obluplenoho, vyskochyty yak oshparennyy, stoyaty yak ukopanny* etc.;

it. *cadere (come) fulminato* etc.

3) *Adjective + comparative component-noun:*

ukr. *krasyva yak zirka, bilyy yak kreyda, syvyy yak snih, mudryy yak Solomon* etc.;

it. *bello come (quanto) il sole (come la luce del sole), bianco come uno straccio (lavato), (come un panno lavato, come la cera, come un morto, come un lenzuolo), candido (puro) come un giglio, nudo come (babbo) Adamo* etc.

4) *Comparative component = verb:*

ukr. *yak vitrom zdulo, yak rukoyu znime, nenache vdruhe na svit narodytys', yak u vodu upasty, mov hromom udarylo* etc.;

*it. come sbattere la testa contro un muro, (facile) come bere un bicchiere d'acqua* etc.

5) *Comparative component = predicative unit:*

*ukr. yak kit naplakav, yak poluda z ochey spala, yak mukha vkusyla, nache gedz' napav* etc.;

*it. fare come quello che cercava l'asino e c'era sopra (cercava la pipa e l'aveva in bocca)* etc.

Sources of idioms in both languages include: representations of everyday life, professions, animals and comparisons with nature, folklore, mythology, Bible concepts and spiritual objects, games, literary quotations and history.

Idioms with a comparative component form certain thematic groups in Ukrainian and in Italian, amongst which:

1) *idioms based on domestic ideas, often including words describing body parts, household items, and certain professions.* These characterize mainly people, their appearance, physical or mental condition, behavior, and activity. This is the largest group of PUs, which is explained by the fact that such PUs reflect reality and provide information on human life:

*ukr. yak v aptetsi, yak bal'zam na ranu, yak bil' (bilyy), yak (mov, niby) bil'mo na otsi, yak na blyudechku, yak u bezdonnu (diryavu) bochku, nosytysya yak duren' iz pysanoyu torboyu, (zhyty) yak brat z sestroyu, yak (mov, nache) zasvatana [divka], yak (nemov) na doloni, yak brekhnya po selu, yak varenyk u masli, yak na vystavku, yak (mov, niby) z vidra, yak (mov) nozhem vidrizaty, yak (mov, niby) vidrubaty, yak u lysoho volossya, yak u vusi (tykho), khoch hreblyu haty, yak (mov) holku v sini (shukaty), yak na zariz, yak yazykom zlyzalo, yak (mov, niby) midnomu kazankovi, yak horokhom ob stinu, kupatysya yak syr v masli, yak (mov, niby) pislya makivky, yak (mov, niby) koval's'kyi mikh (sope), yak mlyn mele (hovoryt'), yak mokre horyt', yak vody v rot nabraty, yak nytko za holkoyu, yak na nozhakh, yak (mov) svoho oka (berehty), yak oseledsiv u bochtsi, yak na pozhezhu, (harno) yak u vinochku, (zhovtyy) yak visk, khoch sokyru vishay, yak (mov) s'ohodni (uchora, shchoyno) pryvedenyy, yak pryshyy kobyli khvist, yak svoyi p'yat' pal'tsiv (znaty), yak pereyizhdzha svakha, yak sereda na p'yatnytsyu (skryvytysya), yak (mov, nache) shovkom shyie (breshe), yak (mov) pid shnurok, yak p'yate koleso do voza;*

*it. pallido come un cencio, pigiati (stipati, stretti) come le acciughe (in un barile, in scatola, nella salamoia), fitti come il buio (come le*



*mosche, come sardine), essere magro come una scopa, magro come un chiodo, lungo come l'anno della fame, struggersi (spegnersi, consumarsi) come una candela, essere più vecchio del prezzemolo, più arido che la pomice, buono come un bambino, sordo come una campana, facile come bere un uovo, essere pieno come un uovo, stupido come l'acqua tiepida, bianco come il latte, denti bianchi come mandorle sbucciate, fare come il cane dell'ortolano, bella come una sposa, buono come il pane, liscio come l'olio, calzare come un guanto, fumare come un camino, bere come una spugna, essere come il fumo negli occhi, fino come un capello.*

2) *Idioms that are animalistic in nature.* The second significant group of comparative phraseological units in both languages contains types of animals and describes their habits often in comparison with human qualities; their origin can be attributed to the coexistence of humans and animals:

ukr. *(zhyty) yak baybak u nori, (dyvytysya) yak (mov, niby) baran na novi vorota, yak (mov, niby) bdzhil u vulyku, bytysya, yak horlytsya, bytysya yak (mov, nache) ptakh u klittsi, bytysya yak (mov, niby) ryba v saku (v sityakh), bytysya yak ryba ob lid, yak zaytsevi bubon, (zdorovyy) yak vil, yak chornyy vil [u yarmi] (pratsyuvaty), vlypnuty yak mukha v med, shcho y vovk ne prolize, yak holodni vovky na vivtysyu, yak u karasya vovny, yak (mov, nache) z husky voda, yak volamy (yikhaty), yak (mov, niby) [ti] holubky zhyty, yak indyk nadutysya, krutytsya, yak bilka v kolesi, yak lyn po dnu (khodyty), yak kit naplakav, yak kit na salo (dyvytysya), yak (mov) kvochka na yaytysyakh (sydity), yak mokra kurka, yak kit z sobakoyu, yak (mov, nache) ruda mysha (zahynuty), yak tserkovna mysha (bidnyy), yak mukha v okropi, yak murashvy, yak osa (serdytyy), yak rak svysne, yak ryba movchaty, yak sarana, yak [toy] shymak, yak sobaka (zlyy, holodnyy), yak sobaka palytsyu (lyubyty), yak sova dyvytysya, yak soroka na khvosti roznesty, yak teterya (hlukhyy), yak cherepakha (vyty);*

it. *sano come un pesce, nuotare come un pesce, sentirsi come un pesce fuor d'acqua, essere come cane e gatto, trattare qualcuno come un cane, soffrire (solo) come un cane, come un cane bastonato, sfortunato (accogliere) come un cane in chiesa, crepare (morire) come un cane, camminare come un gambero, rosso come un gambero, cantare come un usignolo (merlo, canarino), cantare come una rana, essere gonfio come una rana, giocare come il gatto col topo, essere come il gatto e l'acqua bollita, lavarsi come il gatto, avere sette vite (anime, spiriti) come i gatti, agile come un gatto, ballare come un orso,*

*affamato come un lupo, magro (secco) come un'acciuga (un'alice, un'aringa, un baccalà), morbido come un agnellino, fare come il lupo con l'agnello, nero come un corvo, meglio un uccello in gabbia che cento per aria, lavorare come un mulo (asino), battersi come un leone, fare come i topi degli speciali (che leccano i barattoli), mangiare come un maiale (un porco), mangiare come un bue, mangiare come un uccellino, camminare come una lumaca (una tartaruga), vivere di buio come le piattole, candido come una colomba, essere candido come un ermellino, grasso come un maiale, matto come un cavallo, correre come un capriolo.*

3) *Idioms, which are the result of observations of natural phenomena and their comparison.* These phraseological units are directly related to the surrounding reality and the habitat of both peoples:

ukr. *mov (yak) hrim sered (z) yasnoho neba, prycheptytsya yak rep "yakh, nache pir "yina, yak bylyna v poli, yak (mov, nache) vykhor, yak (mov, nache) mokhom vkrytyy, yak (mov, nache) vodoyu vmylo (zmylo), yak vohnem (pekty), (boyatysya) yak vohnyu, yak z vody (rosty), yak (mov, nache) hromom vrazhenyy, mov na haryachim vuhilli (sydity), yak hora z plechey, yak (mov, nache) [toy] horokh pry dorozh, yak za kam"yanoyu horoyu, azh dym ide, yak zirok na nebi, yak za vodoyu, yak (mov) [ta] kvitochka, yak na krylakh, yak mak tsvite, yak nebo vid zemli, yak torishniy snih (potriben), yak makiv tsvit (harnyy);*

it. *chiaro come l'acqua (di sorgente), rosso come i carboni ardenti, nero come il carbone, saldo come (un) l'acciaio, come l'acqua e il fuoco, somigliarsi come due gocce d'acqua, tremare come una foglia, candido come la neve, cadere (cascarci) come una pere matura (cotta), verde come un aglio, le bugie sono come ciliegie che una tira l'altra, bello come il sole, fresco come una rosa, rosso come una brace, duro come il ferro (l'acciaio), numerosi come la sabbia del mare, numerosi come mosche, bugiardo come un cielo di marzo (un lunario), vuoto come una canna, essere (mobile, tremare) come una canna (foglia) al vento, addormentarsi come sasso, scappare (sparire) come il (piu veloce del) vento, venire a tempo come un'acqua d'agosto, essere freddo come un masso, essere viscido come un'alga, essere (come) una goccia nel mare, grande come il mare.*

4) *Idioms associated with the Bible, religion, church:*

ukr. *yak (mov, nache) na Velykden', yak smertnyy hrikh, yak (mov, nache) manyy nebesnoyi, yak Bohu (Bohovi) molytysya, yak (niby) z khresta znyaty, yak moshchi, nosytysya yak z pysankoyu, yak kamin' z*

*dushi odkotyty, yak pip na ryzy (dyvytysya), yak z Bozhoyi ruky, yako (yak) tat' [vnochi], yak (mov, niby) Iyerykhons'ka truba, mov po psaltyryu chytaty;*

*it. allegro (tranquillo, felice) come una Pasqua, i denari vanno via come l'acqua benedetta, nudo come (babbo) Adamo, vecchio come l'alleluia, vecchio come l'arca di Noe, vecchio come Noè, vecchio come Matusalemme, andare ramingo come Caino, povero come Giobbe, essere come la Madonna dei Sette Dolori (esser la Madonna dei dolori), essere (fuggire, scappare) come il Diavolo dall'acqua santa (e la croce), il Diavolo non e così (tanto) brutto come lo si dipinge (appare), bello come un angelo, puro come un angelo, lungo come la processione, lungo come una Quaresima, lungo come la Messa cantata.*

*5) Idioms associated with mythology and folklore:*

*ukr. yak bohy, yak (mov, niby) u bochku Danayid, yak bida na holovu, yak (mov, nache) z-pid zemli vyrosty, dyvytysya bisom, yak (mov) chortovi v zuby, na kintsi svitu, yak [ta] mara, yak (mov) [toy] Marko (Syvko) u pekli (po peklu) tovtysya, yak charivna palychka, yak z roha dostatku, yak sim bab posheptalo, yak Sfinks, yak chort vid ladanu, yak chort do sukhoyi verby (prychepytysya);*

*it. essere come le tre Grazie, essere come l'Araba Fenice, urlare come un'anima dannata, pallido come un fantasma, fare come la gatta di Masino.*

*6) Idioms related to military affairs and weapons:*

*ukr. yak (mov, nache) z harmaty, yak po komandi, yak (mov, nache) strila, yak na spolokh, mov ubytyy (spaty), khodyty [yak (mov)] po struntsi;*

*it. andare come una palla di fucile.*

*7) Idioms associated with games:*

*ukr. dyvytysya kozyrem, yak (mov) kartkova khatka (kartkovyy budynochok);*

*it. calvo (pelato) come una palla da biliardo, liscio come una palla da biliardo, contare come il due di picche (coppe), contare come il due di briscola (quando l'asso è in tavola).*

*8) Idioms related to art:*

*ukr. dyvytysya kozyrem, yak (mov) kartkova khatka (kartkovyy budynochok);*

*it. calvo (pelato) come una palla da biliardo, liscio come una palla da biliardo, contare come il due di picche (coppe), contare come il due di briscola (quando l'asso è in tavola).*

9) *Idioms related to the history and the relations between peoples:*

*ukr. yak tsyhan na salo (do sala), yak (mov) tsyhan sontsem (krutyty), yak vychavlenyy lymon, mov na vulkani (zhyty);*

*it. andare in giro come uno zingaro, essere come l'ebreo errante, essere come la fabbrica di san Pietro, felice come un re, essere come la bandiera del Piovano Arlotto, bestemmiare come un turco (come un luterano), fare come il cane di Botrione, strillare come un'oca (del Campidoglio).*

10) *Idioms of literary origin:*

*ukr. yak [toy] Taras Bul'ba z Andriyem, yak Baba Paraska i Baba Palazhka, [yak] sobaka (pes) na sini;*

*it. far come la volpe all'uva, fare come il corvo col cacio, andare a finire come le nozze di Pulcinella, essere (fare) come l'asino di Buridano, essere come il gatto e la volpe, fare come un cane d'Esopo.*

11) *Idioms based on the idea of life/death:*

*ukr. vmerty yak v mohyli (zberehty tayemnytsyu), yak u domovyni (tykho, temno), yak mertvomu kadylo, malo ne trupom lyahaty, yak po mertvomu (holosyty), yak mohyla (movchaty), yak nezhyvyy, yak smert' (blidy), yak za smertyu (posylaty);*

*it. bianco (pallido) come un morto, più bugiardo di un epitaffio, (cadere) come morto.*

## 4 Discussion

This study shows that the Ukrainian and Italian languages indeed have a large number of comparative phraseological units, which are often used in written and oral speech. In the analysis of comparative PUs in the two languages, we paid special attention to the reference component of the phraseological construction. Sustainable comparisons were not considered, since they are not included within the scope of phraseology. The relevance of comparative PUs lies in amplification. In most cases, their use is associated with evaluative judgments and with the expression of the measure and degree of some features or with imagery of ideas about actions and states. Therefore, they take part in the representation of the concepts in the Ukrainian and Italian language pictures of the world, the objectification of which has an anthropocentric character. The selection

and description of PUs with a comparative component make it possible to trace how the worldview and the level of development of a particular nation are reflected in the phraseology generated by its language.

We conceptualized the comparative phraseological units as two-component formations according to their structural features and identified the main thematic groups among the phraseological units. These groups are more or less numerous in one or the other language. The most common group of phraseological units is based on everyday ideas, often with lexemes referring to parts of the body, everyday objects, and professions. Many phraseological units, in both languages, are associated with observations of animals and nature in general. Biblicalisms and phraseological units associated with church traditions, as well as PUs connected to mythology and folklore, are also widespread. The groups associated with specific spheres of activity, such as the military, marine occupations, art, and literature contain significantly fewer phraseological units. A substantial amount of phraseology in Italian compared to Ukrainian is comprised of statements having a historical basis.

Comparing the phraseological units of the two languages, it can be noted that in both languages they are very expressive, colorful and have folk-colloquial coloring. The stylistic expressiveness of phraseological units with a comparative component is also associated with a significant number of biblical references. The features of biblical phraseology are moral-didactic and ethical components of the content, as well as stylistic features, which are manifested in the connotativeness of their semantic structure. Despite the fact that the bible-based phraseology comes from one source, each language has a number of specific features due to the history of Bible translations, language and culture of the people. For example, in Ukrainian, religious phraseological units mainly use comparisons with general concepts associated with religion, belief (angel, God, sin etc.) and with objects of church usage and the names of Christian holidays, whereas Italian PUs involve names of saints or events from the Bible.

From the point of view of connotation, Ukrainian and Italian phraseological comparative units have negative (ukr. *dyvytysya yak baran na novi vorota*; it. *grasso come un maiale*), positive (ukr. *yak namal'ovanyy*; it. *bello come il sole*) and neutral (ukr. *yak hora z plechey*; it. *liscio come l'olio*) connotations. In our observations, there is a predominance of negative connotations in the comparative phraseological units of both languages.

In both languages, the second component of comparative phraseological units is most often metaphorical, figurative. At the same time, there are

also more explicit, direct comparisons, which are strictly connected to the first component of the phraseological unit (ukr. *bidnyy*) *yak tserkovna mysha* (talk about very poor person)–(*zahynuty*) *yak ruda mysha* (to die from hunger); it. *aspro come un limone* (to describe a person with a harsh, unfriendly demeanour)–*essere giallo come un limone* (to be extremely pale, with a yellow face). According to our observations, idiomaticity, complexity and “concentration” of expression is more typical in Italian phraseology.

Analyzing the thematic groups of comparative phraseological units in Ukrainian and Italian, we can draw the following conclusions about the equivalence/non-equivalence of such phraseological units. The concepts and situations underlying the phraseology have much in common, since the basis for phraseology most often comes from common items in the household and in the surrounding world. On the other hand, many words of this kind become symbols and are connected mainly with the personification of certain qualities and properties of a person. In different languages, the characters can be very different, and consequently, phraseological units based on them sometimes completely or partially coincide, sometimes completely diverge.

The large number of international PUs signifies that European nations have some common cultural values and experiences (*cercare un ago in un pagliaio*–*yak (mov) holku v sini (shukaty)*). Some equivalent units may have arisen as borrowing due to communication and cultural ties. For example, the Ukrainian PU *yak vychavlenyy lymon* may reflect the influence of the Italian PU *spremere come un limone*. Some equivalents of phraseological units in both languages have the Bible as a common source of origin: ukr. *berehty yak zinytsyu oka*–it. *voler bene come la pupilla dell'occhio*. There are also purely national PUs specific only to Italian, which do not have equivalents in other languages. These include: *innocente come l'acqua dei maccheroni*, *antico come il prezzemolo*, *denti bianchi come mandorle sbucciate*, *[mare] calmo (liscio) come l'olio*, *essere giallo come un limone*. Idioms that are used mainly in Ukrainian include: *yak varenyk u masli*, *yak brekhnya po selu*, *yak (mov, niby) pislya makivky*, *yak makohon na nochvy (skhozhyy)*, *yak (mov, niby) koval's'kyi mikh (sope)*, *yak pereyizhdzha svakha*.

The phraseological systems of the Ukrainian and Italian languages demonstrate some common mechanisms of conceptualization. The languages have fairly complete equivalents of idioms based on similar thinking patterns. Thus, the Ukrainian idiom *slippy yak krit* is matched by the Italian *cieco come una talpa*. Similarly: ukr. *nimyy yak ryba*–it. *muto come un pesce*; ukr. *yak dvi kapli vody*–it. *somigliarsi come due gocce d'acqua*;

ukr. *yak kit z sobakoyu*–it. *essere come cane e gatto*; ukr. *yak oseledtsiv u bochtsi*–it. *fitti (pigiati, stipati) come sardine (in scatola)*; ukr. *povzty yak cherepakha*–it. *camminare come un lumaca (una tartaruga)*; ukr. *yak ob stinu horokhom*–it. *come le fave al muro*; ukr. *chystyy yak snih*–it. *candido come la neve*; however, the Italian idiom *sano come un pesce* corresponds to Ukrainian *zdorovyy yak byk*, which is different in terms of lexical peculiarities. Therefore, differences between the PUs with a comparative component in the two languages can be clarified with the help of synonyms of PUs.

## 5 Conclusions

Differences in the meaning of PUs are primarily related to the natural conditions, cultural and religious traditions of peoples. A significant number of Ukrainian and Italian phraseological units coincide, which may be due to the universal character of such comparisons, the influence of Christian values and concepts, and literary sources. On the other hand, many examples illustrate the lack of equivalence of phraseological comparisons, attributable to the peculiarities and specificity of the national character, the way of life, and the occupation of the peoples.

Historical conditions dictated that peasant life would be a major factor for the Ukrainian nation. Duly, in the Ukrainian phraseological system there are more ethnically-colored elements (images, symbols, comparisons) that are figuratively based on the peasant, agricultural, stock-raising lifestyle. The lexical compositions of the PUs contain a significant number of historicisms and archaisms, and the national worldview has preserved the symbols of the people's mythology alongside Christian tradition.

The sources of prototypes for Italian phraseological units, besides farming and stock-raising, were other spheres of professional activity: military and naval affairs, art, and literature. Adoptions from the literature of other nations, Catholicism and the church significantly influenced the development of Italian phraseology. Non-equivalent phraseological units include expressions that go back to the history of the two countries: historical names, as well as the beliefs, religions, and church traditions of peoples.

The results of this study may be applicable in various lexicographical works of a comparative nature. Furthermore, this work could be used as the basis for the creation of a direct bilingual Ukrainian-Italian idiomatic dictionary.

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## CHAPTER SEVEN

# GESICHTSFARBE IN PHRASEOLOGISMEN: KONTRASTIVE ANALYSE IM ALBANISCHEN UND DEUTSCHEN

ALBANA MUCO

### Abstract

*Farbphraseologismen* are phraseologisms that contain colour terms. After introducing the theoretical approach and the model used for interlingual analysis, this paper presents a contrastive analysis of Albanian and German phraseological units related to changes in facial colour depending on emotional state. The aim of this article is to identify and indicate symbolical, cultural and linguistic equivalences and differences between the two languages.

### 1 Einleitung

Die Phraseologie, „als Teildisziplin der Lexikologie“ oder „als selbständige linguistische Disziplin“ (Palm 1997, XI), analysiert Kombinationen von „festen Wortverbindungen einer Sprache, die im System und im Satz die Funktion und Bedeutung einzelner Wörter (Lexeme) übernehmen können“ (Palm 1997, 1). Auch Gries (2008, 6) ist der gleichen Meinung, dass ein Phraseologismus „als eine semantische Einheit funktioniert!“, das heißt als eine einzige lexikalische Einheit.

Folglich kann man durch die Phraseologismen den Wortschatz erweitern, die außersprachliche Welt in der menschlichen Sprachaktivität benennen und die Kenntnisse sprachlich vermitteln. Hauptsächlich werden durch die phraseologischen Einheiten mentale Größen wie positive und negative Emotionen, Einstellungen, Verhaltensweisen ausgedrückt (Palm

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<sup>1</sup> Im Original: „functions as one semantic unit“ (Gries 2008, 6).

1997, 1). Aus diesem Grund sind Phraseologismen – sowie auch einfache Lexeme – Teil des mentalen Lexikons<sup>2</sup> einer Sprache.

Die phraseologischen Einheiten stellen Phraseme<sup>3</sup> dar, die aus mindestens zwei Einheiten des lexikalischen Systems (Lexemen) bestehen (Palm 1997, 2). Phraseologismen sind polylexikalisch, reproduzierbar und haben stabile und idiomatische Strukturen (Dobrovól'skij / Piirainen 2002; Giacomini 2012; Burger 2015; Kahl 2015). Die oben genannten Merkmale charakterisieren auch Idiome oder Sprichwörter. Nach Palm (1997, 2) sind Sprichwörter keine Phrasemen, können jedoch aufgrund ihrer festen Form und Interpretierbarkeit als Phraseologismen betrachtet werden. Diese Einheiten sind durch offensichtliche Metaphorisierungen gekennzeichnet, die soziokulturelle Symbolismen und Besonderheiten widerspiegeln (Sadikaj 2009). Ihre idiomatische Natur lässt die Phraseologismen Teil der metaphorischen oder bildlichen Ausdrucksweise einer Sprache werden, das heißt, sie kommunizieren durch konzeptuelle Bilder. Lakoff und Johnson führen zu Metaphern Folgendes aus:

Metaphor pervades our normal conceptual system. Because so many of the concepts that are important to us are either abstract or not clearly delineated in our experience (the emotions, ideas, time, etc.), we need to get a grasp by means of other concepts that we understand in clearer terms (spatial orientations, objects, etc.). This need leads to metaphorical definition in our conceptual system (Lakoff / Johnson 2003, 115).

Daraus ergibt sich, dass die Farbe vor allem ein Phänomen ist, das mit Kognition und Kultur, mit den Formen des Wissens und den sozialen Umgebungen, in denen es ausgedrückt wird, mit dem individuellen und kollektiven Wissen, den anthropologischen Strukturen, auf denen alles beruht, verbunden ist (Agnello 2013, 11). Die Farbsymbolik (mehr dazu Dobrovól'skij / Piirainen 2002, 227-284) verbindet sich mit der Kultur, den Traditionen und mit dem kollektiven Gefühl und „Farben haben in Kulturen sicherlich unterschiedliches symbolisches Gewicht“ (Staffeldt 2011, 138). Aus kontrastiver Sicht wird im Folgenden die Veränderung der Gesichtsfarbe analysiert, welche durch die albanischen und deutschen

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<sup>2</sup> Kognitivistisch wird das mentale Lexikon als das hochflexible Ergebnis zahlreicher Nutzungsereignisse betrachtet (Kristiansen et al. 2006, 2-3). Nach Pushpa Nagini Sripada (2008, 181), „the mental lexicon is that component of grammar that contains all the information – phonological, morphological, semantic, and syntactic – that speakers have about individual words and morphemes (Franklin and Emmorey in Murthy, 1989).“ Für weitere Informationen verweise ich auf Jarema & Libben (2008).

<sup>3</sup> Mehr zur Definition des Begriffs findet sich in Šichová 2013, 35-66 und Mel'čuk 1998, 23-53.

Farbphraseologismen ausgedrückt wird, da die Farbsymbolik tief in der Sprache verwurzelt ist und der sprachliche Ausdruck das Symbol verwahrt (vgl. Wanzeck 2003, Dobrovól'skij / Piirainen 2002).

Die kontrastive phraseologische Analyse, die hier angewandt wird, beruht auf dem Modell der interlinguistischen Äquivalenz. Dieses Modell ist in drei Kategorien unterteilt: vollständige bzw. totale Äquivalenz (=), partielle bzw. teilweise Äquivalenz ( $\pm$ ) und Nulläquivalenz ( $\emptyset$ ). Diese Unterteilung basiert auf drei Faktoren: a) allgemeine phraseologische Bedeutung, b) wörtliche Bedeutung, und c) syntaktische Struktur (Kahl 2015, 122).

## 2 Färbung der Haut im Gesicht als Symbolträger

In den folgenden Beispielen, die ich aus Wörterbüchern, Korpora und Zeitungsartikeln extrahiert habe<sup>4</sup>, ist das Gesicht die Stelle der Farbveränderung, die die vermittelten Phraseologismen zeigen. So dient das Gesicht als Stimmungsraum und die Farbe zeigt visuell das Innenleben eines Menschen, das heißt den emotionalen Zustand.

Das Gesicht überträgt diese Information, denn:

Farben können verschiedene Assoziationen, Reaktionen und Emotionen beim Menschen auslösen. Unser Körper reagiert rein physiologisch und für uns unbewusst auf die Farbreize, die aus der Umwelt auf uns treffen, verändert Puls, Blutdruck und Atemfrequenz (Krumtscheid 2000, 4).

Die Farbe, die ein nicht-sprachliches Signal (mehr zu Körpersignalen siehe Grammer 2004) ist, hat folglich eine (sozio-kulturelle) Bedeutung, weil sie als Kultursymbol gilt (Dobrovól'skij / Piirainen 2002, 227), das heißt, dass sie sozio-kulturell erkannt und interpretiert wird.

Die hier analysierten Phraseologismen der albanischen und deutschen Sprache zeigen, dass die Farben nicht nur positiv, sondern auch negativ konnotiert sein können.

### 2.1 Rot

Mit der Farbe Rot werden positive (Liebe, Leidenschaft) und negative Emotionen (Hass, Zorn und Ärger) assoziiert. So verrät die Gesichtsfarbe einerseits Befangenheit und Verliebtheit, Scham und Wutausbruch

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<sup>4</sup> Albanian National Corpus, Das Deutsche Referenzkorpus-DeReKo, Duden online, Fjalor i shqipes së sotme, Fjalor frazeologjik i gjuhës shqipe, Redensarten-Index, Redewendungen-Wörterbuch der deutschen Idiomatik.

andererseits. Der Phraseologismus (1a) ist ein deutliches Beispiel für Zornesausbruch und Schamgefühl:

(1a)

alb. *u bë spec i kuq në fytyrë* (er/sie wurde rot wie Paprika im Gesicht)  
 dt. rot wie eine Tomate werden  
 dt. im Gesicht eine rote Farbe (wie Paprika/Tomate) bekommen

Auf Albanisch gibt es auch die Variante *u skuq e u bë spec nga inati*, wörtlich übersetzt ‚er/sie wurde rot und Paprika vor Zorn‘.

Im folgenden Beispiel (1b) wird das Zorngefühl in beiden Sprachen klar ausgedrückt, und es besteht eine totale interlinguale Äquivalenz (=):

(1b)

alb. *u (s)kuq nga turpi (nga inati)* (er/sie wurde rot vor Scham (vor Zorn))  
 dt. vor Scham (Zorn, Wut) rot werden

## 2.2 Gelb

Die Entwertung der gelben Farbe geht auf das Mittelalter zurück, als es dem Gold alle positiven Konnotationen (Reichtum, Brillanz/Glanz, Göttlichkeit, Helligkeit/Sonnenkraft, Licht, Leben, Energie, Freude, Macht, usw.) überließ und nur mehr die negativen Konnotationen wie Krankheit (Pest, Zirrrose, usw.) für sich selbst bewahrte. Gold scheint und wärmt, während Gelb verblasst ist und an Herbst, Krankheit und Tod erinnert. Gelb neigt dazu zu verschwinden, um nicht-farbig zu werden (Agnello 2013, 37) und wenn es vom Gold begrifflich getrennt wird, scheint es nur negativ konnotiert und wird bestenfalls als Blässe, vorübergehendes Blitzen wahrgenommen und erzeugt generelles Misstrauen (Lüge, Verrat, Krankheit, usw.) (Agnello 2013, 40). Bezüglich der Phraseologismen mit Färbung der Haut im Gesicht vermittelt Gelb als negative Konnotation Emotionen wie Hass, Neid, Bosheit und Ärger, weil die Galle mit einer gelbgrünen Flüssigkeit auf das Gesicht einwirkt (Hofmannová 2004, 170).

Es ist interessant zu bemerken, dass keine Farbveränderung im Gesicht (1c) im Albanischen die Bedeutung aufweist, dass eine Person minderwertig/ indifferent, gleichgültig, schamlos ist. Die Farben des betreffenden Beispiels (1c) sind rot und gelb:

(1c)

alb. *as (s)kuqet, as (z)verdhet* (weder errötet er/sie, noch vergilbt er/sie)

Im Phraseologismus gibt es keinen ausdrücklichen Hinweis auf das Gesicht, aber es ist implizit, dass er sich auf das Gesicht bezieht. Tatsächlich ist *as i skuqet e as i zverdhjet fytyra*<sup>5</sup> (1d) eine Variante, die sich direkt auf das Gesicht bezieht. Die wörtliche Übersetzung des Phraseologismus ist ‚sein/ihr Gesicht weder errötet und noch vergilbt‘. Dieser Ausdruck (1c) findet kein Äquivalent im Deutschen und daher besteht eine Nulläquivalenz.

Für das folgende Beispiel (2) besteht eine teilweise Äquivalenz ( $\pm$ ), weil die allgemeine und wörtliche Bedeutung in beiden Sprachen zusammenfällt, aber die syntaktischen Strukturen unterschiedlich sind. Im Deutschen werden die gelbe und weiße Farbe als Symbole für Blässe verwendet. Beide Sprachen betrachten diese Farben als Symbol der Blässe, das mit der Farbe von Wachs assoziiert wird.

(2)

alb. u bë dyllë i verdhë në fytyrë (er/sie wurde gelb wie Wachs im Gesicht)

dt. gelb im Gesicht sein/werden

dt. weiß im Gesicht werden

dt. ihr Gesicht war weiß, gelb wie Wachs (sehr bleich, fahl)<sup>6</sup>

### 2.3 Grün

Grün wurde im Laufe der Jahrhunderte zur Farbe des Giftes und, angesichts seiner materiellen Vorläufigkeit, der Instabilität und Unsicherheit. Es repräsentiert alles, was variiert, sich verändert, täuscht (Agnello 2013, 30). Die Galle produziert bei negativen Gefühlen wie Neid, eine gelbgrüne Flüssigkeit, weshalb man Grün mit den verschiedenen schlechten Empfindungen in Verbindung bringt. Somit ist Grün auch die Farbe des Ärgers (Hofmannová 2004, 169-170).

(3a)

alb. u bë jeshil në fytyrë (er/sie wurde grün im Gesicht)

dt. sich grün und blau ärgern

(3b)

dt. grün vor Neid sein/werden

<sup>5</sup> Wie in Halili 2015: <http://telegraf.al/aktualitet/shqiperia-vend-35-ndertim-i-paligjshem-xhibuti-17> (18.04.2018).

<sup>6</sup> Duden online: <http://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Wachs> (18.04.2018).

Die albanische Einheit bedeutet nur ‚sich sehr ärgern‘, während die grüne Farbe auf Deutsch auch das Neidgefühl ausdrückt.

## 2.4 Schwarz

Die schwarze Farbe wird oft als negativ und pessimistisch empfunden und als Symbol der Dunkelheit, der Hoffnungslosigkeit, der Trauer und des Todes bezeichnet (Hofmannová 2004, 166). In den nachfolgenden Beispielen zeigt Schwarz die Wut.

(4a)

alb. u nxi nga inati (er/sie wurde vor Wut eingeschwärzt)

alb. u bë sterrë në fytyrë (er/sie wurde sehr dunkel/schwarz im Gesicht)

alb. u nxi në fytyrë (er/sie wurde im Gesicht eingeschwärzt)

dt. sich schwarz ärgern

## 3 Schlussfolgerungen

Cowie (1998, 8-9) führt aus, wie das kulturelle Element auf der Grundlage der theoretischen Perspektiven behandelt wurde und beschreibt, dass Veronika Teliya und ihre Kollegen einen begrifflichen Rahmen für die Beschreibung der kulturellen Daten entwickelt haben, die in den Bedeutungen der Multi-Wort-Einheiten dargestellt werden. Die Argumentation dafür war, dass die Phraseologie für die linguokulturelle Analyse besonders fruchtbar sei. So reflektieren und erweitern Sprache und ihre figurativen Bedeutungen die Weltanschauung, die von der Sprachgemeinschaft geteilt werde. Somit seien Sprache und insbesondere die Phraseologie ein entscheidender Mechanismus, der zur Bildung und Stärkung einer kulturellen Identität beitrage (Cowie 1998, 9). Nach Teliya und ihren Kollegen dringe die Kultur durch verschiedene Kanäle in die Sprache ein. Der wichtigste sei die kulturelle Konnotation, weil sie mit der interpretativen Beziehung zwischen linguistischen Gegenständen und den entsprechenden nichtverbalen Symbolen als Stereotypen oder Mythen zu tun habe. Überdies sei die Konnotation bemerkenswert in eingeschränkten Kollokationen und Idiome (Cowie 1998, 9). Die hier analysierten Beispiele zeigen, dass Phraseologismen kulturelle Informationen enthalten, weil sie kulturelle Formen sind. Phraseologische Einheiten können mehrere oder ähnliche Varianten haben (z. B. 1a, 1c, 1d, u. s. w.). In dieser vergleichenden Analyse in Kontrast zwischen Albanischen und Deutschen, die keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erhebt und erste

Ergebnisse meines PhD-Projekts<sup>7</sup> präsentiert, wird deutlich, dass die Interpretation und Bedeutung der Gesichtsfarbe kulturell markiert ist.

Außerdem kommen die Farben im Albanischen und Deutschen in Kausalkonstruktionen (mehr dazu De Knop / Mollica 2018) vor. Die Kausalität wird durch die deutschen Präpositionen *von*, *vor* und die albanische Präposition *nga* ausgedrückt. Die Farbveränderung betrifft das ganze Gesicht und ist emotionaler Natur. De Knop / Mollica (2018, 28) erläutern:

[...] ist die Farbe des Gesichts metonymisch als Ort für den Ausdruck von Emotionen wie Scham, Wut, Neid, Eifersucht usw. zu verstehen. Soriano/Valenzuela (2009, 423) erklären die Farbveränderung im Gesicht mit dem Aufsteigen einer Körperflüssigkeit in einem Beispiel wie *rot vor Wut* etwa folgendermaßen: „the colour refers to a body fluid that intervenes (or is believed to intervene) in the experience of the emotion at stake. In the case of anger the fluid is blood, which rushes to the neck and face areas when we feel outraged (Soriano and Valenzuela 2009, 423).

Die emotionale ‚Färbung‘, die durch Farbänderung im Gesicht ausgedrückt wird, ist vielfältig, sowohl im Albanischen als auch im Deutschen. Die Farbsymbolik in diesen *multiword units* ist ähnlich, außer in drei Fällen (1c, 3b, 4a). Die Bedeutungsäquivalenzen sind in beiden Sprachen zahlreich, obwohl sie einzelsprachlich teils unterschiedlich ausgedrückt werden.

Zusammenfassend sind die Analyse und Erklärung der phraseologischen Unterschiede und Konvergenzen und die symbolisch-kulturelle Bedeutung grundlegend, um wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse zu metaphorischem Denken und interkulturellem Wissen zu gewinnen und um das sprachliche Verständnis und das kulturelle Bewusstsein zu stärken (Kristiansen et al. 2006).

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<sup>7</sup> Titel „Farbphraseologismen Albanisch-Deutsch kontrastiv“, Betreuerin Prof. Dr. Peggy Katelhön (Università degli Studi di Milano).



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## CHAPTER EIGHT

# A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF COMMON PROVERBS IN THAI AND ENGLISH

PARICHART CHARERNWIWATTHANASRI<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

This study compares 150 common proverbs in Thai and English in order to build a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural knowledge database. English proverbs were determined by finding meanings that were equivalent to selected Thai proverbs. We found that Thai proverbs show a large number of morphological, semantic and syntactic resemblances and differences compared to English proverbs. The findings also reveal that although each language reflects different cultural elements, it is possible to apply a matching method which allows a proverb in Thai to be matched with a proverb in English.

## **1 Introduction**

### **1.1 Rationale**

This research was conducted as part of a larger project comparing proverbs in 6 languages: Thai, English, French, Spanish, Chinese and Korean, in

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order to provide multilingual and multicultural references for students and lecturers at the Faculty of International Studies (FIS) at the Prince of Songkla University (PSU), in Phuket Province in the south of Thailand. Another important factor is the fact that Phuket is an international tourist destination hosting more than 17 international communities, including French, British, American, Irish, Dutch, Korean, and Japanese. It was thought that a cross-linguistic study of common proverbs might serve as a reference for students and other inhabitants of Phuket, who come from different backgrounds. With regards to language teaching, proverbs are a didactic tool, used for their educational content and cultural wisdom. Textbooks on the teaching of both native and foreign languages usually include at least some lists of proverbs and accompanying exercises. Using proverbs in language teaching is very useful because they play an important role in the transmission of cultural knowledge, in metaphorical understanding and in communicative competence (Mieder 2004). Both the structure and the content of proverbs are useful in teaching because proverbial competence requires knowledge of both the linguistic structure of a target language—elements such as morphology, syntax, lexicon, pronunciation, and semantics—and of its accurate usage. Work with proverbs not only helps to diversify educational processes, it also helps provide an interesting tool for students to gain language skills, learning experiences, and an understanding of themselves and the world. Thus, the study of common proverbs in Thai and English was set up as a tool and reference mainly for students, teachers and people with different native languages and backgrounds in Phuket to enhance a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic comprehension.

## 1.2 Objectives of the study

In this study, a cross-linguistic approach was used as a theoretical framework to compare linguistic elements between Thai proverbial expressions and proverbs in English. The study had two main objectives:

- (1) To compare the linguistic elements of 150 common proverbs in Thai and English;
- (2) To build a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural knowledge database for international communities in Phuket and other neighboring provinces.

### 1.3 The importance of proverbs

A proverb is defined as a concise, short, well-known sentence expressing wisdom, truth, morals and traditional views in a fixed, metaphorical, recognized form, which is passed down from generation to generation (Mieder 2004). According to Winick (2013), proverbs are brief expressions that infer a sense of wisdom, wit, and authority from explicit and purposeful intertextual reference to a tradition of past comparable shrewd utterances. This intertextual reference may take various forms, including replication, imitation, or use of features related to previous sayings of wisdom. Proverbs also deliberately address recurrent social circumstances. There are two types of proverbs (Orbaneja y Majada 1998). The first includes those with a common, universal moral guide for the practice of virtue, similar in all countries, if not in the form, at least in the message, like *an apple a day keeps the doctor away*. The second includes those that were born from particular historical phenomena, facts, local customs or specific events, such as *beware of Greeks bearing gifts* which means 'do not trust enemies who bring you presents, as they could very well be playing a trick'. This proverb is adapted from the words of Laocoön in the story of the Trojan horse. In this paper, we define proverbs by their characteristics as brief, memorable and intuitively convincing formulations of socially sanctioned advice, which are concise, easy to remember, useful in everyday life and contain everyday experiences.

Using proverbs to summarize experiences and observations into pieces of intelligence that provide ready-made comments on personal relationships and social affairs, fulfills a human need. There are proverbs for every imaginable context, and they are thus as contradictory as life itself (Mieder 2004). Proverbs are still useful in modern society, and are present in both spoken and written language. They come to mind automatically as prefabricated verbal units, and they play a very important role in various modes of communication between people in diverse contexts, such as friendly chitchat, effective political speeches, religious sermons, lyrical poetry, best-selling novels, and the influential mass media. Proverbs are indeed so common everywhere that scholars at all levels, from many disciplines, have studied them throughout history (Mieder 2004).

It is obvious that many proverbs remain in use from generation to generation to spread knowledge, wisdom and truths about life, and that they have been used as guidance for people worldwide in their social interactions throughout the ages. Even formally unchanged proverbs can be reawakened by undergoing mutations (Hernadi / Steen 1999). Proverbs

can be taken as theoretical frameworks, which serve as a good foundation for a holistic life of learning and education (Avoseh 2013). In psychology, proverbs have been used to differentiate between people with schizophrenia and those without by asking subjects to explain the meaning of proverbs (Fialko / Yelenevskaya 2010). In politics, proverbs have been used to encourage grassroots movements to seek human and social improvement regionally, nationally and globally. Proverbs play a key role in discussion of local and national issues and thus in achieving equality (Mieder 2004). In EFL classes, proverbs are a useful tool to enhance and develop the cultural and metaphorical knowledge of students because they represent different situations in daily life, and they summarize popular experience and traditional wisdom (Sana 2015). Additionally, since proverbs play a cross-cultural role, many of them have equivalents in other languages, which can broaden students' mind and give them a wider perspective.

## 2 Method

150 Thai proverbs were selected from five different sources. Each of these proverbs had to be found in all five sources to ensure that all of them were commonly used in Thai. Their formal meaning was verified in the *Royal Thai Dictionary*, a standard Thai dictionary published by the Thai Royal Institute. The meaning of each proverb in Thai served as the criterion for matching it with a proverb in English. Each pair was compared in terms of semantics, morphology and syntax. In comparing selected proverbs, it was hypothesized that although a proverb in each language uses different linguistic elements, it is possible to find an appropriate proverbial equivalence in other languages.

Fifteen of the Thai proverbs examined are presented with the matched English proverb along with comparative details and examples of usage, as a guideline for readers to use them accurately in their daily lives.

## 3 Findings and Discussions

A total of 150 proverbs were analyzed to give a detailed picture of their main meanings and linguistic characteristics. Fifteen of these were selected to illustrate the findings of the study in detail. The Royal Thai General System of Transcription for Thai consonants and vowels was used for the Romanization of Thai proverbs, including an accent over the first

vowel in the syllable to represent five tones in standard Thai: mid tone (no accent), low tone (à), falling tone (â), high tone (á), and rising tone (ã).

The findings were summarized into 5 main categories.

### 3.1 Proverbs with semantic, morphological and syntactic equivalents

Only two of the 150 proverbs in Thai (1.3 %) were found to have an exact semantic, syntactic and morphological English equivalent. These two proverbs are illustrated below.

	Thai Proverbs	English Proverbs
(1)	สามัคคีคือพลัง /sāamăkkhii kua palaŋ/ union be strength 'Unity is strength'	Union is strength.
Syntax	n + v + n	n + v + n
Meaning	Together we are stronger than if apart.	
(2)	เมื่อเงินพูด ความจริงก็ปิดเสียง /mua ŋəən pūt kwaamciŋ koo ŋjab/	When money speaks, truth keeps silent.
Syntax	conj. + n + v + n + v + n	conj. + n + v, n + v + n
Meaning	People can be paid to keep secrets.	

Table 1: Proverbs with semantic, morphological and syntactic equivalents

The fact that so few proverbs in Thai and English share the same linguistic elements (morphology, semantic, and syntax) can be explained by the fact that these two Thai proverbs were translated directly from English to Thai, or that they were produced based on the structures of English due to the influence of English on Thai over the past 100 years via literary works. Without any doubt, the adoption of English words and sentence structures into the Thai language is happening by means of oral and written exchanges among people in Thailand belonging to a variety of classes and educational levels. At the beginning of the 21st century, English is unquestionably the language with the greatest lexical influence on Thai. English, taking the place of Pali and Sanskrit, has played an important role in the Thai lexicon, accounting for a wide range of vocabulary in different domains like science and technology, food and



drinks, clothes and fashion, games and gambling, education, art, recreation, medical sciences, music and dancing, and people and professions (Loharat 2009).

### 3.2 Proverbs with semantic and morphological equivalents

The study shows that 42 of the examined proverbs (28%) have semantic and morphological equivalents. Both in Thai and English, the proverbs are composed of the same words, and they convey the same meaning. Examples are shown below.

	Thai Proverbs	English Proverbs
(3)	เลือดข้นกว่าน้ำ /lɛ̌ut khôn kwàa náam/ blood thicker water 'Blood is thicker than water.'	Blood is thicker than water.
Syntax	n + adj. + adv. + n	n + v + adj. comp. + conj. + n
Meaning	Family relationships are stronger than any others.	
(4)	สองหัวดีกว่าหัวเดียว /sɔ̌ŋ hua dii kwàa hua diaw/ two head better head one 'Two heads are better than one'	Two heads are better than one.
Syntax	n + n + adj + conj. + n + adj	det + n + v + adj. comp. + conj. + n
Meaning	Two people can achieve more than one person working alone.	
(5)	ความพยายามอยู่ที่ไหน ความสำเร็จอยู่ที่นั่น /kwaam páyaayaam ɔ̀u thîi nǎi kwaam sǎamrèd ɔ̀u thîi nân/ 'Where there's a will, there's a way'	Where there's a will, there's a way
Syntax	n + v + adv. + n + v + adv	adv. + adv. + v + n, adv. + v + n
Meaning	It is just making your excuses from your failure.	

Table 2: Proverbs with semantic and morphological equivalents

All the proverbs in this group, both in Thai and English, have a similar lexical content and share the same meaning. This is because they share the same cultural context. For example, in the proverb *Blood is thicker than*

*water*, the word ‘blood’ is used to refer to family relationships while the word *water* refers to extra-family relationships. It can be seen that there are analogous proverbs in both Thai and English relating to cultural patterns.

However, the syntactic patterns of the proverbs in this group are totally distinct. This can be explained clearly in terms of grammatical aspects. The Thai language has been defined, in terms of basic clausal structure, as a subject prominent (subject-predicate) language and, like English, its word order is typically SVO, but there are some differences in terms of features of both languages. The Thai language lacks certain characteristics employed in English such as conjugated verb forms indicating person or tense (numbers might be added), inflected noun forms indicating plurality, gender or case, articles and indefinite determiners, case forms of pronouns, verbs used with adjectives, and punctuation. The proverbs /luat khôn kwàa náam/ and *Blood is thicker than water* are a good example to illustrate one such grammatical difference.

Thai /luat khôn kwàa náam/	n + adj. + adv. + n
Eng. Blood is thicker than water.	n + v + adj.comp. + conj. + n

/luat khôn kwàa náam/ is a correct sentence in Thai despite the lack of a verb. This is because the so-called adjectives in Thai behave virtually the same as verbs in main syntactic environments, being used as sentence predicates and nominal modifiers. To construct grammatically correct sentences with adjectives in English, the verb “to be” or another linking verb is required; it cannot be omitted.

It can be seen that it is very difficult to compare the linguistic elements of two languages even though proverbs in one language may have equivalents in another language, because while semantic and morphological equivalents might exist, there may be grammatical differences.

### 3.3 Proverbs with semantic and partial morphological equivalents

The study reveals that 24 of the examined proverbs (16%) in Thai and English have semantic and partial morphological equivalence. They have the same meaning and include one or two similar words in their syntactic layout.

	<b>Thai Proverbs</b>	<b>English Proverbs</b>
(6)	งมเข็มใน มหาสมุทร /ŋom khēm nay máhāasàmùt/ search needle in ocean 'Search for a <i>needle</i> in the ocean'	To search for a <i>needle</i> in a haystack.
Syntax	v + n + prep + n	v + prep. + n + prep + n
Meaning	To attempt to find something surroundings	which is hidden in its
(7)	วัวหายล้อมคอก /wua hǎy lóm kôk/ Cow disappear to fence stable 'Make a fence after the cows have gone'	To close the stable door after the horse has bolted.
Syntax	n + v + v + n	v + adj. + n + conj. + n + v
Meaning	Try to solve a problem too late after the damage has been done	
(8)	สำเนียงสื่อภาษา กิริยาสะท้อนกุล /sǎmniang sò phasāa kiríya sò sâkun/ accent show language manner show surname 'An accent shows the language, and manners represent the family.'	Manners make the man.
Syntax	n + v + n + n + v + n	n + v + n
Meaning	The ways we act display our true character.	

Table 3: Proverbs with semantic and partial morphological equivalents

The proverbs in this group indicate that Thai and English use the same words or similar words, reflecting similarities and differences in their ways of life. For example, the proverb /ŋom khēm nay máhāasàmùt/ and the proverb *to search for a needle in a haystack* use the word *needle* referring to the smallest object, which cannot be found in a too-large area. Another example is the Thai proverb /wua hǎy lóm kôk/, which literally means “to make a fence after the cows have gone”, and the English proverb *to close the stable door after the horse has bolted*. These two proverbs have the same meaning, referring to an effort to solve the problem with the appropriate solution when it is too late. In both Thai and English, the vocabulary relating to farm animals suggests that the expression originates from people who did agricultural work. Horses and cows are both stabled in characteristic agricultural environments in countries of the speakers of each language.

### 3.4 Proverbs with semantic equivalence

Data analysis showed that 80 of the examined proverbs (53%) have only semantic equivalence. In other words, half of the Thai proverbs examined convey the same meaning as they have in English even though their structures and lexical elements are different. Some examples are shown below.

	Thai Proverbs	English Proverbs
(9)	ขี่ช้างจับตั๊กแตน /khìi cháaŋ chàb tákkàtæen/ 'Ride an elephant to catch grasshoppers'	Burn your house to frighten away the mice.
Syntax	v + n + v + n	v + adj. + n + prep. + v + adv. + n
Meaning	To find a hard way to do an easy thing	
(10)	ลิงยังตกต้นไม้ /lìŋ yaŋ tòk tòmây/ 'Monkeys also fall from trees'	Homer sometimes nods.
Syntax	n + adv + v + n	(proper/historical) n. + adv. + v
Meaning	Everybody makes mistakes.	
(11)	เอาพระพร้าวหัวไปขายสวน /ɔaw mapráw hâu pay khaay suan/ 'Bringing ripe coconuts to sell in the orchard'	To bring coals to Newcastle
Syntax	v + n + v + n	v + n + n
Meaning	To do or bring something superfluous or unnecessary	

Table 4: Proverbs with semantic equivalence

From the examples above, it is clear that a majority of the examined proverbs share only the same meaning. Of course, when different words are used to form the proverbs, their elements and structures also vary. Consequently, there is no equivalence in syntax and morphology at all. For example, the Thai proverb /khìi cháaŋ chàb tákkàtæen/, (lit. ride an elephant to catch grasshoppers), and the English proverb *burn your house to frighten away the mice*, mean 'finding a hard way to do an easy thing'. These two proverbs indicate that the speakers of each language have a different thinking system governed by their different cultural perspectives,

historical events and literary works. They also differ in many characteristics such as religion, morality, metaphorical images, and possess unique geographical and ethnic characteristics.

However, it was also found that 4 percent of Thai and English proverbs have similar meanings, but are used in different contexts and situations.

	<b>Thai Proverbs</b>	<b>English Proverbs</b>
(12)	เห็นขี้ดีกว่าไส้ /hěn khii dii kwàa sâi/ 'see feces to be better than intestines.'	The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence
Syntax	v + n + adv + conj + n	art. + n + v + adv. + adj.comp. + prep. + art. + adj. + n + prep. + n
Meaning	To always think that other people are better	
(13)	อย่าชิงสุกก่อนห่าม /yàa chiq suk kòon hàam/ 'Don't hasten to ripen before being nearly ripe first.'	Early ripe, early rotten.
Syntax	adv + v + adj + prep + adj	adv + v, + adv + v
Meaning	What is good now will be bad tomorrow.	
(14)	ใครดีใครได้ /khrai dii khrai dâai / 'Whoever is good can get it'	Finders, keepers, losers, weepers
Syntax		n + n, + n + n
Meaning	A person who finds something can keep it, and the loser has no right to it	

Table 5: Thai and English proverbs with similar meaning used in different contexts

Even though the proverbs in this group were found to have the same meaning, they are used in totally different circumstances. The Thai proverb /hěn khii dii kwàa sâi/ and the English proverb *the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence* both mean 'to always think that other people are better'. However, the Thai proverb /hen khii dii kwàa sâi/ which literally means "to see feces as better than intestines", is used to signify those situations in which a family member considers other people to be better or more important than his family. On the other hand, in English, '*the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence*' refers to people who always think that other people (e.g. friends, colleagues, and neighbors) are better than themselves.

Similarly, in the case of ‘/chiŋ suk k òn hàam/’ and ‘*Early ripe, early rotten*’, they both mean ‘what is good now will be bad tomorrow’. In Thai, this proverb really refers to the relationships of very young couples who cohabit before marriage: Thai women are brought up with the idea they should not have intimate relationships before marriage. In English, the proverb ‘*Early ripe, early rotten*’ refers to a child with an extraordinary talent or intelligence and who will probably lose such qualities when he or she gets older.

### 3.5 Proverbs with neither semantic nor syntactic equivalents

It was found that some proverbs are deeply tied to Thai ways of life and culture, and are not comparable with any proverb in English.

	Thai Proverbs	English Proverbs
(15)	หลังสู้ฟ้า หน้าสู้ดิน /lǎŋ sūu fáa nǎa sūu din/ ‘a back faces to the sky while a face turns to the earth’	None
Meaning	To work very hard and patiently	None

Table 6: Proverbs with neither semantic nor syntactic equivalent

The Thai proverb /lǎŋ sūu fáa nǎa sūu din/ literally translated as “a back faces the sky while a face turns to the earth” describes how hard Thai rice farmers work in the rice fields. In Thailand this proverb is used as a motto by rice farmers to stress the arduousness of their work. No equivalent exists in English owing to the lack of similar circumstances in Great Britain.

## 4 Conclusion

It is challenging to compare proverbs in Thai and English because these two languages are from completely different language families. Semantically, most proverbs in Thai and English convey similar meanings without having a similar morphology and syntax. This is because each language has its own respective culture and direct experiences, including beliefs, habits, customs, myth, and ways of life. From a morphological point of view, there are a few proverbs in Thai and English that employ words with identical meanings such as the word *blood* referring to the

relationship of family member, and the word *head* referring to people. At the level of syntax, the structures of proverbs in Thai and English are totally different, except for the very few that have been borrowed from English and literally translated into Thai. Nonetheless, all these proverbs in the two languages can be compared from cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspectives since they are all expressions that carry generalizing truths. In the absence of this fact, it would be difficult to find inter-language equivalents. It can thus be concluded that although English and Thai proverbs often use different linguistic elements, it is possible to find equivalents in the two languages.

This study presents comparative details of Thai and English proverbs, with examples of usage that could be used by teachers in language classes, especially in L2 vocabulary learning, where proverbs raise students' awareness of the importance of many factors such as register, morphology, semantics, syntax, and knowledge of the equivalent word in L1.

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## **PART 2**

# **SYNTAX, SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS IN PHRASEOLOGY**



## CHAPTER NINE

# GERMAN CONSTRUCTIONAL PHRASEMES WITH DEICTIC ELEMENTS IN BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES<sup>1</sup>

DMITRIJ DOBROVOL'SKIJ

### Abstract

The paper discusses the semantic properties of German constructional phrasemes such as *vor sich her V*, *hinter sich her V*, *neben sich her V* ('before, in front of/ behind/ alongside, next to/ beside oneself V') based on the same pattern, namely [Prep<sup>spatial</sup> N<sub>dat</sub> her V], and expressing the idea of joint forward movement in one direction at the same speed. These constructions present a problem for bilingual lexicography. Languages such as Russian, English and French do not have exact systematic equivalents of these phrasemes. The analysis based on corpus examples from German and Russian is aimed at proposing a means of describing constructional phrasemes of this type in a German-Russian dictionary.

### 1 Introduction

This paper examines a group of semi-fixed German expressions that are irregular with regard to the relationship between form and meaning, namely constructional phrasemes<sup>2</sup> with the deictic element *her*. These

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on work supported by the RGNF Grant 16-04-00291.

<sup>2</sup> On this notion see Dobrovol'skij (2011, 2015). Russian constructional phrasemes are treated in Baranov / Dobrovol'skij (2013, 86–90). This category should be considered a subclass of constructions in the sense of Fillmore et al. (1988) and Goldberg (1995).

constructions pose considerable difficulties not only for the description of their semantics, but also for translation into other languages. Languages such as Russian, English and French do not have exact equivalents of the German deictic elements *hin* and *her*. Consequently, expressions containing these elements also lack exact systematic equivalents. In cases where the German deictic elements *her* and *hin* are constituents of relatively fixed and irregular constructions, their meaning is even less consistent with their standard definition as “hither” and “thither”.

Such fixed word groups with non-additive semantics are being studied today not only in Construction Grammar (CxG), but also within the contemporary theory of phraseology, where besides the “classic” types of phrasemes such as idioms and collocations, attention is paid to grammatical constructions and constructional phrasemes, also called syntactic idioms.

In connection, among other things, with my work on a series of new German-Russian dictionaries, I have recently become interested in the phrasemes *vor sich hin* ((lit. before/in front of oneself thither) which means approximately ‘to/for oneself, quietly, not intensely’) and *vor sich her* ((lit. before oneself hither), the basic meaning of which is ‘from before/in front of oneself in the same direction’). My observations indicate that the meaning of these word groups and therefore the means by which they are translated into Russian vary depending on the semantic class of the verb with which the relevant expression is combined. Thus, for our purposes it is more convenient to speak about the constructional phrasemes [*vor sich hin* V] and [*vor sich her* V]. The present paper discusses semantic properties of the constructional phraseme [*vor sich her* V] and of similar expressions based on the same pattern.

## 2 Subject, Data and Theoretical Framework

The adverbial form *vor sich her*, which forms the nucleus of the construction [*vor sich her* V] has a basically spatial meaning. Here we have to do with the constructional scheme [ $\text{Prep}_{\text{spatial}} \text{N}_{\text{dat}} \text{her}$ ]. Referring to Marcq (1988), Krause and Baerentzen (2010, 21, 43, 46) observe that constructions such as [*hinter*  $\text{N}_{\text{dat}}$  *her*], [*vor*  $\text{N}_{\text{dat}}$  *her*], [*neben*  $\text{N}_{\text{dat}}$  *her*], [*zwischen*  $\text{N}_{\text{dat}}$  *her*] have a meaning of their own and express the idea of joint forward motion in one direction and at the same speed. It should be stressed that this is the meaning of the construction, not the meaning of the prefixed verb in combination with *vor/ hinter/ zwischen/ neben sich*  $\approx$  ‘before, in front of/ behind/ between, alongside, next to/ beside oneself’. Strictly speaking, the construction [ $\text{Prep}_{\text{spatial}} \text{N}_{\text{dat}} \text{her}$ ] is untranslatable into

Russian, since the part of the meaning expressed by the deictic element *her* is lost. When the verb is included in the construction, however, non-equivalence is no longer an issue. Thus *etw. hinter sich her ziehen* ‘drag something behind oneself’ corresponds to the Russian expression *tashchit' chto-l. za soboj*.

Using corpus examples from German and Russian (including, above all, the data of German-Russian and Russian-German parallel corpora), I will propose a means of describing these constructions in a bilingual dictionary.

The German-Russian and Russian-German parallel corpora of the Russian National Corpus (RNC) are still quite small, consisting of some 10 million running words. Corpora of that size do not enable us to conduct a statistical analysis that would produce representative findings. Nevertheless, even relatively limited parallel corpora can yield useful and significant information about the meaning and functioning of linguistic units, especially if these units have not yet been subjected to thorough semantic and/or contrastive analysis. This is fully applicable to constructions with a varying degree of fixedness and idiomaticity, especially constructional phrasemes—that is, phrasemes with empty slots that can be filled by various words. Depending on how a slot is filled, the meaning of the constructional phraseme changes, as do the means for translating the phraseme into another language.

The use of parallel corpora allows us not only to identify appropriate means of translation, but also to refine our notions of the semantics and co-occurrence of the German constructional phrasemes under investigation. From this perspective, the fact that we cannot apply statistical methods does not prevent us from achieving our objectives, since quantitative analysis is not among the tasks addressed in the present study.

My investigation makes a certain contribution to Construction Grammar and the theory of phraseology, since the more concrete constructions in different languages that can be described through the use of authentic corpus data, the more successful will be the development of a typology of constructions. In other words, it will become clearer what types of constructions exist in different languages and how language-specific or general they are. The class of constructional phrasemes has long remained on the periphery in the description of phraseology. Yet corpus data show that this class is no less important to communication than idioms. Finally, the present study is of immediate value to bilingual lexicography.

Data were drawn especially from the corpora of parallel texts in the Russian National Corpus (RNC). Monolingual German corpora were also

used: above all, the *Corpora des Digitalen Wörterbuchs der deutschen Sprache des 20. Jahrhunderts* (DWDS) of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences.

### 3 The Constructional Scheme [Prep<sub>spatial</sub> N<sub>dat</sub> *her* V] and its Realizations

The construction [*vor sich her* V] is a particular instance of the pattern [*vor* N<sub>dat</sub> *her* V], the meaning of which is not described in dictionaries and cannot be derived from the semantics of its constituents: *vor* N<sub>dat</sub> ‘before/in front of sb. or sth.’ + *her* ‘hither’ (in the direction of the subject of deixis)<sup>3</sup>. Often the N<sub>dat</sub> slot is filled by the reflexive pronoun *sich*. See context (1). Because *vor* is followed by the dative, in the first- and second-persons the construction has the form *vor mir/ dir/ uns/ euch her*.

- (1) Frauen, Männer und Kinder *schieben* Rollwagen mit Grills, Herdplatten, Fritteusen oder ganze Garküchen *vor sich her*, reihen sich nebeneinander auf und beginnen zu kochen. (DWDS: Zeit-Corpus 2008).

‘Women, men and children *push in front of them* carts with grills, cooktops, deep fryers or entire food stalls, line up next to each other and begin to cook.’

This constructional phraseme must be analyzed among similar realizations of the pattern [Prep<sub>spatial</sub> N<sub>dat</sub> *her* V] that underlies it. Let us examine in more detail three of the possible such realizations: [*vor* N<sub>dat</sub> *her* V], [*hinter* N<sub>dat</sub> *her* V] and [*neben* N<sub>dat</sub> *her* V]. They were selected because there was a sufficient number of instances in the RNC. Since all three expressions are based on the pattern [Prep<sub>spatial</sub> N<sub>dat</sub> *her*], meaning joint spatial movement, it is natural to expect that they will co-occur with verbs of motion indicating both independent forward movement (2) and the causation of motion (3).

- (2) Willy *geht neben mir her*. Was für ein Leben! (RNC: E.M. Remarque. *Der schwarze Obelisk*)

Villi *shagaet ryadom so mnoy*. - *Chto za zhizn'*! (trans. V. Stanevich)

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<sup>3</sup> In the canonical communicative situation this is the speaker; in hypotaxis it is the subject of the matrix clause; in a narrative, the narrator or a character from whose perspective events are viewed.

Willy *is walking beside me*. What a life! (trans. D. Lindley)

- (3) Er *schleppte* einen Kranz *hinter sich her*. (RNC: F. Dürrenmatt. *Justiz*)

*Za soboy* Eshisburger *tashchil venok*. (trans. S. Fridljand)

'He *was dragging* a wreath *behind him*.'

This is basically the case. But in the corpora we do find, albeit rather rarely, surprising instances of verbs of other semantic classes that co-occur with *vor/ hinter/ neben sich her*. See examples (4) and (5) from the German-Russian corpus.

- (4) "Ein Ausländer, ein Habenicht, ein Vagabund!" *kreischte* die Donna wütend *hinter mir her*. (RNC: K. May. *Satan und Ischariot*)<sup>4</sup>

Inostranishka, oborvanets, brodyaga! - *zaskripela* don'ya, rassvirepev. (trans. A.G. Moskvina, L. Kostjukova)

"'Outlander, beggar, tramp!'" *screamed* the Donna in a rage *behind me*.'

- (5) "Tue es, tue es!" *lachte* er *hinter mir her*. (RNC: K. May. *Satan und Ischariot*)

- Sdelay eto, sdelay!-rassmeyalsya on mne vsled. (trans. A.G. Moskvina, L. Kostjukova)

"'Do it, do it!'" *laughed* he *behind me*.'

The reasons for this phenomenon demand a separate analysis. In cases such as (4) and (5) we deal with a kind of coercion. Being used in the construction [*hinter* N<sub>dat</sub> *her* V], the verbs with a communicative potential (*kreischen* and *lachen*) are interpreted as verbs of motion. Russian translations either ignore the idea of motion (4) or point to it by the adverb *vsled* that focuses the sense of 'behind', however, does not express the idea of joint movement.

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<sup>4</sup> In this paper I also use parts of the RNC that have not yet been made available online.



## 4 The Deictic Element *her* in German–Russian Dictionaries

It is obvious from an analysis of these examples that there is no single way of translating *vor sich her*, *hinter sich her* and *neben sich her*. This fact alone confronts the lexicographer with the need to search for non-trivial means for registering these units in a bilingual dictionary. The first question to arise is which meaning of the word *her* we should attach to the given expressions. A glance at the appropriate entry in *The New Comprehensive German–Russian Dictionary* (NDRG) reveals that it does not include any of the above realizations of the deictic element *her*. See fragments of the entry *her* in NDRG:

**her** *adv dem* **1.** сюда (по направлению к говорящему или лицу, точку зрения которого принимает говорящий); komm ~! иди сюда! **2.** фам. побуждение предоставить что-л. в распоряжение говорящего: ~ damit! фам. а ну-ка, давай сюда!, выкладывай! **3.** в конструкциях «von + наречие/сущ.» – указывает на отправную точку: von außen ~ извне, снаружи **4.** в конструкциях «von + наречие» – при обозначении времени: von früher ~, von alters ~ с давних пор **5.** в конструкциях «von + сущ.» относительно чего-л.; von den Voraussetzungen ~ что касается предпосылок □ **...hin, ...** ~ разг. конструкция с уступительным значением, соответствует русск. конструкции «сущ. в именительном сущ. в творительном»: Regen hin, Regen her, die Arbeit muss (trotzdem) getan werden дождь дождём, но работа (всё равно) должна быть сделана; **hin oder** ~ разг. больше или меньше; более или менее; drei Stunden hin oder her... разг. тремя часами больше, тремя часами меньше... ◇ **hinter** jmdm. ~ **sein** разг. преследовать кого-л., гоняться за кем-л.; домогаться кого-л.; **hinter** etw. (D) ~ **sein** разг. гоняться за чем-л. (напр. за каким-л. товаром); **mit** jmdm., etw. (D) **ist es nicht weit** ~ разг. кто-л. не на высоте; что-л. оставляет желать лучшего; **das langt [reicht] nicht hin und (nicht)** ~ разг. этого всё равно ни на что не хватает; **das ist hin wie** ~ разг. это всё равно; это всё одно, это всё едино.

The forms *hinter jmdm. her sein* and *hinter etw. her sein* that are included in the entry in its phraseological part are idioms with the meaning ‘to be after sb. or sth.’. The constructions with spatial semantics that provide the motivational basis for these idiomatic expressions are not described in the entry.

The problem is that independently of the verbs that govern them, adverbial constructions of the type *vor sich her*, *hinter sich her* and *neben sich her* are scarcely translatable into Russian. The only reasonable

solution here lies in describing their semantics and translating the instances of the V-construction.

## 5 Constructional Phrasemes Based on the Pattern [Prep<sub>spatial</sub> *sich her* V] in Parallel Corpora

Let us turn to the German–Russian parallel corpus of the RNC. Certain contexts with the forms *vor sich her* and *hinter sich her* do not realize the meaning under consideration here, but contain homonyms. Compare *stießen ihre Spazierstöcke vor sich her* ‘they pushed their walking sticks in front of them’, where *vor sich her* does not express the idea of joint forward motion in one direction and at the same speed, and *er ist immerfort hinter mir her* (‘he is constantly after me’), where the form *hinter mir her* realizes its idiomatic meaning (compare the part of the above-cited dictionary entry behind ◇) and point to the idea of persecution.

Of the other contexts in the RNC, the most frequent realization of the construction [*hinter sich her* V] was *hinter sich her ziehen* ‘pull behind oneself’. Russian translations of the German forms can be tentatively divided into two groups: those which do not indicate any direction of movement (6-7) and those which do (8-9). Russian has many different ways to convey this meaning.

- (6) Er wartete nicht ab, was Momo dazu sagen würde, sondern zog sie an der Hand *hinter sich her* zum Auto. (RNC: M. Ende. *Momo*)

Ne dozhidayas' otveta, on *vtashchil* Momo v mashinu. (trans. J. I. Korinets)

Without even waiting for an answer, he *seized* Momo’s hand *and towed her* to the car. (trans. J. M. Brownjohn)

- (7) [...] und *locken* den Rasenden heimtückisch *hinter sich her* in dunkle Gänge. (RNC: G. Meyrink. *Der Golem*)

[...] kovarno *zamanivayut* bezumnogo v temnye koridory. (trans. D. Vygodskiy)

[...] when he is beside himself with fury, slyly *lure* him *into* dark corridors. (trans. M. Mitchell)

All of the translations in (6-7) are adequate in the sense that they convey the basic meaning of the original texts, but they cannot be used in a bilingual dictionary as Russian equivalents of the given German expression. Thus, *on vtashchil Momo v mashinu* ‘he towed her to the car’

in (6) does not describe the movement of the Agent, who was himself getting into the car at the moment this action was performed, whereas on the basis of the Russian translation one might think that he was already in the car. In (7) *kovarno zamanivayut bezumnogo v temnye koridory* ‘slyly lure him into dark corridors’ can be construed as meaning that the enticers are located somewhere outside, but *hinter sich her locken* clearly indicates that they are themselves in the dark corridors and are luring someone to follow them.

- (8) Durch die halboffene Tür schlüpfte eine Frauengestalt und zog ein Kind *hinter sich her*. (RNC: E. Kästner. *Pünktchen und Anton*)

V priotvorennyu dver' protisnulas' kakaya-to zhenshchina. *Za soboy ona vela rebenka.* (trans. E. Vil'mont)

‘A woman slipped through the half-open door, *leading* a child *behind her*.’

- (9) Johann Buddenbrook kam zornig herbei, den Kerzenlöscher *hinter sich her schleifend*. (RNC: Th. Mann. *Buddenbrooks*)

Iogann Buddenbrok napravilsya k synu, serdito *volocha za soboy gasil'nik*. (trans. N. Man)

Johann Buddenbrook walked over angrily, *dragging* the candle-snuffer *behind him*. (trans. John E. Woods)

In contrast to examples (6-7), the Russian translations of *hinter sich her* in contexts (8) and (9) can be regarded as candidates for inclusion in a dictionary. The forms *vesti za soboy* ‘lead after oneself’ and *volochit' za soboy* ‘drag after oneself’ fairly accurately convey the notion of parallel movement contained in the German expressions *hinter sich her ziehen* and *hinter sich her schleifen*.

Deserving special attention are contexts in which the construction [*hinter sich her V*] is used not to denote motion in the strict sense, but in the derived meaning of occurring after some event.

- (10) Der Golem *zieht* eine unheimliche Gefolgschaft *hinter sich her*. (RNC: G. Meyrink. *Der Golem*)

*Za Golemom vseгда takaya strashnaya svita sobytii.* (trans. D. Vygodskiy)

The Golem brings some macabre things in its wake. (trans. M. Mitchell)

It is entirely possible to regard this sort of use as an idiomatization of the original expression. When *hinter sich her ziehen* is employed not to denote the causation of motion<sup>5</sup>, but in a metaphorical sense based on a transfer from the spatial to the temporal sphere, the expression can be viewed as a potential idiom. This example demonstrates one possible way in which weakly idiomatic expressions (here, constructional phrasemes) can become idioms. The way they are translated differs from the means used by Russian to convey the original meaning of the expression. In the German–Russian bilingual dictionary the co-occurrence *hinter sich her ziehen* can additionally be marked as a phraseme with the lexicographic equivalents *vesti za soboy* ‘lead to, entail’ and *imet' svoim sledstviem* ‘have as a consequence’.

## 6 The Constructional Phraseme [*vor sich her V*] and its Semantic Specification

Let us turn to the central object of my investigation: the constructional phraseme [*vor sich her V*]. See the following examples from the Russian–German parallel corpus<sup>6</sup>.

- (11) –Mama, poydem bystro!–prokrichala zhenshchina, *podtolknuv* starukhu. (RNC: V. Sorokin. 23000)

“Komm, Mama, beeil dich!”, rief die Frau und *schob* die Alte *vor sich her*. (trans. A. Tretner)

“Mama, go, quick!” the woman shouted, *nudging* the old lady. (trans. J. Gambrell)

- (12) B'orn pyatilsya, pyatilsya, *pikhaya* Ol'gu, raskachivaya trubu: – Bystro, bystrey!! (RNC: V. Sorokin. 23000)

Mit Macht strebte Björn rückwärts, *trieb* Olga *vor sich her*, brachte das Rohr heftig zum Schwanken. “Schnell! Schneller!” (trans. A. Tretner)

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<sup>5</sup> The standard Russian translation in that case is *tashchit' za soboj* ‘drag after oneself’.

<sup>6</sup> Šmelev (2015) points out that the parallel corpora in which the language of the expression under analysis is the target rather than the source language possess the best diagnostic potential for determining the language-specificity of a lexical unit. The appearance of such words is evidently the unconscious solution of the translator as a native speaker. For that reason I turned to the Russian–German parallel corpus of the RNC.

Bjorn kept on moving away from the grate, *pushing* Olga. His movement made the duct sway. “Faster, faster!” (trans. J. Gambrell)

- (13) Pogruzhivshis' do rta, ya poplyl, krepko szhimaya Led v rukakh.  
(RNC: V. Sorokin. *Put' Bro*)

Als das Wasser mir bis zum Mund reichte, schwamm ich wieder, mein Stück Ljod mit beiden Händen festhaltend und *vor mir herschiebend*. (trans. A. Tretner)

When the water reached my mouth, I swam, clutching the chunk of Ice firmly. (trans. J. Gambrell)

Examples (11-13) show that the semantics of *vor sich her* is implanted in the meaning of Russian verbs corresponding to the German construction [*vor sich her* V]. This also holds true for English. Example (13) is even more convincing. The idea of *vor sich her schieben* is not at all expressed in the Russian original. However, the idea of motion is clearly indicated by the verb form *poplyl* ‘swam’, and the causation of joint forward movement is a part of the situation; see *ya poplyl, krepko szhimaya Led v rukakh* ‘I swam, clutching the chunk of Ice firmly’.

Even more interesting is the fact that the constructional phraseme [*vor sich her* V] serves as the basis of the full-fledged idiom *etw. vor sich her schieben* – lit. push smth. ahead of oneself – meaning ‘to postpone or defer indefinitely some action or decision because one is unable to mobilize one’s inner resources’. The Duden phraseological dictionary (Duden 11) does not contain this idiom, in spite of the fact that it is fairly common in both oral and written speech and is established in the language system as an independent lexical unit with a metaphorical meaning. See (14):

- (14) Der Bund *schiebt* einen seit Jahrzehnten angehäuften Schuldenberg von mehr als 900 Milliarden Euro *vor sich her*. (DWDS: Zeit-Corpus 2008)

‘The federal government is deferring action on a debt accumulated over decades of more than 900 billion Euros.’

The idiom *etw. vor sich her schieben* arose from a semantic reinterpretation of the construction [*vor sich her* V<sub>CausMotion</sub>], that is, a realization of the constructional phraseme [*vor sich her* V] in which the verb slot is filled by a verb denoting causation of motion. On the whole, the group of constructions described here can be represented in the form of a chain of successive stages of lexico-semantic specification: [Prep<sub>spatial</sub>

$N_{\text{dat}} \textit{her V} \rightarrow [\textit{vor sich her V}] \rightarrow [\textit{vor sich her V}_{\text{CausMotion}}] \rightarrow [\textit{vor sich her schieben}] \rightarrow [\text{IDIOM } [\textit{vor sich her schieben}]]$ .

Analysis of examples drawn from the parallel corpus shows that the constructions of this group exhibit a language-specific configuration of semantic features. Consequently, they do not have simple Russian equivalents. As the corpus data indicate, in translation this meaning is often not conveyed at all, or it is distributed among other elements of the context or is clear from the situation. In a number of cases the expression (*prjamo pered soboy* ‘(directly) in front of oneself’) corresponds to the adverbial *vor sich her*. Thus Russian translations—if at all—convey the purely spatial component of the semantics of this construction (the locus of the object vis-a-vis the subject), while the notion of ‘parallel motion’ remains unexpressed.

It turns out that it is rather difficult to find translation equivalents suitable for inclusion in a dictionary. Translations of the idiom *vor sich her schieben* in the parallel corpus are especially problematic. See (15):

- (15) [...] und dachte an Marie, an die Christen, an die Katholiken und schob die Zukunft *vor mir her*. (RNC: H. Böll. *Ansichten eines Clowns*)

[...] nachal dumat' o Marii, o protestantakh, o katolikakh i o budushchem. (trans. R. Rajt-Kovaleva)

[...] and thought of Marie, of Christians, of Catholics, and *contemplated* the future. (trans. L. Vennewitz)

The problem is that a translator—particularly a first-class translator, as in the case of (15)—can have individual priorities when translating certain text fragments. It is for that reason that some lexical units—here the idiom under consideration—sometimes remain untranslated. The German original says that the hero thought about Marie and other things but tried not to think about the future, whereas the translation does not convey this contrast.

As a possible dictionary equivalent of the German idiom I can propose the expressions *otkladyvat' chto-l.* ‘postpone, defer smth.’ or *otgonyat' ot sebya mysli o chem-l.* ‘banish/drive away thoughts about smth’.

## 7 Conclusion

The study has revealed both theoretical and empirical findings.

First, both phraseological theory and practical lexicography need to expand their subject domain. All languages have not entirely compositional constructions which, although they fall under the definition of phrasemes,

have remained practically unstudied within traditional phraseology. The more fixed co-occurrences with non-compositional semantics that we can investigate and describe lexicographically, the more valid will be our theoretical conceptions of the objectives and boundaries of phraseology. Such studies will also enable us to create an empirically based classification of constructions. In this respect collaboration between phraseology and Construction Grammar may prove to be very fruitful. The methods of corpus linguistics enable us to register the combinatorial potential of each lexeme and consider frequent co-occurrences to be units of linguistic description regardless of whether there is a semantic shift in the meaning of the constituents of such co-occurrences.

Second, the contrastive analysis of all units of language must consistently distinguish between translation equivalence, i.e. cross-linguistic correlates encountered in text, and systematic equivalence, i.e. cross-linguistic equivalents postulated at the level of the language system. Not all correlates of an expression in the source language that can be found in texts in the target language meet the criteria of systematic equivalence. Studies based on data from parallel corpora provide information about translation equivalence. To identify functional equivalence, i.e., get data for lexicography, additional information is needed, primarily about the conditions of use in each individual context and the combinability of a particular unit. This is especially true of phrasemes with open slots in their structure; that is, the kind of expressions analyzed in the present article.

Third, the use of parallel corpora is an effective tool in the study of constructional phrasemes. It must be taken into account, however, that currently the available corpora of parallel texts (including the German-Russian and Russian-German ones) are still quite modest in size. The contexts from the RNC containing the phrasemes [*vor sich her* V], [*neben sich her* V] and [*hinter sich her* V] do not reflect all relevant types of constructions, not to mention all possible translations of these phrasemes.

As for presenting constructional phrasemes of the type [ $\text{Prep}_{\text{spatial}} \text{ sich her V}$ ] in the dictionary, the most economical and user-friendly way of describing it is to indicate the meaning of the pattern underlying it [ $\text{Prep}_{\text{spatial}} \text{ N}_{\text{dat}} \text{ her V}$ ] and enumerate all the prepositions that can appear in the position  $\text{Prep}_{\text{spatial}}$ . For example, *the expressions hinter jmdm./etw. her* ‘behind sb. or sth.’, *vor jmdm./etw. her* ‘before/ in front of sb. or sth.’, *neben jmdm./etw. her* ‘next to sb. or sth.’ and *zwischen jmdm./etw. her* ‘between sb. or sth.’ denote movement by the participants of the situation in the same direction and at the same speed. It is important to include in the same zone of the entry examples illustrating the basic ways to use these constructions and translate them into Russian.

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## Corpora

- DWDS – Corpora des Digitalen Wörterbuchs der deutschen Sprache des 20. Jahrhunderts: <http://www.dwds.de>.
- RNC – Russian National Corpus = *Korpus nemetsko-russkikh parallel'nykh tekstov Natsional'nogo korpusa russkogo yazyka*. [Accessed December 2017]. <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/search-para.html>.





## CHAPTER TEN

# WHY EQUIVALENCE OF IDIOMS IN DIFFERENT LANGUAGES IS THE EXCEPTION. ARGUMENTS FROM A CONSTRUCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

ELMAR SCHAFFROTH

### **Abstract**

This article examines the question of whether (or to what extent) equivalence between idiomatic expressions in different languages is possible. As *equivalence* is understood here in a broad sense to include all linguistic levels and all types of knowledge about a phraseological unit, it turns out to be very difficult to maintain the claim of interlingual equivalence with regard to idioms. Based on the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar and focusing on linguistic data provided by corpora, I will discuss some types of pseudo-equivalence between Italian and German idioms, also taking into account other languages. The objective of this article is to raise awareness among foreign languages teachers and learners as well as among linguists about the main types of idiosyncrasy that characterize phraseological units.

### **1 Introduction**

In what follows I will outline the traps into which foreign language learners may fall if they draw the wrong conclusions from the apparent formal and / or semantic resemblance between idioms of different languages. Unfortunately, this risk is usually increased by many bilingual dictionaries and online translation programs, which in some way or other

confirm wrong analogies between formally and semantically similar idioms, e.g. DeepL: *mettere una pulce nell'orecchio* → *einen Floh ins Ohr stecken* [sic!], which is lexically wrong (*stecken* instead of *setzen*), and semantically erroneous.

Based on the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar and focusing on linguistic data provided by corpora, I will discuss some types of pseudo-equivalence between Italian and German idioms, taking also into account other languages. The objective of this article is to raise awareness among foreign languages teachers and learners as well as among linguists about the main types of idiosyncrasy that characterize phraseological units. What we believe to be analogous or equivalent proves but far too often deceptive. This analysis reveals severe deficiencies in dealing with idiomatic phenomena of different languages. If we bear in mind statements like the following one, we might get an idea of how unpredictable and “capricious” idiomatic expressions themselves are<sup>1</sup>:

[I]t turns out that the idiomatic reaches into every nook and cranny of a language, so much so that it might not be outrageous to claim that just about everything in a language is idiomatic to a greater or lesser degree and in some way or other. If anything, it is the fully regular, the fully compositional, that is exceptional (Taylor 2014, 71f.)

## 2 Typology of equivalence in contrastive phraseology

Contrastive phraseology (CP) traditionally distinguishes four types of phraseological equivalence<sup>2</sup> (according to Koller 2007, 605ff., who summarizes important phraseological works):

a) **total equivalence**: semantic equivalence, lexical and syntactic correspondence, no (or only few) differences in connotation. ger. *Schritt*

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<sup>1</sup> The terms *idiom*, *idiomatic phrase*, *idiomatic expression*, *phraseological unit* are used as synonyms here. An idiom is a multiword unit, consisting of at least two “segments” (lexemes and / or function words), whose form is more or less fixed, which is cognitively entrenched and fully or partially non-compositional. The term *set phrase* designates a hyperonym of *idiom* and is characterized by a multiword structure, relative fixedness and idiosyncrasy, but not necessarily by non-compositionality. *Salt and pepper*, *to give a talk* are *set phrases* without being idioms, *to bark up the wrong tree* is an idiom and, of course, a *set phrase* as well. For similar and other definitions see Nunberg / Sag / Wasow (1994), Burger et al. (2007), Gries (2008), Dobrovolskij (2011), Schafroth (2015).

<sup>2</sup> See also Kolb (2018). *Equivalence*, as it is understood here, implies all linguistic levels, and all types of knowledge about a linguistic unit (see chapter 3).

*für Schritt* – fr. *pas à pas*, ger. *eine Rolle spielen* – *jouer un rôle*, ger. *seine Hand für etw. ins Feuer legen* – eng. *put one's hand into the fire for s.th.*;

b) equivalence by phraseme substitution: semantic equivalence, diverging lexeme types, no (or only few) differences in connotation. eng. *hot potato* – ger. *heißes Eisen*, ger. *die Flinte ins Korn werfen* – eng. *throw in the towel*;

c) partial equivalence: semantic equivalence, minor differences in lexeme types and /or syntactic structure and / or in connotation. ger. *im Laufe der Zeit* – Fr. *avec le temps*, eng. *buy a pig in a poke* – ger. *die Katze im Sack kaufen*;

d) zero equivalences: no semantically equivalent idiom in the target language. Norw. *Ha sine svin på skogen* ‘to have to conceal dubious goings-on’ (lit. to have one’s pigs in the forest). This idiom can only be paraphrased or rendered with a lexeme<sup>3</sup>.

An important phraseological field of investigation are false friends (cf. Mollica / Wilke 2011), characterized by (strong) structural and lexical analogy but partially or fully different meanings: fr. *suer sang et eau* ‘to take great pains’ – ger. *Blut und Wasser schwitzen* ‘to be scared or very excited’ (in English *to sweat blood* ‘to work extremely hard to achieve s.th.’ (LDOCE)).

As traditional CP deals with *langue*-based meanings, focusing on denotative and structural aspects, other important criteria such as textual, pragmatic and connotative properties are strongly neglected or even excluded. This is also true for “intralinguistic” meanings, arising from metaphors, imagery and associations restricted to a single language.

This means CP behaves like lexicography: it describes idioms in neutral contexts analyzing them as isolated linguistic units (cf. Hessky 1987: 116, cited from Koller 2007, 606).

Any *langue*-based approach taking into account only generic, contextless core meanings is completely unsuitable for any text-based methodology. This is already apparent from some of the examples Koller gives that I cannot discuss here in detail but which clearly show some major deficiencies of CP: almost none of the cases mentioned in (a) to (c)

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<sup>3</sup> The idiomatic expression *the elephant in the (living) room* (LDOCE: ‘an important subject or problem that everyone knows about but no one mentions’) is a prime example of conceptual diversity between languages (d). The concept itself does not seem to exist in Italian and German. Thus there can be no linguistic expression and thus no (phraseological) equivalent in German or in Italian. This is the reason why recently we have been able to observe the phenomenon of loan translation of the English idiom in German (*der Elefant im Raum / Zimmer / Wohnzimmer*), and, to a lesser extent, in Italian (*l’elefante nella camera / stanza*).

are correct. There are so many differences between the phraseological correspondences on all linguistic levels (semantics, pragmatics, syntax, register, connotation) that I would not list them under the label “semantic equivalence”<sup>4</sup>.

Koller therefore claims a textual, corpus-based approach for the description of idioms, suitable for gathering much more relevant aspects, such as connotation, textual behavior (e.g., working with the idiomatic and literal meaning at the same time, reducing, enlarging, modifying or reusing (parts of) an idiom), pragmatic or metaphorical properties.

And this is exactly what I want to talk about in this article, explicitly referring to a corpus-based approach and to the holistic methodology applied in Construction Grammar.

### 3 The necessity for a holistic description of idioms

From a lexicographical point of view, it may be tempting to treat the examples given by Koller as equivalents, but, as we have seen and we will see below, the devil is always in the detail.

If the objective is to provide the epistemically relevant knowledge indispensable for understanding and actively using an idiom in a foreign language—I will call this comprehensive description *holistic*—the following items have to be considered (cf. Ziem 2008, Busse 2012):

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<sup>4</sup> Just to give some examples: (a) *eine Rolle spielen* and *jouer un rôle* do not behave in a similar way as far as syntax is concerned (interrogation, negation), the French set phrase, in addition, always being specified by an adjective or an adjunct and the German one being more idiomatic (non-compositional). So, on the whole, they do not have the same meaning; *seine Hand für etw. ins Feuer legen* and *to put one's hand into the fire for s.th.* are false friends, the English word combination showing low frequency and being used more in its literal meaning; it is not registered in LDOCE, Götz / Lorenz (2012) or OED; *enTenTen15* and *COCA Corpus* do not confirm the phraseological meaning postulated by Koller (summarizing other linguists); (b) a *hot potato* and a *heißes Eisen* do not have the same meaning, the former being “a subject or problem that no one wants to deal with, because it is difficult and any decision might make people angry” (LDOCE), the latter just meaning ‘delicate subject’; as far as collocations are concerned, they show different behavior (in German often in combination with verbs like *anfassen* or *anpacken*, in English often *to become a hot potato* and *to drop something like a hot potato, to pass on the hot potato to somebody.*, etc., which in German could be *heiße Kartoffel*, which, however, is not necessarily used in the same context as *hot potato*); (c) the basic form of the English idiom is *pig in a poke*, the verbs *buy*, *sell*, *be*, etc. are collocates, whereas *die Katze im Sack* is closely linked to *kaufen*.

- all formal variants, taking into account morphological, lexical, syntactical, and sometimes even prosodic aspects (accent shift, for instance, as in German *Welche Laus ist DIR den über die Leber gelaufen?* and *Dir ist wohl eine LAUS über die Leber gelaufen!*<sup>5</sup>);
- frequency, based on data of a range of big linguistic corpora<sup>6</sup>;
- common use and high cognitive entrenchment of the idiom on the speakers' side;
- register, from (very) formal to (very) informal, from literary or poetic to taboo;
- meaning(s): semantic differentiation of polysemous idioms; precise description of the generic meaning and the context-sensitive meanings;
- semantic field<sup>7</sup>: e.g. friendship, love, food, human body, narrow-mindedness, despair, joy;
- pragmatic effect (polite / impolite, ironic, sarcastic, humorous, etc.);
- illocutionary force (speech act): apology, gratitude, compliment, flattery, criticism, reproach, threat, etc.;
- syntax: internal syntax (e.g. optional verb or actant, optional collocate or base, frequent modifier), external syntax (larger structure into which the idiom can be embedded, optional connection with *that*-clauses, *-ing*-clauses, *to*-infinitive clauses or prepositional objects and analogous constructions in other languages).

The theoretical framework for this kind of holistic description is complex.

Applying methods of Construction Grammar and Fillmore's semantics of understanding (1975, 1985), I built a new digital lexicographical format for idioms which I called *PhraseFrame* (cf. Schafroth 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2015).

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<sup>5</sup> In English perhaps "You must have got out of the wrong side of bed!" or "You must have got out of bed on the wrong side!" (LDOCE).

<sup>6</sup> The GEPHRI project at the university of Düsseldorf is based on a selection of verbal idioms (extracted from Quartu / Rossi 2012) whose frequencies were counted in four big Italian corpora, resulting in a list of the 500 most frequent verbal idioms (including individual judgements by native speakers, of course); see Imperiale / Schafroth (2016, 2019).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the classification of semantic fields proposed by Bárdosi / Ettinger / Stölting (2003).

Starting from Fillmore's semantics of understanding (or U-semantics) we recall statements like the following:

a sentence can only be fully interpreted if we know something about the situation in which it has been used; in many cases, then, understanding a sentence involves knowing the class of situations in which it could be appropriately uttered and knowing what effect it could be expected to have in that situation (Fillmore 1975, 16).

Transferred to phraseology, this means that one and the same idiom may semantically and pragmatically be interpreted in different ways, depending on the situation in which it is used. This is why it does not seem useful to separate the semantic and the pragmatic level of the meaning (cf. Ziem / Lasch 2013, 42, 51). This conviction is strengthened by the approaches elaborated by the philosopher Demmerling (2002) and the German linguist Busse (2012), each of whom pointed out that an utterance cannot be interpreted and fully understood without taking into account all the conditions that determine the situation.

Busse's explanatory or interpretative semantics, indebted to Foucault's discourse theory, goes even further. It is not only the situations that determine the understanding of an utterance but also all the other epistemic factors that might influence its meaning (different types of knowledge, social and psychological conditions, etc.).

Using Fillmore's Frame Semantics (1982) to highlight the concept of interconnected forms and meanings, as it belongs to a cognitive framework, I began to describe idioms according to the holistic scheme established by Croft (2001). I elaborated on the pertinent attribute-value matrices ("frame elements") used in Frame Semantics.

The result is a digital lexicographical model called *PhraseoFrame* whose "values" are described exclusively on the basis of corpus data. This comprehensive usage-based approach is mirrored, in large part, in the FRAME project in Milan (cf. Benigni et al. 2015) and entirely in the GEPHRI project in Düsseldorf (cf. Schafroth 2015, Imperiale / Schafroth 2016, 2019).

As we know, even native speakers sometimes have difficulties applying idioms in a correct manner. How difficult must it then be for foreign language learners to find their way through the phraseological jungle? It therefore seems clear that any lexicographical and phraseological description provided in dictionaries or other resources would have to be rich and multifaceted in order to make idioms not only fully understandable but also usable. So, ideally, learners should be able to apply idioms in a foreign language in the typical situational context and in a pragmatically adequate manner. By *pragmatically adequate* I understand

that the speaker realizes the intention (illocution) usually expressed by the idiom in question and that the interlocutor shows a reaction generally to be expected and due to the use of the idiom (perlocution).

My scepticism regarding the contrastive representation of idioms in phraseography is huge and stems in part from the question of how it can be possible at all to compare idiomatic phrases of different languages, if it is true that idioms are semantically and pragmatically specific, let alone with respect to morphological and syntactic idiosyncrasies.

According to Construction Grammar (cf. Hoffmann / Trousdale 2013, Ziem / Lasch 2013), idioms are form-meaning pairings (constructions) that should be described on all levels of language. These comprise, according to Croft (2001) on the form side, phonological, morphological and syntactic properties, and on the meaning side, semantic, pragmatic and discourse-functional characteristics.

It is true that the meaning of figurative idioms can be inferred by general world knowledge and metaphorical interpretation (e.g. German *aus einer Mücke einen Elefanten machen*, English *to make a mountain out of a molehill*, Italian *fare di una mosca un elefante*, Spanish *hacer de una pulga un camello* or *un elefante*, French *faire d'une mouche un éléphant*), but these cases are the exception and not the rule. Generally, it can be said that any idiom is characterized by the fact that there is “some aspect of its form or function [that] is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist” (Goldberg 2003, 219).

In CP and bilingual lexicography, idioms are semanticized either by paraphrases in the other language or by a phraseological unit in the target language, which represents a risk factor for learners. The risk lies in the fact that nothing is said about the degree of equivalence and nothing about all other linguistic aspects (e.g. typical syntactic use, typical situations), which are absolutely necessary in order to judge the kind of equivalence. After all, as Franz Josef Hausmann once put it:

[D]ans une langue étrangère presque tout est différent, presque tout est idiomatique. C'est le parallélisme qui est l'exception, non la spécificité (Hausmann 1997, 284).



## 4 Some case studies illustrating problems of (non-) equivalent idioms

A) Apparent equivalence in form and meaning:

(1) *it. essere un'acqua cheta* – *ger. ein stilles Wasser sein*

Phraseological pairs like (1) are often treated as “total equivalences” in CP and bilingual lexicography. This categorization, however, is doubtful because we do not know the contextual meanings and realizations in each language, let alone the syntactic embedding and the rhetorical use of an idiom like *ein stilles Wasser sein*. The dictionaries may of course restrict their description to a generic contextless meaning, which would in fact be rather similar for (1) in Italian and in German. But this kind of information will not suffice to provide the necessary knowledge to successfully carry out linguistic action using a foreign language idiom.

In the case of *stilles Wasser* there are two major construction types: (a) the predicative construction (e.g. *Sie ist ein stilles Wasser*), (b) the proverb *Stille Wasser sind tief* (or *Stille Wasser, die sind tief*, sometimes, conveying a higher stylistic register: *Stille Wasser gründen tief*), which also exists in English (*Still waters run deep*). The basic meaning of (a) and (b) is ‘to be quiet and reserved when expressing one’s feelings and views (and thus difficult to judge)’. In Italian, *acqua cheta* seems to be fully equivalent to the German *stilles Wasser*, *acqua* meaning ‘water’, and *cheto* (*cheta*) ‘still’. But on closer inspection there are considerable differences. For this purpose, a corpus-based approach, as the Construction Grammar framework postulates, is an effective method for learning how to use and understand idioms. I consulted *itTenTen16* and *Corpus Paisà*. What can easily be found out when searching for *acqua cheta* or *acqua* and *cheto* (treated as lemmas) is the following:

a) The meaning of *acqua cheta* seems to be similar to the German *stilles Wasser*, but analyzing corpus data there are clear semantic differences: The person being referred to as an *acqua cheta* appears to be someone who has a good character (besides being quiet), but who turns out to be malicious; in German the person seems to be quiet and reserved but turns out to have a complex (thus no simple) character and to be vivacious (and not shy), but not (prototypically) malicious.

b) The predicative type is much less frequent than in German: “sarà mica che il nostro premier è un'acqua cheta?” (*itTenTen16*), “Carmen è la tipica acqua cheta” (*Corpus Paisà*).

c) There is a proverb that seems to be similar to the German one: *L'acqua cheta rovina i ponti*, in the corpus examples also *Le acque chete*

*fanno crollare i ponti* (with the plural form and a lexical variation), but it means again, analogously to the predicative use, that persons may appear innocent but someday turn out malicious.

d) Once again, the Italian proverb is far less frequent than the German one.

e) It cannot be excluded that the collocation *stilles Wasser* (meaning *still water*, opposed to *sparkling water*) has some impact on the idiom *stilles Wasser* in terms of familiarity, frequency, or even semantics. This might explain why *stilles Wasser* is significantly more frequent in Sketch Engine (*deTenTen13*: 0.40 per million) than *acqua cheta* (*itTenTen16*: 0.06 per million).

f) In the Italian idiom there is some “unfamiliar piece familiarly arranged” involved, to put it in Fillmore’s words (Fillmore / Kay / O’Connor 1988): the adjective *cheto* is, according to Zingarelli 2018, of Tuscan origin and literary usage when it means ‘silenzioso, quieto, tranquillo’ (as it does here), and is even obsolete in other meanings; the markedness and thus restricted use of *cheto* might cause some reluctance among Italian speakers to use this idiom.

g) There is a Florentine comedy called “L’acqua cheta” (1908) which was set to music as an operetta (1920); this is encyclopedic knowledge but it may help to understand the specific use of this linguistic form.

B) Apparent partial equivalence in form and apparent full equivalence in meaning:

(2) it. *cercare* (or *trovare*) *il pelo nell’uovo* – ger. *ein Haar in der Suppe finden* (or *suchen*)<sup>8</sup>

What makes me believe that these two idiomatic expressions are only partially (if at all) and not fully equivalent? On the whole, they seem to be semantically and pragmatically rather similar: They render the idea that somebody likes to criticize everything: even if there is nothing to criticize some negative aspect will be found. This “aspect” is, metaphorically speaking, the *Haar* or the *pelo*, the *Suppe* (*soup*) and the *uovo* (*egg*) being the point of reference, the object or affair to be judged.

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<sup>8</sup> In English, the central part of the idiom, that is *Haar in der Suppe* and *pelo nell’uovo* could at first sight be *a fly in the ointment*. But it is not (cf. LDOCE: “informal the only thing that spoils something and prevents it from being successful”). Much closer to the German and Italian verbal idiom is *pick holes in something* (LDOCE: “informal to criticize an idea or a plan by saying what its weak points are”), although the idea of deliberateness is not part of the English idiom.

It goes without saying that the character of partial equivalence can already be seen in the lexical constituents: *Suppe* and *uovo* on the one hand and *Haar* and *pelo* ('body hair') on the other (it is not *capello* ('hair on the head!')). One could argue, however, that both concepts, 'soup' and 'egg' convey similar ideas: food in which we do not want to find a hair. The metaphors of *hair* and *soup* / *egg* symbolize something that disturbs, somethings that makes a seemingly perfect thing imperfect. But there is even more to the idioms: some kind of duality between the one who is criticized and is not aware of the imperfection, and the one who criticizes whose aim is to find the "fly in the ointment".

But there are further incongruities—we could call them pragmatic and even discourse-functional: The German idiom seems to be pragmatically wider and applicable to a greater variety of contexts, one of which is the "restaurant frame", evoked by realizing the *hair in the soup* idiom (this might be part of a communicative discourse tradition, realized, for example in a joke). The concept of the egg is, as far as the meaning of the whole idiom is concerned, far more "consistent" than the concept of (the hair in) the soup, as it is impossible that a body hair can get inside of an egg, whereas a head hair may easily find its way into a soup.

The results we have achieved so far highlight the fact that idioms of different languages can be compared only when the *tertium comparationis* is restricted to a common semantic core, if there is one. Sometimes this restriction has to go even further and concerns only the very nucleus of the idiom, as in the case of *Haar in der Suppe* and *pelo nell'uovo*, the combining verbs (*suchen* / *finden*, *cercare* / *trovare*) being only a facultative expansion. This means the idioms also work without the verb component. The combining verbs could therefore be treated as collocates: They are compositional and may be added to the phraseological nucleus (in Italian besides *cercare* and *trovare* also *guardare*, *vedere*, and other members of the same lexical field). But what about frequency? A corpus analysis conducted in *DeReKo-2018-I*, *deTenTen12* and *itTenTen16* showed the predominance of the verb collocate *finden* in German with respect to *suchen*, and, even more clearly, the much higher frequency of *cercare* in Italian with respect to *trovare*. In addition, the definite article before the noun is the most common determiner in Italian, the indefinite article is preferred to the definite in German. All these items are part of the linguistic knowledge about this phraseological unit.

C) Apparent partial equivalence in form and meaning:

A further case of partial equivalence occurs when the comparison lies only in the similarity or at least analogy of the image expressed by the idiom. Formally, there may be analogous elements, necessary to create the images, but we are no longer dealing with form-meaning-parallelisms, only with similar meanings and, at best, lexical or syntactic correspondences:

(3) *it. darsi la zappa sui piedi* – *ger. sich ins eigene Fleisch schneiden*

As already mentioned, there are dictionaries and dictionaries, or, to be more precise, good and poor dictionary entries even if the dictionary itself has a good reputation. If we wanted to find out whether the idioms in (3) are synonymous, we should not rely on bilingual dictionaries. The reasons can be seen in the following dictionary excerpts:

(3a) *darsi la zappa sui piedi* sich (dat) ins eigene Fleisch schneiden (Pons)

(3b) *darsi la zappa sui piedi* sich (dat) ins eigene Fleisch schneiden (Langenscheidt)

(3c) *darsi la zappa sui piedi* den Ast absägen, auf dem man sitzt; sich (dat / akk) ins eigene Fleisch schneiden (LEO)

(3d) *darsi la zappa sui piedi* = den Ast absägen, auf dem man sitzt; den Schuss nach hinten los gehen lassen; sich ins eigene Fleisch schneiden; sich selbst ins Knie schießen; so handeln, dass der Schuss nach hinten los geht (LingoStudy)

(3e) *sich ins eigene Fleisch schneiden* ugs – sich (gewaltig /...) in den (eigenen) *Finger* schneiden · *darsi il dito nell'occhio / la martellata sulle dita / la zappa sui piedi* (Fenati / Rovere / Schemann 2009)

(3f) *darsi la zappa sui piedi* (*nuocere a se stessi*) sich (dat) ins eigene Fleisch schneiden; den Ast absägen, auf dem man sitzt (Giacoma / Kolb)

The equivalents for *darsi la zappa sui piedi* given in (3a) and (3b) suggest a one-to-one correspondence of the Italian and the German idiom, whereas (3c) brings into play one more equivalent, and (3d) these two and further three ones. Apart from the fact that (3d) proposes semantically and pragmatically different and syntactically diverging translations, even *den*

*Ast absägen, auf dem man sitzt* (lit. to saw off the branch one is sitting on, meaning ‘to deprive oneself of a big advantage or even one’s basis of life’, in English perhaps, approximately, *to dig one’s own grave*) is semantically not equivalent, because *sich ins eigene Fleisch schneiden* just means ‘sich selbst schaden’ (*Duden 11*) (‘to harm oneself’) and does not include the idea of going without a material advantage. (3e) mixes up two formally similar idioms in German: *sich ins eigene Fleisch schneiden* (lit. to cut one’s flesh) and *sich in den Finger schneiden*, which has two meanings, a literal one (to cut one’s finger), and a phraseological one (‘to be completely mistaken’).

As far as the semantic core of *darsi la zappa sui piedi* is concerned, Giacomina / Kolb (3f), though a bilingual dictionary, provides an important paraphrase in the source language, which can be taken as the semantic *tertium comparationis* between Italian and German. But the limits of a bilingual dictionary are exactly here. A further semantic differentiation cannot be given, it seems.

Monolingual dictionaries, however, can offer a more thorough semantic explanation of idioms:

(3g) *darsi la zappa sui piedi*, (fig.) danneggiarsi da sé volendo danneggiare gli altri (*Zingarelli 2018*, s.v. *piede*)

(3h) *darsi la zappa sui piedi*, (fig.) dire o fare qlco. che torna a proprio danno (*Zingarelli 2018*, s.v. *zappa*)

(3i) *darsi la zappa sui piedi*, dire o fare qlco. di inopportuno, che si ritorce a proprio danno (*Sabatini Coletti 2010*, s.v. *zappa*)

At last we get to know the decisive semantic feature that distinguishes the Italian idiom from the German and the English one: *darsi la zappa sui piedi* implies something negative or bad someone wanted to inflict on another person, which instead impacted themselves. This is not the case in German or in English. On the other hand, the English idiom contains a semantic component, which the German and the Italian one does not: anger as the major driving force.

(3j) *cut off your nose to spite your face* to do something because you are angry, even though it will harm you (*LDOCE online*)

As the English idiomatic phrase is not easy to understand and also syntactically difficult, it is important to do corpus research, for instance in *enTenTen15*. I did this, but there is insufficient space here to show the results.

- (4) *it. lasciar cuocere (bollire) qualcuno nel suo brodo* – *ger. jemanden im eigenen Saft schmoren lassen* – *eng. let somebody stew in his own juice* – *fr. laisser mijoter (cuire, mariner) quelqu'un dans son jus* – *sp. dejar a alguien cocerse en su propio jugo*

Here I want to look at some more languages. We are dealing with seemingly synonymous phraseological units also showing formal correspondences, particularly on the syntactic and lexical level:

X lets X Verb<sub>infinitive</sub> in PossPron (own) Z

Apart from the fact that the lexemes in the other languages are in most cases neither derivable nor predictable, departing from whatever language (*cuocere / bollire* ‘cook’, *schmoren* ‘braise’, *stew*, *mijoter* ‘simmer’, *cuire* ‘cook’, *mariner* ‘marinate’, *cocerse* ‘cook’; *brodo* ‘broth’, *Saft* ‘juice’, *juice*, *jus*, *jugo* ‘meat juices’), there are grammatical snares (*cocerse* as a reflexive verb in Spanish; construction with or without possessive pronoun), formal variants (e.g. *let someone stew in his own juice* ~ *let someone stew* ~ *leave someone to stew*) and semantic differences, although the basic meaning seems to be the same:

TO LEAVE SOMEONE TO SUFFER THE UNPLEASANT RESULTS OF HIS OWN ACTIONS INSTEAD OF HELPING HIM (LDOCE)

Whether or not all these similar idioms are really semantically and pragmatically equivalent can only be proved by a thorough corpus analysis. Consulting dictionaries may serve to create awareness about differences in meaning and the effect an idiom has on the interlocutor.

Another result when having a closer look at dictionaries might be frustrating, however. After having looked up the Italian idiom *lasciar(e) cuocere qualcuno nel suo brodo* in four monolingual dictionaries, we can no longer be sure of having understood its meaning:

- (4a) *lasciarlo fare a modo suo* (Treccani, *Vocabolario online*)  
 (4b) *non curarsene* (s.v. *brodo*); *disinteressarsi di lui* (s.v. *cuocere*) (*Zingarelli 2018*)  
 (4c) *lasciarlo fare come meglio crede, lasciare che si aggiusti da solo* (Sabatini Coletti 2010)  
 (4d) *lasciare che si comporti come vuole, senza intervenire per correggerlo o aiutarlo* (*Nuovissimo Dardano*)

Are there not considerable differences between ‘letting somebody do things as he wants to’ (4a), ‘not taking care of somebody’ (4b), ‘letting somebody manage things alone’ (4c) and ‘letting somebody behave as he wants without intervening in order to correct or help him’ (4d)? If we then take into account what Monica Quartu and Elena Rossi write about this idiom in their *Dizionario dei modi dire*, we are no longer sure whether it is still comparable to the English phraseological expression *let somebody stew in his own juice* at all:

- (4e) non curarsi di qualcuno, lasciando che si arrangi con i propri mezzi, riferito in genere a una persona testarda cui invano si sono dati dei consigli, a chi ha tentato di nuocere a qualcuno senza riuscirci, danneggiando invece a se stesso. Si usa anche nei confronti di una persona che viene lasciata a rimuginare da sola, in attesa che smaltisca il malumore o la collera (Quartu / Rossi 2012)

What we have here is clear polysemy, and it would be important for a dictionary to explicitly indicate that an idiomatic expression has different meanings. Unfortunately, lexicography is not really good at performing this task (as far as idioms are concerned).

(4e) teaches us that there are at least two different reasons why one could “let someone stew in his own juice”: First, because he tried to do harm to another person but in the end damaged himself; second, because someone decided to brood over things (in an angry or melancholy mood). Besides this, there are several motivations for leaving this person on his own: because he is stubborn or because giving him advice was in vain.

## 5 Conclusions

It goes without saying that comparing phraseological units in several languages within a semasiological framework inevitably leads to simplifications, flattening out especially semantic and pragmatic features that are characteristic of an idiom in one language but not necessarily of the (apparently) similar idiom in the other language(s). As we have seen, there are many idiosyncratic properties on the form and on the meaning side of idioms. If lexicography does not take account of this fact, the results will continue to be bilingual or multilingual dictionaries that want to make us believe that an idiom in language A can easily be rendered by an idiom in language B, all the more so if the two idioms share formal and / or semantic qualities. This is a dangerous undertaking, however, from a scientific and language teaching point of view.

But can bilingual dictionaries be better than monolingual ones of each of the two languages considered? The problem is that monolingual dictionaries are generally made for native speakers, if they are not learners' dictionaries. As we know, these are very popular in English and German, less popular or even unknown in other languages (cf. Schafroth 2012). And native speakers, according to the general lexicographical attitude, do not need detailed information about set phrases of all kinds, because they have an intuitive knowledge about their meaning and their use. The simple phenomenon of polysemy, however, not to mention pragmatic complexity, tells us that this is not true. In German, there is the proverb *Ein gutes Pferd springt nur so hoch, wie es muss* ('A good horse jumps only as high as it needs to'). The "good horse" is the good dictionary, which, however, is not challenged enough because other than some linguists there is nobody to tell the editors that the phraseological description leaves a lot to be desired.

In addition to this, it is only in the last three decades that the awareness of the vast amount of phraseological phenomena in our languages has grown. And it is only since some phraseology specialists, such as Stefan Ettinger<sup>9</sup>, Dmitriy Dobrovol'skij and Elisabeth Piirainen<sup>10</sup> have drawn particular attention to the need to describe all aspects of idioms, and that linguists such as Fillmore / Kay / O'Connor (1988) and Sinclair (1991) have given us us an idea of the vast amount of phraseological phenomena in our languages that theoretical linguistics could develop frameworks like Construction Grammar. These theoretical principles allow the elaboration of a holistic approach to phraseology (cf. Croft 2001).

At the same time corpus linguistics has progressed very well (cf. Biber / Reppen 2012, 2015, McEnery / Hardy 2012, Mahlberg / Wiegand 2018)

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ettinger's brilliant analysis (2009) of the German idiom *die Hosen anhaben* (eng. *to wear the trousers*) and many other articles published earlier (see Ettinger 2009).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Dobrovol'skij / Piirainen (2011) where the authors take into consideration all kinds of linguistic and non-linguistic, especially cultural and cognitive aspects. In Piirainen (2012) the author postulates the phraseological category of "widespread idioms" all over the world (deriving from the Bible, for instance). I agree with her as far as the common figurative ground is concerned, but I remain sceptical of establishing the quality of (full) equivalence between these idioms. Piirainen herself acknowledges that her concept of phraseological equivalence is inevitably very basic taking into account only the widespread idioms' origin, their cultural and historical development, their lexical structure and figurative core meaning (62).



and has become one of the fundamental methodological principles of some (but not all) constructionist approaches (Ziem / Lasch 2013).

As I have pointed out, the phraseological work begins with the awareness that every linguistic level has to be described thoroughly. This challenge starts of course with all kinds of dictionaries to be consulted, but it has to be accomplished by corpus analyses. As every little formal or semantic and pragmatic detail has to be backed by corpus data the result can only be an electronic lexicographical format where space does not matter.

But you cannot apply this method to two (or more languages) at the same time. It has to be considered, as Hausmann (1995) demonstrated, that a contrastive lexicology, let alone phraseology, is not possible. Even if we weaken this verdict and say that CP is very difficult we have to face the problems: these lie in the difficulty of comparing frequencies and contexts, and in the semantics and pragmatics of two languages and their linguistic units.

So, what we can do, is work with the comprehensive corpus-based method, but either in order to describe one (foreign) target language in the metalanguage of the source language, as is the case with the GEPHRI project (Italian and German); or to compare several languages at once. For the latter objective, it is appropriate to choose a mixed methodology consisting of two converging perspectives, one being onomasiological, the other semasiological (cf. the FRAME project in Milan, see Schafroth 2019). The onomasiological part consists of providing at least one valid basis of comparison (a *tertium comparationis*), which can only be the semantic field. After having determined a field, let us say NARROW-MINDEDNESS, we can start describing every set phrase that is part of this semantic field according to the semasiological method described above. In the query mode users can then choose the languages to be compared and, among other things, the type of set phrase (e.g. collocation, verbal idiom, schematic idiom, formula, proverb) to be searched within a given semantic field, but they could also look for the same register, connotation or speech act.

Using the example of the semantic field NARROW-MINDEDNESS, we would probably describe in German the idioms *das Haar in der Suppe suchen*, but also the collocation *peinlich genau* and the comparative idiom *päpstlicher als der Papst*, in English the idioms *to pick holes in something*, *to find fault with somebody / something*, *to dot the i's and cross the t's*, *the fly in the ointment*, or the comparative idiom *to be more Catholic than the pope*. Every result of the query, that is to say every set phrase, can then be

explored in detail, based on the semasiological corpus-based description already given.

An electronic database like this, be it mainly or purely semasiological (like GEPHRI), be it onomasiological and semasiological at the same time (like FRAME), has to fulfill two purposes simultaneously: it must be innovative with respect to linguistics and with respect to language teaching.

Whether we deal with bilingual or multilingual dictionaries, general or specialized ones, their description of idiomatic expressions has to be text-based (or corpus-based) if they want to tell the true story of how an idiomatic expression works in the language of reference and how it works in another one. Whatever this corpus-based method may involve in detail, linguists (including lexicographers) should say goodbye to the idea of postulating equivalence between idioms in different languages. As yet they are far from doing this.

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## CHAPTER ELEVEN

# A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF CONSTRUCTIONS WITH THE SUPPORT VERBS *DAVAT'* / *DAT'* IN RUSSIAN AND *DARE* IN ITALIAN

TATSIANA MAIKO

### Abstract

Support or light verb constructions, being idiosyncratic yet semi-productive, pose a real challenge for foreign language students. A contrastive study of light verb constructions in a first language and a target foreign language may be useful both for lexicographic and didactic purposes. This study deals with constructions formed by the support verb *davat'* / *dat'* 'to give' in Russian and the support verb *dare* 'to give' in Italian, with a noun in the direct object position. The constructions examined were extracted from the corpora ruTenTen11 and itTenTen16 available within the Sketch Engine software. The semantic and syntactic features of the constructions were determined by means of tests relevant to each language. Finally, productive semantic classes of nouns which can combine with the light verbs in question were identified and convergences and divergences between the constructions in the two languages established.

### 1 Introduction

In many languages, including Russian and Italian, there is a widely used construction consisting of a semantically reduced verb combined with a noun that conveys core lexical meaning to the predicate (Butt 2003; Family 2006; Miyamoto 2000). The noun is found in the direct object position (1, 2) or embedded in a prepositional phrase (3, 4):



- (1) Russian: *prinimat' uchastie* 'to take part' (lit. to accept participation), *stavit' vopros* 'to put a question';
- (2) Italian: *fare un favore* 'to do a favour', *prendere una decisione* 'to take a decision';
- (3) Russian: *brat' pod okhranu* 'to put under protection' (lit. to take under protection), *prinimat' vo vnimanie* 'to take into consideration' (lit. to take into attention);
- (4) Italian: *mettere a confronto* 'to put in contrast', *prendere in considerazione* 'to take into consideration'.

There is no single term for these combinations. In English linguistics, they have predominantly been referred to as light verbs (Jespersen 1942, Grimshaw / Mester 1988) or support verbs (Danlos 1992, Krenn 2000). O. Jespersen was the first to introduce the term light verb to refer to such English verbs as *have, take, make, do, give* within the constructions V+NP (*have a wash, take a stare, make a try*). These verbs are defined by the scholar as "insignificant" because their role is limited to providing grammatical information to the predicate, while the expression of the lexical meaning of the construction is entrusted to the noun (Jespersen 1942, 117). In German linguistics, the study of such constructions began with the contribution of P. von Polenz (1963), who coined the notion *Funktionsverb* 'functional verb'. In Romance linguistics, due to the French tradition (*constructions à verbes supports* 'support verb constructions', Giry-Schneider 1987; Gross 1996; Gross 1981), the term support verb constructions is commonly used. In Russian linguistic literature, they are referred to as *ustoychivye glagol'no-imennye slovosochetaniya* 'fixed verb-noun combinations' (Deribas 1975), *opisatel'nye predikaty* 'descriptive predicates' (Vsevolodova / Kuz'menkova 2003), or *verbal'nye sinleksy* 'verbative synlexes' (Klimovskaya 2008, Lobanova 2011). Within the framework of the Meaning-Text theory (Mel'chuk 1996), the verbal part of this type of predicate corresponds to the lexical functions Oper, Labor, Func. The term 'support verb constructions' is adopted in this paper.

Support verb constructions (SVCs) are a typical problem area both in theoretical and in applied linguistics. In broader terms, SVCs belong to formulaic sequences, which confer fluency and native-likeness to learners' linguistic production (Granger 1998; Howarth 1998). Acquisition of SVCs poses a real challenge for foreign language students: there is a tendency for interference from the students' first language to cause errors in the production of these units (Altenberg / Granger 2001; Nesselhauf 2005).

Despite their apparently idiosyncratic character, the complexity of support verb constructions is patterned (Alba-Salas 2002; Kearns 2002; Wierzbicka 1982), and semantic classes of nouns that choose a given verb as the collocater can be identified, even though these generalizations are probabilistic rather than rule-based (Kopotev, Pivovarova, and Kormacheva 2016). Contrastive studies of the support verb constructions in a first language with those in a second language based on semantic and syntactic description of constructions, and corpus-based semantic classification of the nouns that combine with a set verb are thus useful in the fields of both lexicography and didactics.

This paper is organised as follows. I begin by describing the corpora and the methodology employed to select frequent instances of the target SVCs (§ 2). The following subsections deal with the prototypical meaning of the verbs *davat' / dat'* 'to give' in Russian and the verb *dare* 'to give' in Italian (§ 2.1) and the tests applied to identify SVCs with these verbs (§ 2.2). Then the four groups of SVCs identified, which differ according to the category of the noun and to the type of interaction between the constituents, are presented along with the similarities and differences between Russian and Italian (§§ 3-6).

## 2 Selection of SVCs with the verb *davat' / dat'* in Russian and the verb *dare* in Italian

This study focuses on constructions formed by the support verb *davat' / dat'* 'to give' in Russian and the verb *dare* 'to give' in Italian, with a noun as direct object. These verbs were chosen because they are among the most productive support verbs in both languages.

The constructions were extracted from the corpora ruTenTen11 and itTenTen16, available within the Sketch Engine software<sup>1</sup>. The extraction of combinations with the verb *davat'* followed by an accusative complement for Russian and with the verb *dare* and a direct object for Italian was carried out using the Word Sketch function. Only occurrences with a frequency of over 100 were taken into consideration. The programme identified 2,946,415 tokens sorted into 1328 types in Russian and 3,492,133 tokens sorted into 1559 types in Italian. A substantial amount of noise and free combinations were eliminated during manual processing of the data. Selection eventually yielded 308 constructions in Russian and 352 constructions in Italian.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.sketchengine.co.uk>.

## 2.1 Prototypical meaning of the verbs

In order to extract SVCs, it was necessary to distinguish whether the verb was being used in its prototypical meaning in a free combination with the object, or whether it was functioning as a support verb.

In their primary meaning the verbs in question, *davat'* and *dare*, denote a dynamic telic punctual action that brings about the transfer of a physical object from a volitional agent to a willing recipient (see Goldberg 1995, 38), typically using the hands, and they form with the object the following pattern:

[S<sub>agent</sub> *davat'* / *dare* O<sub>theme</sub> O<sub>recipient</sub>]  
 S<sub>agent</sub>: [+human]  
 O<sub>theme</sub>: [+concrete]  
 O<sub>recipient</sub>: [+animate]

The most prototypical instances involve a change in possession of the object together with a change of its location.

(5) *Mal'chik dal yey yabloko* 'The boy gave her an apple'.

(6) *Lei mi ha dato un libro* 'She gave me a book'.

## 2.2 *Davat'* and *dare* as support verbs: linguistic tests

In order to establish cases in which the verb presents the 'light' meaning, a number of criteria relevant to the linguistic binomial were identified from the literature (Benigni / Cotta Ramusino 2011; Giry-Schneider 1987; Gross 1981; Jezek 2004; Kearns 2002; Mastrofini 2004; Langer 2005). Support verb constructions were those that corresponded to at least one of the following criteria:

1. impossible to replace the verb with its hyponym (the Russian verb *vruchat'* 'to hand' and the Italian verbs *consegnare* 'to deliver' or *passare* 'to pass', for instance);
2. possible to paraphrase the whole construction with a synonymous verb;
3. possible to substitute the verb with another support verb;
4. *Aktionsart* of the construction determined by the nominal part.

In order to evaluate the degree of cohesion within the constructions identified, I examined the degree to which they allowed the following syntactic transformations:

1. passivization of the construction and the allowability of transforming  $N_{obj}$  into  $N_{subj}$  and  $N_{subj}$  into an agent complement:
  - (7) *V obshchikh chertakh takoe dokazatel'stvo bylo dano mnoyu snachala v stat'e "Obmen i tekhnika"* 'In general terms, such a proof was given by me first in the article "Exchange and Technology"'<sup>2</sup>.
  - (8) *La risposta esatta è stata data da Paolo* 'The correct answer was given by Paul'.
2. relativization of the noun by anchoring a relative clause to it:
  - (9) *Ya soglasen s otsenkoy, kotoruyu dal gospodin Prezident ètim peregovoram* 'I agree with the assessment that Mr. President gave to these negotiations'.
  - (10) *Le ordinai di ignorare i consigli che le erano stati dati da altri medici* 'I ordered her to ignore the advice that had been given to her by other doctors'.
3. modification of the noun (phrase) with an adjective:
  - (11) *Ya obeshchal dat' okonchatel'nyy otvet cherez pyat' dney, i my uslovilis' o novoy vstreche* 'I promised to give a final answer in five days, and we agreed on a new meeting'.
  - (12) *La Corte costituzionale aveva lavorato molto per dare una corretta interpretazione alla riforma del 2001* 'The Constitutional Court had worked hard to give a proper interpretation to the 2001 reform'.
4. pluralization of the noun:
  - (13) *Shtalbe dal prikaz (Sing) prekratit' ogon'* 'Stalbe gave the order to stop firing'.
  - (14) *Ya dal prikazy (Pl) v otvet na ataki bespilotnykh apparatov SSHA* 'I gave orders in response to the attacks of US unmanned vehicles'.

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<sup>2</sup> The sentences presented were extracted from the Russian National Corpus ([www.ruscorpora.ru](http://www.ruscorpora.ru)) for Russian and from the Corpus CORIS (<http://corpora.-dslo.unibo.it>) and itTenTen16 for Italian.

- (15) *Non riusciamo a dare una spiegazione (Sing) del perché questo sia accaduto* ‘We cannot give an explanation of why this happened’.
- (16) *Giorgio e Roberto saranno a disposizione dei visitatori per dare spiegazioni (Pl) sui metodi di lavoro* ‘Giorgio and Roberto will be available to visitors to give explanations of the work methods’.

For both languages, this analysis identified four groups of constructions which differ according to the category of the noun and to the type of interaction between the constituents:

1. constructions made up of the support verb *davat’ / dare* and a noun denoting an action: *davat’ otsenku* ‘to give an evaluation’, *dare una conferma* ‘to give confirmation’;
2. constructions made up of the support verb *davat’ / dare* and a noun designating an event *davat’ priëm* ‘to give a reception’, *dare un concerto* ‘to give a concert’;
3. constructions made up of the support verb *davat’ / dare* and a noun denoting a state or a quality: *davat’ radost’* ‘to give joy’, *dare speranza* ‘to give hope’;
4. idiomatic constructions: *davat’ dorogu* ‘to give way’, *dare una mano* ‘to give a hand’.

### 3 Constructions with a noun denoting an action

The first group, which is the most prolific, includes constructions made up of the support verb *davat’ / dare* and a noun denoting an action. The majority of nouns found within this group are deverbal. These constructions act as a synonym of the full verb from which they derive:

- (17) *davat’ otsenku* ‘to give an evaluation’ < *otsenivat’* ‘to evaluate’;
- (18) *dare una conferma* ‘to give confirmation’ < *confermare* ‘to confirm’.

Nouns which serve as a base for the formation of a verb also fall into this group. As in the case of deverbal nouns, the whole construction may be replaced by a morphologically related verb:

- (19) *davat’ sovet* ‘to give advice’ – *sovetovat’* ‘to advise’;
- (20) *dare un colpo* ‘to give a blow’ – *colpire* ‘to hit’.

Both the Russian and the Italian constructions in the first group respond more or less consistently to the aforementioned tests.

The verbs *davat'* and *dare* in constructions in the first group cannot be substituted with a hyponym of the 'heavy' verb:

(21) *davat' otvet* 'to give an answer' – \**vruchat' otvet* (lit. to hand an answer);

(22) *dare un bacio* 'to give a kiss' – \**passare un bacio* (lit. to pass a kiss).

In some constructions instead of the verb *davat'* / *dare* another light verb may be used:

(23) *davat' / delat' doklad* 'to give / make a report', *davat' / delat' prognoz* (lit. to give / make a prognosis);

(24) *dare / prestare assistenza* 'to give assistance' (lit. to give / to lend assistance), *dare / fornire un consenso* 'to give consent' (lit. to give / to provide consent).

The nominal part determines the construction's *Aktionsart*: in its prototypical meaning *davat'* / *dare* belongs to the class of Achievements ([+dynamic], [-durative], [+telic]) according to the classification proposed by Vendler, as do the constructions *davat' otkaz* 'to give denial' and *dare il consenso* 'to give consent', while the constructions *davat' otchët* 'to give a report' and *dare una spiegazione* 'to give an explanation' belong to the class of Accomplishments ([+dynamic], [+durative], [+telic]).

The constructions that responded in this way to the tests show a high degree of desemanticization of the verb and centrality of the role of the nominal component in the assignment of the semantic structure of the construction. At a syntactic level, this type of construction enjoys a certain amount of variability, and allows for all the above-mentioned transformations.

The most prolific semantic classes of the object within the first group were also determined. One very numerous group both in Russian and in Italian is formed by those constructions which designate communication.

This group can be further divided into subgroups, to mention a few:

- an order: *davat' prikaz* = *dare un ordine* 'to give an order', *davat' zadanie* = *dare un compito* 'to give an assignment', *davat' komandu* = *dare un comando* 'to give a command';
- advice: *davat' sovet* = *dare un consiglio* 'to give advice', *davat' rekomendatsiyu* = *dare una raccomandazione* 'to give a

recommendation’, *davat’ podskazku* = *dare suggerimento* ‘to give a suggestion’;

- a reaction to a verbal act: *davat’ otvet* = *dare una risposta* ‘to give an answer’, *davat’ oproverzhenie* = *dare una smentita* ‘to give a denial’, *davat’ podtverzhenie* = *dare una conferma* ‘to give confirmation’;
- promise: *davat’ zaverenie* = *dare un’assicurazione* ‘to give assurance’, *davat’ garantiyu* = *dare una garanzia* ‘to give a guarantee’;
- permission: *davat’ razreshenie* = *dare un permesso* ‘to give permission’, *davat’ soglasie* = *dare il consenso* ‘to give consent’;
- information: *davat’ informatsiyu* = *dare informazione* ‘to give information’, *davat’ ob’yavlenie* = *dare un annuncio* ‘to make an announcement’ (lit. to give an announcement), *davat’ soobshchenie* = *dare una comunicazione* to make an announcement (lit. to give an announcement).

Other prolific groups denote:

- cognitive activity: *davat’ reshenie* = *dare una soluzione* ‘to give a solution’, *davat’ ob’yasnenie* = *dare una spiegazione* ‘to give an explanation’;
- signals: *davat’ signal* = *dare un segnale* ‘to give a signal’, *davat’ znak* = *dare un segno* ‘to give a sign’.

A wide margin of overlap between the light verb constructions of this group is observable in both languages. Of course there are points of divergence as well. In Italian there is a more conspicuous group of those constructions which designate an act where physical force is applied to the Recipient (Maleficiary): *dare un calcio* ‘to give a kick’, *dare una spinta* ‘to give a push’. In Russian only one construction with a deverbal noun was identified which would be part of this group: *davat’ pinok* ‘to give a kick’, while the construction with the deverbal noun *tolchok* ‘push’ is used in modern Russian only in a metaphorical sense. The other Italian nouns which form part of this semantic group are denominal nouns with the suffix ‘-ata’, which indicate the part of the body or the instrument with which you strike a blow: *dare una testata* ‘to give a head butt’, *dare una spallata* ‘to give a shove with the shoulder’, *dare una martellata* ‘to give a blow with a hammer’, *dare una coltellata* ‘to knife’. To translate these constructions into Russian it is necessary to resort to the full verb followed by the instrument, for example, *dare una testata* ‘to give a head butt’ > *udarit’ golovoy* ‘to hit with the head’.

Among other types of constructions which are productive in Italian but do not exist in Russian are the constructions which designate physical contact, for instance: *dare un bacio* ‘to give a kiss’, *dare un abbraccio* ‘to give a hug’, *dare una carezza* ‘to give a caress’. Whilst in Russian to express the respective concept there is only the simple verb: *tselovat’* ‘to kiss’, *obnimat’* ‘to hug’ and *laskat’* ‘to caress’.

Another divergence between the two languages is represented by the Italian construction [dare [indef N]], where N is a deverbal noun derived from the participle. This construction denotes a non-durative and/or singular physical or cognitive action: *dare una pulita* ‘to give a clean’, *dare una spolverata* ‘to dust’, *dare una letta* ‘to have a read’, *dare una controllata* ‘to check’. To express the semantic value of brevity and uniqueness of the action, Russian resorts to a main verb accompanied by a modifying adverb, like *bystro* ‘quickly’.

#### 4 Constructions with a noun denoting an event

The second group contains constructions with the verb *davat’ / dare* and a noun designating an event. The main feature of these nouns consists of the presence of the trait [+ processuality] in their event structure. As is the case for the first group of constructions, it is impossible to substitute the verb with its hyponym:

(25) *davat’ spektakl’* ‘to give a show’ – *\*vruchat’ spektakl’* (lit. to hand a show);

(26) *dare battaglia* ‘to give a battle’ – *\*consegnare battaglia* (lit. to deliver a battle).

The nominal part of some constructions can be used with another support verb:

(27) *davat’ / vesti zanyatie* ‘to give / conduct a lesson’,

(28) *dare / condurre una battaglia* ‘to give / to conduct a battle’.

In contrast with the first group, not all the constructions may be substituted with a verb, for example, *davat’ obed* ‘to give a lunch’, *dare un esame* ‘to give an exam’.

The referentiality of the object establishes a high degree of syntactic variability in the construction. The majority of the constructions allow for all the syntactic transformations.



Amongst the constructions in this group, three semantic subgroups may be identified:

- public events: *davat' priëm* = *dare ricevimento* 'to give a reception', *davat' press-konferentsiyu* = *dare una conferenza stampa* 'to give a press conference', *davat' kontsert* = *dare un concerto* 'to give a concert';
- educational events: *davat' zanyatiya / uroki* = *dare lezioni* 'to give lessons', *dare un esame* 'to give an exam';
- offensive actions: *davat' bitvu / boy / srazhenie* = *dare battaglia* 'to give battle'.

As can be seen from these examples, the constructions of this group also present many cases of convergence between the two languages.

## 5 Constructions with a noun denoting a state or a quality

The third group is represented by constructions with a noun denoting a state or a quality. As with the constructions in the other groups, the verb cannot be substituted with a hyponym:

(29) *davat' silu* 'to give strength' – *\*vruchat' silu* (lit. to hand the strength);

(30) *dare coraggio* 'to give courage' – *\*consegnare coraggio* (lit. to deliver courage).

In many constructions the verb may be substituted with a support verb synonym:

(31) *davat' / vyzyvat' / prinosit' / dostavlyat' radost'* (lit. to give / cause / carry / deliver joy);

(32) *dare / portare sollievo* 'to give / bring relief'.

Only a few constructions correspond to a synonymous verb:

(33) *davat' nadezhdu* 'to give hope' – *obnadëzhivat'* 'to reassure';

(34) *dare emozioni* 'to give emotions' – *emozionare* 'to move (emotionally)'.

The others cannot be substituted with a verb: *davat' smysl* 'to give sense', *dare importanza* 'to give importance'.

The particularity of this group consists of the role the support verb has within the construction. It establishes the relationship of causativity

between the Subject, who loses the feature of volition and becomes a Cause (Stimulus) and the Indirect Object (Experiencer).

The Cause brings about a sentiment or a state of the Experiencer: *davat' radost'* = *dare gioia* 'to give joy', *davat' udovletvorenje* = *dare soddisfazione* 'to give satisfaction', *davat' spokoystvie* = *dare tranquillità* 'to give tranquillity'.

It supplies a quality or capacity: *davat' silu* = *dare forza* 'to give strength', *davat' smelost'* = *dare coraggio* 'to give courage', *davat' ponimanie* = *dare comprensione* 'to give comprehension'.

The verb *davat'* combines only with nouns that have positive connotations, while the verb *dare* is used with nouns which designate negative states as well: *dare fastidio* 'to give bother', *dare preoccupazioni* 'to give worries', *dare la nausea* 'to give nausea'.

## 6 Idiomatic expressions

A group apart is formed by highly conventional and fixed expressions. The meaning of many of these constructions is not transparent (*davat' petucha* 'to emit piercing sounds' (lit. to give a rooster), *dare un volto* 'to identify' (lit. to give a face)), while the meaning of the others is partially transparent (*davat' slovo* 'to give a word', *davat' dorogu* 'to give way'). In contrast to the nouns involved in the constructions of the first three groups, the object nouns of this group have been subjected to reduction or semantic shift in comparison to their use in free combinations. The constructions in this group are characterized by strong cohesion between the elements that blocks all the previously mentioned syntactic manipulations.

Since we are dealing with idiomatic meaning which is non-compositional and often opaque, the divergences between the two languages prevail. An interesting fact that is worth pointing out to students is that in Italian the idiomatic expressions with nouns that designate the parts of the body are very productive: *dare corpo* 'to define, to realize' (lit. to give body), *dare le spalle* 'to turn the back on someone' (lit. to give the shoulders), *dare un occhio* 'to check rapidly' (lit. to give an eye), etc.

## 7 Conclusion

The verbs *davat'* and *dare* demonstrate different degrees of desemantization within the groups that were identified in this study and carry out different roles in the semantic-syntactic configuration of the construction: in the first two groups the verb provides grammatical information, in the

third group it establishes the relationship of causativity between the Subject and the Indirect Object. The constructions in the different groups are also differentiated by level of internal cohesion. The constructions with nouns denoting an action or an event show the highest degree of variability, and allow for all of the above-mentioned transformations, while the idiomatic expressions cannot undergo any syntactic manipulations.

The convergences and divergences between the constructions of the two languages that emerge from this study may become the subject of further research on the phenomenon and should be taken into consideration while teaching Russian and Italian as a foreign language. Explicit forms of instruction with emphasis on the differences between L1 and L2 may help students to achieve mastery of such constructions.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

LES LOCUTIONS VERBALES CONTENANT  
UN NOM « PARTIE DU CORPS »  
EN FRANÇAIS ET EN ITALIEN :  
PROPRIETES LINGUISTIQUES ET SPECIFICITES  
CULTURELLES

ALBERTO BRAMATI

**Abstract**

This study considers verbal idioms that include a noun referring to a body part (Npc), for instance *avoir du nez*. In the first part, we present a corpus of 466 French verbal idioms including 19 Npc, and we describe in detail their syntactic structures and frequency. In the second part, we describe different types of syntactic-semantic relations between French idioms and their equivalents in Italian. In the third part, finally, we present the results of the French-Italian comparative analysis: half of the French idioms that include a Npc were transparent to Italian speakers, 30% were characterised by variable difficulty in comprehension and 20% by total opacity.

**1 Introduction**

Nous présentons ici les premiers résultats d'une recherche toujours en cours sur les locutions verbales contenant un nom "partie du corps" (Npc) en français et en italien. Le corpus bilingue, qui comprend actuellement 466 locutions verbales françaises accompagnées de leurs correspondantes italiennes, a été construit entre 2009 et 2010 par deux étudiantes du cours de licence en *Mediazione linguistica e culturale* de l'Università degli Studi de Milan (Francesca Calamaro et Beatrice Gornati) et complété en 2015 par une étudiante du master en *Lingue e Culture per la Comunicazione e la*

Cooperazione internazionale de la même université (Clélia Haeyaert), dont nous avons dirigé les mémoires de fin d'études.

Notre article sera divisé en trois parties : dans la première, nous présenterons le corpus français ; dans la deuxième, nous illustrerons aussi bien les critères de construction du corpus bilingue que les “critères de correspondances” adoptés pour décrire les différents types de relations syntactico-sémantiques existant entre les locutions françaises et italiennes ; dans la troisième partie, enfin, nous présenterons les résultats de l'analyse comparative.

## 2 Le corpus français de locutions verbales contenant un nom “partie du corps”

Une locution verbale est une construction verbale figée qui a la même structure syntaxique que les constructions verbales libres et où une place syntaxique au moins est libre<sup>1</sup>.

Nhum<sup>2</sup> *donner son cœur à* Nhum<sup>3</sup>

Certaines constructions verbales acceptent d'ailleurs une double lecture, libre et figée, selon le contexte :

Nhum *ouvrir les yeux*

Ce qui distingue en premier lieu les locutions verbales des constructions verbales libres c'est que ces dernières possèdent des propriétés syntaxiques que les locutions ne possèdent pas. Plus précisément, dans une locution verbale, les noms qui réalisent les

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<sup>1</sup> Si tous les éléments d'une construction verbale sont figés, il ne s'agit pas d'une locution verbale, mais d'une phrase figée (proverbe, sentence): *Cœur qui soupire n'a pas ce qu'il désire*. Dans d'autres cas, ce n'est pas le verbe et ses arguments qui sont figés, mais seulement un adverbe qui modifie le verbe. Il s'agit alors d'une locution adverbiale qui est par définition facultative: *Nhum crier à pleine bouche*.

<sup>2</sup> Le symbole Nhum indique un nom appartenant à la classe des noms humains en français. Le symbole Num indique, en revanche, un nom appartenant à la classe des noms humains en italien.

<sup>3</sup> Le plus souvent, les dictionnaires n'enregistrent que la partie figée d'une locution verbale, sans rien dire des propriétés lexico-syntaxiques des places libres: p. ex., le Petit Robert signale *Donner son cœur à qqn* sans fournir aucune information sur la classe de noms qui réalise le sujet. Pourtant, dans certains cas, c'est justement la classe de noms qui réalise une place libre qui détermine le sens d'une locution: p. ex., *Naliment rester sur l'estomac de Nhum* vs *Nabs rester sur l'estomac de Nhum*.

arguments du verbe n'appartiennent pas à de paradigmes, i.e. à de classes d'objet :

(1) Paul a donné son *cœur* à Léa → \*Paul a donné son *cerveau* à Léa

De même les transformations sont difficilement acceptables, voire impossibles :

- a) changement de déterminant : ?*Paul a donné le cœur à Léa*
- b) passivation : \**Son cœur a été donné à Léa par Paul*
- c) pronominalisation/détachement : ?*Son cœur, Paul l'a donné à Léa*
- d) relativation : \**Le cœur que Paul a donné à Léa*
- e) interrogation : *Qu'est-ce que Paul lui a donné?* ?*Son cœur*
- f) extraction : \**C'est son cœur que Paul lui a donné*
- g) insertion d'un modificateur : ?*Paul lui a donné son cœur palpitant*

Cette liste d'exemples montre néanmoins que toutes les locutions verbales ne sont pas figées au même degré : il existe un continuum entre les constructions verbales libres et les locutions verbales entièrement figées, qui n'acceptent, elles, aucune transformation.

Outre la fixité syntaxique, ce qui distingue les locutions verbales des constructions verbales libres c'est l'opacité sémantique, le sens d'une locution ne pouvant pas être reconstruit à partir du sens des mots qui la composent :

(2) Paul a donné son cœur à Léa = donner son amour, sa tendresse<sup>4</sup>

Sur la base de cette définition de locution, nous avons entrepris en 2009 une recherche sur les locutions verbales françaises contenant un Npc et leurs correspondantes en italien. Dans cette première phase, visant à construire un corpus parallèle bilingue, nous nous sommes limités aux sources lexicographiques disponibles dans les deux langues.<sup>5</sup> Jusqu'à présent, nous avons étudié 33 Npc en français, dont 19 seulement apparaissent comme éléments d'une locution verbale.<sup>6</sup> En voici la liste, chaque nom

<sup>4</sup> Pour les propriétés nous avons repris Gross (1996, 78-s88).

<sup>5</sup> Pour la liste complète des sources lexicographiques consultées, voir la bibliographie.

<sup>6</sup> Les 14 noms "partie du corps" qui n'apparaissent dans aucune locution verbale sont les suivants: appendice, aorte, bronche, colon, diaphragme, œsophage, pancréas, rein, sternum, thymus, thyroïde, trachée, urètre, vésicule.



étant suivi du nombre de locutions que nous avons repérées dans nos sources :

Cœur	72
Œil	61
Oreille	36
Sang	34
Nez	32
Ventre	29
Bouche	26
Estomac	16
Veine	8
Foie	7
Poumon	7
Reins	7
Côte	5
Entraîles	5
Rate	4
Moelle	3
Artère	1
Intestin	1
Vessie	1

Le nombre total de ces locutions est de 360 et non pas de 466, comme nous l'avions dit au début de notre article, car ici nous avons choisi de considérer comme une locution unique les différentes variantes de la même structure que nous avons repérées dans nos sources. Il existe, en fait, trois types de variantes :

I) les variantes synonymiques<sup>7</sup> :

Naliment peser sur l'estomac à Nhum

Naliment rester sur l'estomac à Nhum

II) les variantes de registre (quasi-synonymiques) :

Nhum donner les foies à Nhum

Nhum ficher les foies à Nhum

Nhum foutre les foies à Nhum

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<sup>7</sup> La liste restreinte des synonymes ne forme pas un vrai paradigme.

III) les variantes aspectuelles :

Nhum prendre du ventre (inchoatif)

Nhum avoir du ventre (duratif)

Nhum perdre du ventre (terminatif)

Dans notre corpus, les 106 variantes repérées correspondent à 29,4% du total, soit à presque un tiers des locutions verbales répertoriées. Les 360 locutions restantes ont des structures syntaxiques assez variées<sup>8</sup> :

- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Nhum V Npc                  | Nhum avoir bon <u>cœur</u>                              |
| 2.1 Npc V prép N1              | Les <u>oreilles</u> sifflent à Nhum                     |
| 2.2 Nhum V prép Npc            | Nhum être sans <u>cœur</u>                              |
| 3.1 Nhum V Npc prép N2         | Nhum donner son <u>cœur</u> à Nhum                      |
| 3.2 Nhum V Npc prép C2         | Nhum prendre des <u>vessies</u> pour des lanternes      |
| 4.1 Nhum V N1 prép Npc         | Nhum serrer Nhum contre son <u>cœur</u>                 |
| 4.2 Nhum V C1 prép Npc         | Nhum avoir un petit creux à l' <u>estomac</u>           |
| 5.1 Nhum V prép Npc prép. N2   | Nhum marcher sur le <u>ventre</u> à Nhum                |
| 5.2 C0 V prép Npc prép. N2     | La moutarde monte au <u>nez</u> à Nhum                  |
| 6.1 Nhum V Npc prép N2 prép N3 | Nhum ouvrir les <u>yeux</u> à Nhum sur Nnr <sup>9</sup> |
| 6.2 Nhum V Npc prép C2 prép N3 | Nhum mettre le <u>nez</u> dans sa merde à Nhum          |
| 6.3 Nhum V N1 prép Npc prép N3 | Nhum arracher Nparole de la <u>bouche</u> à Nhum        |
| 6.4 Nhum V C1 prép Npc prép N3 | Nhum claquer la porte au <u>nez</u> à Nhum              |
| 7. Autres structures           | Nhum en avoir gros sur le <u>cœur</u>                   |

À deux exceptions près<sup>10</sup>, tous les sujets des locutions verbales de notre corpus sont libres (358 sur 360, soit 99,44%). De ces sujets libres, environ 90% sont représentés par un nom humain. Mais parfois, le sens d'une locution dépend précisément de la classe de noms qui réalise le sujet :

<sup>8</sup> Dans les schémas formels, le symbole C indique, comme chez Maurice Gross, un argument figé.

<sup>9</sup> Le symbole Nnr (nom non restreint) indique qu'une place syntaxique peut être remplie par n'importe quel nom.

<sup>10</sup> Les deux locutions dont le sujet est figé correspondent aux structures 2.1 et 5.2.

(3) Naliment *rester sur l'estomac* à Nhum

(4) Nabs<sup>11</sup> *rester sur l'estomac* à Nhum

Ces différentes structures syntaxiques ne sont cependant pas représentées en égale mesure du point de vue quantitatif, les constructions bivalentes avec un objet direct (1) et les constructions trivalentes avec un objet direct (3.1, 3.2, 4.1, 4.2) représentant à elles seules 74,4% des exemples, soit à peu près trois quarts des locutions de notre corpus (268 sur 360) :

1.	Nhum V Npc	130	(36,1%)
2.1	Npc V prép N1	1	
2.2	Nhum V prép Npc	25	
3.1	Nhum V Npc prép N2	55	} (38,3%).
3.2	Nhum V Npc prép C2	32	
4.1	Nhum V N1 prép Npc	23	
4.2	Nhum V C1 prép Npc	28	
5.1	Nhum V prép Npc prép. N2	17	
5.2	C0 V prép Npc prép. N2	1	
6.1	Nhum V Npc prép N2 prép N3	1	
6.2	Nhum V Npc prép C2 prép N3	4	
6.3	Nhum V N1 prép Npc prép N3	4	
6.4	Nhum V C1 prép Npc prép N3	11	
7.	Autres structures	28	

Passons maintenant à illustrer les critères que nous avons suivis d'abord pour construire le corpus bilingue et ensuite pour décrire les différents types de relations entre les locutions françaises et italiennes.

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<sup>11</sup> Le symbole Nabs indique un nom appartenant à la classe des noms abstraits en français.

### 3 Critères de construction du corpus bilingue et critères de correspondance entre locutions françaises et italiennes

Pour établir la liste des constructions verbales italiennes correspondant aux locutions verbales françaises de notre corpus, nous avons toujours choisi la solution la plus proche, du point de vue sémantique et syntaxique, de la locution française. Par exemple, entre les deux locutions italiennes synonymes “N0 *dare il voltastomaco* a Num” et “N0 *dare la nausea* a Num”, c’est la première, en considération de la présence d’un Npc dans sa structure, que nous avons choisie comme locution correspondant à la locution française “N0 *retourner le cœur* à Nhum”.

Une fois le corpus bilingue complété, nous avons reparti les différents types de relations syntactico-sémantiques entre locutions françaises et italiennes en six classes<sup>12</sup>. La première classe nommée “homologie totale” correspond à une identité totale sur le plan lexico-syntaxique entre la locution verbale française et la locution verbale italienne “comprenant la même partie du corps et développant les mêmes significations, littérale et métaphorique” (Valli et Villagenes Serra 1998, 187). La locution française est donc transparente au locuteur italoophone et sa compréhension immédiate.

Nhum *ouvrir les yeux* → Num *aprire gli occhi*

Nhum *avoir des yeux de lynx* → Num *avere Ø occhi di lince*

Nhum *manger* Nhum *des yeux* → Num *mangiare* Num *con gli occhi*

Alors que les “homologies totales” comprennent les cas où l’absence de correspondance entre la structure syntaxique de la locution française et celle de la locution italienne tient à une règle grammaticale, comme dans les exemples ci-dessus<sup>13</sup>, les “homologies quasi-totales” comprennent les cas où il existe, entre les deux locutions, une identité de structure lexico-syntaxique à un ou deux éléments près, cette différence imprédictible n’affectant pas la compréhension de la locution française par le locuteur italoophone.

<sup>12</sup> Nous reprenons ici, en ajoutant un nouveau type de relation (homologie quasi-totale), le classement proposé dans Valli et Bramati (2011) et dans Valli, Bramati et Nin (2012).

<sup>13</sup> Dans le deuxième exemple, l’article partitif français a pour correspondant en italien un article Ø ; dans le troisième, la préposition *de* introduisant un complément de moyen a pour correspondante la préposition italienne *con*: il s’agit, dans les deux cas, de correspondances tout à fait régulières.

Nhum *ouvrir l'oeil* → Num *aprire gli occhi*

Nhum *tenir* Nhum *à l'oeil* → Num *tenere d'occhio* Nhum

Nhum *avoir l'oreille musicale* → Num *avere orecchio*

Nhum *jeter les yeux sur* Nhum → Num *mettere gli occhi su* Num

Dans d'autres cas, le changement d'un ou de plusieurs éléments de la structure lexico-syntaxique de la locution française peut entraîner de grandes difficultés de compréhension chez le locuteur italoophone : c'est le cas des "homologies partielles" où la locution italienne, tout en gardant le même Npc, présente des différences considérables au niveau d'autres éléments de la structure.

Nhum *avoir l'œil américain* → Num *avere l'occhio sveglio*

Nhum *avoir du sang de navet* → Num *non avere sangue nelle vene*

Nhum *se rincer l'oeil* → Num *lustrarsi gli occhi*

Nhum *en avoir gros sur le cœur* → Num *avere un peso sul cuore*

Lorsque l'expression homologue en italien est une locution verbale contenant un autre Npc, la compréhension de la locution française par un locuteur italoophone, tout en dépendant d'un certain nombre de facteurs variables (contexte, structure plus ou moins similaire des deux locutions, type de relation entre les Npc<sup>14</sup>, intuition du locuteur), s'avère généralement faible :

Nhum *avoir les reins solides* → Num *avere la schiena robusta*

Nhum *se casser les côtes* → Num *spaccarsi la schiena*

Nhum *baisser le nez* → Num *abbassare gli occhi / la testa*

Nhum *être sans entrailles* → Num *essere senza cuore*

Dans d'autres cas, l'expression homologue en italien est une locution verbale ne contenant pas de Npc : là aussi, tout en dépendant de facteurs variables, la compréhension de la locution française par un locuteur italoophone est généralement difficile.

Nhum *se serrer le ventre* → Num *stringere la cintura*

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<sup>14</sup> Dans la plupart des cas, les deux Npc entretiennent une relation métonymique (partie/tout, contiguïté spatiale, etc.).

Nhum *taper dans l'œil* à Nhum → Num *fare colpo su* Num

Nhum *passer sur le ventre* à Nhum → Num *passare sul cadavere di* Num

Nhum *se fourrer le doigt dans l'œil* → Num *prendere un granchio*

La dernière classe, enfin, comprend tous les cas où il n'existe pas en italien une locution verbale qui correspond à la locution verbale française : dans ces cas, la compréhension de l'expression française est, pour le locuteur italoophone, presque impossible.

Nhum *avoir les foies* → Num *avere paura*

Nhum *dilater sa rate* → Num *ridere*

Nhum *avoir les reins souples* → Num *essere arrendevole / servile*

Nhum *avoir un coup dans le nez* → Num *essere brillo*

L'application de ces six critères de correspondance aux 466 locutions répertoriées dans notre corpus nous a permis de comprendre, d'un côté, dans quelle mesure et dans quels cas les locutions verbales françaises contenant un Npc sont compréhensibles aux locuteurs italophones, de l'autre de montrer quelques différences qui séparent le français et l'italien dans la métaphorisation des parties du corps humain dans de structures linguistiques figées.

## 4 Résultats de l'analyse comparative

L'analyse des différents types de correspondances entre locutions françaises et italiennes dans notre corpus montre qu'à peu près la moitié des locutions françaises se caractérise par une relation d'"homologie totale" ou d'"homologie quasi-totale" avec son expression homologue italienne, ce qui signifie que la moitié des locutions françaises de notre corpus sont transparentes et facilement compréhensibles aux locuteurs italophones. Le pourcentage de locutions françaises pour lesquelles il n'existe aucune expression homologue en italien et qui sont donc tout à fait incompréhensibles aux locuteurs italophones, correspond, en revanche, à près de 20%. Les locutions restantes (environ 30%) se répartissent, enfin, entre les trois types de relations syntactico-sémantiques – "homologies partielles", "locutions contenant un autre Npc", "locutions ne contenant aucun Npc" – qui, bien qu'à des degrés différents, posent généralement de sérieux problèmes de compréhension aux locuteurs italophones. Voici les

données exactes concernant les différents types de relations de correspondance entre locutions françaises et italiennes de notre corpus :

a)	homologies totales	171	36,7%
b)	homologies quasi-totales	67	14,4%
c)	homologies partielles	48	10,3%
d)	locutions contenant un autre Npc	65	13,95%
e)	locutions ne contenant aucun Npc	23	4,9%
f)	absence de locutions	92	19,75%

Les relations d'“homologie totale” ou “quasi-totale”, qui correspondent à la possibilité pour les locuteurs italo-phones de comprendre sans difficulté une locution verbale française, sont diversement réparties entre les 19 Npc constituant notre corpus. Dans la liste ci-dessous, chaque Npc est suivi d'abord de deux chiffres indiquant le nombre de locutions transparentes par rapport au nombre total de locutions, et ensuite du pourcentage de locutions transparentes :

Cœur	60/90	66,6%
Œil	53/84	63,1%
Oreille	25/45	5,5%
Sang	28/49	57,1%
Nez	20/47	42,5%
Ventre	11/38	28,9%
Bouche	14/26	53,8%
Estomac	11/21	52,4%
Reins	2/12	16,6%
Foie	2/11	18,2%
Veine	6/10	60,0%
Poumon	3/8	37,5%
Côte	0/7	0%
Rate	0/6	0%
Entrailles	0/5	0%

Moelle	1/4	25%
Artère	1/1	100%
Intestin	1/1	100%
Vessie	0/1	0%

Ce qui ressort de cette liste c'est que les deux Nps les plus représentés dans notre corpus - *coeur* et *œil* - sont aussi les deux noms qui se caractérisent par le pourcentage le plus élevé de locutions transparentes (autour de deux tiers alors que la moyenne générale correspond à 50%).<sup>15</sup>

À l'extrême opposé on trouve un petit groupe de trois Npc - *côte*, *rate*, *entrailles* - qui, bien que faiblement représentés, surprennent par leur totale opacité<sup>16</sup>. Les raisons en sont toutefois différentes : alors que les six locutions où apparaît *rate* n'ont aucun correspondant, l'absence de locution en italien ne concerne qu'une seule locution où apparaît le Npc français *côte*, la difficulté de compréhension tenant dans ce cas à trois "homologies partielles" et à trois changements de Npc (*pancia* ou *schiena* au lieu de *costola*). Le changement de Npc concerne, en revanche, toutes les cinq locutions contenant le Npc *entrailles* : nous y reviendrons plus loin.

Les données contenues dans cette liste montrent, dans d'autres cas, une baisse significative du pourcentage de locutions françaises compréhensibles aux locuteurs italo-phones : c'est le cas de *ventre*, dont 15 locutions sur 38 (39,5%) sont opaques à cause de l'absence d'une locution en italien, de *foie*, dont 7 locutions sur 11 (63,6%) sont opaques pour la même raison<sup>17</sup>, mais aussi de *reins*, dont l'opacité tient, en revanche, comme pour *entrailles*, au changement de Npc dans les locutions correspondantes en italien.

Nous terminerons donc notre étude en présentant précisément quelques exemples intéressants de changement de Npc dans les expressions homologues en italien, ce qui montre le différent processus de métaphorisation subi par le corps humain dans les deux langues. Un cas particulièrement intéressant est celui du Npc *coeur* qui est non seulement le plus riche en locutions dans notre corpus, mais aussi le plus transparent, 60 locutions sur 90 étant caractérisées par une relation d'"homologie

<sup>15</sup> Nous ne tenons pas compte des Npc *artère* et *intestin* qui ne sont présents dans notre corpus qu'avec une seule locution.

<sup>16</sup> Nous ne tenons pas compte du Npc *vessie* qui n'est présent dans notre corpus qu'avec une seule locution.

<sup>17</sup> Compte tenu de l'importance qu'a jouée le foie dans l'art divinatoire et dans la médecine antiques, le petit nombre de locutions verbales où apparaît ce Npc est très surprenant, signe que sur ce point la culture gréco-latine n'a presque pas laissé de traces dans la langue française moderne.



totale” ou “quasi-totale”. Parmi les 30 locutions de compréhension plus difficile se distingue un groupe de 14 locutions (15,5%) qui se caractérisent par la substitution systématique du Npc français *cœur* par le Npc italien *stomaco* (‘estomac’) :

Nhum avoir le cœur soulevé → Num avere il voltastomaco

Nhum avoir le cœur bien accroché → Num avere lo stomaco forte

Alors que, pour les locuteurs francophones, le cœur est un organe lié aussi bien à la circulation du sang qu’à la digestion<sup>18</sup>, pour les locuteurs italo-phones, ce même organe est exclusivement impliqué dans la circulation du sang. C’est pourquoi, lorsque le Npc *cœur* apparaît en français dans des locutions verbales concernant la digestion, le Npc correspondant en italien n’est jamais *cuore* mais *stomaco*.

Un autre cas intéressant est celui du Npc *nez* qui est remplacé en italien dans 11 locutions sur 47 (23,4%) par un Npc désignant soit le visage soit la tête entière :

Nhum faire un long nez à Nhum → Num fare/mettere il muso a Num

Nhum lever le nez → Num alzare gli occhi / la testa

On remarque ici une relation métonymique, le nez étant une partie du tout représenté par le visage ou la tête.

Bien que présent dans notre corpus avec seulement douze locutions, le Npc pluriel masculin *reins*, qui désigne “la partie inférieure du dos”<sup>19</sup> et qui a pour correspondant le Npc pluriel féminin *reni*, est souvent remplacé en italien (huit exemples sur douze, soit 66%) soit par un Npc désignant le dos entier (*schiena*) soit par un Npc désignant une partie contiguë telle que l’épaule (*spalla*), ce qui correspond là aussi à une relation métonymique.

Nhum avoir les reins solides → Num avere la schiena robusta (pour porter un poids)

Nhum avoir les reins solides → Num avere le spalle solide (pour surmonter une difficulté)

Nous terminerons cette présentation de quelques cas de changement de Npc dans les deux langues par le Npc *entrailles*, un nom collectif qui désigne en français, au sens propre, l’“ensemble des organes renfermés dans l’abdomen” et, au figuré, la “partie profonde de l’être sensible, siège

<sup>18</sup> Le cœur est aussi, sur le plan psychologique, le siège des émotions e des sentiments.

<sup>19</sup> Petit Robert (2016).

des émotions”<sup>20</sup>, ce qui en fait un synonyme de *coeur*. C’est précisément le Npc *cuore* qui est employé en italien dans les 5 locutions où apparaît en français *entrailles*.

Nhum être sans *entrailles* → Num essere senza *cuore*

Nhum avoir des *entrailles* de fer → Num avere un *cuore* di pietra

## 5 Conclusion

Les premiers résultats de cette recherche montrent que la moitié environ des locutions françaises contenant un Npc est transparente aux locuteurs italo-phones, l’autre moitié étant caractérisée soit par une difficulté variable de compréhension tenant à plusieurs facteurs - contexte, similitude entre les locutions française et italienne, type de relation entre les Npc, intuition du locuteur - (30%), soit par une opacité totale (20%).

Mais le résultat sans doute le plus intéressant pour l’étude culturelle des deux langues, est le changement de Npc qui caractérise certaines locutions françaises et leurs homologues italiennes : les cas de *coeur*, *nez*, *reins* et *entrailles* montrent bien que même deux langues proches telles que le français et l’italien métaphorisent parfois les parties du corps humain de façon différente. L’étude d’expressions homologues dans des langues lointaines permettrait sans doute de connaître d’autres formes de conceptualisation du corps humain, impossibles à prévoir.

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<sup>20</sup> Petit Robert (2016).

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

POLYSEMIE IN DER PHRASEOLOGIE  
(UND PHRASEOGRAPHIE)  
AM BEISPIEL DES FRANZÖSISCHEN

KATHRIN ANDREE

**Abstract**

The phenomenon of polysemy remains a controversial issue in phraseological research. Multi-word expressions are considered to be vague rather than polysemous, although corpus-based studies suggest that they can have a set of different but related meanings. This plays an important part in phraseography since dictionaries need to determine the number of meanings attached to a single phraseme. Given the fact that the border between polysemy and vagueness is fuzzy, it can be difficult to decide whether a given phraseme is polysemous or not. Using the example of the two French phrasemes *faire un malheur* and *prendre à la gorge*, this essay shows that the analysis of the contexts surrounding the occurrences of each phraseme provides indication of lexical ambiguity by revealing a certain combination of (contextual) parameters attached to its distinct meanings.

**1 Einleitende Bemerkungen**

Der folgende Beitrag zielt darauf ab, einen Blick in eine gegenwärtig noch recht spärlich ausgeleuchtete Ecke der Phraseologieforschung zu werfen, wobei die Rede vom Diskurs rund um die Mehrdeutigkeit – vor allem die Polysemie – phraseologischer Einheiten ist. Der Zugang zur Thematik über die Lektüre einschlägiger Forschungsliteratur gestaltet sich in zweierlei Hinsicht außergewöhnlich: Zunächst stellt sich die Herausforderung, überhaupt Abhandlungen zu finden, in denen das Phänomen über eine

Randbemerkung hinaus thematisiert wird. Nur vereinzelte Publikationen widmen sich speziell diesem Themenkomplex. Nach Überwindung dieser ersten Hürde bleibt die Lage weiterhin unübersichtlich, denn die Auswertung der Texte hält einige Überraschungen bereit. So wird schnell deutlich, dass die Debatte rund um die phraseologische Polysemie durch konträre Standpunkte geprägt ist. Im Großen und Ganzen können die Thesen dem einen oder anderen Extrem zugerechnet werden: Entweder wird das Phänomen als unbedeutend abgetan, oder es wird für eine umfassendere Auseinandersetzung mit diesem unterschätzten Thema plädiert. Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags soll hinterfragt werden, warum die Diskussion durch solch widersprüchliche Argumente gekennzeichnet ist. In diesem Zusammenhang wird exemplarisch ein vielversprechender Ansatz aufgegriffen, der ausgehend von den in der konkreten Verwendung manifest werdenden kontextuellen Einbettungsmustern der Phraseologismen einen gangbaren Weg in Richtung einer konstruktiven Annäherung an den problembehafteten Themenkomplex eröffnet. Unmittelbar an die zunächst abstrakt anmutende Diskussion über die semantische Ausdifferenzierung der Phraseologismen schließt die Frage nach ihrer praktischen Relevanz an. Am Beispiel des französischen Phraseologismenwörterbuchs *Dictionnaire des expressions et locutions* aus dem Verlagshaus *Dictionnaires Le Robert* wird daher ein Seitenblick auf den Umgang mit phraseologischer Polysemie im Kontext der Phraseographie geworfen. Ausgehend von den verbalen Phraseologismen *faire un malheur* und *prendre à la gorge* wird der Versuch unternommen, die Gründe für die Notwendigkeit einer bewussten Auseinandersetzung mit der phraseologischen Polysemie nachvollziehbar darzulegen und sich dem Plädoyer für eine stärkere Berücksichtigung dieses Aspekts innerhalb der Phraseologieforschung anzuschließen.

## 2 Polysemie in der Phraseologie

Ein Bindeglied zwischen den gegensätzlichen Argumentationsträngen ist der Verweis auf die den Phraseologismen attestierten semantischen und pragmatischen Besonderheiten (vgl. Burger 2015, 74; Palm 1997, 16). Mit Verweis auf die Konzepte der Vagheit oder semantischen Unschärfe wird vielfach behauptet, dass sich aus dem weiten Bedeutungsumfang, der eine situationsangepasste Verwendung der Phraseologismen ermöglicht, kaum „eine Reihe von Sememen ‚herauspräparieren‘ läßt“ (Fleischer 1997, 168). Ihre polylexikalische Struktur lasse zudem kaum Raum für die Ausbildung weiterer Bedeutungen, wobei sich die Teilklasse der verbalen Phraseologismen noch am mehrdeutigkeitsaffinsten zeige (vgl. Fleischer 1997,

166; Černyševa / Stepanova 2003, 198). Bisweilen wird die Seltenheit des Phänomens auf die in phraseologischer Polysemie mündenden Ableitungsprozesse selbst zurückgeführt. Dabei wird auf das von Černyševa (1981) etablierte Modell rekuriert, in dem zwischen paralleler und sekundärer Metaphorisierung<sup>1</sup> unterschieden wird. Erstgenannte beschreibt die Ausbildung einer zweiten Bedeutung auf Grundlage derselben wörtlichen Basis, auf der bereits die erste phraseologische Bedeutung entstanden ist, wohingegen die sekundäre Metaphorisierung eine Ableitung auf Basis der ersten phraseologischen Bedeutung meint<sup>2</sup>. Kennzeichnend für diesen Fall ist, „dass Polysemie sich als Stufung der Abstrahierung erweist“ (Burger 2015, 72), weswegen der Ausbildung neuer Teilbedeutungen enge Grenzen gesetzt seien (vgl. Černyševa 1981, 42f.; Černyševa / Stepanova 2003, 198)<sup>3</sup>. Der Komplexitätsgrad der semantischen Transformationsprozesse wird unter Einbezug korrelierender Mechanismen (Veränderung der konnotativen Effekte, des Referenzbereichs oder der Selektionsbeschränkungen bei der Besetzung der Valenzstellen) besonders deutlich (vgl. etwa Palm 1994, 1997, 2004). Aus diesen Gründen wird der Anteil polysemer Einheiten am phraseologischen Gesamtinventar als sehr niedrig bis verschwindend gering eingeschätzt<sup>4</sup>. Möglicherweise verhindert dies eine tiefere Beschäftigung mit dem als marginale Erscheinung wahrgenommenen Phänomen, das in der Folge häufig nur parenthetisch abgehandelt wird.

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<sup>1</sup> Ungeklärt muss hier die Frage bleiben, ob der Terminus *Metaphorisierung* zu kurz greift, da auch der metonymische Transfer in diesem Zusammenhang Berücksichtigung finden sollte (vgl. Koesters Gensini 2013, 164; Burger 2015, 72). In der Praxis lässt die Analyse der Entstehung phraseologischer (Teil-)Bedeutungen sowie der Grad ihrer semantischen Verbundenheit stets einen gewissen Interpretationsspielraum offen (vgl. Fleischer 1997, 168).

<sup>2</sup> Als Beispiel für die parallele Metaphorisierung nennen Černyševa und Stepanova (2003, 198f.) das deutsche Idiom *die Tapeten wechseln*, das neben ‘umziehen’ auch die Interpretation ‘sich am Arbeitsplatz, im Beruf verändern’ zulässt. Demgegenüber soll die zweite Bedeutungsposition ‘jmdn. wirtschaftlich, beruflich vernichten’ des Phrasems *jmdn. über die Klinge springen lassen* durch einen Metaphorisierungsprozess aus der ersten phraseologischen Bedeutung ‘jmdn. töten’ hervorgegangen sein, wobei eine Verschiebung der referentiellen Bezogenheit stattfindet.

<sup>3</sup> Auch die durch die wörtliche Lesart evozierte bildliche Komponente wird etwa von Dobrovol’skij (2006, 803) als restringierender Faktor diskutiert.

<sup>4</sup> In exemplarischen Studien werden nur wenige mehrdeutige Phraseologismen innerhalb des Untersuchungskorpus nachgewiesen, die darüber hinaus in der Regel nicht mehr als zwei Teilbedeutungen ausgebildet haben (vgl. etwa Černyševa / Stepanova 2003, 198; Palm 1994, 432; Koesters Gensini 2013, 165).



Obwohl phraseologische Polysemie offenbar nicht überproportional häufig auftritt, ist sie doch nicht inexistent. Es wird sogar vorsichtig vermutet, dass der Anteil mehrdeutiger Phraseologismen doch höher liegen könnte, als gemeinhin angenommen wird (vgl. etwa Fleischer 1997, 166f.; Palm 1997, 53; Koesters Gensini 2013, 165; Schafroth 2013, 189). Dies könnte auch damit zusammenhängen, dass die im Wörterbuch verzeichneten Bedeutungspositionen den semantischen Umfang der Phraseologismen nicht immer erschöpfend abbilden, oder dass sich innerhalb einer sehr allgemein gehaltenen Paraphrase doch schemenhaft die Konturen ausdifferenzierter Einzelbedeutungen abzeichnen. Die These, dass gerade die dem facettenreichen semantischen Gehalt phraseologischer Einheiten geschuldete Wandlungsfähigkeit, ihre in der kontextuellen Einbettung offenbar werdende „semantische Dehnbarkeit“ (Palm 1997, 16), auch einen begünstigenden Faktor für die Ausbildung neuer Teilbedeutungen darstellen könnte, erscheint vor diesem Hintergrund plausibel (vgl. ebd.; Palm 2004, 334f.; Koesters Gensini 2013, 180).

Das Kardinalproblem in dieser kontroversen Debatte liegt im außerphraseologischen Bereich, da fortdauernde, ungelöste Grundsatzfragen der Semantik tangiert werden, namentlich die Bestimmung von Bedeutungen und ihre Abgrenzung voneinander. Die Balance zwischen ausreichender inhaltlicher Distinktion der Bedeutungen auf der einen und einem gewissen Maß an semantischer Übereinstimmung auf der anderen Seite, die Polysemie als solche kennzeichnet, und welche ihren Platz auf dem Kontinuum zwischen Monosemie und Homonymie festlegt (vgl. Dobrovolskij 2006, 58f.), erweist sich als umso schwieriger herzustellen, als die phraseologischen Einheiten attestierte semantische Flexibilität als verkomplizierender Faktor hinzukommt (vgl. Palm 1994, 437). Diese Problematik findet ihren Ausdruck in dem bewussten Ausklammern der Polysemie unter Berufung auf die Konzepte der Vagheit und Bedeutungsweite. Pauschalisierende Urteile hinsichtlich der Unmöglichkeit, den semantischen Gehalt phraseologischer Einheiten zu fassen und vom Kontext abstrahiert zu fixieren, wie sie etwa Fleischer (1997, 168) zugespitzt formuliert, stoßen aber auch auf vehemente Gegenrede. So sieht etwa Palm (2004, 335) gerade in dieser Krux eine ebenso anspruchsvolle wie unumgängliche Aufgabe, wenn sie betont, „dass eine Differenzierung in eine Anzahl von Sememen notwendig wird, um der Unschärfe zu begegnen“ (vgl. auch Koesters Gensini 2013, 180f.).

### 3 Phraseologische Polysemie und kontextuelle Verwendungsprofile

Da sich die „extreme Variabilität“ (Koesters Gensini 2013, 180) der Phraseologismen gerade im konkreten Äußerungskontext am deutlichsten abzeichnet, kann dieser als Basis für die Aufdeckung wiederkehrender Muster innerhalb der dynamischen Bedeutungsstruktur dienen. Korpusbasierte Studien wie die Untersuchung Stathis (2006) oder die Studie Hümmer und Stathis (2006) an deutschen verbalen Phraseologismen bestätigen, dass sich viele kontextuelle Aktualisierungsvarianten phraseologischer Einheiten von den in Wörterbüchern gelisteten Bedeutungen abheben – zusammengenommen ergeben diese Verwendungsweisen das Bild der semantischen Bandbreite des Phraseologismus (vgl. Koesters Gensini 2013, 173; Dobrovolskij / Filipenko 2009, 109). Die Übergänge zwischen kontextsensitiven Realisierungsvarianten lediglich einer Bedeutung und ausdifferenzierten Teilbedeutungen sind oft kaum erkennbar, sodass es eines Instrumentariums bedarf, mithilfe dessen Indikatoren für ausgebildete Polysemie freigelegt werden. Grundlegend für die Operationalisierung der Unterscheidung zwischen Polysemie und Kontextvarianz ist die Annahme der disambiguierenden Wirkung des Kontextes (vgl. Palm 1997, 53). Einzelne (lexikalisierte) Teilbedeutungen als „erstarrte Beziehungsweiten, die einst von Kontexten aktualisiert [...] wurden“ (Palm 1994, 437), sind somit eng mit typischen Kontexten verflochten. Rekurrente Verwendungsweisen könnten sich daher aufgrund individueller kontextueller Merkmalsprofile identifizieren und voneinander abgrenzen lassen, wie es die zitierten Studien zeigen (vgl. Hümmer / Stathi 2006, 361; Stathi 2006, 83). Der Schlüssel hierzu liegt in einer spezifischen Mischung diverser kontextueller Indikatoren, die sich aus den Bereichen Semantik, Grammatik und Textkonstitution speist:

[D]ifferent senses of an idiom correlate with different sets of contextual parameters that apply systematically across examples and account for distinct interpretations: the idiom's *grammatical properties*, the *semantic class of its arguments*, its *collocates*, *meaning triggers* and the *contextual structure* (Hümmer / Stathi 2006, 373).

Innerhalb dieser Auswahl werden insbesondere die beiden erstgenannten Faktoren sowie die sogenannten *meaning triggers* als signifikante Anhaltspunkte hervorgehoben. Neben grammatikalischen Besonderheiten, die sowohl den Phraseologismus selbst (Personen, Zeiten, Modi etc.) als auch dessen syntaktische Einbettung (Auftreten mit Modalverben, syntaktische Anschlüsse, Negation etc.) betreffen können (vgl. Schafroth 2013, 191), sind vor allem semantische Präferenzen und Selektionsbeschränkungen

bei der Besetzung der Leerstellen verbaler Phraseologismen als aussagekräftig zu werten. Veränderungen solcher Kombinationspräferenzen – etwa Kategoriewechsel, die konträr ausgeprägte semantische Merkmalen wie z. B. <belebt> vs. <unbelebt> mit sich bringen – zeigen sich bei semantischen Übertragungsprozessen und können so auf distinkte Bedeutungen hinweisen (vgl. Dobrovol'skij / Filipenko 2009, 110; Forgács 2010, 390f.; Forgács 2004, 139f.; Fleischer 1997, 167). Auch Fleischer (1997, 167) weist explizit auf die „unterschiedliche Bedeutung verbaler Phraseologismen in Abhängigkeit von der Verbindung mit einer Personen- oder Sachbezeichnung als Subjekt oder Objekt“ hin<sup>5</sup>. Häufig ist jedoch eine subtilere Differenzierung notwendig. Ettinger (1989, 104ff.) etwa zeigt, dass der französische Phraseologismus *rire aux anges* neben seiner basalen Bedeutung des seligen Lächelns schlafender kleiner Kinder eine „ironische Nuance“ (ebd., 105) aufweist, wenn eine erwachsene Person die Subjektposition einnimmt. In diesem Fall ist die Bedeutung pragmatisch anders gelagert und kann paraphrasiert werden durch ‘sourire ou rire sans cause apparente et d’un rire naïf; rire seul et sans raison’ (ebd.)<sup>6</sup>. Der Terminus *meaning triggers* bezeichnet schließlich eine nicht klar zu umreißende, heterogen zusammengesetzte Palette an kontextuellen Elementen (darunter Synonyme, Antonyme, Elemente desselben semantischen Felds, dem auch der Phraseologismus zuzurechnen ist), die sich erst durch die detaillierte Analyse der Belege identifizieren lassen und daher kaum prädictabel erscheinen (vgl. Hümmer / Stathi 2006, 374ff.). Die genannten Indikatoren wirken in ihrer Quantität und Exklusivität bedeutungsunterscheidend (vgl. ebd., 362). Einzelne Verwendungsweisen können so mithilfe von Merkmalsclustern auf einer Skala zwischen Polysemie und Vagheit verortet werden (vgl. ebd., 376). Innerhalb des Spannungsfeldes zwischen Bedeutungsweite und Polysemie liefern solche Untersuchungen brauchbare Ansatzpunkte, die semantische Struktur phraseologischer Einheiten greifbarer zu machen.

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<sup>5</sup> Für den als Beispiel gewählten Phraseologismus *jmdm. in die Hände fallen* setzt Fleischer (1997, 167) – je nach Besetzung der Subjektposition durch eine Person oder Sache – die Bedeutungen ‘in jmds. Gewalt geraten’ und ‘zufällig gefunden werden’ an, bei *vor die Hunde gehen* kann analog zwischen ‘herunterkommen, sterben’ und ‘vernichtet werden’ unterschieden werden.

<sup>6</sup> Demnach sollten auch pragmatische Faktoren (Ironie, positive/negative Konnotation usw.) bei der Bedeutungs-differenzierung mit einbezogen werden (vgl. auch Palm 1994; Schafroth 2013; Henk / Torrent-Lenzen 2010).

## 4 Polysemie in der Phraseographie

Auch die Phraseographie gerät im Rahmen des Polysemie-Diskurses in den Aufmerksamkeitsfokus, wobei zumeist nüchterne Bilanzen gezogen werden und deutlicher Verbesserungsbedarf aufgezeigt wird (vgl. etwa Koesters Gensini 2013; Palm 2004; Ettinger 1989). Dies gipfelt mitunter in pessimistischen Gesamtbeurteilungen, wie sie etwa Palm (2004, 331) formuliert: „Weder die einsprachige noch die kontrastive Phraseographie kommt mit der Polysemie zurecht.“ Die Kritikpunkte reichen von dem Vorwurf der nicht transparenten Vorgehensweise über mangelnde Berücksichtigung sprachwissenschaftlicher Erkenntnisse bis hin zum fehlenden Einbezug authentischer Sprachdaten. Diese Aspekte bündeln sich im Verdacht, dass die lexikographische Handhabung phraseologischer Polysemie eher von den kaum objektiv nachprüfbareren Fall-zu-Fall-Entscheidungen des beteiligten Lexikographenteams als vom sorgfältigen Abstecken des tatsächlichen Verwendungsrahmens des Phraseologismus geprägt ist (vgl. Koesters Gensini 2013, 169ff.). Abgesehen von allgemeinsprachlichen Wörterbüchern, deren Umgang mit phraseologischen Einheiten aus diversen Gründen als verbesserungswürdig eingestuft wird (vgl. etwa Dobrovolskij 2013, Palm 2004, Koesters Gensini 2013, Kühn 2003, Kühn 2004), besteht dieser Vorbehalt insbesondere gegen Spezialwörterbücher, die sensibel für die semantischen Besonderheiten phraseologischer Einheiten sein sollten.

Zunächst stellt sich die Frage, ob der konkrete Umgang mit phraseologischer Polysemie in den Wörterbüchern explizit thematisiert wird. Davon nicht zu trennen ist die Frage nach ihrer Kenntlichmachung innerhalb der Artikel. Beiden Fragen soll am Beispiel des *Dictionnaire des expressions et locutions* (im Folgenden: *DEL*) nachgegangen werden. Aufgrund des etymologisch ausgerichteten Konzepts des *DEL* liegt ein Augenmerk auf Erklärungen zu Herkunft und (Bedeutungs-)Entwicklung der Phraseologismen unter Berücksichtigung der zugrundeliegenden Übertragungsmechanismen. Obgleich sowohl Sprachwandel (inklusive des Phänomens phraseologischer Neologismen) als auch die semantischen Besonderheiten phraseologischer Einheiten in der *Préface* thematisiert werden, finden sich keinerlei Hinweise auf Richtlinien zum Umgang mit Polysemie. Auch das Verzeichnis der verwendeten Zeichen und Abkürzungen gibt keinen Aufschluss darüber, wie Polysemie in den Artikeln ausgewiesen wird. Ob und wie eine systematische Differenzierung zwischen Monosemie, Polysemie und Homonymie erfolgt, bleibt daher offen.

Ogleich die Bedeutungsentwicklungsetappen diachronisch teils sehr detailliert nachgezeichnet werden, ist aufgrund der heterogenen Darstellungspraxis in den Artikeln selten auf den ersten Blick ersichtlich, ob synchron gesehen (noch) Mehrdeutigkeit vorliegt, was anhand ausgewählter verbaler Phraseologismen illustriert werden soll<sup>7</sup>. Teils sind Einzelbedeutungen durch Aufzählungszeichen (Nummern, Buchstaben) abgesetzt:

(1) *Aller aux fraises.*

1. (En parlant d'un couple) 'chercher un lieu écarté propice aux ébats amoureux' [...]<sup>8</sup>.
2. 'Se promener en musardant' (parfois sous forme d'apostrophe ironique et impatiente à l'égard d'un automobiliste jugé trop lent [...]).
3. 'Avoir un pantalon trop court.'

(2) *Faire la soudure :*

- a) 'Disposer de juste assez de marchandises avant un nouvel approvisionnement ou d'assez d'argent avant une nouvelle rentrée de fonds' [...].
- b) Par extension, 'assurer la transition entre deux situations'.

Vereinzelt werden sie (teils zusätzlich, teils ausschließlich) durch explizite Texthinweise kenntlich gemacht, seltener werden zwei einzelne Einträge angesetzt:

(3) *Mettre dans le même bain*, qui peut signifier 'impliquer dans la même affaire, la même situation' [...], se rencontre aussi au sens de 'juger de la même manière' [...].

(4) *Lever le pied* 's'en aller, filer, fuir' (1799). L'image est celle du début de la marche ou de la course. [...]

*Lever le pied* 'ralentir; s'interrompre, s'arrêter'. Métaphore automobile: 'cesser d'appuyer sur l'accélérateur' [...].

Daneben finden sich weniger auffällige Markierungselemente, etwa die Trennung mehrerer Paraphrasen durch Konjunktionen, Semikola, Kommata, oder Kommentare zu semantischen Übertragungsprozessen:

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<sup>7</sup> Die Lemmatisierung erfolgt unter der ersten nominalen Komponente, wenn keine Gründe für die Aufführung unter einer anderen Komponente vorliegen (vgl. DEL, PRÉFACE).

<sup>8</sup> Die etymologischen Kommentare und literarischen Beispiele innerhalb der Artikel sind im Folgenden gekürzt, sofern sie keine offenkundige Relevanz für die Beurteilung der Mehrdeutigkeit des Phraseologismus haben.

(5) fam. *Péter les plombs* ‘s’énervé, exploser’, et aussi ‘devenir fou’. [...]

(6) *Ramasser (prendre) une pelle* ‘tomber’; fig. ‘subir un échec’ [...].

Außerdem wird auf spezifischere Verwendungsweisen innerhalb eines abstrakteren Bedeutungsspektrums verwiesen oder einzelne Bedeutungsteile werden zusammengestellt präsentiert:

(7) *Faire faux bond à qqn* ‘ne pas répondre à son attente, ne pas faire ce que qqn attendait’ (notamment ‘ne pas venir à un rendez-vous’). [...]

(8) *Faire son affaire à qqn* ‘le châtier, le vaincre, le tuer’. [...]

Aufgrund der fehlenden Darlegung der Richtlinien beim Umgang mit phraseologischer Mehrdeutigkeit bleibt offen, ob die skizzierten Kennzeichnungspraxen bewusst gewählt wurden und mit einem unterschiedlichen Grad semantischer Nähe korrelieren, sodass an ihnen ablesbar wäre, ob es sich um eine weite Bedeutung und demnach Monosemie, Polysemie oder Homonymie<sup>9</sup> handelt. Hinweise auf Mehrdeutigkeit finden sich zwar teilweise in den entstehungsgeschichtlichen Kommentaren, insgesamt scheint die etymologische Herangehensweise aber den unerwünschten Nebeneffekt der Uneinheitlichkeit bei der semantischen Verortung in synchroner Hinsicht nach sich zu ziehen.

Vereinzelt lassen sich jedoch auch einige der thematisierten kontextuellen Indikatoren in den Artikeln wiederfinden, vor allem die kategorialen Besetzungspräferenzen der Valenzstellen. Allerdings bleibt auch hier unklar, ob diese Fälle im *DEL* als Polysemie gewertet werden:

(9) *Battre la breloque* ‘fonctionner irrégulièrement (mécanismes, organes)’; ‘déraisonner, divaguer (personnes)’ [...].

(10) *Couper la chique à quelqu’un* ‘l’interrompre brutalement (sujet de personne); l’interloquer, lui causer une vive surprise (sujet de chose)’. [...]

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<sup>9</sup> Der begrenzte Umfang dieses Beitrags erlaubt es nicht, der zusätzlichen Aufgliederung der Mehrdeutigkeit in Polysemie und Homonymie im *DEL* nachzuspüren. Zumindest bei Beispiel (4) und eventuell auch (1) scheint es sich dem ersten Eindruck nach eher um Homonymie als um Polysemie zu handeln.

## 5 Phraseologische Polysemie am Beispiel zweier französischer Phraseologismen

Es soll allerdings nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass sich im *DEL* durchaus gut kenntlich gemachte Differenzierungen in einzelne Bedeutungspositionen mit explizitem Rekurs auf die kontextuellen Verwendungsprofile finden lassen. Dies kann am Phraseologismus *faire un malheur* aufgezeigt werden, welchen der *DEL* wie folgt semantisiert:

- (11) *Faire un malheur* ‘faire un éclat dont les conséquences peuvent être graves, provoquer un drame’ [...]. La locution ne s’emploie guère qu’après un impératif (*retenez-moi !*, etc.) et *ou...* [...] Récemment, et peut-être par antiphrase, l’expression a été reprise, d’abord dans l’argot du spectacle puis dans d’autres contextes, au sens de ‘avoir du succès’. [...]

Diese beiden Bedeutungspositionen kristallisieren sich bei der Durchsicht einer ausreichenden Anzahl exemplarischer Korpusbelege<sup>10</sup> deutlich heraus und sollen kurz umrissen werden. Die erste Bedeutung zeichnet sich durch auffällende grammatikalisch-syntaktische Verwendungspräferenzen aus. Dazu zählen beispielsweise ein voranstehender Imperativ oder andere Mittel, die eine Bedingung ausdrücken (z. B. Verben im *subjunctif* oder unpersönliche Formulierungen wie *il faut que*, außerdem Konjunktionen wie *ou* oder *si*). In dieser Bedeutung tritt er fast ausschließlich in der 1. Person Singular auf. Die konsultierten Nachweise liefern außerdem Evidenz dafür, dass die Subjektposition präferiert mit einem menschlichen Individuum besetzt ist. Gehäuft findet sich der Phraseologismus in durch negative Evaluation gegenüber einer Person, Handlung oder Situation im Allgemeinen geprägten Kontexten. Dies kann durch unterschiedliche *meaning triggers* unterstrichen werden, beispielsweise durch negativ konnotierte Wörter oder solche aus semantischen Feldern der starken (negativen) Emotionen wie Wut, Zorn oder Verzweiflung. Durch das gemeinsame Auftreten dieser Indikatoren kann die erste Bedeutung recht einfach identifiziert werden:

- (12) File dans ta chambre, criait Mme Victor, hors d’elle. Que je ne te voie plus, ou je fais un malheur ! (FT, 40/S165)

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<sup>10</sup> Die im Folgenden zitierten Korpusbelege stammen aus dem primär literarische, aber auch wissenschaftliche und technische Texte umfassenden Korpus *Frantext* (Sigle: FT) sowie *frWaC* (Sigle: FW), einem Korpus auf Basis französischer Internetseiten.

- (13) Vous retrouvez l'ex-amoureux de Petite Chérie en train de marcher de long en large dans votre salon, comme un ours furieux. La rage a remplacé les larmes. - Il faut absolument que je parle avec Alizée, clame-t-il, les yeux brûlants de colère. Ou je fais un malheur ! (FT, 8/L398)

Die zweite Teilbedeutung 'avoir du succès' lässt ebenfalls rekurrente, von der ersten Bedeutung abweichende Verwendungsspezifika erkennen:

- (14) Un très grand film, qui pourrait bien faire un malheur aux prochains Oscars (FW, 7/1882)
- (15) La comédie musicale ‚Hair‘ qui fait un malheur sur la scène du Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin à Paris (FW, 178/1053)
- (16) Avec vos dons de comédien, votre sens de l'improvisation, vos qualités de conteur et votre amour du public vous allez faire un malheur, devenir un mythe irremplaçable. (FT, 30/S249)
- (17) L'Asus EEE PC 701 est une véritable blog machine. Je suis persuadé que cette machine va faire un malheur, au même titre que l'iPod (FW, 20/369)

Am augenfälligsten ist die Rahmung durch einen positiv besetzten Kontext (ausgedrückt durch positiv konnotierte Attribute, die dem Subjekt zugeschrieben werden, Wörter aus dem mit der Bedeutung korrelierenden semantischen Feld des Erfolgs, grammatikalische und syntaktische Strukturen, die anzeigen, dass die beschriebene Handlung wünschenswert ist, wobei in diesen Fällen der Phraseologismus häufig im Futur auftritt etc.). Die die erste Bedeutung charakterisierenden Merkmale, z. B. das starke grammatikalisch-syntaktische Einbettungsmuster, finden sich hingegen kaum bis gar nicht in Kombination mit dieser zweiten Bedeutung. Der Referenzrahmen bei der Besetzung der Subjektposition erweitert sich insofern, als dass neben menschlichen Individuen auch metonymische Instanzierungen wie Organisationen, Parteien usw. auftreten, vor allem aber auch Vertreter anderer Kategorien, die mit den Markern <nicht menschlich> oder <unbelebt> etikettiert werden können (vgl. etwa *un très grand film, la comédie musicale, cette machine*). Häufig tritt ein meist präpositional realisierter Anschluss auf, der spezifiziert, in welcher Domäne der Erfolg erzielt wird (*aux prochains Oscars, sur la scène du Théâtre de la Porte Saint-Martin à Paris*). Die gegensätzlich ausgeprägten Merkmalsprofile spiegeln die diametrale Positionierung der Teilbedeutungen wider, die laut *DEL* aus einer ironischen Umkehrung entstanden sein könnten. Innerhalb des Wörterbuchartikels wird diese Bedeutungs-



differenzierung auch klar herausgestellt und durch den Hinweis auf das markante Verwendungsprofil, das der ersten Bedeutung zuzuordnen ist, unterstrichen.

Anschließend soll ein vergleichender Blick auf den Phraseologismus *prendre à la gorge* geworfen werden, der im Gegensatz zu *faire un malheur* im *DEL* mit nur einer Bedeutungsparaphrase versehen ist:

- (18) *Prendre à la gorge* ‘combattre, faire pression sur’ [...] D’abord construit avec un sujet nom de personne, la locution, en emploi figuré, peut s’appliquer à la contrainte des événements, etc.

Die Korpusbelege beinhalten zahlreiche Nachweise dieser Bedeutung. Die im Artikel angedeutete Ausweitung von konkreten Individuen hin zu abstrakteren Entitäten manifestiert sich in der Besetzung der Valenzstellen. Hier finden sich neben Individuen auch Kollektiva (z. B. Vereine, Berufs- und Gesellschaftsgruppen, Staaten) wieder. Die Spezifizierung der Bedeutung des häufig attributiv verwendeten Phraseologismus (Druckausübung im wirtschaftlichen, finanziellen, wettbewerbstechnischen, emotionalen Sinne) erfolgt durch Elemente im umgebenden Kontext und die Besetzung der Rolle des Agens mit mehr (*la chute des cours*) oder weniger (*les banques*) abstrakten Einheiten. Dem ist einschränkend hinzuzufügen, dass die Rolle des Patiens zwar mit Kollektiva, offenbar aber nicht mit unbelebten Entitäten oder Abstrakta besetzt werden kann. Der Phraseologismus ist durch einen meist mit negativ konnotierten Einheiten besetzten Kontext gerahmt, in dem etwa nachteilige Konsequenzen und Begleiterscheinungen geschildert werden:

- (19) L’augmentation de productivité promise par les OGM n’améliorerait en rien la situation des petits producteurs, pris à la gorge par la chute des cours (FW, 227/870)
- (20) Petits entrepreneurs accablés de dettes, pris à la gorge par les banques, parfois acculés au suicide (FW, 216/472)

Es scheint sich um eine Grundbedeutung zu handeln, die inhaltlich durch die Implementierung in unterschiedliche Situationskontexte angereichert wird, sodass wahrscheinlich keine distinkten Teilbedeutungen, sondern vielmehr kontextsensiblen Realisierungsvarianten dieser einen Grundbedeutung, vorliegen.

Eine nicht unbeträchtliche Anzahl an Nachweisen zeigt jedoch ein abweichendes Verhalten und ist zudem nur schwerlich mit der im *DEL* angegebenen Paraphrase in Einklang zu bringen. Die präferierte Besetzung der Subjektposition (beziehungsweise der Rolle des Agens) kann nicht kategorial gefasst werden, obwohl sich eine Präferenz zu nicht-

menschlichen und nicht-belebten und sehr häufig auch abstrakten (*la musique, l'émotion, la beauté* usw.) Entitäten zeigt. Das verbindende Element scheint die Eigenschaft zu sein, durch ein Charakteristikum (eine besondere Ästhetik, Dramatik, Atmosphäre, Bedeutsamkeit) eine starke emotionale Wirkung auf die mit dem Merkmal <menschlich> zu charakterisierende Rolle des Patiens (in den Beispielsätzen gleichzeitig das Objekt) auszuüben. *Meaning triggers* (*inoublable, bouleversante, magnifique, émouvante* etc.) im Umfeld des Phraseologismus stützen diese Interpretation. Im Gegensatz zur konventionellen Bedeutung taucht der Phraseologismus hier in primär positiv konnotierten Kontexten auf und vermittelt einen Akt emotionaler Überwältigung, sodass sich eine semantische Verschiebung vermuten ließe, bei welcher der Fokus der zweiten Bedeutung auf dem Bereich der (häufig positiven) Affekte liegt:

- (21) Enfin, la musique, inoublable, est bouleversante et vous prend à la gorge : cette musique est toute simple mais elle est si magnifique et si émouvante à la fois qu'elle vous touche droit au cœur (FW, 72/465)
- (22) C'est un film qui remue, emporte. Un film vertigineux qui vous prend à la gorge (FW, 44/894)
- (23) L'émotion me prenait à la gorge à contempler cette œuvre admirable (FT, 58/K482)
- (24) Au lever du soleil, la beauté des lieux prend à la gorge... (FW, 67/1731)

Diese Fokusverschiebung auf den Bereich der starken emotionalen Betroffenheit beziehungsweise der Wirkungskraft, durch die sich das Agens des Patiens emotional bemächtigt, und die Tatsache, dass der Phraseologismus nicht vornehmlich in der für die erste Bedeutung typischen negativen Kontexten auftritt, scheint durch die Paraphrase ‚combattre, faire pression sur‘ nicht ausreichend zum Tragen zu kommen. Vielmehr könnte die umrissene Bedeutung mit annähernden Paraphrasen wie ‚émouvoir‘, ‚bouleverser‘, ‚s'emparer de qn‘ oder ‚couper le souffle‘ wiedergegeben werden<sup>11</sup>. Lohnenswert wäre in diesem Zusammenhang

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<sup>11</sup> Interessanterweise ist diese Bedeutungsposition im *Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé* (Lemma GORGE) im Gegensatz zum *DEL* mit dem Hinweis ‚Synon. de couper le souffle‘ einzeln gelistet. Bei einer umfassenderen Analyse des Phraseologismus müsste zudem eine weitere Verwendungsweise untersucht werden, die ansatzweise mit der ebenfalls im *TLFi* (ebd.), nicht aber im *DEL* gelisteten Paraphrase ‚faire suffoquer‘ umschrieben werden kann. Diese liegt etwa

eine systematische Auswertung einer größeren Anzahl an Korpusbelegen, um zu eruieren, ob das angedeutete Verwendungsprofil weiter konkretisiert werden kann und sich somit der Verdacht auf eine eigene Teilbedeutung erhärten lässt, oder zugunsten einer weiten Grundbedeutung fallengelassen werden muss.

## 6 Abschließende Bemerkungen

Am Beispiel des Phraseologismus *prendre à la gorge* konnte aufgezeigt werden, dass in Nachschlagewerken als monosem klassifizierte Phraseologismen Realisierungsvarianten aufweisen können, die nicht unter die aufgeführte Bedeutungsangabe subsumiert werden können und sich durch spezifische kontextuelle Profile auszeichnen. Die ausschnittartige Analyse konnte die These stützen, „dass Idiome als Lexeme eine komplexe Bedeutungsstruktur und eine Bedeutungsvielfalt aufweisen, die auf der konventionalisierten Bedeutung basiert, diese jedoch überschreitet“ (Stathi 2006, 87). Auf Grundlage möglicher Polysemie-Indikatoren muss stets geprüft werden, ob es sich nicht lediglich um spontane Übertragungen handelt, die der kreativen Sprachverwendung geschuldet sind und denen nicht der Status einer eigenen Bedeutungsposition (im Wörterbuch) zugestanden werden muss (vgl. Burger 2010, 76; Ettinger 1989, 96). Um valide Aussagen treffen zu können, bedarf es selbstredend einer breit angelegten, systematischen Analyse einer beträchtlichen Anzahl von Korpusnachweisen und des Vergleichs mit anderen Phraseologismenwörterbüchern. Auch wenn solch detaillierte, korpusbasierte Analysen auf den ersten Blick utopisch anmuten, da die Polysemie lediglich einen Aspekt unter vielen darstellt, die es bei der Beschreibung der hochkomplexen Phraseologismen zu berücksichtigen gilt (vgl. etwa Dobrovolskij 2013), birgt der Rückgriff auf authentische Sprachdaten und die Suche nach Polysemie anzeigenden kontextuellen Indikatoren doch die Chance auf eine adäquate(re) lexikographische Repräsentation des gesamten Bedeutungsspektrums, indem einzelne Teilbedeutungen identifiziert und gemeinsam mit den sie charakterisierenden Verwendungsspezifika für die WörterbuchbenutzerInnen sichtbar gemacht werden können.

Obgleich sich bisher noch keine einheitlichen Richtlinien beim Umgang mit phraseologischer Polysemie etabliert haben, bieten solche Ansätze sowohl das Potenzial, diese aus ihrem bisherigen Schattendasein

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in folgendem Beispiel vor: „Une âcre fumée de cigare me prit à la gorge“ (FT, 85/E066). Darauf aufbauend wäre zu fragen, in welcher Beziehung (Polysemie, Homonymie) die einzelnen Bedeutungen zueinander stehen.

innerhalb des Forschungsdiskurses zu befreien, als auch konkrete Anknüpfungspunkte für ihre systematische Bearbeitung im Rahmen der Phraseographie, der häufig das Vorurteil der willkürlichen Bedeutungsfestlegung anhaftet. Eine bewusste Auseinandersetzung mit der Polysemie, die nicht unter Berufung auf die den Phraseologismen attestierte Bedeutungsweite von vornherein ausgeklammert werden darf, stellt eine wichtige Bedingung dafür dar, der den Phraseologismen inhärenten dynamisch-kreativen Stärke zur Ausbildung neuer Teilbedeutungen Rechnung zu tragen.

Dies ist zudem eine Voraussetzung für die angemessene Abbildung zwischensprachlicher Äquivalenzbeziehungen, da durch die vollständige Erfassung des Bedeutungsspektrums in der Ausgangssprache das Risiko sinkt, mögliche Äquivalente der Zielsprache unfreiwillig aus dem Blick zu verlieren. Somit wird keiner „Verschleppung“ der Polysemie-Problematik in den kontrastiven Bereich Vorschub geleistet (vgl. etwa Koesters Gensini 2013). Dabei kann die Einnahme des kontrastiven Blickwinkels auch die Chance eröffnen, durch die Kontrastierung mit möglichen Entsprechungen in der Zielsprache subtile Bedeutungsschattierungen des Ausgangsphraseologismus herauszuarbeiten (vgl. Mollica 2015, 22). Auch die Besonderheiten der kontextuellen Verwendung in der Zielsprache können einen Einfluss auf die Ausgestaltung der Äquivalenzbeziehung nehmen, da die Möglichkeit der sogenannten „kontextinduzierten Äquivalenz“ (Dobrovol'skij / Filipenko 2009, 109) besteht, wenn trotz einer monosemen Bedeutungsstruktur in der Ausgangssprache eine Ausdifferenzierung der semantischen Struktur aufgrund der Verwendungscharakteristika des Phraseologismus in der Zielsprache erforderlich ist (vgl. ebd.; Dobrovol'skij 2013)<sup>12</sup>. Verlässliche Antworten auf die Äquivalenzfrage setzen somit stets die Abklärung phraseologischer Polysemie voraus. Selbst wenn bei der sukzessiven Aufarbeitung der phraseologischen Polysemie sicherlich noch einige Hürden überwunden werden müssen, macht ihre unverkennbare Relevanz in theoretischen, praktischen, einzelsprachlichen, kontrastiven und phraseographischen Kontexten eine konsequente Erschließung dieses interessanten Themenkomplexes zu einer ebenso wünschenswerten wie unverzichtbaren Aufgabe.

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<sup>12</sup> Zudem können die zielsprachlichen Äquivalente selbst mehrdeutig sein, was ebenfalls berücksichtigt werden muss (vgl. Bielińska 2014, 171ff.).

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## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

# ОПИСАНИЕ ЭМОЦИЙ В РУССКОЙ И ИТАЛЬЯНСКОЙ ФРАЗЕОЛОГИИ

MARINA GASANOVA MIJAT

### Abstract

This paper analyses a particular fragment of idiomatic “space”—the semantic field of emotions—and compares a number of Russian phraseological units with their Italian correspondences. The analysis shows, on the one hand, that several idiomatic expressions originate from a common, and sometimes universal, cultural base and/or common cognitive processes, and on the other, that some specific phraseological units highlight the different ways of interpreting concepts and generating, in some cases, non-equivalent idioms. We know that in phraseology the expression of emotions by means of the description of somatic sensations and physical reactions is cross-linguistic, but the lexical tools used to achieve the description are not always the same. However, it has been found that the number of equivalents with identical figurative components largely counterbalances and rather exceeds the differences.

### 1 Введение

Фразеологический фонд языка воспринимается как специфический пласт лексики, содержащий культурно маркированные единицы: в нём сконцентрированы сложенные веками традиции, ценности народа, принятые им этические нормы, характер межличностных отношений. Однако при ближайшем рассмотрении специфичность данной сферы оказывается не столь безоговорочной. Ещё Добровольским (1997, 37–48) была поставлена под сомнение



культурная самобытность идиом. Даже поверхностные наблюдения выявляют параллели в различных языках; анализ семантики и образных составляющих фразеологических единиц (ФЕ) обнаруживает систематические аналогии в метафорическом переосмыслении концептов у разных народов. Когнитивный подход, заложенный в работах Дж. Лакоффа и М. Джонсона изменил представление о метафоре как об исключительно лингвистическом феномене и признал её познавательную функцию и концептуальный характер.<sup>1</sup> Целый ряд исследований посвящён сопоставительному изучению семантических переходов в языках мира; разрабатываются проекты по созданию каталогов и словарей, выявляющих универсальные механизмы формирования переносных значений.<sup>2</sup>

Цель настоящей работы – продемонстрировать регулярность этих механизмов в русской и итальянской фразеологии на материале тематического поля эмоций. Выбор столь обширного фрагмента фразеологического пространства опирается на положение о том, что “...культурно-национальная специфика идиом может быть обнаружена не в единичных примерах..., а на массивах данных...” (Телия 1996, 258).

В статье рассматриваются идиомы и небольшой ряд коллокаций.<sup>3</sup> Перевод контекстуальных употреблений русских ФЕ на итальянский язык позволил выявить межъязыковые соответствия.<sup>4</sup> Всего было проанализировано около 260 оборотов, с точки зрения актуализации их значения и предметно-образного наполнения. В результате сложилась картина, в которой общие характеристики явно превосходят специфические и могут быть обобщены как основные приёмы идиоматического переосмысления эмоций.

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<sup>1</sup> Lakoff 1987; Lakoff / Johnson 1980.

<sup>2</sup> См. Зализняк 2001; Зализняк 2006; Грунтов 2007; Koch 2001; Piirainen 2005; Piirainen / Dobrovolskij 2005; Villavicencio / Baldwin / Waldron 2004.

<sup>3</sup> По классификации, приведённой в (Иорданская / Мельчук 2007, 223), оба вида единиц входят в категорию семантических фразем. В (Баранов / Добровольский 2008, 57, 67) идиомы определяются как “сверхсловные образования, которым свойственна высокая степень идиоматичности и устойчивости”, а коллокации – как “слабоидиоматичные фразеологизмы со структурой словосочетания, в которых семантически главный компонент употреблён в своём прямом значении”.

<sup>4</sup> Почти вся выборка примеров производилась из НКРЯ, [www.ruscorpora.ru](http://www.ruscorpora.ru); употребление итальянских эквивалентов при переводе проверялось италоязычными корректорами.

## 2 Способы образного описания эмоций

2.1. Как в русской, так и в итальянской фразеологии эмоции часто выражаются посредством их соматического представления. Этот приём универсален: очевидно, что понятия, связанные с психофизиологическим опытом человека, вербализуются как физические симптомы или субъективные ощущения (Апресян / Апресян 1993, 31; Телия 1996, 259). Это породило в различных языках значительное количество ФЕ с одинаковой образной основой (Баранов / Добровольский 2008, 130); например: *волосы на голове стали дыбом* = *sentirsi/far rizzare i capelli*, *кровь бросилась в голову* = *sentirsi montare il sangue alla testa*, *ком в горле* = *sentire un groppo alla gola*.

2.2. Другим приёмом концептуализации эмоций является материализация абстрактных концептов (деабстрагирование). Прежде всего, это касается единиц с компонентом *душа* (см. § 3.1). Но не только: во многих ФЕ чувства приобретают свойства предметов физического мира – водной стихии (*купаться в счастье*, *море удовольствия*, *волны восторга*), замкнутых пространств (*впасть в уныние*, *ввести в соблазн*, *вывести из терпения*, *войти в раж*, *войти во вкус*), складки на поверхности (*загладить вину*), цвета (*видеть всё в чёрном свете*, *смотреть на мир сквозь розовые очки*, *позеленеть от злости*). Аналогичные явления наблюдаются и в итальянской фразеологии: *un mare di felicità*, *(versare) fiumi di lacrime*; *cadere in disperazione*, *andare in paranoia*; *vedere tutto nero*, *vedere tutto rosa*.

Одним из средств деабстрагирования служит персонификация чувств, их анимистическое представление (Телия 1996, 259), ср. русские ФЕ *гордыня обуяла*, *злоба душист*, *дать волю чувствам* и итальянские *farsi prendere dalle emozioni*, *lasciarsi prendere dallo sconforto*, *nutrire speranze*.

2.3. Третьим способом является придание символического статуса элементам человеческого организма и явлениям окружающего мира. Это было подмечено Черданцевой (1990, 274) в отношении частей тела и внутренних органов, а также мимической и жестовой символики (см. подробнее в § 3). Помимо этого, символизируются образы животного мира: проявление эмоций сопоставляется с морфологическими характеристиками или поведением представителей фауны: *как побитая собака* = *come un cane bastonato*, *поджав хвост* = *con la coda fra le gambe*, *будить зверя в ком-л.* = *risvegliare la bestia in qualcuno*, *как кошка с собакой* = *come cane e gatto*. В ряде эквивалентов эмоциональная реакция уподобляется аналогичным повадкам разных животных: *смотреть волком* =

*guardare in cagnesco* ('по-собачьи'), *реветь белугой* = *piangere come un vitello* ('как телёнок').

Безэквивалентные единицы данного типа в русском довольно редки: как *с гуся вода*, связанная с ритуалом старинных народных заговоров от болезней<sup>5</sup>, а также *кошки на душе скребут* и *чёрная кошка пробежала*, отрицательная коннотация которых восходит к народным поверьям (ср. ит. *fare la gatta morta*, *gatta da pelare*, *gatta ci cova!*).

Символизируются в обоих языках и понятия неживой природы: ср. русские ФЕ *быть на седьмом небе*, *как с луны/с неба свалиться*, *как гром среди ясного неба*, *реветь в три ручья*, *море удовольствия* и итальянские *essere al settimo cielo*, *fulmine a ciel sereno*, *cadere dalle nuvole*, *avere la luna storta*, *fiume di lacrime*. Происхождение некоторых оборотов восходит к древним языческим представлениям о природных явлениях; например, эквиваленты *метать громы и молнии* и *fare fuoco e fulmini* вызывают в воображении, соответственно, фигуры Юпитера и Перуна.<sup>6</sup>

Наблюдаются также параллели в цветовой символике, универсальный характер которой основан на отождествлении красок окружающего мира с эмоциями: *видеть всё в чёрном свете* = *vedere tutto nero*, *смотреть на мир сквозь розовые очки* = *vedere tutto rosa*. Вызывает интерес переосмысление голубого цвета, который, несмотря на отсутствие эквивалентов с идентичной образностью, ассоциируется в обоих языках с положительными концептами: ср. *голубая мечта* (ит. *un sogno nel cassetto*) и *principe azzurro* (рус. *принц на белом коне*).<sup>7</sup> Специфичность наблюдается в русских ФЕ с символикой белого: *белый свет не мил*, по всей вероятности, восходит к фольклору, а *дойти до белого каления* (ит. *dare in escandescenze*) когнитивно мотивировано сравнением с расплавленным металлом.

<sup>5</sup> Об этимологии данной идиомы см. в (Мокиенко 2006, 159–164).

<sup>6</sup> Бог-громовец в славянской мифологии. В словарях ещё встречается устаревшая единица *метать Перуны* с пометой “книжн.” (Молотков 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Единицы *голубой ценнок*, *голубой огонёк* и т.п., возникшие на основе распространившегося в 1980-х годов значения слова *голубой* ‘гомо-сексуальный’, не принимаются здесь во внимание, поскольку, во-первых, не входят в тематическое поле эмоций, во-вторых, ещё не зафиксированы во фразеографии и отсутствуют в НКРЯ. На данный момент следует говорить скорее об ироничном переосмыслении соответствующих названий известного мультфильма и популярной телепередачи, нежели об устоявшихся в языке ФЕ.

Перечисленные способы фразеологизации эмоций могут пересекаться, накладываться друг на друга, взаимодействовать. Так, например, в идиоме *кошки на душе скребут* материализация абстрактного понятия *душа*, подвергаемого воздействию зооморфного образа, позволяет описывать психологический дискомфорт как соматическое ощущение.

### 3 Фразеологический инструментарий описания эмоций

Как говорилось выше, описание эмоций оперирует понятиями, выражающими объективные или субъективные физические ощущения. Тело человека концептуализируется в обоих сопоставляемых языках как вместилище: *выйти из себя* = *uscire di sé*, *уйти в себя* = *chiudersi in se stesso*, *копаться в себе* = *scavare nel profondo di se stesso*. Иногда эмоциям становится “тесно” в замкнутом пространстве, и они обретают способность “разрывать” плоть, ср.: *лопаться от зависти // от злости // от смеха* и *scoppiare d'invidia // dalla rabbia, sbellicarsi dalle risa*.

Части человеческого тела, органы чувств, а также душа как составной элемент личности представляют собой образные средства для вербализации эмоций. Рассмотрим каждое из них.

3.1. И в русском, и в итальянском языке в состав многих ФЕ входят компоненты *сердце* и *душа*. Важность этих образов уже отмечалась исследователями.<sup>8</sup> В русской фразеологии они рассматриваются в (Телия 1996, 169–170), где подчёркивается их сходная символическая функция: душа и сердце в равной степени стали адресатами сферы чувств. Об их роли в итальянской идиоматике упоминается в (Черданцева 1996, 63). Следует оговорить, что в русских ФЕ чаще встречается компонент *душа*, а в итальянских – *cuore* ‘сердце’<sup>9</sup>, что указывает на некоторые расхождения в средствах

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<sup>8</sup> О концепте *душа* в разных языках см., например, в (Кириллова 2000, 4–9). Интересно также его подробное толкование в рамках русской мифологии в (Михеев 1999, 145–158).

<sup>9</sup> Количественная диспропорция обнаруживается при подсчёте ФЕ с компонентами *душа* и *сердце* во фразеографических изданиях: в (Молотков 2001) описано более 90 с первым и около 60 со вторым, в (Тихонов 2004) – более 120 и менее 60, соответственно, в *Словаре-тезаурусе русской идиоматики* (Баранов / Добровольский 2007) – около 100 и 50, соответственно. Несколько иная картина представляется в итальянской

вербализации эмоций и на специфичность концептуально-символической мотивированности ряда единиц. Тем не менее, эти элементы в равной мере вступают в синонимичные отношения в обоих языках. В их семантике стираются различия между духовным и материальным. С одной стороны, дематериализуется понятие *сердце*, которое утрачивает свою анатомическую сущность и приобретает характеристики абстрактной субстанции, становится символом эмоциональной жизни человека (данное явление наблюдается и в других семиотических кодах, ср. знак ♥ с иллюстрациями сердца в анатомических атласах); анимистическое представление наделяет этот орган способностью радоваться, петь, плакать и даже праздновать именины. С другой стороны, деабстрагируется концепт *душа*, который переходит в категорию материальных сущностей, приобретая свойства предметов физического мира: душа превращается в сосуд, который можно облегчить, в жидкость, которую можно излить, в помещение, которое можно открыть и даже распахнуть; она принимает форму поверхности, на которой лежит камень, остаётся неизгладимый след или неприятный осадок; душа может состоять из волокна (*всеми фибрами души*) и подвергаться перемещению в пространстве (*вкладывать душу в кого-л./во что-л.*); её могут скрести кошки; она становится предметом персонализации (*крик души, душа радуется, душа поёт, душа плачет*). Подобные явления встречаются и в сопоставляемом языке: *dare sollievo all'anima, toccare l'anima, aprire l'anima*.

Различия обнаруживаются в субъективных ощущениях сердца как органа: ср. *сердце в пятки ушло* = *sentire un tuffo al cuore//avere il cuore in gola*. Спецификой обладают некоторые безэквивалентные единицы, требующие перефразы: *давать волю сердцу* 'innamorarsi'/'commuoversi', *именины сердца* 'gioia, diletto'.

Наблюдается взаимозаменяемость компонентов *душа* и *сердце* в обоих языках: ср. русские ФЕ *душа/сердце радуется, камень на душе/на сердце лежит, кошки на душе/на сердце скребут, быть по душе/быть по сердцу, душа/сердце в пятки ушла/-о* и итальянские *toccare l'anima/il cuore, metterci l'anima/il cuore, mettersi l'anima/il cuore in pace*. В эквивалентных парах они нередко являются функциональными синонимами: *брать за душу* = *toccare il cuore*, *вкладывать душу* = *metterci il cuore*, *открывать душу* = *aprire il*

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фразографии: в *Dizionario dei modi di dire* (Quartu 2000) – 25 единиц с компонентом *anima* ('душа') и свыше 50 с компонентом *cuore* ('сердце'), в (Devoto / Oli 1987) – около 25 с первым и около 40 со вторым, в (Treccani 1986), соответственно, менее 40 и более 50 единиц.

*cuore*. В некоторых русских идиомах один из двух компонентов, изначально не поддающийся или с трудом поддающийся варьированию, впоследствии стал заменяться своим функциональным синонимом, например: *именины сердца/именины души* (в НКРЯ имеется 22 вхождения с первым компонентом и всего 2 со вторым, причём эти последние датированы 1999 и 2005 гг.), *сердце дрогнуло/душа дрогнула* (соответственно, 44 вхождения и всего 1, датированное 2011 г.). Для ряда единиц установилось более частотное употребление с одним из компонентов, при этом предпочтение чаще отдаётся абстрактному понятию: *душа нарастающую* – 61 вхождение в НКРЯ, в то время как *сердце нарастающую* – всего 6; *крик души* – 119 вхождений, *крик сердца* – 11; *вкладывать/вложить душу* – 22 вхождения, *вкладывать/вложить сердце* – всего одно, датированное 1953-55 гг.; *изливать/излить душу* – 30 вхождений, *изливать/излить сердце* – 2 цитаты, датированные 1795 и 1830-37 гг.

3.2. Голова – одна из наиболее распространённых частей тела в русской и в итальянской фразеологии. Её функции как вместилища разума выходят за рамки чисто рациональной сферы и получают метафорическое осмысление при утрате здравого смысла, вызванной эмоциональным состоянием. Смятение и гнев вербализуются путём описания субъективных физических ощущений: *потерять голову* = *perdere la testa*, *вскружить голову* = *far girare la testa*//*dare alla testa*, *кровь бросается в голову* = *sentirsi montare il sangue alla testa*.

Голова служит также средством жестового выражения эмоций: *схватиться за голову* = *mettersi le mani nei capelli* (в ит. мероним ‘волосы’), *бросаться в омут (с) головой* = *buttarsi a capofitto*, *очертя голову* = *a capofitto*//*con la testa nel sacco*//*la testa bassa*.

Различие обнаруживается при переводе идиомы *вешать/повесить голову*, которая находит соответствия с другой образной основой – *essere giù di corda* или *perdersi d'animo*. В свою очередь, и в итальянской фразеологии встречаются ФЕ с компонентом *testa* ‘голова’, имеющие русские эквиваленты с иной внутренней формой: *far andare fuori di testa* = *вывести из себя*//*выбить из колеи*, *fare colpi di testa* = *пороть горячку*, *averne fin sopra la testa/i capelli* = *сыт по горло*, *montarsi la testa* = *задирать нос*.

3.3. Другой распространённый во фразеологии образ – глаза. Универсальный приём использования органа зрения для мимического выражения эмоций породил целую серию межъязыковых эквивалентов: *потупить глаза/взор* = *abbassare gli occhi*//*tenere gli occhi bassi*, *вынучить глаза*//*делать большие/круглые/квадратные глаза* = *sgranare/strabuzzare/stralunare gli occhi*, *глаза на лоб полезли*

= *avere gli occhi fuori dalle orbite*, *поедать глазами* = *mangiare con gli occhi*, *глазом не моргнуть* = *senza batter ciglio* (в ит. мероним ‘ресница’), *испепелить взглядом* = *fulminare con lo sguardo/con gli occhi*.

Некоторым своеобразием обладают ФЕ *глаза разгорелись* и *хлопать глазами*. В их итальянских эквивалентах: *a qlcu brillano//si sono illuminati gli occhi* и *sgranare gli occhi*, соответственно, – обнаруживается частичное совпадение образной составляющей.

3.4. Одним из средств описания эмоций выступает орган обоняния. Он позволяет вербализовать ощущение беспокойства, опасности, хотя и здесь предметно-образная основа не всегда совпадает, ср.: *пахнет жареным* = *sentir odore/pizza di bruciato*, *дело пахнет керосином* = *aria di tempesta*.

Нос также участвует в мимическом выражении неприязни, отвращения: *ворочать нос* = *storcere/arricciare il naso*.

Иное толкование – как мероним понятия “голова” – данный образ получил в русских идиомах *вешать нос* и *задирать нос*. Это иллюстрирует внутриязыковая синонимичность единиц *вешать нос* и *вешать голову*, а также межъязыковая эквивалентность *задирать нос* и *alzare la cresta* (в ит. мероним ‘гребень/хохол’).

Как видим, аналогии в символизации понятия *нос* выявляются именно на основе его функций как органа обоняния и мимики, а не как части головы. Контекстуальные соответствия *вешать нос* = *perdersi d'animo/essere giù di corda*, *задирать нос* = *alzare la cresta//darsi delle arie* обнаруживают иное сходство в механизме семантического переноса: здесь скорее следует признать общность концептуальных моделей “движение вверх – движение вниз”.<sup>10</sup>

3.5. Средством идиоматизации эмоций служит также орган слуха. Компонент *уши* или соответствующий глагол восприятия входят в состав эквивалентов с аналогичной образной основой: *слушать во все уши* = *essere tutt'orecchi*, *ушки на макушке* = *rizzare le orecchie//stare con le orecchie tese*, *ушам своим не верить* = *non credere alle proprie orecchie*.

В то же время имеются русские единицы с оригинальным переосмыслением этого элемента – *уши вянут* и *влюбиться по уши*. В семантике первой чувствительность слухового органа имплицитно уподобляется цветам. В значении второй, которую можно перефразировать как ‘погрузиться в любовь по самые уши’, данный образ

<sup>10</sup> О концептуальных метафорах пространственных перемещений вверх-вниз в итальянских глагольных ФЕ см. в (Casadei 1996, 140–150).



выражает не сенсорное восприятие, а меру чувства по “вертикальной шкале”. В итальянской идиоматике эти ФЕ находят соответствия с иными образными составляющими: *уши вянут* = *far cadere le braccia/far rizzare i capelli in testa*, *влюбиться по уши* = *prendersi una cotta*.

3.6. Значительная роль и в русской, и в итальянской фразеологии отводится органу осязания. Эмоциональное состояние передаётся как ощущение холода: *ушат холодной воды* = *doccia fredda*, *кровь стынет/леденеет в жилах* = *sentirsi gelare il sangue nelle vene*, *холодный пот прошиб* = *avere i sudori freddi*. Неслучайно большинство этих единиц относится к семантическому полю “Страх. Ужас”, поскольку “реакция души на страх очень сходна с реакцией тела на холод” (Апресян / Апресян 1993, 31–32).

Расхождение наблюдается в эквивалентах *мороз по коже/по спине пробежал/продрал* (олицетворение) = *sentirsi accapponare la pelle* (имплицитное сравнение с кожным покровом каплуна).

Выявляются различия при переводе русских ФЕ, в которых эмоциональная реакция описывается как нагревание, ср.: *(попасть//досталось) под горячую руку* = *finire tra le grinfie di qlcu*, *соваться под горячую руку* = *andare in cerca di guai/di rogne*, *пороть горячку* = *fare colpi di testa/partire in quarta*. Последний оборот находит в итальянском контекстуальный эквивалент с частичным совпадением образности – *a caldo*.

Чувство безразличия выражается отсутствием тепловых ощущений: *ни холодно ни жарко* = *non fare né caldo né freddo*. Очевидно, что в исследуемой языковой паре противопоставление горячего-холодного выполняет сходную символическую функцию при описании эмоций.

Осязательное восприятие входит как имплицитная сема в значение русских и итальянских единиц, аналогичным способом выражающих дискомфорт как колющее или обжигающее ощущение: *сидеть как на иголках* = *stare sulle spine/sui carboni ardenti*, *заливаться краской* = *diventare di fiamma/fuoco*.

3.7. Довольно широко во фразеологии представлен рот и связанные с ним органы – губы, зубы, язык. Рот выполняет целый ряд функций: мимическую, речевую, рецептивную, пищеварительную.

В качестве мимического средства выражения эмоций этот образ используется в русских ФЕ *надуть губы*, *скалить зубы* и в итальянских *a bocca stretta*, *storcere la bocca*, *mordersi le labbra*. Встречаются эквиваленты с идентичной внутренней формой: *(говорить) сквозь зубы* = *(parlare) a denti stretti*, *разинуть рот* =



*rimanere a bocca aperta*. Самобытностью обладает безэквивалентная идиома *раскатать губу* ('pregustare, sognare'), в которой совмещаются мимическая и сенсорная функции рта.

В обоих языках эмоции вербализуются посредством вкусового восприятия горечи: *горькая пилюля* = *pillola amara*, *заливаться горькими/горючими слезами* = *versare lacrime amare*, *горечь в/на душе (оставить/осталась)* = (*lasciare/restare*) *con l'amaro in bocca*.

Несовпадение образных составляющих при передаче русской ФЕ *надоесть хуже горькой редьки* как *averne fin sopra i capelli/non poterne più/venire a noia*, а также итальянской *lasciare con l'amaro in bocca* как *оставить неприятный осадок на душе*, не опровергает сходства в метафоризации вкуса в сопоставляемой языковой паре, а лишь указывает на различные возможности при переводе. Параллели обнаруживаются и в оппозиции горькое-сладкое: *подсластить пилюлю* = *addolcire/indorare la pillola*, *запретный плод сладок* = *frutto proibito frutto saporito*. Придание чувствам контрастных вкусовых характеристик встречается и в паремиологии: *лучше горькая правда, чем сладкая ложь* = *meglio un'amara verità che una dolce bugia*.

Через рот в организм поступает пища, что делает его "проводником" из внешнего мира внутрь человека. Это породило в обоих языках ряд единиц, в которых само опорное слово *рот* не фигурирует, однако данный образ имплицитно представлен соответствующими глаголами: *поедать глазами* = *mangiare con gli occhi*, *проглотить пилюлю* = *inghiottire la pillola*.

С пищеварительной функцией рта связан компонент *горло* – место, в котором проглатывание может быть затруднено "застревающими" в нём помехами или раздражителями: *ком в горле* = *sentire un groppo alla gola/avere un nodo alla gola*, *становиться попере́к горла* = *andare di traverso/non andar giù a qlcu*. Встречаются и самобытные русские ФЕ, находящие в итальянской фразеологии иное выражение: *как кость в горле* = *avere una spina nel fianco/essere una seccatura*, *слова застряли в горле* = *rimanere senza parole/le parole morirono sulle labbra di qlcu/sono morte in gola*; тем не менее, как видим, в последнем варианте выявляется частичное совпадение образности.

Одинаково описываются эмоциональные реакции как слюноотделение: *исходить слюной* = *avere l'acquolina in bocca* (в значении 'жаждать'), *с пеной у рта* = *con la bava alla bocca*. Однако попадают и специфические русские идиомы: так, *распу-*

*скать/разводить нюни/слони*<sup>11</sup>//*распускать сопли* ('commuoversi, piagnucolare') и *плевать с высокой колокольни* ('fregarsene') не находят эквивалентов в итальянской фразеологии.

Образ зубов представлен в обоих языках как средство выражения угрозы, устрашения – *показывать зубы* = *mostrare i denti*, враждебности, неприязни – *точить зуб* = *avere il dente avvelenato*, (*говорить*) *сквозь зубы* = (*parlare*) *a denti stretti*, страха – *стучать зубами*//*зуб на зуб не попадает* = *battere i denti*, а также как орудие самонаказания при выражении раскаяния – *кусать (себе) локти* = *mordersi le mani*.

Речевая функция рта вовлекает в идиоматический инструментарий компонент *язык*, хотя образная основа эквивалентов не всегда полностью совпадает, ср.: *прикусить язык* = *mordersi la lingua* и *проглотить язык* = *farsi mangiare la lingua dal gatto*.

Иногда этот образ не получает аналогичного толкования в итальянской фразеологии: так, *язык не поворачивается* нуждается в перефразе 'non osare definire, dire, pronunciare'.

3.8. Мимическое проявление эмоций фразеологизируется также посредством компонентов, обозначающих другие части лица или лицо в целом. В эквивалентах наблюдается полное или частичное совпадение предметно-образного наполнения, ср.: *делать весёлую мину при плохой игре* = *fare buon viso a cattivo gioco*, и *бровью не повести* = *non fare una piega*. Только идиома *и в ус (себе) не дуть* ('fare finta di niente', 'rimanere impassibile') не находит фразеологического соответствия в итальянском языке.

3.9. Компонент *рука* участвует в жестовой символике и входит в состав русских и итальянских ФЕ с идентичной образной составляющей: *потирать руки* = *fregarsi le mani*, *разводить руками* = *allargare le braccia*, *руки чешутся* (в значении 'желание побить, подраться') = *sentirsi prudere le mani*. В некоторых соответствиях встречаются меронимы – *кусать себе локти* = *mordersi le mani*, а также зооморфные образы – *выпускать когти* = *tirar fuori/sfodere gli artigli*.

Своеобразием обладают (помимо вышеупомянутой *под горячую руку*), единицы *держат себя в руках* и *махнуть рукой*, получившие в итальянской фразеологии иное выражение: *non perdere le staffe*//*stringere i denti*//*tener duro* и *lasciar perdere*, соответственно.

3.10. Наблюдаются параллели в ряде ФЕ, в состав которых входит слово *нога* или его мероним. Так, раздражительность вербализуется в

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<sup>11</sup> О происхождении данной идиомы см. в (Мокиенко 2007, 227–229).

образе “неправильной” (левой) нижней конечности – *встать не с той/с левой ноги* = *alzarsi con il piede sbagliato*; страх соматизируется в физиологическом симптоме – *поджилки/коленки трясутся/дрожат/подгибаются* = *sentirsi piegare le ginocchia*. Только душа/сердце ушла/-о в пятки передаётся по-итальянски эквивалентами, в которых отсутствует элемент стопы (см. 3.1).

3.11. Отдельную группу составляют единицы, содержащие образы физиологических жидкостей. Наиболее распространён в идиоматике обоих языков компонент *кровь*: *кровь в голову бросилась* = *sentirsi montare il sangue alla testa*, *кровь вскипела/закипела* = *sentirsi bollire il sangue nelle vene*, *кровь стынет/леденеет в жилах* = *sentirsi gelare il sangue nelle vene*, *портить себе/кому-л. кровь* = *farsi/far venire cattivo sangue/il sangue amaro*.

Самобытными представляются лишь русский оборот *сердце кровью обливается* и итальянский *non correre buon sangue*; для первого имеются соответствия с частичным совпадением образного наполнения – *sentirsi piangere il cuore*, *a qlcu si spezza il cuore*, второй передаётся идиомой с совершенно иной внутренней формой – *чёрная кошка пробежала*.

Образ слёз входит в целый ряд ФЕ, как русских – *плакаться в жилетку*, *лить слёзы*, *заливаться горючими слезами*, *умыться кровавыми слезами*, *исходить слезами*, *реветь в три ручья*, так и итальянских – *piangere sulla spalla di qlcu*, *piangere a dirotto*, *piangere lacrime amare*, *piangere lacrime di sangue*, *non avere più occhi per piangere*, *versare fiumi di lacrime*, etc.

Отмечается сходство в толковании образа желчи: *исходить/захлёбываться желчью* = *ingoiar bile*.

Специфической следует признать идиому *моча в голову ударила/стукнула*, не имеющую итальянского эквивалента с идентичной образной основой и передаваемой как *essersi bevuto il cervello*.

Аналогии в трактовке образа слюны уже отмечались в 3.7.

## 4 Типы межъязыковых фразеологических соответствий и их соотношение

4.1. С точки зрения предметно-образного наполнения выявленных фразеологических соответствий, эквивалентность проявляется на различных уровнях. По степени сходства образных составляющих мы можем разделить их на несколько типов.

- Абсолютные эквиваленты – единицы с идентичным лексическим составом и морфосинтаксической структурой (Рецкер 1950, 156–183).

Эти параллели объясняются общностью когнитивных процессов и способов их вербализации (*потерять голову* = *perdere la testa*, *поесть глазами* = *mangiare con gli occhi*, *с лёгким сердцем* = *a suor leggero*) или происхождением из единого цитатного фонда – библейского, античного и т.п. – и принадлежностью к обще-европейскому культурному наследию (*горькая чаша* = *l'amaro calice*, *посыпать голову пеплом* = *cospargersi il capo di cenere*).

- Межъязыковые фразеологические варианты – соответствия, в которых отличается только один компонент (Кириллова 1997, 35–36), при очевидном сходстве когнитивной мотивированности единиц (*смотреть волком* = *guardare in cagnesco*, *глазом не моргнув* = *senza batter ciglio*, *плакаться в жилетку* = *piangere sulla spalla di qlcu*).

- Межъязыковые стилистические варианты – идентичные по образности единицы с различной стилистической окраской (*ворочить морду/рыло* груб.-прост. = *storcere/arricciare il naso* нейтр., *разинуть/раззявить рот* груб.-прост. = *rimanere/restare a bocca aperta* нейтр.).

- Синтаксические конверсивы – близкие по образной составляющей ФЕ, обнаруживающие инверсию субъектно-объектных отношений. Чаще всего они встречаются в семантическом поле “Страх. Ужас”. В русских идиомах функцию грамматического субъекта выполняет *Nomina anatomica* или физическое ощущение (в том числе субъективное), а в итальянских в качестве субъекта выступает лицо, испытывающее страх, или внешний раздражитель (*кровь стынет в жилах* = *sentirsi//far gelare il sangue nelle vene*, *мороз по коже пробежал/продрал* = *sentirsi//far rabbrivire*, *волосы встали дыбом* = *sentirsi//far rizzare i capelli*); некоторые русские единицы имеют безличную синтаксическую структуру (*дух захватило* = *sentirsi mancare il respiro//togliere il respiro*, *в холодный пот бросило* = *sentirsi sudare freddo*). Несмотря на структурные расхождения, эти примеры выявляют аналогичное фразеологическое выражение реакции человеческого тела на страх.<sup>12</sup>

- Неполные эквиваленты – единицы с разным объёмом значения (Комиссаров 2002, 170–176; Рецкер 1950, 156–183), которые находят несколько контекстуальных соответствий (*руки чешутся* = 1 *sentirsi prudere le mani*, 2 *non stare nella pelle*, 3 *far venire l'acquolina in bocca*).

- Межъязыковые синонимы (Кириллова 1997, 39) – соответствия с различными образными составляющими (*показать кузькину мать*

<sup>12</sup> Иорданская (1972, 3–21); Апресян / Апресян (1993, 30–32).

//*где раки зимуют = far vedere i sorci verdi, повесить нос = perdersi d'animo/essere giù di corda, чувствовать себя не в своей тарелке = sentirsi un pesce fuor d'acqua, влюбиться по уши = prendersi una cotta*). В ряде случаев наблюдается частичное совпадение предметно-образного наполнения (*сердце кровью обливается = sentirsi piangere/stringere il cuore, кусать (себе) локти = mordersi le mani, точить зуб = avere un dente avvelenato, бросаться в омут с головой = fare un salto nel buio*).

4.2. Итак, бóльшая часть проанализированных русских единиц находит в итальянском языке фразеологические соответствия различного типа. Из 260 ФЕ практически половина имеет эквиваленты с идентичной или сходной внутренней формой, почти треть которых является абсолютными. Около 100 рассмотренных русских единиц передаётся межъязыковыми соответствиями с иной внутренней формой, при этом приблизительно половина из них обнаруживает частичное совпадение предметно-образного наполнения.

Только 26, т.е. десятая доля из всех отобранных русских ФЕ, составляет группу безэквивалентных оборотов, требующих перефразы, например: *отвести душу, раскатать губу, язык не поворачивается, и в ус (себе) не дуть*. Некоторые из них имеют самобытные черты: *царевна Несмеяна, как с гуся вода, до лампочки/до фонаря, плевать /начхать с высокой колокольни*. Уточним, что в данной работе мы не затрагиваем вопрос о наличии национальной и/или культурной специфики единиц, поэтому под термином “самобытность” подразумеваем не столько различия концептуальных метафор (когнитивные расхождения), сколько способы вторичной номинации. Приведённые обороты содержат самобытные элементы, которые, как отмечается в (Баранов / Добровольский 2008, 261–262), объясняются культурно-историческими ассоциациями и сами по себе не определяют специфику идиомы и не могут быть признаны *a priori* культурно значимыми. Национально-культурные особенности таких ФЕ могут быть приняты в качестве гипотезы, подтверждение которой требует дополнительного исследования, поскольку обусловлено “как их возводимостью к другим семиотическим кодам <...>, так и наличием у этих единиц культурно значимых следствий” (Добровольский 1997, 48).

## 5 Заключение

Как показал анализ, способы и средства фразеологического выражения эмоций обнаруживают очевидные аналогии в исследуемой языковой паре, что доказывает общность основных механизмов семантического переноса. Количественное соотношение различных типов эквивалентов не даёт оснований утверждать преобладание отличительных особенностей. Выявленные расхождения, в большей или меньшей степени, лингвистически релевантны, однако только за некоторыми из них может быть признана национально-культурная специфичность.

Большинство аналогий выходит за рамки русско-итальянских параллелей. Тематическое поле эмоций предоставляет наиболее богатый материал, свидетельствующий об универсальности основных способов фразеологизации концептов. Возникновение в различных культурах близких по образности оборотов связано с формированием наднациональных метафор, происхождение которых объясняется общностью когнитивных операций над знаниями. Этот процесс наиболее ярко проявляется при описании эмоций в силу антропоцентричного характера данной сферы, в то время как самобытные черты занимают в ней сравнительно скромное место.

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## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

# FRASEMAS SEMÁNTICOS Y PRAGMÁTICOS EN EL ÁMBITO DEPORTIVO EN FRANCÉS Y ESPAÑOL

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### Abstract

This work falls under the umbrella of the Explanatory and Combinatorial Lexicology (Mel'čuk / Clas / Polguère 1995). The theoretical framework for the discussion is Meaning-Text Theory [=MTT]. The main objective of this study was to analyse lexical and semantic phrasemes and their relationship with pragmatic phrasemes within a corpus of texts from the field of sport in French and Spanish. This corpus was selected from the French bimonthly magazine *Sport et Vie*, a journal specialized in the physiology of effort and sport in society. The criteria used to delimit the nature and operation of phraseological units range from frequency and fixation to opacity, through compositionality, syntactic structure and meaning.

### 1 Introducción

Este estudio se desarrolla dentro del marco teórico de la Teoría Sentido-Texto (TST) y más concretamente de la Lexicología Explicativa y Combinatoria (LEC), que es el módulo lexicológico de esta teoría fundada por Igor Mel'čuk<sup>1</sup>. Seguimos fielmente las convenciones terminológicas y

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<sup>1</sup> El marco de la teoría lingüística Sentido-Texto aparece desarrollado principalmente en Mel'čuk (1997); Milićević (2006); Polguère (2011).

tipográficas<sup>2</sup> de esta teoría. Utilizamos la lexía como la unidad léxica que engloba todas las unidades léxicas de la lengua. Las lexías son lexemas, unidades simples, o locuciones.

Nuestro interés reside principalmente en describir las unidades fraseológicas, en especial los frasemas semánticos y pragmáticos de un corpus contrastivo en francés y en español en el ámbito del deporte. A caballo entre la lengua general y la lengua de especialidad, el lenguaje deportivo presenta una presencia masiva de unidades fraseológicas. Como apuntan Frassi y Ligas, se trata de un vocabulario con particularidades “à forte charge émotionnelle, de métaphores, de métonymies et autres périphrases, caractérisées par une tendance marquée à l’expressivité” (2012, 10).

Desde el punto de vista de la enseñanza/aprendizaje de ambas lenguas, estamos ante expresiones fraseológicas de gran ambigüedad semántica que dificultan la comprensión. Al hablar de frasemas semánticos hacemos referencia a los que están restringidos con relación al significado, a diferencia de los pragmáticos, que lo están en relación con el mensaje conceptual.

En el contexto de la enseñanza de la fraseología nos parece relevante llevar a cabo una investigación en el ámbito deportivo de carácter contrastivo francés-español. Es un ámbito en el que se han llevado a cabo estudios fraseológicos tanto en francés como en español, relacionados, principalmente, con el deporte futbolístico. Nuestro punto de partida es significativo por tratarse de un estudio contrastivo en el marco de la lexicología explicativa y combinatoria en la lengua de especialidad a diferencia de estudios en el ámbito de la traducción<sup>3</sup>.

Hay que añadir que nuestro interés ha ido creciendo también por el uso frecuente en el deporte de frasemas cargados de imágenes mediante lexías metafóricas. Existen diferentes recursos como la metonimia, la metáfora o la deslexicalización, mecanismos de expresión frecuentes en la creación de frasemas en el deporte.

El corpus recopilado ha permitido crear una tipología semántica de frasemas en función del tipo de deporte y en función de la relación del deporte con otras ramas, a su vez, de especialidad como la psicología, y campos como el dopaje o la alimentación. En este artículo presentamos y analizamos una representación limitada del corpus por motivos de espacio.

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<sup>2</sup> Utilizamos principalmente los siguientes signos: X para las lexías, 'X' para las locuciones y (X) para el significado de X.

<sup>3</sup> Las unidades fraseológicas en el deporte a nivel contrastivo español-francés en el ámbito de la traducción son analizadas en Sierra Soriano (2002) a partir de un marco socio-cognitivo.

## 2 Fraseología y lenguas de especialidad

El vocabulario de especialidad ha sido analizado desde diferentes teorías. Ya en los años 60 y 70, con el francés de especialidad, aparecieron vocabularios de especialidad. Entre ellos cabe destacar el *Vocabulaire Général d'Orientation Scientifique* del *Centre de recherche et étude pour la diffusion du français (CREDIF)* dirigido por Gougenheim. Le siguió el francés funcional, Martinet (1970) con el aprendizaje de la lengua con la finalidad de servir para algo. A partir de entonces, diferentes denominaciones han sido dadas al estudio de la lengua francesa en función de la finalidad: *el Français sur Objectifs Spécifiques (FOS)* con una finalidad profesional de la enseñanza; el *Français Langue Professionnelle (FLP)*, dirigido a asalariados para perfeccionar el francés; o el *Français sur Objectifs Universitaires (FOU)*, cuya finalidad es preparar a los estudiantes extranjeros para estudiar en países francófonos.

Se habla de lengua de especialidad haciendo referencia a la lengua general de la que se hace uso para transmitir unos conocimientos particulares. Como apunta Lerat (1997, 2) “aucune théorie linguistique, quelle qu'elle soit, n'a jamais isolé le fonctionnement des langues spécialisées de celui des langues naturelles en général”.

La fraseología en la lengua de especialidad es un campo que se aplica tanto para la enseñanza de una lengua extranjera como para el ámbito de la traducción. Consiste en relacionar los frasemas con situaciones y ámbitos precisos, como pueden ser la medicina, la economía, el deporte, etc., donde la competencia del locutor sobre el ámbito concreto será clave a la hora de comprender la fraseología especializada. Las lenguas de especialidad (en plural, pues hacen referencia a las diferentes especialidades de la lengua “general”) se caracterizan por:

Avant tout sur le plan lexical, par l'usage de terminologies spécifiques. La terminologie, l'étude des terminologies, est d'ailleurs une discipline en soi. Cette affirmation se justifie par le fait que les lexiques terminologiques forment des tous lexicaux qui entretiennent des liens complexes avec le lexique général. De plus, l'étude d'une terminologie donnée est normalement indissociable de l'étude poussée du domaine d'activité (informatique, chimie, chirurgie, pharmacie, génie civil, etc.) dont elle relève (Polguère 2008, 97).

Terminología y fraseología se dan la mano en el ámbito de las lenguas de especialidad. Con la aparición de la terminología computacional a finales del siglo XX, se cuestiona el *término* como unidad lingüística especializada. Así pues, aparece una diferencia entre el concepto de *colocación* y el concepto de *combinaciones léxicas especializadas (CLS)*,

que diferencia a los lexicógrafos de los terminólogos respectivamente. Consideran que los coocurrentes seleccionan términos que están emparentados semánticamente, es decir, que tienen componentes semánticos comunes. L'Homme (2003) propone una descripción de las CLS a partir de las restricciones en la selección de los coocurrentes.

Mientras que en la colocación el colocativo es seleccionado en función de la base, en la CLS el coocurrente asume el estatus de concepto clave.

### 3 Corpus y criterios metodológicos

Configurar el corpus para este trabajo no ha sido fácil, ya que no ha sido extraído de la base de datos que tenemos configurada a partir de Frantext, sino que ha sido extraído durante dos años de una revista bimestral específica de deporte como es *Sport et Vie*, lo que comprende doce números de la revista, más uno extraordinario, dando un total de catorce números.

La investigación que llevamos a cabo deja abierta otra línea de investigación fraseológica de especialidad como es el deporte aplicado a la alimentación (*agents pathogènes, phobies alimentaires*, etc.), la nutrición deportiva.

El corpus ha sido elaborado identificando en primer lugar los frasemas y sistematizándolos mediante una clasificación por práctica deportiva y por tipo de sección de la revista deportiva *Sport et Vie*. En la descripción de los frasemas facilitamos las equivalencias en español, lo que nos permite analizar los diferentes mecanismos de combinatoria restringida a nivel contrastivo. En una segunda fase evaluamos los resultados obtenidos.

La revista *Sport et Vie* es una revista especializada en fisiología del esfuerzo y del deporte en la sociedad. Los principales temas de interés son el entrenamiento, el dopaje, la fisiología, la psicología y la medicina deportiva. Hemos seleccionado dos años completos, 2015 y 2016. El corpus es bastante amplio y, como ya hemos señalado, debemos limitarnos en este trabajo a dar un esbozo representativo de los frasemas por disciplina y sección. La revista consta de las siguientes secciones fijas:

- *Idées de choc*: sección dedicada a artículos con temas que chocan a los lectores.
- *Courriers de lecteurs*: sección dedicada a la opinión de los lectores sobre temas de publicaciones anteriores, agradecimientos, cumplidos, alabanzas, críticas o quejas.

- *Fric-frac*<sup>4</sup>: sección económica dedicada al robo o atraco.
- *Santé*: temas relacionados con la salud y el modo de alimentarse.
- *Psychologie*: sección dedicada principalmente a la psicología deportiva, a la superación y al comportamiento en el deporte.
- *Front du dopage*: sección que saca a la luz los casos de dopaje y cómo se ha llegado a él.
- *Société*: temas relacionados con la vida de los deportistas.
- *Mash*: término procedente de las siglas en inglés MASH (Mobile Army Surgical Hospital), que hace referencia a los hospitales de campaña del ejército estadounidense. Es una sección de artículos médicos

Estas secciones llevan por título los grandes temas periodísticos. Los títulos de las secciones son invariables mientras que los títulos y titulares de las páginas son variables y repletos de unidades fraseológicas. Estos títulos pueden ser informativos, donde se aprecia el carácter neutro y aparecen expresados con frases verbales, o títulos incitativos que aparecen expresados con la sorpresa y con frases nominales. Entre estos últimos, la metáfora es bastante recurrente y los juegos de palabras, rompiendo, de esta manera, con la norma de la lengua. Por ejemplo, es el caso de *une main de fer dans un slogan de velours*. Este ejemplo viene de *une main de fer dans un gant de velours*, cuyo significado es 'tener una cierta autoridad', pero no 'mano dura' exactamente: *ferme mais pas trop*, es decir, 'mano dura pero no en exceso'. Aparece en la sección dedicada a la sociedad y a la publicidad.

Junto a estas secciones, cada revista aporta otras de interés para el número de la revista como, por ejemplo, una sección *technologie*, con las últimas novedades en tecnología deportiva; otra sección llamada *polémique*, dedicada a temas que suscitan diversidad de opiniones; o la sección *nutrition*, asociada en otros casos a la sección de la salud.

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<sup>4</sup> Este término viene de la locución *ni fric ni frac* (1545) cuyo significado es 'rien du tout'. En 1704 aparece como onomatopeya imitando el ruido de algo que se desgarrar. Hoy el significado que posee a nivel económico es el de fractura o inflación.

## 4 Nociones descriptivas utilizadas y criterios de clasificación de las unidades fraseológicas analizadas

### 4.1 Nociones descriptivas

Como ya hemos señalado más arriba, nuestro trabajo se enmarca dentro de la Teoría Sentido-Texto, desarrollada en Canadá por Igor Mel'čuk y en Francia principalmente por Alain Polguère. Los conceptos descriptivos utilizados para el análisis de las unidades fraseológicas que presentamos en este trabajo son los siguientes:

#### 4.1.1 Frasema

El término *frasema* es la trasposición del término original *phrasème*. En la literatura española es utilizado por lingüistas que tienen como marco teórico la TST, como es el caso de Alonso Ramos (1995), y se corresponde a lo que podría denominarse *unidad fraseológica*.

La caracterización y clasificación de los frasemas se hace según el eje paradigmático y según el eje sintagmático. En función de la naturaleza de las restricciones de selección se dividen en frasemas léxicos y frasemas semántico-léxicos. Estos equivalen respectivamente a las colocaciones y locuciones, y a los pragmatemas.

Atendiendo a estas propiedades, la clasificación se apoya en la noción de combinatoria restringida:

Un *phrasème* est un énoncé multilexémique non-libre.

Un énoncé est considéré libre « si et seulement s'il n'est pas contraint sur l'axe paradigmatique, c'est-à-dire si son sens et chacune de ses composantes lexicales sont sélectionnés par le Locuteur strictement pour ses propriétés linguistiques, c'est-à-dire indépendamment des autres composantes » (Mel'čuk 2013, 130).

#### 4.1.2 Colocación

La colocación es un frasema semánticamente composicional cuya base es seleccionada por el locutor libremente, por su significado, mientras que el colocativo ha de ser elegido en función del significado de la base y de lo que se quiera expresar. Por ejemplo, *insuffler des forces* ('infundir fuerzas').

### 4.1.3 Locución

La locución es un frasema semánticamente no composicional. Existen tres tipos de locuciones, como veremos a continuación, según la inclusión de los significados de los componentes en el significado de la locución. Es fundamental tener en cuenta si uno de los componentes de la locución actúa o no como pivote semántico.

Por pivote semántico hay que entender:

Si le sens (X) d'un syntagme peut être divisé en deux parties (X<sub>1</sub>) et (X<sub>2</sub>) telles que (X<sub>2</sub>) est un prédicat et (X<sub>1</sub>) est son argument – (X<sub>2</sub> (X<sub>1</sub>) –, alors (X<sub>1</sub>) est le pivot sémantique du sens (X) (Mel'čuk 2011, 45).

A partir de este concepto, presentamos la clasificación de las locuciones:

a) Locución fuerte: es la que no incluye el significado de ninguno de los componentes de la misma. Por ejemplo, *se chercher des noises* ('buscar gresca').

b) Semi-locución: es la que incluye el significado de uno de los componentes pero no como pivote semántico y no incluye el significado del otro componente. Por ejemplo, *descente de lit de X* ('alfombra de pie de cama de X'). El pivote semántico no es *lit* ('cama') sino *tapis* ('alfombra').

c) Locución débil: es la que incluye el significado de todos sus componentes, pero ninguno de ellos como pivote semántico de la misma y, además, incluye un significado adicional que sí es el pivote semántico. Por ejemplo: *grande surface* ('centro comercial').

Prestamos especial atención a la frontera entre la locución débil y la colocación, que da lugar a mucha confusión a la hora de detectar correctamente estos frasemas. Normalmente suele ocurrir con las locuciones nominales que denotan los tipos de entidad. Por ejemplo, en el *parkour*, que es un deporte de tabla, existen diferentes saltos. Los saltos pueden ser clasificados fraseológicamente como colocaciones o como locuciones débiles.

Las expresiones *saut de bras* ('salto de brazo'); *saut de détente* ('distensión'); *saut de fond* ('salto de fondo'); *saut de chat* ('salto de gato'), son considerados colocaciones si se consideran ('salto de cierto tipo'). Y, por el contrario, si se consideran ('tipo de salto'), entonces estamos ante locuciones débiles.

Hasta ahora hemos expuesto algunos ejemplos de frasemas léxicos, restringidos a nivel del significado. A continuación presentamos los frasemas restringidos a nivel del mensaje.



#### 4.1.4 Pragmatema

Este término fue propuesto por Mel'čuk para designar entidades léxicas no libres, semánticamente composicionales pero pragmáticamente restringidas y, lo más relevante, asociadas a una situación de enunciación bien concreta.

En el corpus elaborado no son tan numerosos como los léxicos. El pragmatema es un frasema fijo en cuanto a su estructura conceptual. Su estructura semántica está fija y es un cliché lingüístico cuyo uso está restringido por un contexto pragmático dado.

En el ámbito deportivo algunos de ellos aparecen como instrucciones y órdenes frecuentes. Es el caso, por ejemplo, de *À vos marques!*, *Prêts?*, *Partez!* (o la señal de salida con el pistoletazo) (¡A sus puestos!, ¡Preparados!, ¿Listos?, ¡Ya!) Este ejemplo puede ser considerado un pragmatema en tres tiempos o tres pragmatemas (un pragmatema poliléxico y dos pragmatemas monoléxicos) encadenados en un medio restringido por una situación de comunicación muy concreta (la salida en el atletismo). La concatenación de la posición de salida, el toque de salida inminente y la salida inminente confluyen en el significado *soyez prêts à partir*. La entonación imperativa acompaña la expresión de muchos de los pragmatemas orales, como acabamos de ver.

El uso restringido del pragmatema en un contexto pragmático determinado hará que *¡A sus puestos!* tenga un significado diferente en un contexto deportivo (*À vos marques!*) o en un contexto militar (*À vos rangs!*). O, en el ejemplo más arriba mencionado de la salida en el atletismo, no se diría *Allez!* (¡Id!) o *¡Corred!* en lugar de *Partez!* (¡Ya!).

En la disciplina del atletismo encontramos el pragmatema *Couloir!* para pedir el pasillo libre entre las calles de la pista de atletismo y así poder pasar. Al mismo tiempo, hay expresiones como *C'est dans la tête*, que hacen referencia al cansancio mental y no físico ante el agotamiento.

En el siguiente apartado presentamos la tipología de frasesemas por disciplina y posteriormente por sección temática.

## 4.2 Criterios de clasificación

Los criterios utilizados para delimitar la naturaleza y el funcionamiento de las unidades fraseológicas van desde la frecuencia y la fijación hasta la opacidad, pasando por la composicionalidad semántica, la estructura sintáctica y el significado. En el caso del pragmatema, se trata de un frasema que comparte principalmente el criterio de fijación y de idiomatidad, lo que lo convierte en cierta medida en prototípico.

## 5 Tipología de frasemas en el deporte

Los ejemplos de nuestro corpus que presentamos en este trabajo están clasificados en primer lugar por disciplina deportiva. En segundo lugar, por la relación del deporte con otras ramas como la psicología, o campos como el dopaje o la alimentación. Hemos tenido en cuenta el tipo de frasema, el enunciado en el que se materializa, su significado y la equivalencia del mismo en español. Cabe aclarar que algunos frasemas no son exclusivos de la disciplina en la que aparecen, como es el caso de *insuffler des forces* ('infundir fuerzas'), que aparece en el contexto del atletismo pero puede aparecer en otra disciplina y en otro contexto más allá del deporte. Es el caso del primer ejemplo del corpus:

### 5.1 Clasificación por disciplina deportiva

#### 1- Atletismo

- (1) Beaucoup d'entraîneurs possèdent ce grain de folie qui permet d'insuffler aux athlètes des forces qu'ils ne soupçonnaient pas eux-mêmes, marzo-abril 2016 (70)

La colocación tiene el semantismo de 'transmitir'.

- (2) Elle raccroche les pointes pour se reconvertir, quelques années plus tard, au vélo elliptique, marzo-abril 2016 (71)

*Raccrocher les pointes* es una locución fuerte basada en una metáfora. La locución tiene una lexía que hace referencia al tipo de clavos utilizados en las zapatillas que se utilizan para practicar un deporte determinado. Así pues, mientras que en el atletismo se utilizan *pointes*, en el rugby se utilizan *crampons*, en el boxeo *gants*, en las carreras de caballo *bottes*, etc. La locución está formada por la lexía que hace referencia al medio con el que se practica el deporte. Tanto *raccrocher les pointes*, *raccrocher les crampons*, *raccrocher les gants* o *raccrocher les bottes*, tienen el semantismo de (poner fin a su carrera profesional deportiva). En español la locución equivalente es *colgar las zapatillas*, *colgar los guantes* o *colgar las botas*, y no se especifica el tipo de zapatilla.

- (3) Salazar fait un bref comeback à la compétition en 1994, marzo-abril 2016 (73)

En este ejemplo estamos ante una locución débil, *faire un comeback*, que ha sido adaptada del inglés *make a comeback*, cuyo semantismo es ('volver al primer plano'), ('volver a la primera línea'), en francés *revenir sur*

*le devant*, después de un período de inactividad. En este ejemplo se trata de la vuelta a la competición del atleta.

- (4) Le temps de remporter le mythique Marathon des Comrades en Afrique du Sud, marzo-abril 2016 (73)
- (5) Depuis dix ans, toutes les victoires dans cette course ont été raflées par des représentants de l'un de ces deux pays, mayo-junio 2015 (49)

Los ejemplos (4) y (5) muestran dos colocaciones, *remporter un marathon* y *rafler une victoire*. Ambas tienen el significado de *gagner* ('ganar'), pero la segunda añade el significado de *rapidement* ('rápidamente') se emplea en registro coloquial. La función léxica es IncerOper3.

### 2- Patinaje de velocidad en pista corta

- (6) Rentrez les couteaux! Le gros danger, ce sont évidemment les lames des patins des autres concurrents. Elles sont affûtées comme des rasoirs, marzo-abril 2016 (19)

La locución fuerte *rentrer les couteaux* está basada en una metáfora transparente, donde *couteaux* hace referencia a las cuchillas afiladas de los patines. El significado de la locución es el de *garder* ('guardar').

### 3- Fútbol

A continuación ponemos un ejemplo de locución fuerte utilizada en el contexto futbolístico, pero que bien puede aparecer en otro contexto no especializado.

- (7) Mettez deux groupes de supporters l'un en face de l'autre et vous y trouverez toujours quelques individus pour se chercher des noises! noviembre-diciembre 2015 (64)

*Se chercher des noises* = *chercher la querelle*

En español la locución equivalente es *buscar gresca*.

### 4- Tenis

- (8) les tennismen tricolores se trouvèrent littéralement sous le feu de 3500 supporters chauffés à blanc : insultes, menaces..., noviembre-diciembre 2015 (62)

*Chauffer à blanc* ('animar, excitar intensamente'). El significado es el de 'excitar llevando al extremo a alguien', metafóricamente. En español podemos decir *calentar el ambiente*.

## 5.2 Clasificación por relación del deporte con secciones temáticas

A continuación mostramos algunos de los ejemplos del corpus clasificados según aparecen en diferentes secciones temáticas de las revistas. Se trata de una clasificación a partir de grandes temas periodísticos. Los títulos de las secciones son enunciados invariables mientras que los de las páginas sí varían y muestran una gran condensación fraseológica. Entre ellas, proponemos las siguientes:

### 1- *Courrier des lecteurs*

Estamos ante frasemas relacionados con críticas de lectores, cumplidos o palabras de malestar dirigidas a la dirección de la revista.

(9) Je veux vous soumettre une colle. J'ai 38 ans et je pratique la course à pied et le cyclisme, mayo-junio 2015 (12)

*Soumettre une colle* es una colocación donde la base *colle* pertenece al lenguaje familiar y cuyo significado es el hacer una pregunta difícil o comprometida.

Oper<sub>1</sub>(*colle*)=*soumettre*

(10) Saigné et approuvé.

Este ejemplo es un calco del pragmatema *lu et approuvé*, ('visto bueno') en español, utilizado en un contexto de comunicación escrita determinado como son los contratos. El contexto al que hace referencia es el de la hemocromatosis. Se da el mecanismo de deslexicalización por sustitución léxica entre las lexías *signé* y *saigné*.

### 2- *Fric-frac*

(11) il a distribué des pots-de-vin à qui tendait la main pour en recevoir!, marzo-abril 2016 (34)

La colocación *distribuer des pots-de-vin*, en español ('sobornar'), hace referencia a alguien que ofrece dinero o gratificaciones (*pots-de-vin*) de manera clandestina para conseguir favores o beneficios, en este caso el Presidente de la Confederación asiática de fútbol.

### 3- *Psychologie*

Esta sección presenta un número elevado de frasemas relacionados con el mundo del deporte, entre los que aportamos:

- (12) Les supporteurs et les joueurs l'observent tout de même du coin de l'œil pour anticiper le prochain pétage de plombs, julio-agosto 2015 (47)

En este ejemplo estamos ante un caso de locución fuerte *péter les plombs* 'volverse loco', con una nominalización del verbo. El significado de la locución es el de perder el control de sí mismo ante una situación determinada.

- (13) Quoi qu'il en soit, les préparateurs mentaux ont du pain sur la planche, julio-agosto 2015 (49)

Otro ejemplo de locución fuerte, *avoir du pain sur la planche*, cuyo significado es el de tener mucho trabajo. La locución proviene del siglo XIX cuyo significado era el de disponer de recursos con vistas a un futuro.

Podemos equiparar semánticamente esta locución con *avoir son pain cuit*, que equivale a 'asegurarse su subsistencia'.

#### 4- Santé

- (14) De battre mon cœur s'est arrêté<sup>5</sup>, julio-agosto 2015 (26)

Estamos ante una expresión formada por dos colocaciones *battre le cœur* 'latir el corazón' y *s'arrêter le cœur* 'pararse el corazón'.

Fact<sub>0</sub>(cœur)=*battre*

FinFact<sub>0</sub>(cœur)=*s'arrêter*

- (15) Alors on se déshydratait trois jours avant la pesée du match pour rentrer dans les clous, septiembre-octubre 2015 (41)

*Rentrer dans les clous* 'volver conforme a las reglas' es una locución fuerte relacionada con otra locución fuerte, *être dans les clous* 'respetar las reglas impuestas'.

#### 5- Front du dopage

Finalizamos con esta sección y algunos de los ejemplos más relevantes. Entre ellos cabe destacar dos refranes.

- (16) Mauvais sang ne peut mentir, septiembre-octubre 2015 (60)

De nuevo el fenómeno de la deslexicalización a partir de *bon sang ne peut mentir* 'de casta le viene al galgo el ser rabilargo'.

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<sup>5</sup> Esta expresión forma parte de las letras de la *La fille du Père Noël*, canción de Jacques Dutronc.

- (17) L'agence antidopage américaine qui n'est décidément pas née de la dernière pluie avait connaissance de l'existence de ce site, septembre-octobre 2015 (60)

La locución fuerte es *ne pas être né de la dernière pluie* ('no haber nacido ayer'='tener experiencia'). Existe también en francés la locución *ne pas être tombé de la dernière pluie*.

- (18) La lutte antidopage est un plat qui se mange froid, julio-agosto 2016 (56)

En este ejemplo estamos ante una lexía, *lutte*, que sustituye a la lexía *vengeance*, del refrán *la vengeance est un plat qui se mange froid* (la venganza es un plato que se sirve frío), cuyo significado es el de esperar tranquilamente para vengarse con frialdad. El refrán clásico en español es *la venganza y el cangrejo de río, se sirven en plato frío*.

## 6 Conclusión

En el ámbito de la fraseología aplicado a lenguas de especialidad queda todavía mucho por investigar y describir. Establecer las bases de la fraseología en una lengua de especialidad es necesario también a nivel contrastivo. La descripción de los frasemas mediante una teoría rigurosa, como es la Teoría Sentido-Texto, nos ha permitido un control de las relaciones semánticas y de la combinatoria de las unidades léxicas analizadas. Con el esbozo representativo del corpus que tenemos elaborado hemos aportado, humildemente, una descripción del comportamiento de los frasemas semánticos y pragmáticos (menos numerosos) en dos lenguas: el francés y el español. La selección de ejemplos proporcionados dan cuenta de la riqueza y de los mecanismos a partir de los cuales se han formado. Esta descripción hace posible la enseñanza/aprendizaje del vocabulario fraseológico del deporte a nivel contrastivo. La tipología propuesta por disciplinas deportivas facilita una posterior descripción lexicográfica de los frasemas. Esperamos haber contribuido con este trabajo al análisis de la combinatoria de los frasemas deportivos en dichas lenguas.

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**PART 3**

**METAPHOR IN PHRASEOLOGY**





## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

# INTENSIFYING METAPHORS: A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF ITALIAN, RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH

VALENTINA BENIGNI

### Abstract

This study offers a corpus-based classification of some frequent Italian intensifying metaphors of the type [ADJ<sub>intens</sub>+N] and [N+ADJ<sub>intens</sub>], where an adjectival modifier (one-word—*favoloso* ‘fabulous’; or multi-word—*da favola* ‘fabulous’, lit. like in a fairy-tale) metaphorically intensifies a noun. Data are qualitatively analyzed within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff / Johnson 1980), according to which the Target Domain, a complex and abstract concept—expressed in the intensifier, in this case—can be understood through a more basic and concrete Source Domain. The last part of the study is dedicated to Italian-English-Russian contrastive analysis and provides interesting insights on the conceptualization of intensity in different languages and cultures.

### 1 Introduction

The present work deals with grading or intensification (Sapir 1944; Bolinger 1972; Paradis 2008), a function achieved by a family of linguistic strategies that scale the referential force of a lexical item either upwards (1) or downwards (2):

- (1)  
 it. La mia vita è *un VERO inferno*, Nick. *Un VERO inferno*.  
 rus. Moya zhizn', eto *SUSHCHY ad*, Nik. *SUSHCHY ad*.  
 eng. My life is a *LIVING hell*, Nick. It is a *LIVING hell*. (KT<sup>1</sup>, subtitles, *Youth in Revolt*, 2009)
- (2)  
 it. Lolita alzò lo sguardo con *un MEZZO sorrisETTO* di sorpresa  
 rus. Lolita [...] posmotrela na menya s *POLUulybkoy* udivleniya  
 eng. Lo looked up with a *SEMI-smile* of surprise (NKRYA, *Lolita*, Nabokov, 1955)

Focusing on phenomena of upward intensification, the present study will offer a corpus-based classification of the most widespread Italian intensifying metaphors (henceforth IMs) of the type [ADJ<sub>intens</sub>+N] and [N+ADJ<sub>intens</sub>], where an adjectival modifier (one-word or multi-word: e.g. *favoloso* 'fabulous' vs *da favola* 'fabulous', lit. like in a fairy-tale) metaphorically intensifies the preceding or the following noun<sup>2</sup>.

After a brief presentation of the methodology used in data collection (§ 2), the IMs will be qualitatively analyzed within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff / Johnson 1980), according to which the Target Domain (TD), a more complex and abstract concept—expressed in the intensifier, in this case—can be understood through a Source Domain (SD) which is somehow more basic and concrete. This process of cross-domain mapping involves the projection of both the conceptual structure of the SD and the linguistic structures which encode it, onto the TD.

Very often, the IMs are shown to have cross-linguistic relevance; this suggests the existence of common cognitive paths in the coding of intensification. For example, in the analysed languages, the TD of intensity

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<sup>1</sup> All the examples are extracted from a) the multilingual subcorpus and the Russian-Italian subcorpus of the "Russian National Corpus" (NKRYA, [www.ruscopora.ru](http://www.ruscopora.ru)) and b) the multilingual parallel resources for translators KonText (KT, <https://kontext.korpus.cz>) and Reverso Context (RC, <http://context.reverso.net>). The Italian version is conventionally provided first, (followed by the Russian and English ones), even when it does not constitute the source text. Examples from different sources are indicated in the text or in the footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> For the purpose of this work, we will limit our investigation to the intensifying adjectives which show some degree of productivity (e.g., eng. *an INCREDIBLE discovery/opportunity/musician*) and can be grouped into homogeneous semantic classes (e.g., eng. *incredible, unbelievable, stunning, inconceivable*). Intensifiers combining only with one or a few nouns and not belonging to productive IMs will not be considered (e.g., it. *buio PESTO* 'pitch dark', *pioggia/diluvio TORRENZIALE* 'torrential rain/downpour').

is structured by the SD of truth, giving rise to the metaphor INTENSE IS REAL (see Masià 2015 for Spanish):

(3)

it. Sì, era un *VERO* idiota e...

rus. Znaete, *NASTOYASHCHIY* idiot.

eng. You know, *a REAL* idiot and... (KT, subtitle, *Bananas*, 1971)

Nevertheless, the linguistic forms which realize a specific SD can have distinct collocational ranges and different levels of grammaticalization due to language-specific semantic and lexical constraints; this point will be discussed in § 3.

Adopting a contrastive perspective, the data for Italian will be compared with those for Russian and English in an attempt to identify similarities and differences in the use of the same SD. The analysis provides interesting insights into the conceptualization of intensity in different languages and cultures.

## 2 Methodology

The corpus-driven approach adopted in two previous works of the author on this topic (Benigni 2017a, on intensification strategies in Russian, and Benigni 2017b, on hyperbolic modifiers in Italian) produced a significant sample of adnominal modifiers with a metaphorical meaning in both languages. This sample was used in the present contrastive analysis on parallel corpora (see footnote 1). The Italian and Russian texts, where possible, are compared with the English version, which often constitutes the source text for both. The corpus-based approach not only enabled the investigation of the collocational behavior of metaphorical intensifiers within each language, but also highlighted differences and similarities between the two languages in mapping the TD of intensity, which will be discussed in detail in § 3.

Corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches proved to be complementary methods: the former served as the starting point for this investigation, leading to the identification of metaphorical intensifiers, while the latter allowed analysis of their behaviour in actual use. Despite not being a quantitative study, the analysis revealed interesting trends regarding the conceptualization of intensity in Italian.

### 3 IMs in Italian

Italian has a large inventory of conventional adnominal IMs, which may be realized both by one-word (i.e. adjectival) and multiword (i.e. phraseological) structures (see respectively (4) and (5)):

(4)

it. È *un avvocato PAZZESCO*.

eng. She's a *TERRIFIC lawyer*. (KT, subtitle, *Lie to Me*, 2009)

(5)

it. Ho sempre pensato che voi due aveste *un rapporto DA SOGNO*.

eng. I always thought you two had *the DREAM relationship*. (RC, subtitle, *Up All Night*)

For the purpose of this work, only strong adnominal intensifiers (Dahl 2004) will be examined, that is, forms which, unlike standard intensifiers and quantifiers (e.g. *grande* 'big'; *molto* 'very', *tanto* 'much'), add some 'propositional' content (Traugott 1989) to the modified noun since they partly retain the original evaluative function and metaphorical meaning of the modifiers they have developed from (i.e., the concepts of "madness" in (4) and "dream" in (5)).

However, strong intensifiers tend to undergo a process of grammaticalization, which will be further discussed in the next section (3.1). In 3.2, cross-linguistically relevant intensifying expressions related to the same SD will be presented. At the same time, differences in the collocational preferences of the intensifiers and in their semantic prosody will be highlighted.

#### 3.1 Grammaticalization of adnominal intensifiers

A relevant point from the cross-linguistic perspective is the process of grammaticalization of strong intensifiers, which can be better understood in terms of semantic bleaching and acquisition of functional features (Traugott 2010): for example, the Italian intensifier *perfetto* 'perfect', which derives from the Latin passive participle *perfectus*, has lost its propositional meaning of 'carried out; finished', and is now used as a strong intensifier.

The diachronic process of semantic bleaching linked to the rise of intensifiers is also witnessed by the presence of bridging contexts (Ghesquière / Davidse 2011), that is, intermediate stages on the path to grammaticalization in which a fully lexical modifier begins to acquire the

subjective and evaluative functions of an intensifier; for example, in (6), *tutto* ‘all; whole’ is simply a quantifier, while in (7), its reading is associated with the expression of a subjective meaning (in fact *tutto* ‘whole’ can be replaced both by another quantifier [*intero* ‘whole’] and by an intensifier [*buono* ‘good’; *perfetto* ‘really good; great’]), because the speaker means to say that the story has been well worked out; finally, in (8), the form functions only as an intensifier, not retaining a quantifying meaning anymore. All these uses are synchronically attested in Italian:

(6)

it. Hai *TUTTA una settimana* per leggerlo.  
eng. You've a *WHOLE week* to read it. (RC, subtitles)

(7)

it. Ho *TUTTA una storia già preparata*.  
eng. I got a *WHOLE back story* worked out. (RC, subtitles, *Brickberry*)

(8)

it. Crede davvero sia *TUTTA una coincidenza*?  
eng. You... you really think this is *ALL coincidence*? (RC, subtitles, *Lost*)

Another interesting aspect concerning the evolution of intensifiers is the ongoing nature of the process, which follows a well-defined path of grammaticalization: strong intensifiers develop from fully lexical (or propositional) uses of modifiers, but when these modifiers are used too often, they either lose their expressiveness and evolve into standard intensifiers, or they fade out. As Lorenz (2002, 143) states, “[i]ntensification is a lexico-grammatical category that is mainly employed to achieve expressivity. As such, it thrives on novelty, i.e. on innovation and semantic change. [...] Over time, older items gradually shed much of their expressive force and either disappear altogether or become integrated into mainstream usage”. Dahl (2004, 138) suggests two possible solutions to the rapid ‘consumption’ of strong intensifiers: “replacing the expressions often” and “having a large inventory that you can choose from”. The continued renewal of strong intensifiers leads to the coexistence in the same language of a large number of intensifying forms at different stages of grammaticalization and with distinct collocational patterns.

The tendency to evolve is just as robust in other languages because of the rapid ‘semantic saturation’ of strong intensifiers. For example, this is the case with the Italian phrasal modifier *da morire* ‘to death’, and in general with all the intensifiers that fit the patterns *da* +  $V_{inf}$  and *da* + N

and conceptualize intensification as something causing extreme psychophysical consequences (for a more detailed discussion see § 3.2.6):

(9)

it. *un mal di testa DA IMPAZZIRE*

eng. 'a crazy headache' (lit. a headache to (go) crazy)

(10)

it. *uno sconto DA PAURA*

eng. 'an awesome discount' (lit. a discount to fear)

These hyperbolic metaphors have become conventionalized and have almost completely lost their semantic link with the SD from which they are drawn.

On top of this, speakers tend to "re-conceptualize" (Tribushina / Janssen 2011) absolute intensifiers (maximizers) into high intensifiers (boosters). As far as Italian is concerned, the case of the adverbial intensifier *assolutamente* can be an example of this process. Originally, this form was a maximizer; in fact, it could combine only with closed-scale adjectives (*assolutamente fuori luogo* 'totally inappropriate') and complementary antonyms *assolutamente vero/falso* 'absolutely true/totally wrong'), but now it is occasionally also used with open-scale adjectives as a booster (*assolutamente alto* 'very high') and a truth attester (Paradis 2003) in order to signal the truth of the assertion it refers to (*assolutamente interessante* 'really interesting').

The process of grammaticalization also involves decategorization, that is loss of the morphosyntactic properties of the qualifying adjectives from which the strong intensifiers arise, as shown in (11)-(14).

Unlike qualifying adjectives, intensifiers may be used in the attributive (11a) but not in the predicative function (11b) and tend to occupy a fixed position within the noun phrase, according to their semantic class. For example, in Italian, intensifiers of reality precede the noun (12a), while intensifiers of unreality follow it (12b):

(11)

a. it. un vero uomo  
'a real man'

b. it. \*l'uomo è vero  
'\*the man is real'

(12)

- a. it. un vero artista  
'a real artist'
- b. it. un successo incredibile  
'a tremendous success'

Intensifiers do not generally allow for a degree modification using *molto* 'very' or the superlative form (13):

(13)

- it. \*un uomo molto vero / \*un verissimo uomo  
eng. '\*a very real man'

Finally, they do not pass the antonymy test; unlike the qualifying adjective *vero* 'true' (14a), the intensifier is not the antonym of *falso* 'false' (14b):

(14)

- a. it. un'affermazione vera ↔ un'affermazione falsa  
'a true statement' ↔ 'a false statement'
- b. it. un uomo vero ↔ #un uomo falso/finto  
'a real man' ↔ '#a false man'

### 3.2 Cross-linguistically relevant IMs

The Italian adnominal intensifiers presented in the following sections (both one-word and multi-word) give rise to intensifying metaphors which are cross-linguistically deeply entrenched in the conceptual systems of language users. Nevertheless, some differences in the collocational behaviour and semantic prosody of these modifiers emerge, as revealed by the contrastive analysis.

#### 3.2.1 Intense is pure, clear, simple

The IM of pureness is metonymically associated with the basic metaphor of reality, veracity (see (1)): what is real, true, is also pure, clear, simple, and trustworthy. This metaphor is realized both by adjectives (*puro* 'pure', *mero* 'mere', *semplice* 'simple', *chiaro* 'clear') and set phrases (*allo stato puro* 'in (its) pure(st) form').



(15)

- it. [...] fotogrammi frammentari di *panico ALLO STATO PURO*  
 eng. Scattered frames of *SHEER panic*. (KT, D. Brown, *Angels and Demons*, 2000)

A related phenomenon is that of irreversible binomials (Malkiel 1959), that is fixed pairs of coordinated intensifiers belonging to the same SD: *bello e buono* ‘plain and simple’, lit. beautiful/nice and good, *fatto e finito* ‘full-fledged’, lit. done and complete. As far as the SD of pureness is concerned, the binomial *puro e semplice* ‘pure and simple’ can be mentioned:

(16)

- it. Tutti i networks televisivi credevano che prendere i loro prodotti e passarli attraverso cavi che arrivavano direttamente nelle case della gente era *pirateria PURA E SEMPLICE*.  
 rus. Vse teleseti chuvstvovali, chto brat' ikh materialy i peredavat' ikh po kabelyu lyudyam domoy bylo *CHISTOY VODY piratstvom*.  
 eng. All the television networks felt that taking their content and putting it on cables that ran to people[']s houses was *piracy PURE AND SIMPLE*. (KY, subtitles, *Steal This Film II*, 2007)

This binomial has an equivalent in English (*pure and simple*) but not in Russian, where the same meaning may be codified simply by the form *chistyy* ‘clean’. Nonetheless, the Russian text in (16) highlights the use of a language-specific IM also based on the SD of pureness: the attributive genitive phrase *chistoy vody* ‘of clean water’, originally coined in referring to perfectly transparent diamonds, here just reinforces the meaning of the noun *piratstvo* ‘piracy’.

The fact that these positively connoted forms are frequently associated with a negative semantic prosody is a further indication of the semantic change that accompanies the rise of intensifiers.

### 3.2.2 Intense is complete, absolute, perfect

At a cross-linguistic level, a common metaphor is that of completeness<sup>3</sup>, according to which the intensified concept can be seen as the result of a telic process of creation (see it. *assoluto* ‘absolute’, *perfetto* ‘perfect’, *complete* ‘perfect’, *fatto e finito* ‘full-fledged’, lit. done and complete;

<sup>3</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the different mappings of this SD see Benigni (2018).

eng.: *absolute, perfect, complete*; rus.: *absolutnyy* ‘absolute’, *sovershennyy* ‘perfect’, *konchenyy* ‘complete’, lit. ‘finished’<sup>4</sup>).

(17)

it. Hai intenzione di andare in prigione per proteggere quella reputazione? [...] È pazzia ASSOLUTA.

rus. Ty byla soglasna sest’ v tyur’mu, lish’ by sokhranit’ tu reputatsiyu? [...] eto POLNOE bezumie.

eng. You’re willing to go to jail to preserve that reputation? [...] *It’s ABSOLUTE insanity*. (KT, subtitles, *Lie to Me*, 2009)

These metaphors are highly conventional because they have lost their figurative meaning; for instance, both the intensifier *assoluto* and its English and Russian equivalents (respectively *absolute* and *absolutnyy*) come from the Latin past participle *absolutus*, literally meaning ‘loosened, completed (in itself)’, but now these forms have all undergone delexicalization. Lorenz (2002, 147) classifies this kind of intensifiers as scalar because “they express nothing but the notion of degree”.

### 3.2.3 Intense is full, stuffed

Example (17) shows that the Russian version differs from the others as it exploits an intensifier from the metonymically related SD of fullness. Cross-linguistically, this SD has a wide “scope” (Kövecses 2010) because it is present in all the languages treated here and is used with a large variety of abstract concepts (see rus. *polnyy proval* ‘epic fail’ (lit. full fail), *polnoe otsutstvie* ‘total absence’ (lit. full absence), *polnaya tishina* ‘complete silence’ (lit. full silence); it. and eng. *piena consapevolezza/full awareness*, *piena fiducia/full confidence*, *pieno potere/full power*).

Moreover, in colloquial Russian, adjectives of fullness may also collocate with “atypical nouns”<sup>5</sup> referring pejoratively to human beings (see also footnote 4): *polnyy idiot/durak* ‘a complete idiot/fool’ (lit. a full idiot/fool), *nabityy durak/glupets* ‘a total idiot’ (lit. a stuffed fool). In this

<sup>4</sup> The intensifier is used only in negatively connoted collocations such as *konchenyy sotsiopat* ‘a complete sociopath’ or *konchenyy neudachnik* ‘a total loser’.

<sup>5</sup> Wierzbicka distinguishes between typical and atypical nouns. The first ones, such as *boy*, define their referent through a cluster of properties. They “can’t be readily inflected for degree because they evoke more than one feature and it would not be clear which feature is being quantitatively assessed. Atypical nouns which focus on a single feature, such as *hero* or *saint*, are more readily accessible to comparison and ‘measurement’” (Wierzbicka 1988, 486). For the same reason, atypical nouns are more likely to be modified by intensifiers.

use, the intensifier shows a tendency towards a negative semantic prosody, while the intensified noun can be conceptualized as an empty container to be filled.

### 3.2.4 Intense is all round

In Russian, the class of atypical nouns discussed above also allows a mapping from the conceptually related SD of roundness (INTENSE IS ALL-ROUND): *kruglyy durak* ‘a complete fool’ (lit. a round fool). In Italian, the SD of roundness is instantiated by fixed phrases such as *a tutto tondo* ‘all around; well rounded’, *a 360°* ‘360-degree’, which are mainly associated with a positive semantic prosody; these forms are only partially grammaticalized and still retain their descriptive, ‘propositional’ meaning, focusing on the ability of the referent (an agent or an action) to meet different needs simultaneously:

(18)

it. Sono *un agente di successo A TUTTO TONDO*.

rus. I posle etogo, ya budu *POLNOTSENNYM agentom*.

eng. I'm a big-time, *FULL-FLEDGED agent*, now. (RC, subtitles, *Friday Night Lights - Perfect Record*, 2010)

The IM of roundness appears to be fairly common, as proved by its occurrence in typologically very different languages; for example, Arimitsu (2012) reports the use in Japanese of the intensifying morpheme *-maru* ‘-round’.

In addition, the concept of circularity is frequently mapped onto TDs other than intensification (it. *parlare chiaro e TONDO* ‘to speak clearly and simply’ (lit. clear and round)); this is probably due to the high frequency and immediate processability of this geometric figure in the human cognition.

### 3.2.5 Intense is endless, ongoing

A noun can be intensified focusing on its temporal dimension; in this case, intensification is understood as the property of possessing temporal extension. The intensifiers belonging to this group (it. *infinito* ‘infinite’, *continuo* ‘on-going’, *costante* ‘constant’, *senza limiti* ‘boundless’) have a neutral semantic prosody and mostly collocate with abstract nouns, which refer to conceptual entities having a duration (see it. and eng. equivalents: *problema continuo/on-going problem*, *timore costante/constant fear*) and

to inherent qualities (*bellezza infinita/endless beauty, entusiasmo senza limiti/boundless enthusiasm, pazienza infinita/endless patience*):

(19)

it. Fu un periodo di una bruttezza INFINITA.

rus. Eto bylo vremya SPLOSHNYKH urodstv, sledovavshikh odno za drugim.

eng. It was a time of *ENDLESSLY REPEATING ugliness*. (KT, subtitles, *Persepolis*, 2007)

The Russian text in (19) highlights the use of the metonymically related SD of spatial continuity. The adjective *sploshnoy* conceptualizes intensity as the property of filling a plane with no gaps, or a space with a compact and homogeneous material. This metaphor is highly conventionalized and has a large scope, collocating mostly, but not exclusively, with negative concepts: *sploshnoy proval* ‘a total failure’, *sploshnaya problema* ‘a solid problem’, *sploshnoe naduvatel'stvo* ‘a complete scam’, but *sploshnoe udovol'stvie* ‘a real pleasure’, *sploshnoy prazdnik* ‘a permanent holiday’.

### 3.2.6 Intense causes severe psychophysical reactions

As shown in (9), intensity can be conceptualized as something causing a severe psychophysical reaction, such as:

- fear, shock: it. *da paura* ‘killer, sick’ (lit. to fear), *da brivido* ‘thrilling’, *mozzafiato* ‘breathtaking’, *spaventoso* ‘scary’; rus. *potryasayushchiy* ‘astonishing, stunning’, *snogsshibatel'nyy* ‘stunning’ (lit. knocking one off one’s legs), *zhutkiy* ‘terrible’; eng. *terrific, stunning, scary*;
- illness: eng. *sick*;
- mental disorder: it. *pazzesco* ‘crazy’, *da impazzire* ‘crazy’ (lit. to go crazy for), *da pazzi/matti* ‘mind-blowing’; rus. *bezumnyy* ‘crazy’; eng. *mind-blowing*;
- death: it. *da morire* ‘to death’; rus. *uboyunny* ‘killer’, *ubiystvennyy* ‘killer’; eng. *killer*.

These intensifiers may appear to be at different stages along the grammaticalization path and differ considerably in their combinability. In Italian<sup>6</sup>, some of them have incurred full delexicalization; in fact, they can

<sup>6</sup> For a more detailed discussion on the intensifying patten *da* + *V<sub>inf</sub>* and *da* + *N* in Italian see Benigni (2017b).

select both positive (20) and negative (21) bases, regardless of their original propositional meaning. In other words, they have become functional words which simply upgrade the item they focus on without adding any denotational meaning of their own:

(20)

it. *Sei una piccola ballerina DA PAURA.*

rus. *KLASSNYE tantsulechki.*

eng. *You're an AMAZING little dancer.* (KT, subtitles, *Step Up 2: The Streets*, 2008)

(21)

it. *Sì, ho dei crampi DA PAURA.*

rus. *Da, u menya UBIYSTVENNYE spazmy.*

eng. *Yeah, I got KILLER cramps.* (RC, subtitles, *2 Broke Girls*, 2012)

Furthermore, highly delexicalized intensifiers tend to combine with different word classes; for example, *da morire* 'to death' can collocate with verbs (22), adjectives (23), and nouns (24), serving the function of both an adverb and an adjective:

(22)

it. *Ti stai divertendo DA MORIRE, non è vero?*

eng. *You're having the best time of your life, are n't you?* (KT, subtitles, *Lake Placid*, 1999)

(23)

it. *È intelligente, indipendente, carina DA MORIRE.*

eng. *She's smart, independent, pretty AS HELL.* (KT, subtitles, *Lake Placid*, 1999)

(24)

it. *Una vergogna DA MORIRE. Trovarmi con un idraulico estraneo...  
...con le unghie senza smalto.*

eng. *Honestly, I ALMOST DIED. There I was with a strange plumber...  
...and no polish on my toenails* (KT, subtitles, *The Seven Year Itch*, 1955)

The cross-linguistic perspective highlights the fact that languages may differ in the way "emotive" intensifiers are realised; as example (25) shows, intensification in Italian and in English is conceptualized as something resulting in an emotional upheaval, while in Russian, as something giving rise to a physical reaction:

(25)

it. Babs, vuoi passare *un pomeriggio* *SCONVOLGENTE*?rus. Babs, khochesh' provedi *SNOGSSHIBATEL' NYY vecherok*?eng. Babs, you want to spend *a MIND-BLOWING afternoon*? (KT, subtitles, *Family Guy - Welcome Back*, Carter, 2010)

Nonetheless, this kind of intensifiers shows the human “fondness of exaggeration” (Bolinger 1972) and constitutes an evidence for the “negativity bias”, that is a pervasive cognitive-affective pattern based on “the enormous impact of the negative experience” in the human existence (Jing-Schmidt 2007, 418). According to Jing-Schmidt, more attention is paid to unpleasant than pleasant information, for this reason, the use of emotive intensifiers boosts the illocutionary force of the entire utterance catching the hearer’s attention in conversation (Jing-Schmidt 2007, 425).

#### 4 Conclusive remarks

This study is a first attempt to identify similarities and differences in the mapping of various SDs onto the TD *of* adnominal intensification. Some IMs, that are highly widespread in Italian, have been discussed in a contrastive perspective with Russian and English<sup>7</sup>.

The results of the analysis can be summarised as follows:

- different languages use the same SD to refer to the same TD:  
(26) = SD, = TD → it. *un VERO idiota* / rus. *NASTOYASHCHIY idiot* / eng. *a REAL idiot*;
- different languages use similar, conceptually related SDs to refer to the same TD (for example temporal vs spatial continuity):  
(27) ≈ SD, = TD → it. *un problema CONTINUO* / eng. *an ONGOING problem* vs *SPLOSHNAYA problema* (lit. “a compact/continuous problem”);
- different languages use different SD to refer to the same TD:

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<sup>7</sup> Due to lack of space, it has not been possible to discuss some IMs, which nonetheless are very widespread and language-specific, such as INTENSE IS OUTWARD, BEAUTIFUL (*una BELLA dormita* ‘a good sleep’, *una BELLA scocciatura* ‘a real hassle’) or INTENSE IS RARE (*RARA bellezza* ‘rare beauty’, *un talento PIÙ UNICO CHE RARO* ‘such a rare talent’, lit. “more unique than rare”).

- (28)  $\neq$  SD, = TD  $\rightarrow$  rus. *KRUGLYY durak* (lit. “a round idiot”) but eng. \**a round idiot* / it. \**un idiota tondo*;
- conversely, the same SD can be used to map different TDs in different languages:
- (29) = SD;  $\neq$  TD  $\rightarrow$  it. *un artista A TUTTO TONDO* / eng. *ALL-ROUND artist* vs rus. *KRUGLYY durak*.

The last two cases show that the domain of intensification can be framed in different ways although the same SD is employed; Italian and English, for example, use circularity to conceptualize the ability of acting all around. Russian, on the contrary, conceives roundness as a property affecting the subject thoroughly from the inside; in this respect, the Russian metaphor is more strictly connected to that of FULLNESS, while the Italian and English ones are linked to that of SPATIAL CONTINUITY.

For the sake of simplicity, collected IMs can be divided into two large categories: telic and atelic metaphors. Telic metaphors (such as the metaphor of FULLNESS, COMPLETENESS and PSYCHO-PHYSICAL REACTION) conceptualize intensification as a movement towards an endpoint; atelic metaphors, instead, conceive intensification as a state or an endless movement; this is the case with the stative metaphors of PURENESS and REALITY and with the incremental metaphors of ROUNDNESS and SPATIO-TEMPORAL CONTINUITY.

As the above schematization shows, very often semantically related SDs combine and interrelate to form conceptual networks.

The contrastive analysis of IMs reveals more similarities than differences, reflecting the presence of similar cognitive patterns at a cross-linguistic level; propositionally equivalent intensifiers, however, may differ in their collocational range and can be located at different points along the lexicogrammatical cline both at intralinguistic and interlinguistic level.

As Kövecses (2010, 88) states, “[w]e cannot expect the exact same metaphors to occur in all languages, but we cannot expect metaphors that contradict universal human experience, either”. For this reason, “[b]odily motivated” metaphors, such as the metaphor of SEVERE PSYCHO-PHYSICAL REACTION, not only are cross-linguistically very common, but are also so deeply entrenched that we no longer notice their figurative nature.

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## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

# A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF METAPHORIC IDIOMS IN ENGLISH, GEORGIAN, RUSSIAN, FRENCH AND TURKISH

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RUSUDAN DOLIDZE

### **Abstract**

This paper deals with the issues of identifying and discussing inter-language and cross-equivalent idioms using examples from several languages. Idioms are identified and analysed on the basis of Rusieshvili's model of metaphor (Rusieshvili 2005). The idioms which coincide at all layers of the model are considered as full inter-language or cross-language equivalents whereas the idioms which coincide only at the middle layer are classed as partial equivalents. Such an approach reveals both the cultural similarities and the differences between idioms.

### **1 Introduction**

Somatic idioms are considered to be universal in phraseology. They are usually defined as idioms referencing body parts or internal organs and have been studied in a number of languages and from various perspectives (Čermák 1999; Stefan 2013, amongst others).

This paper focuses on the issues of identifying intra-language synonymous and cross-language equivalent idioms using examples from several cultures and languages belonging to different language families and groups. More specifically, it studies somatic idioms containing the lexeme 'heart' in the Georgian language with their equivalents in the English, Russian, French and Turkish languages.

It is widely known that idioms are largely anthropocentric (Rusieshvili 1990; Vedmanova / Kulikova 2016, amongst others) and that they should be studied in the context of culture (Hymes 1964). From this standpoint, a study of the idioms containing the lexeme ‘heart’ in a broad field of five languages and cultures is especially interesting as it compares and contrasts languages belonging to different groups: Georgian (a Kartvelian language), English (a Germanic language), Russian (a Slavic language), French (a Romance language) and Turkish (a Turkic language).

The research questions pursued in this paper are as follows: 1) Are the somatic idioms with the lexeme ‘heart’ only used in the symbolic meaning of the ‘heart’—the container of (positive *versus* negative) emotions in the languages involved in the study? and 2) Is the semantics of this group of somatic idioms common in this group of languages?

## **2 The theoretical background of the research and methodology**

In terms of degree of idiomaticity two types of expressions are distinguished in the theory of phraseology: idiomatic expressions (phrasemes) that contain both idiomatic and non-idiomatic parts (or, in other words, some of the parts are employed in their literal whereas others in their figurative meanings) and ones that are fully idiomatic. 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).

We also follow this traditional distinction and, therefore, in this paper the idiom is defined as a metaphoric unit whose overall meaning cannot be inferred from the sum of lexical meanings of its components. For instance, *to pin one’s heart on one’s sleeve* (to reveal one’s feelings openly). On the other hand, idiomatic expressions/phrasemes are partially metaphoric units with one or more words used in their direct meaning which presents a clue for the decoding of the overall meaning of the item: “a dormant partner”. This classification is largely semantic, although it can also be claimed that idioms are mostly sentences whereas phrasemes are mostly phrases with an A+N and V+N structure.

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

According to this model, the (proverb) metaphor consists of three interdependent layers. The first layer represents the metaphorical form of the item; the middle layer represents the general meaning of the unit within specific contextual parameters; and the third layer ties it up with the cultural background knowledge it refers to. For example, the idiom *have a light/heavy heart* shows a metaphoric form (first layer of semantic structure). Its general meaning, 'being happy/sad', determines the contextual parameters (middle layer of semantic structure). The first and second layers are tied up with specific cultural knowledge, in this case, with the fact that a happy person feels light in their heart—whereas an unhappy person may feel heavy in their heart (third layer of semantic meaning). In both cases the lexeme *heart* refers to the container of an emotion which determines the overall emotional state of a person.

The model also offers an easy and reliable way to distinguish between full and partial equivalents of metaphoric idioms or phrasemes, as the items which correspond at all three levels of the model can be considered full equivalents whereas those items which correspond at the second (general meaning) level only can be considered partial equivalents.

The data considered in this research (124 Georgian somatic idioms and their equivalents in Russian, French and Turkish, making up a total of 865 items) were collected from the thematically classified multilingual parallel database of Georgian idioms and proverbs containing English, Russian, German, French, Turkish and Arabic equivalents. This database, which contains a total of 35,000 items from all the above-mentioned languages, was developed at Tbilisi State University under the aegis of the Shota Rustaveli Scientific foundation ([www.idioms.tsu.ge](http://www.idioms.tsu.ge)).

Somatic idioms with the lexeme *heart* in the Georgian language were employed as the starting point for the study, so that idioms in the other four languages were grouped primarily according to the Georgian data. The relevant idioms in Georgian and other languages were identified and collected by applying the model (Rusieshvili 2005) discussed above and organized into semantic groups, analyzed and classified into full equivalents, which coincided at all layers of the model and partial equivalents, which revealed coincidence at the middle layer only. While analyzing the data, the following research questions were taken into consideration: 1) Are somatic idioms with the lexeme *heart* only used in the symbolic meaning of the word heart—the container of positive *versus* negative emotions—in the languages involved in the study? 2) Are the semantics of this group of somatic idioms common to this group of languages?

### 3 Discussion of the findings

The collected somatic idioms containing the lexeme ‘heart’ can be assigned to fifty-three semantic patterns that represent the type of emotion they express. Some of these are given below.

#### 3.1 The idioms expressing positive emotions

##### 1. Happiness:

geo. *gulze moponeba*; eng. *to have a light heart, to lighten up one's heart*;

geo. *gulis ganateba*; eng. *to lighten up one's heart, to warm the cockles of one's heart, to put one's soul at peace, to be lighthearted*; rus. *bal'zam na dushu, kak maslom po serdtsu*; tur. *gönülaçılmak*.

##### 2. Calmness after possible/obvious turbulence:

geo. *Gulis dadeba gulis adgilas* (to put a heart in its place); eng. *to lighten up one's heart*; fr. *soulager son cœur*; geo. *gulze moponeba*; eng. *to loosen one's heart, to put one's soul at peace, to be lighthearted*; tur. *gomelaçılmak*.

##### 3. Encouragement:

geo. *gulis gamagreba*; eng. *to pluck up one's heart*; geo. *gulis gaketeba* (to make one's heart);

##### 4. Entertainment:

geo. *Gulis gadakoleba*; rus. *otvesti dushu*.

#### 3.2 Idioms expressing negative emotions

The emotions listed below were those most frequently expressed in the idioms with the lexeme *heart* in Georgian and in the other languages included in the study. In a number of cases, the lexeme *heart* was replaced in the somatic idioms in the other languages with the lexemes *soul, teeth, shoulder, neck, nose* and *lungs*.

##### 5. Sorrow and anger:

geo. *Gulis gaskdoma*; eng. *to break one's heart*; geo. *Gulis gasiveba*; eng. *to be hardened in the heart*; geo. *Gulis tutkva* (to throw hot water over one's heart), *gulis gadabruneba* (to turn the heart over, to have one's heart turned over), *gulze dadgoma*; eng. *to lie heavily upon one's heart*; geo. *gulze gvelma ukbina* (a snake bit him/her in the heart), *gulis dakodva*; eng. *to wound one's heart*; geo. *gulis dugili* (to have a boiling heart), *gulis dabneleba* (to have a dark heart), *gulis*

*daserva* (to cut one's/somebody's heart); fr. *avoir le cœur lourd, briser le cœur*; geo. *gulis galakhvra*; eng. *to stab one's/somebody's heart, to hurt somebody to the soul*.

6. Fear:

geo. *gulis gaskdoma* (to blow up /to crack one's heart); eng. *one's heart gave a jump, one's heart sank*; fr. *avoir le cœur arraché*; geo. *gulis budidan amovardna* (one's heart leapt out of one's chest), *gulis adzgereba* (one's heart throbbed); rus. *serdtse chut' ne vyskochilo*; geo. *gulis gadabruneba* (to turn the heart over from fear); eng. *to chill somebody's blood, to make somebody's blood freeze (curdle, run cold), to make somebody's blood turn to ice water, somebody's blood freezes (curdles, runs cold)*; fr. *avoir le cœur dans les chaussettes*; turk. *canınna ğınagelmesi* (the heart comes to the mouth); rus. *serdtse perevernulos'*, *serdtse ushlo v p'yatki, dusha v p'yatki ushla*.

7. Aversion, disturbance, agitation:

geo. *gulis areva* (to vomit from aversion, distaste); eng. *it turns one's stomach, it chokes the soul out of you, it turns one's stomach to look at smb./smth., one's gorge rises at sth., to hate one's guts*; rus. *Na dukh ne perenosit'sya, dushi vorotit'*; fr. *avoir le cœur contre les dents, avoir le cœur dans la gorge*.

8. Waiting, boredom:

geo. *gulis gadaleva* (to use one's heart up, to weaken one's/smb.'s heart); eng. *to be fed up to the teeth*; geo. *gulis daleva* (to make one's hear weak, small), *gulis gatskaleba* (to weaken one's heart, to make one's heart liquid), *gulis gatsvrileba* (to make one's heart small); eng. *to get on one's nerves*.

9. Weeping from a certain type of emotion:

geo. *guli k'elshi ebjineba* (his /her heart comes up to his throat); eng. *to have a lump in the (one's) throat, to have a bur in the throat*; geo. *gulis amoskvna*; eng. *to cry one's heart out, to cry one's eyes out*; turk. *Kalbiparçalanmak* (to break the heart); rus. *serdtse nadorvalos' ot placha* (the heart broke from crying), *serdtse chut' ne vskochilo ot placha* (the heart leapt out of the chest); geo. *gulis amokvnesa* (the heart sobs).

10. Disturbance, suffering:

geo. *gulze chkmeta* (to pinch at the heart), *gulis datsva* (to burn one's heart); eng. *to breathe down somebody's neck, to look over somebody's shoulder*.

11. Dissatisfaction:

geo. *gulis dakleba* (not to have enough heart).

12. Pride, arrogance:

geo. *didi guliskona* (to have a big heart); fr. *porter la tête haute*.

13. Sharing one's (usually negative) emotions and memories:

geo. *gulis bukhris amogra* (to throw up/out the heart's soot); geo. *gulis gasuptaveba* (to clean one's heart), *gulis gadashla*; eng. *to open one's heart*; fr. *ouvrir le cœur, épancher son cœur*; eng. *to open one's heart to, to bear one's soul to*; rus. *raskryt' serdtse; obnazhit' serdtse/dushu*; fr. *décharger son cœur*.

14. Be dissatisfied, frustrated:

geo. *gulis datskveta* (to make one sad); eng. *to break one's heart*; fr. *briser le cœur de qn*; turk. *ciğeriyanmak*.

### 3.3 Other emotions and states of mind/body

15. To remember:

geo. *gulis pitsarze dacera* (to write on one's chest, on the board of one's heart), *gulze dačdeva* (to carve on one's heart); eng. *to get it into one's head and let it stay there, to get that well into one's head and keep it there, to learn off by heart*; rus. *Zarubits na nosu*; fr. *se mettre (qch) dans la tête*.

16. To forget:

geo. *gulidan gadavardna* (to fall out of one's heart); eng. *to put out of one's head*; rus. *vykynut' iz golovy, vikinut' iz serdtsa, vybrosit' iz serdtsa, vyrvat' iz dushi, vyrvat' iz pamyati, vyrvat' iz golovy*; fr. *Ôter de la tête*.

17. To forget negative emotions, mend, restore relationships:

geo. *gulis gamteleba* (to make one's heart whole again); eng. *to get one's mind off things*; rus. *vospryanut' dukhom*; fr. *repandre cœur*.

18. To lose one's consciousness, to faint:

geo. *gulis tsasvla* (one's heart has left him/her).

19. To become stronger, healthier:

geo. *gulze konis mokrva* (have a layer of fat around one's heart).

20. To predict:

geo. *guli ugrdznobs* (one's heart feels); eng. *one's heart misgives*; rus. *serdtse podskazyvaet, serdtsem chuvstvovat'*; fr. *sentir par le cœur*.

It is worth noting that the meaning of a number of idioms is further specified in the context which makes it possible for an idiom to express both positive and negative emotions: for instance: geo. *gulis budidan amovardna* (one's heart leapt out of one's chest) could be the result of fear

or joy; geo. *gulis adzgereba* (one's heart throbbed; pounded) could also be a consequence of both positive or negative emotions, specifically, fear, love or joy. In all such cases the heart is considered to be a *furnace* of human emotions, the type of which is narrowed down in the context.

#### **4 Meaning of the lexeme *heart* in other languages of the study compared with Georgian. The issue of cross- language equivalence**

The research found full and partial cross-language equivalents. In the case of full cross-language equivalence, idioms coincide at all three layers of the model described above (*gulis gaskdoma; to break one's heart*). Specifically, they coincide regarding their formal structure as well as on the first level of the model, in terms of the inner metaphoric image which reveals a similar linguistic image of the world. They also coincide at the middle layer of the model, which reveals the similar, general meaning of the idiom. For instance, geo. *gulis gagheba* (open one's heart) 'speak honestly' reveals full equivalents in the languages studied in this research: eng. *to open one's heart to*; fr. *avoir le cœur ouvert*, turk. *gön (ü) lüaçmak*; rus. *otkryt' serdtse*.

It is also interesting that the same meaning is expressed by the Georgian idiom *sulis gashishvleba* (to bare one's soul; to lay bare one's heart) and its cross-language equivalents: eng. *to pour out one's soul (heart) to somebody*; rus. *otkryt' dushu*; fr. *ouvrir son cœur*. Although all these items express the same meaning, the Georgian idiom contains the lexeme *soul* instead of the lexeme *heart* which makes it a partial equivalent to the idioms with the lexeme *heart*: fr. *ouvrir son cœur*; eng. *to pour one's heart out to somebody*.

Partial equivalents express similar meanings and coincide at the second layer of the model, but differ regarding their metaphors and consequently, the world view expressed through them. As revealed by the study, one and the same semantic group may simultaneously reveal cross-language full equivalence and partial equivalence relations in the languages involved in the study. For instance: *gulis amghereba* (one's heart sings: to be happy, to take delight in something) reveals full cross-language equivalents in English and French: *one's heart sings (for joy)*; *le cœur chante de joie*; *avoir le cœur en joie*. On the other hand, the following idioms are partial equivalents, expressing the same idea but being different either semantically, or formally: eng. *the heart fills with joy*; fr. *le cœur se remplit de joie*; rus.



*dusha poyot*; turk. *sevinmek, kalbi oynatmak* (to feel one's heart twitch with joy) and rus. *serdtse trepeshchet*.

Out of the 865 items analyzed for this paper 5.7 % of Georgian idioms with the lexeme *heart* have intra-language synonyms, 8.3% of Georgian idioms have full equivalents in Russian; 8.0% in French; 7.7% in Turkish. On the other hand, 30.4% of Georgian idioms have partial equivalents in English, 21% in French, 40% in Russian, 23% in Turkish. All the items in the Georgian language were idioms whereas in other languages some of the relevant data belonged to idiomatic expressions/phrasemes.

## 5 Conclusions

The data have made it possible to detect patterns in which intra-language and cross-language equivalence is revealed in all four (or three or two) languages studied.

Despite culture-specific differences, this research reveals that somatic idioms analyzed in the study present the heart as a container, the furnace of positive and negative emotions (1-13), the container of information which is kept or falls out, and is thus forgotten (15-17). In addition, the state of the heart is also a measure of mental and physical strength (18-20).

Asymmetric semantic relationships between the idioms were also revealed. For instance, one emotional concept in Georgian may be expressed by idioms containing different somatic lexemes (heart/soul/lungs/ head/blood) in other languages or may be expressed by non-somatic units. On the other hand, idioms in one language may have formally identical but semantically different equivalents in other languages: *gulze siskhlis montkheva* (to cover/splash/trickle heart with blood), 'to be furious', in Georgian denotes an intense anger whereas in English, French and Russian languages the idioms with the same metaphoric form (eng. *make one's heart bleed*, fr. *son cœur saigne*, and rus. *krov' prilila k serdtzu, serdtse krov'yu oblivaetsya, dusha bolit*) express sympathy and sadness.

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## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

# A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ITALIAN AND RUSSIAN IDIOMS FOR DEATH: THE JOURNEY METAPHOR

ERICA PINELLI / CHIARA NACCARATO<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

In this paper we propose a contrastive analysis of Italian and Russian idioms related to the domain of death. Death is a taboo concept which is very likely to be expressed through euphemisms and metaphors. The present analysis focuses on idioms implying the widespread DEATH IS A JOURNEY metaphor, which is based on the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema. The analysis reveals cross-linguistic similarities in the conceptualisation of death as a JOURNEY between Italian and Russian, where this metaphor is widely attested. In addition, we identify language-specific features regarding the ability of each language to focus on the source and/or goal of the metaphorical journey.

### 1 Introduction

In the present paper, we discuss the role of conceptual metaphors in a specific area of phraseology, i.e. the domain of death. By focussing particularly on the DEATH IS A JOURNEY metaphor, we propose a contrastive analysis of Italian and Russian idioms for death, with a view to

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<sup>1</sup> The article is the result of close collaboration between the two authors. For academic purposes only, Erica Pinelli is responsible for Sections 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3, and Chiara Naccarato for Sections 1, 2, 3, 5, and the introduction to Section 4.

showing how the conceptualisation of death as a journey is common in both languages, though it involves some language-specific features. The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses the importance of metaphors in the conceptualisation of death. Section 3 focuses on the role that metaphors play in the formation of idioms for death. Section 4 introduces the contrastive analysis of Italian and Russian idioms based on the DEATH IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Finally, Section 5 summarises and discusses the findings.

## 2 The role of metaphors in the conceptualisation of death

Death is often perceived as one of the most important conceptual domains in human life. At the same time, death is also one of the most obscure concepts for human beings, one of the most difficult to understand, as no one can tell us what we feel when we are dead. The problematic nature of this conceptual domain makes it more susceptible to being expressed with the help of metaphors.

In Cognitive Linguistics (CL), metaphor is considered as a cognitive process which enables us to understand and categorise the surrounding world. Metaphor is conceived of as mapping between two different conceptual domains, i.e., a more complex and abstract domain (the target domain) is understood through a more simple and concrete domain (the source domain) (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Croft and Cruse 2004; Kövecses 2010).

Among the most common metaphors falling within the conceptual domain of death are the following: DEATH IS AN OPPONENT (e.g., it. *ha sfidato la morte* (lit. he defied death)), DEATH IS THE LAST ACTION (e.g., it. *tirare gli ultimi* (lit. breathe one's last)), DEATH IS THE END (e.g., ru. *skonchat'sya* 'die', from *konets* 'end'), and so on (see also, among others, Crespo Fernández 2011; Marin-Arrese 1996).

One of the most important metaphors related to the conceptual domain of death is the DEATH IS A JOURNEY metaphor, which constitutes the main focus of the analysis carried out in this paper. Through this metaphor, which can be exemplified by the Italian idiom *andare all'altro mondo* (lit. go to the other world), death is conceptualised as a journey along a path from a starting point (this world) to an end point (another world). We could also assume that death is conceptualised as a journey twice: it is the end point in the journey of life, but at the same time it is the beginning of the journey towards the afterlife.

The JOURNEY metaphor is so important within this conceptual domain that we find some traces of its lexicalisation. The Italian verb *perire*

‘perish’, for instance, derives from Latin and literally means ‘go through’ (*per* ‘through’ and *ire* ‘go’). Similarly, the Russian verb *prestavit’sya* ‘pass away’ is formed by the prefix *pre-* (equivalent to *pere-* ‘through’), the verbal base *stavit’* ‘put’ and the reflexive particle *-sya*. As Vasmer (1987, 361) suggests, the verb *prestavit’sya* constitutes a borrowing from Old Church Slavic, calqued on Ancient Greek *metatithesthai* ‘be displaced, transferred’.

At least in Western cultures, the JOURNEY metaphor is also reinforced by cultural and social practices, and particularly by the burial scenario, in which the dead person is accompanied by the entire community to the cemetery, thus performing a real, physical journey.

### 3 Metaphors and idioms for death

The importance of metaphors in the conceptualisation of death is particularly evident when one considers the formation of idioms related to death in the languages of the world. The universal valence of conceptual metaphors explains the existence of common cross-linguistic patterns bringing about idioms based on the same cognitive process. Thus, although cultural specificity also plays a significant role in the formation of idioms, conceptual metaphors have the potential to give rise to similar idioms cross-linguistically, as will be shown in Section 4.

As pointed out by Baranov and Dobrovol’skij (2014, 106), conceptual metaphors are also responsible for the formation of synonymous idioms within one language. Synonymy in phraseology mainly concerns the most important and problematic conceptual domains (such as death), and it is precisely through metaphors that these issues can be addressed (Baranov and Dobrovol’skij 2014, 106–107). Metaphors, indeed, have the potential to take the responsibility off the speaker’s shoulders when addressing delicate matters that are often subject to euphemisation. Because death is usually regarded as a social taboo (see Piirainen 2012, 349), it often needs to be described by resorting to euphemisms, which is exactly the reason why metaphors are crucial in the production of idioms related to death.

However, the use of metaphors in idioms for death is not always due to the need to resort to euphemising strategies. As stressed by Baranov and Dobrovol’skij (2014, 170–172), euphemisation is not at play in cases in which the indirect way of expressing taboo concepts becomes habitual (e.g. ru. *vyti v luchshiy mir* ‘go away to a better world’). The authors also point out that euphemisation does not concern idioms for death belonging to a high register (e.g. ru. *provodit’ v posledniy put’* ‘accompany in the final journey’), as these idioms (and their underlying metaphors) are used

for expressing respect towards the dead person, and not really for avoiding the use of a more direct expression (Baranov and Dobrovol'skij 2014, 172).

## 4 The journey metaphor in Italian and Russian idioms for death

In Section 2, we discussed the importance of the JOURNEY metaphor in the conceptualisation of death. The DEATH IS A JOURNEY metaphor is based on the PATH schema (Lakoff 1987), which in turn consists of three elements: the SOURCE, i.e., the starting point of the journey, the PATH itself, which implies a certain time span and space, and the GOAL, i.e., the destination of the journey.

To carry out the analysis proposed in this section, we compiled a database of Italian and Russian idioms in which death is conceptualised as a journey. The source of our data were the following dictionaries: Molotkov (1968); Cherdantseva et al. (1982); Rosselli (1989); Pittano (2006); Teliya (2006); and Fëdorov (2008).

The structure of the idioms collected consists of a verb followed by a prepositional phrase (e.g., ru. *uyti v mir inoy* 'go away to another world') or a noun phrase (e.g., it. *lasciare questa vita* 'leave this life'). Remarkably, each idiom focuses on a specific part of the PATH. Based on this observation, we divided the idioms into two groups: the first group contains idioms in which the focus is on the SOURCE, while the second group includes idioms in which the focus is on the GOAL, i.e., the destination.

In the analysis proposed in this section, we regard the verb and the noun as the constituent elements of the idiom. Thus, every time we encountered a different verb-noun combination, we counted it as a new idiom. By contrast, when we found different possible adjectives or prepositions in the same structure, we considered them as variants of the same idiom (see Table 1).

As a result, our database comprises 42 idioms: 19 idioms for Italian (5 focussing on the source, 14 on the goal) and 23 idioms for Russian (9 focussing on the source, 14 on the goal).

### 4.1 To leave this world: the source of the journey

In both Italian and Russian, there are idioms of death that are centred on the SOURCE, i.e., the place in which the movement originates. The focus on

the source gives rise to idioms in which death is conceptualised as a departure from the original place, as those given in Table 1.

<b>Italian idioms</b>	
<i>Abbandonare il/questo mondo</i>	'Abandon the/this world'
<i>Andarsene dal/da questo mondo</i>	'Go away from the/this world'
<i>Lasciare il/questo mondo</i>	'Leave the/this world'
<i>Lasciare la/questa vita</i>	'Leave the/this life'
<i>Prendere commiato dal mondo</i>	'Say goodbye to the world'
<b>Russian idioms</b>	
<i>Ostavit' mir</i>	'Leave the world'
<i>Ostavit' (sey) svet</i>	'Leave the (this) world'
<i>Otoyti ot mira sego*</i>	'Move away from this world'
<i>Otoyti ot zhizni*</i>	'Move away from life'
<i>Pokinut' (sey/étot) mir</i>	'Leave the (this) world'
<i>Pokinut' (étot/belyy/bozhiy) svet</i>	'Leave the (this/white/God's) world'
<i>Rasprostít'sya s zhizn'yu</i>	'Take leave of life'
<i>Uyti iz (étogo) mira</i>	'Go away from the (this) world'
<i>Uyti iz zhizni</i>	'Go away from life'

\*These idioms are reported as archaic expressions (see Fëdorov 2008).

Table 1: Idioms for death with a focus on the source in Italian and Russian

The DEATH IS A JOURNEY metaphor lies at the basis of all idioms in Table 1, which can be considered as instantiations of the more specific metaphor DEATH IS DEPARTURE: here, the attention is drawn to the departure from the source, while there is no mention of the destination. The focus on the source, and in particular on the detachment from it, is well expressed linguistically by verbs such as *abbandonare* 'abandon', *andarsene* 'go away', and *lasciare* 'leave' in Italian, and *ostavit'* 'leave', *otoyti* 'move away', *pokinut'* 'leave', and *uyti* 'go away' in Russian. Interestingly, one idiom in each language focuses on the very first moment of the journey event, i.e. farewells. These idioms are introduced by verbs meaning 'say goodbye, take leave of', i.e. *prendere commiato* in Italian and *rasprostít'sya* in Russian.

In both languages, the two possible sources of the metaphorical journey of death are the world (*mir* and *svet* in Russian, *mondo* in Italian) and life (*zhizn'* in Russian and *vita* in Italian).

As regards the internal structure of the idioms collected, we detected a slightly higher degree of variation in Russian with respect to Italian.

In Italian, the verbs *abbandonare* 'abandon' and *lasciare* 'leave' only occur with the noun phrase *il/questo mondo* 'the/this world'. When this noun phrase follows the verbs *andarsene* 'go away' and *prendere commiato* 'say goodbye', it is preceded by the ablative preposition *da*



‘from’, which further reinforces the idea of detachment. The noun phrase *la/questa vita* ‘the/this life’ is only found after the verb *lasciare* ‘leave’.

In Russian, we identified three nouns referring to the source of the journey, i.e., *mir* ‘world’, *svet* ‘world’, and *zhizn* ‘life’. While the noun *zhizn* ‘life’ is never modified by adjectives, the nouns *mir* and *svet* ‘world’ allow for several possibilities. The noun *mir* can be modified by the demonstratives *sey* or *ëtot* (both meaning ‘this’), while *svet* (which can also be modified by such demonstratives), can also co-occur with the adjectives *belyy* ‘white’ and *bozhiy* ‘God’s’. Interestingly, the word *svet*, which means both ‘world’ and ‘light’<sup>2</sup>, denotes the world referring to its visual representation, i.e. a place with light.

Similarly to Italian, in some Russian idioms, the idea of detachment is conveyed by the ablative prepositions *ot* ‘from’ and *iz* ‘out of’. This is also reinforced by the use of prefixed verbs such as *uyti* ‘go away’ and *otoyti* ‘move away’, in which the prefixes *u-* and *ot-* have an ablative meaning (see Section 4.3).

## 4.2 To go to the other world: the goal of the journey

In Section 4.1, we analysed idioms for death in which the focus is on the source. However, in more than half of the idioms collected, the most relevant part of the PATH schema is the GOAL. In these idioms, death is conceptualised as a journey towards a certain destination.

### Italian idioms

<i>Andare all’aldilà</i>	‘Go to the hereafter’
<i>Andare all’altro mondo/ al/nel mondo di là</i>	‘Go to the other world/ to the world beyond’
<i>Andare in cielo</i>	‘Go to the sky’
<i>Andare al creatore</i>	‘Go to the Creator’
<i>Andare in paradiso</i>	‘Go to heaven’
<i>Andare sottoterra</i>	‘Go underground’
<i>Andare nell’altra vita</i>	‘Go to the other life’
<i>Andarsene all’altro mondo</i>	‘Go to the other world’
<i>Partire per l’altro mondo</i>	‘Leave for the other world’
<i>Passare al cielo</i>	‘Pass to the sky’
<i>Passare all’altra/a miglior vita</i>	‘Pass to the other/a better life’
<i>Salire in/al cielo</i>	‘Go up to the sky’
<i>Scendere nel sepolcro</i>	‘Go down into the grave’
<i>Tornare al Creatore</i>	‘Go back to the Creator’

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion on the etymology of *mir* ‘world, peace’ and *svet* ‘world, light’, see Tolstaya (2012).

Russian idioms	
<i>Otoyti v luchshiy/inoy mir</i>	‘Move away to a better/another world’
<i>Otoyti v vechnost’</i>	‘Move away to eternity’
<i>Otoyti v seleniya gorniye</i>	‘Move away to the celestial village’
<i>Otoyti k luchshey zhizni*</i>	‘Move away to a better life’
<i>Otoyti na tot svet</i>	‘Move away to that world’
<i>Opraviv’sya na tot svet</i>	‘Leave for that world’
<i>Opraviv’sya v ray</i>	‘Leave for heaven’
<i>Opraviv’sya k praottsam</i>	‘Go to the ancestors’
<i>Pereselit’sya v vechnost’</i>	‘Move to eternity’
<i>Poyti v grob*</i>	‘Go into the grave’
<i>Soyti v mogilu</i>	‘Go down into the grave’
<i>Soyti na pokoy</i>	‘Go down to peace’
<i>Uyti v luchshiy/inoy mir</i>	‘Go away to a better/another world’
<i>Uyti v nebytiye</i>	‘Go away to non-existence’

\*These idioms are reported as archaic expressions (see Fëdorov 2008).

Table 2: Italian and Russian idioms for death with a focus on the destination

The idioms in Table 2 are based on the JOURNEY metaphor and can be considered as instantiations of the specific metaphor DEATH IS GOING TO A (FINAL) DESTINATION. Noticeably, despite the high degree of variation in terms of the possible destinations, we find a substantial similarity between Italian and Russian. We can divide the destinations of the metaphorical journey into three groups: concrete nouns, abstract nouns, and concepts related to religious beliefs.

The destinations denoted by concrete nouns are *cielo* ‘sky’, *mondo* ‘world’, *sepolcro* ‘grave’, and *sottoterra* ‘underground’ in Italian, and *grob* and *mogila* ‘grave’, *svet* and *mir* ‘world’, and *seleniya (gorniye)* ‘(celestial) village’ in Russian. Destinations such as *sepolcro* and *sottoterra* in Italian and *grob* and *mogila* in Russian are linked to the burial experience, while the Italian nouns *cielo* and *mondo*, and the Russian nouns *svet*, *mir*, and especially *seleniya (gorniye)* are motivated by religious and cultural beliefs.

The goal of the metaphorical journey can also be represented by abstract nouns such as *vita* ‘life’ in Italian, *zhizn’* ‘life’, *nebytiye* ‘non-existence’, *pokoy* ‘peace’, and *vechnost’* ‘eternity’ in Russian. Remarkably, within this group of nouns, “life” and “eternity”, although not religious concepts themselves, imply the religious belief of an eternal life after death.

Other possible destinations reflect religious beliefs. Among these, there are inanimate nouns such as *aldilà* ‘hereafter’ and *paradiso* ‘heaven’ in

Italian and *ray* ‘heaven’ in Russian. Moreover, we also find animate goals such as *Creatore* ‘the Creator’ in Italian and *praottsy* ‘ancestors’ in Russian.

Interestingly, destinations such as *cielo* and *paradiso* in Italian, and *ray* and *seleniya gorniye* in Russian are oriented upwards and are more likely to be positively connotated (UP IS GOOD, see Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 16). The upward-oriented destination is occasionally reinforced by the verb, as in the Italian idiom *salire in/al cielo* ‘go up to the sky’. On the contrary, *sepolcro* and *sottoterra* in Italian and *grob* and *mogila* in Russian are oriented downwards, the direction being reinforced by the use of verbs meaning ‘go down’, i.e. *scendere* in Italian and *soyti* in Russian. These idioms generally acquire a negative connotation (DOWN IS BAD, see Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 16).

In both languages, only few nouns allow for modification. In Italian, the most common modifier is the adjective *altro* ‘other’, which can co-occur both with *mondo* ‘world’ and *vita* ‘life’. The idiom *andare all’altro mondo* ‘go to the other world’ can occasionally be replaced by its synonym *andare al/nel mondo di là* ‘go to the world beyond’. Both *altro* and *di là* highlight the opposition with *this* world, which is the source of the journey, as we saw in Section 4.1. The only other possible modifier is the comparative *migliore* ‘better’, which, however, is only found in the idiom *passare a miglior vita* ‘pass to a better life’.

Russian behaves much in the same way as Italian, and only when the nouns *zhizn’* ‘life’, *svet* and *mir* ‘world’ occur, are modifiers allowed. Similarly to Italian, we find the adjectives *inoy* ‘other’ and *luchshiy* ‘better’. Whereas *inoy* can only be attached to the noun *mir*, *luchshiy* can co-occur both with *mir* and *zhizn’*. The noun *svet* is only modified by the demonstrative *tot* ‘that’, as opposed to *sey* and *ètot* ‘this’ in idioms focussing on the source (see Section 4.1).

As regards the type of motion denoted by these idioms, Italian shows a clear predominance of verbs expressing a generic motion, such as *andare* ‘go’ and *partire* ‘leave’. In two cases, we find the verb *passare* ‘pass’, which places extra focus on the path of the journey. The same meaning is conveyed by the Russian verb *pereselit’sya* ‘move’, which is formed with the prefix *pere-* ‘through’ focussing on the path. However, as we will discuss in Section 4.3, Russian displays a strong preference for motion verbs focussing on the detachment from the source, as *uyti* ‘leave’ and *otoyti* ‘move away’.

### 4.3 Focus on both source and goal: the coexistence of two metaphors

As mentioned in Section 4.2, the idioms for death centred on the destination can focus on other parts of the PATH schema at the same time. If we consider, for instance, the Russian idioms *uyti v mir inoy* ‘go away to the other world’ and *otoyti v mir inoy* ‘move away to the other world’, we see that they are instantiations of the metaphor DEATH IS GOING TO A (FINAL) DESTINATION. However, the prefixed motion verbs *uyti* and *otoyti* simultaneously add further details concerning the detachment from the source. This means that in Russian it is very frequent both to make the destination explicit (*v mir inoy* ‘to the other world’) and to signal the detachment from the source (*uyti* ‘go away’, *otoyti* ‘move away’) within the same idiom. Thus, in Russian, the DEATH IS GOING TO A (FINAL) DESTINATION metaphor is very likely to coexist with the DEATH IS DEPARTURE metaphor.

In Italian, by contrast, the expression of the source does not seem to be relevant when the destination is expressed. Let us consider, for instance, the Italian idiom *andare all’altro mondo* ‘go to the other world’. While the destination is expressed (*all’altro mondo* ‘to the other world’), the verb *andare* ‘go’ is generic and does not provide any details about the origin of the journey. However, there exists a variant of the verb *andare* ‘go’, i.e. *andarsene* ‘go away’, which can also be used in these idioms<sup>3</sup>. The verb *andarsene* consists of the verb *andare* and the double clitic *sene* formed by the reflexive *si* and the clitic *ne*, which proceeds from the Latin adverb *inde* ‘from there’<sup>4</sup>.

Russi (2008, 117) shows the difference between *andare* and *andarsene*, pointing out that both verbs profile the same event, i.e. a motion from one place to another, while foregrounding different parts: *andare* foregrounds the destination, while *andarsene* foregrounds the source and the detachment from it. This seems to suggest that the verb with the double clitic *andarsene* in the idiom *andarsene all’altro mondo* is used as an alternative to *andare*, thus focussing on the destination of the journey as well as on the detachment from the source within the same idiom.

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<sup>3</sup> In Table 2, the verb *andarsene* only appears in the idiom *andarsene all’altro mondo* because it is the only one we have retrieved from dictionaries. However, *andarsene* could well replace *andare* in all the other idioms introduced by this verb.

<sup>4</sup> See Masini 2012, Russi 2008, and Serianni 1988 for further discussion about the Italian double clitic *sene*.

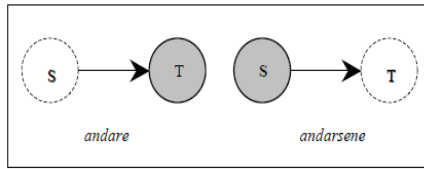


Figure 1: Different foregrounding for *andare* and *andarsene* (Taken from Russi 2008, 117)

However, this might not be the most relevant meaning conveyed by *andarsene* in these idioms. Rather, *andarsene* seems to have an emphatic function, which is absent in the clitic-less form *andare*. The emphatic function of *sene* has been discussed in previous studies as one of its possible uses. For example, Russi (2008, 117–118) points out that *andare* and *andarsene* are not always interchangeable: *andarsene* is used to intensify the statement or to put the stress on the impossibility of coming back. Thus, the idiom *andarsene all'altro mondo* constitutes a more intense and emphatic variant with respect to *andare all'altro mondo*, and stresses the irreversibility of the situation.

## 5 Conclusions

Here we have discussed the relevance of the JOURNEY metaphor in idioms related to death by comparing its realisations in Italian and Russian. On the one hand, our analysis confirmed the cross-linguistic character of this metaphor, which is deeply rooted in both languages. This is also evident if we consider that the lexical elements constituting such idioms in Italian and Russian overlap to a large extent. On the other hand, we identified language-specific features suggesting that the two languages behave differently in terms of their focus on the source as opposed to the destination of the metaphorical journey. Specifically, we showed that Russian focuses on the source and destination simultaneously (i.e., within the same idiom), which is not the case for Italian. This “double focus” is possible in Russian mainly due to the consistent use of verbal prefixes with spatial meanings. Thus, in Russian idioms focussing on the destination of the journey, the source can still be expressed when verbs are provided with ablative prefixes such as *u-* and *ot-*. Conversely, the analysis of the Italian data did not reveal the possibility of a double focus. The only apparent counter-example is represented by idioms formed with the verb *andarsene*. However, we believe that such idioms, rather than focussing on

the source, constitute emphatic variants of the corresponding idioms that do not feature the double clitic *sene*.

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## CHAPTER NINETEEN

# METÁFORA Y FACTORES SOCIOCULTURALES EN EL ÁMBITO DE LA FRASEOLOGÍA EN FRANCÉS Y ESPAÑOL

ISABEL UZCANGA VIVAR

### Abstract

The field of the phraseology comprises different types of units that we regroup, following the theoretical framework of the Meaning-Text Theory (MTT), under the term of phrasemes (Mel'čuk 2011, 2013; Polguère, 2015). Among these, the present work focuses on the lexical phrasemes: idioms. In particular, we analyze those that have a metaphorical component, and which are marked by socio political factors. Our corpus was made up with texts selected from different media belonging to the general Spanish and French national press in order to identify and analyze emerging idioms that describe new social realities in politics and culture, such as *Mareas Ciudadanas* in Spain and *Nuit debout* in France.

### 1 Introducción

El estudio de la unidades poliléxicas tiene una larga tradición, con Bally que fue el primero en proponer una clasificación de los fenómenos fraseológicos en su *Traité de stylistique française* en la primera década del S.XX (1909). Bally distinguía dos grandes clases de unidades fraseológicas: las unidades completamente fijas y no composicionales las *unités phraseologiques* (= locuciones), y otras menos fijas en las que los elementos conservan su autonomía las *séries phraséologiques* (= colocaciones). Sin em-



bargo, ha sido recientemente cuando la fraseología se ha convertido en un ámbito de estudio, una disciplina por derecho propio.

Hace ya algunos años que, cuando I. Mel'čuk fue a Salamanca, el lingüista ruso señaló el papel central desempeñado por la fraseología en las lenguas:

En los textos literarios, la prensa y la lengua hablada, los frasemas son todavía más numerosos que en los textos científicos. De hecho, es la frecuencia y la calidad de uso que se hace de ellos, lo que determina la diferencia entre un hablante nativo y un extranjero que ha aprendido correctamente la lengua : un nativo habla en frasemas (Mel'čuk 2001, 268).

Del mismo modo, otros estudiosos de la fraseología estiman que las unidades fraseológicas constituyen un 50% (Erman / Warren 2000) y un 80% de las secuencias utilizadas por un locutor nativo, como señala B. Altenberg: "A rough estimation indicates that over 80% of the words in the corpus form part of a recurrent word combination in one way or another." (Altenberg 1998, 102)

Esta diferencia en los porcentajes de los fenómenos fraseológicos se explica porque el objeto de estudio difiere según el enfoque teórico adoptado. Existen dos enfoques diferentes del estudio de los fenómenos fraseológicos: los estudios de inspiración lexicológica y los estudios contextualistas basados en el análisis de extensos corpus. Este primer enfoque tiene por objetivo el estudio de las unidades poliléxicas y contempla la fraseología como un continuum, en el que las combinaciones de palabras van desde la máxima fijación y opacidad hasta hasta la máxima variación y transparencia. El estudio que abordamos en el presente trabajo se enmarca dentro de esta corriente.

El segundo enfoque, de origen anglosajón, da una mayor importancia a combinaciones menos fijas como la clase de las colocaciones o la de las coligaciones, o las diversas configuraciones o esquemas sintácticos: las coligaciones son "un phénomène de comportement grammatical préférentiel de la même façon les collocations sont un phénomène de comportement lexical préférentiel" (Legallois / Gréa 2006, 8). Adoptan una aproximación ascendente basada en la lingüística de corpus para identificar las coocurrencias léxicas, basadas en un análisis distribucional. Sinclair defiende el *Idiom principle of language* (Sinclair 1991 in Ellis 2008), principio que ve la lengua como compuesta por segmentos de coocurrencias de palabras que integran léxico y gramática, que están prefabricados y que son seleccionados por el locutor como un todo.

Sinclair (1991, 100) led here, summarizing the results of corpus investigations of such distributional regularities in the Principle of Idiom: "a language user has available to him or her a large number of semipro-

constructed a language user has available to him or her a large number of semipreconstructed phrases that constitute single choices, even though they might appear to be analyzable into segments,” and suggested that for normal texts, the first mode of analysis to be applied is the idiom principle, as most of text is interpretable by this principle. (Sinclair 1991 in Ellis 2008, 4)

Las Gramáticas de Construcción, que se enmarcan dentro de la lingüística cognitiva, americana y cuyo origen se encuentra en los trabajos de Fillmore, / Way / o'Connor (1988), y de A. Goldberg (1995), tienen en común con la lingüística contextualista basada en el análisis de corpus una visión fraseológica de la lengua y “plaident pour un traitement phraséologique des formes” (Legallois / François 2006, 1).

Indudablemente, estos nuevos enfoques han supuesto no sólo una notable extensión del ámbito fraseológico, sino que han dado un verdadero giro no solo al ámbito fraseológico sino a la lingüística en general:

On pourrait parler d'un tournant phraséologique de la linguistique ; non pas parce que, au regard des publications et des colloques, la phraséologie est devenue un objet de plus en plus fréquent d'analyse – il n'y aurait là qu'une « institutionnalisation » d'un thème de recherche parmi d'autres – mais bien plutôt parce que la phraséologie, obligeant il y a peu la théorie à un détour, est devenue la matière première de certaines conceptions linguistiques : elle propose un renouvellement de l'analyse syntaxique, sémantique, textuelle et psycholinguistique sur la base d'observations plus empiriques, grâce, notamment, au recours aux corpus de grandes dimensions (Legallois / Gréa 2006, 5).

Este giro se ha visto reflejado igualmente en la investigación sobre adquisición de lenguas y en la enseñanza/aprendizaje de las mismas.

## 2 Marco teórico y nociones descriptivas

Utilizamos en nuestro estudio las nociones descriptivas propuestas por la *Lexicologie Explicative et Combinatoire* (= LEC), que es la rama lexicológica de la *Théorie Sens-Texte* (= TST) (Mel'čuk, Clas, Polguère, 1995).

La Teoría Sentido-Texto es el único marco teórico que propone una herramienta formal, las *funciones léxicas*, que permite describir de manera exhaustiva los diferentes tipos de relaciones de derivación semántica presentes en las lenguas, así como una integración de la descripción de estas relaciones paradigmáticas con la descripción de las relaciones sintagmáticas que tienen lugar en los sintagmas fraseológicos llamados *colocaciones*.

La unidad de base de la descripción del léxico es la *lexía*: “une lexie ou unité lexicale est soit un mot pris dans une acception bien spécifique (= lexème) soit encore une locution, elle aussi prise dans une acception bien spécifique” (Mel’čuk / Clas / Polguère 1995, 16).

En esta teoría, la fraseología es abordada a partir de la noción de *contrainte* y no de *figement*, ya que la propiedad de fijación de una expresión “est gradable: une expression peut être plus ou moins figée” (Mel’čuk 2011, 48). Adoptamos igualmente la noción fundamental de *frasema* y la clasificación de los *frasemas* propuesta en los últimos trabajos de Mel’čuk y Polguère (Mel’čuk, 2011, 2012, 2013; Polguère, 2015).

La noción fundamental de la teoría de Mel’čuk es el *frasema*. Los *frasemas* son enunciados multilexémicos no libres. Un enunciado multilexémico es libre “si et seulement si [= ssi] il n’est pas contraint sur l’axe paradigmatique, c’est-à-dire, si son sens et chacune de ses composantes lexicales sont sélectionnés par le Locuteur strictement par ses propriétés linguistiques, c’est-à-dire, indépendamment des autres composantes” (Mel’čuk 2013, 130). Contrariamente a un sintagma libre, “An utterance U is non free or constrained (= phraseologized) iff (= if and only if) at least one of its lexical components L is selected by the speaker as a function of the lexical identity of other component(s) of U” (Mel’čuk 2012, 63).

Los *frasemas*, atendiendo a la naturaleza de las restricciones, se dividen en *frasemas léxicos* y *frasemas semántico-léxicos*. Las colocaciones y las locuciones, pertenecen al grupo de los *frasemas léxicos*. Los *frasemas semántico-léxicos* constituyen la tercera gran clase de *frasemas*, la clase de los clichés.

En la clasificación de Mel’čuk, una *colocación* es un *frasema léxico* composicional. Más exactamente, es un *frasema semi-restringido*: uno de sus componentes, la *base* de la colocación, es seleccionado por el locutor libremente, atendiendo al significado que quiere expresar, mientras que el *colocativo* debe ser seleccionado en función del significado que quiere expresar pero también en función de la base.

La *locución* “est une expression phraséologique sémantiquement non compositionnelle. En tant que telle elle doit être considérée comme non construite : elle ne se modélise pas comme assemblage syntaxique de ses éléments lexicaux dans l’interface sémantique-syntaxe”. (Polguère 2015, 260). La primera característica de una locución y que la distingue totalmente de las otras dos clases de *frasemas* es que una locución es una *lexía* de la lengua. (Polguère 2015, 259). Por lo tanto, las locuciones forman parte de las unidades fundamentales de la lexicología. Lo que distingue una locución de las otras unidades léxicas tipo *lexemas* es su complejidad formal, puesto que tiene una estructura interna de naturaleza

sintáctica y no morfológica. Pero dado que es un sintagma no libre, tiene comportamientos sintácticos y morfológicos idiosincrásicos, que restringen la aplicación de las reglas generales de la gramática.

Las locuciones constituyen una clase heterogénea, que se declina en varias subclases. Las locuciones pueden clasificarse atendiendo a varios criterios descriptivos complementarios. La clasificación tradicional se basa en la categoría gramatical: locución nominal verbal, adjetival, preposicional, etc. Pero esta clasificación, plantea problemas. Por ejemplo, esp. DE MEMORIA ; fr. PAR COEUR es una locución prepositiva, pero esto solo caracteriza la estructura sintáctica interna de la locución (= sintagma regido por una preposición), y no su empleo. Para poder utilizarla, es necesario saber que puede tener un empleo adverbial esp. *aprender de memoria*, fr. *apprendre par cœur* o un empleo adjetival : *apprentissage par cœur*; el español prefiere en este empleo el uso del adjetivo *memorístico*. aunque sí se puede encontrar algunas instancias de *aprendizaje de memoria*.

La TST establece además otro criterio de clasificación de las locuciones, en función de la relación entre el significado total o global de la locución y su composición formal, es decir, si el significado global de la locución contiene o no el significado de las lexías que la constituyen formalmente (Mel'čuk 2013, 134).

Siguiendo este criterio se distinguen tres grandes clases de locuciones : locución fuerte o frasema completo, semi-locución y locución débil o *quasi-phrase*.

La locución prototípica es la *locución fuerte*: “Il s'agit d'une locution dont la définition lexicographique ne contient le sens d'aucune des lexies qui composent le syntagme locutionnel” (Polguère 2015, 268). Por ejemplo, la locución esp. COGER EL TORO POR LOS CUERNOS ‘afrontar de manera decidida un asunto difícil’ fr. PRENDRE LE TAUREAU PAR LES CORNES ‘s’attaquer à la difficulté avec détermination’ no contienen ninguno de los semantemas de las lexías que las constituyen formalmente.

Se llama *semi-locución* una locución cuya definición contiene el significado de una parte de las lexías que la constituyen, pero ninguna de ellas es el pivote semántico de la locución. Además, incluye un significado adicional que constituye el pivote semántico de la semi-locución. El *pivote semántico* es el constituyente de un enunciado del que se predica el resto del enunciado. Los frasemas fr. DESCENTE DE LIT; esp. PIE DE CAMA corresponden a las características de una semi-locución.

Finalmente, una *locución débil* comprende en su significado el significado de todos sus constituyentes, pero no en calidad de pivote semántico, sino que incluye un significado adicional, que desempeña el papel de

pivote semántico, como es el caso de fr. GRANDE SURFACE ; esp. GRAN SUPERFICIE.

### 3 Composicionalidad/no composicionalidad y metáfora

En el marco de la TST, la noción de *composicionalidad* es contemplada desde la perspectiva del Locutor que codifica el mensaje y no desde la del Destinatario, que lo interpreta. Se trata de una composicionalidad del Locutor, una composicionalidad del *Sentido al Texto*.

Un segment linguistique S est sémantiquement compositionnel si son sens est la somme du sens des signes linguistiques qui les composent et du sens porté par le mode de combinaison de ces signes dans S. (Polguère 2015, 256).

Esta definición adopta más bien la perspectiva de la síntesis lingüística que la del análisis, dado que no hace ninguna referencia a un proceso de interpretación de los enunciados como punto de partida para el diagnóstico de la composicionalidad de una expresión.

Desde esta perspectiva, el problema no es saber si un enunciado es interpretable a partir de la identificación del contenido de sus constituyentes formales, sino de saber si ese enunciado debe ser modelizado como resultado de un ensamblaje, y si este es el caso, determinar qué signos lingüísticos se han ensamblado, mediante qué reglas, para expresar un significado dado ‘S’ mediante un texto *T*.

La metáfora está a menudo en el origen de muchas locuciones y lo sigue estando en los neologismos fraseológicos que tenemos en nuestro corpus. La operación de interpretación de una locución hace intervenir la conciencia lingüística y cultural que los locutores de una lengua dada comparten. Y es cierto que hay metáforas muy transparentes que ayudan no solo a la descodificación de las locuciones sino a la integración de los neologismos locucionales en una lengua dada, puesto que favorecen una alta frecuencia de empleo; es, por ejemplo, el caso de BROTOS VERDES ‘indicios de recuperación económica’ PUERTAS GIRATORIAS ‘paso de altos funcionarios del sector público al privado, obteniendo beneficios de su anterior gestión, y produciendo un conflicto de intereses entre la esfera pública y privada’. Sin embargo, consideramos importante no confundir la composicionalidad/no composicionalidad con la opacidad /transparencia de una expresión, porque son propiedades distintas, y como bien precisa Mel’čuk: “L’opacité/la transparence a des degrés, c’est une propriété continue de « type plus ou moins », alors que la compositionnalité/non-compositionnalité est une propriété strictement binaire” (2013, 132). En

nuestro trabajo, por lo tanto, cuando hablamos de composicionalidad o no composicionalidad de una expresión no consideramos más que los componentes semánticos que encontramos en su definición y en la de sus constituyentes.

#### 4 Algunos neologismos locucionales

El objetivo de nuestro trabajo es estudiar un corpus de textos de la prensa generalista española y francesa con el fin de identificar y analizar los neologismos fraseológicos surgidos para denominar nuevas realidades sociales en relación con la política y la cultura.

La razón de haber elegido el discurso periodístico es que los frasmasones son uno de los recursos lingüísticos más utilizados por el discurso de los medios de comunicación, y que al tener como objetivo primordial el de informar, refleja las novedades de muy diversos ámbitos de la sociedad, a la cual toma el pulso cotidianamente. Muchas de estas novedades responden a nuevas realidades que el discurso periodístico se ve obligado a denominar. Por lo tanto, es un discurso muy propicio a la creación léxica.

Por motivos editoriales a continuación presentamos un esbozo representativo de nuestro corpus. En los ejemplos que presentamos ponemos en cursiva la paráfrasis de significado de los neologismos que aparecen en el cuerpo mismo del texto. Este criterio metodológico es debido a que al tratarse de neologismos no podemos acudir para su definición a los diccionarios existentes.

##### MAREA(S) CIUDADANA(S)

Esta expresión lingüística es una semi-locución. La definición aproximada es ‘colectivo, plataforma integrada por diferentes organizaciones ciudadanas surgido de manera espontánea y que se manifiesta contra las medidas de ajuste económico del Gobierno en defensa de lo público’.

En su definición no hay el significado ‘marea’, mientras que sí tenemos el de ‘ciudadanos’/‘personas’, pero no como pivote semántico ya que éste es ‘colectivo’/‘plataforma’.

a) Un clamor en contra del llamado “golpe de estado financiero” ha recorrido las calles de las principales localidades de España, donde *miles de personas se han manifestado convocadas por el colectivo **Mareas Ciudadanas** treinta y dos años después del 23-F bajo el lema “No al golpe de Estado financiero. No debemos, no pagamos”. [...] La **Marea ciudadana** está integrada por casi trescientas organizaciones, entre las que se incluyen las diversas “mareas” de colores – blanca de sanidad,*

*verde de educación, naranja de servicios sociales, amarillo de justicia, entre otras-...*. (El HuffingtonPost 23/02/2013)

b) la **Marea Ciudadana** llena el centro de Logroño contra los ajustes del Gobierno *Centenares de personas convocadas por la Marea Ciudadana* de La Rioja, han llenado hoy el centro de Logroño *en protesta por las medidas de ajuste aprobadas por el Gobierno de España*. [...] un portavoz de *esta plataforma* [...] ha afirmado que *esta plataforma no ha surgido* de organización concreta alguna sino *de ciudadanos* (elpais.com 23/02/2013)

c) Las **mareas ciudadanas** intentan rearmarse saliendo a la calle. Los *movimientos sociales aglutinados* en **mareas ciudadanas** volverán a manifestarse contar los recortes y las políticas económicas y sociales actuales. [...] En la manifestación, que se celebrará el próximo domingo 22 de febrero en Madrid a las 12.00, *participarán colectivos como la Marea Blanca, la Marea Verde, Coca-Cola en Lucha, Plataforma en defensa de la cultura, ATTAC, la Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (PAH) y Frente cívico, entre otros*; [...] las mareas pretenden que sea una manifestación multitudinaria, que se enmarca en un *conjunto de movilizaciones* que se celebrarán durante el mes de marzo. (eldiario.es 19/02/2015)

La locución española está, como se puede ver, acompañada casi sistemáticamente por paráfrasis de significado con el fin de facilitar la interpretación del neologismo por parte del destinatario. Sin embargo, es de resaltar que en ningún caso aparece entrecorillada codificación que suele ser signo de que el neologismo no está totalmente integrado en la lengua. Creemos que el impacto y el alcance de estos movimientos sociales ha sido tal que esta lexía ha pasado a integrar muy pronto el léxico de la lengua española.

#### MAREES CITOYENNES

d) Espagne: que deviennent les indignés du 15 mai? [...]. Les “**Marées citoyennes**”, la tâche d’huile du 15-M Plus éclaté qu’à ses débuts, le mouvement des Indignés s’est dissout dans les différentes couches de la société. Après avoir réveillé les consciences politiques, le 15-M a perdu en médiatisation. Mais pas en influence. Pablo Iglesias, également professeur de la Complutense et intellectuel du mouvement, estime que “le futur du 15-M est le futur de l’indignation sociale”, Un pari déjà à moitié réussi car “après le 15-M sont arrivées les ‘**Mareas ciudadanas**’, ou ‘**Marées citoyennes**’ qui ont défendu les différents secteurs publics, le droit à la santé pour tous”, poursuit-il. Ces ‘**mareas ciudadanas**’ ou ‘**Marées citoyennes**’, correspondent au deuxiè-

me stade du mouvement. Comme une tâche d'huile, le 15-M a favorisé l'écllosion de *nouvelles formes d'indignation*. [...] que ce soit dans le secteur de la santé, de la culture, de l'éducation, de l'immobilier, les '**Marées citoyennes**' touchent de nouvelles castes de la société. Avec des chevaux de bataille bien précis. Ainsi, *de nouveaux collectifs* contre les expulsions immobilières ont vu le jour. (huffingtonpost.fr 23711/2013)

e) En Espagne, que sont devenus les indignés ? [...]. Dans les mois qui suivent, la mobilisation prend une forme plus organisée. Terminée les campements, désormais c'est à travers des *collectifs* que l'on s'exprime, les plus emblématiques étant les **Mareas ciudadanas** ou "**marées citoyennes**", à *chacune sa couleur en fonction de la cause qu'elle défend*: blanche pour la santé, verte pour l'éducation, jaune pour la culture. (leparisen.fr 08/04/2016)

Como se puede observar, la prensa francesa hace por una parte un calco semántico de la expresión española que, en numerosos casos, co-ocurre con un calco formal. El calco semántico aparece entrecomillado, lo cual indica que no está en absoluto integrado en el léxico de la lengua francesa.

#### NUIT DEBOUT

Esta locución de origen francés cuyo significado es aproximadamente 'mouvement social qui occupe les places publiques des villes la nuit pour manifester contre certaines reformes' es una locución débil cuyo pivote semántico es 'mouvement'.

f) Que peut devenir *le mouvement Nuit debout* ? La huitième Nuit Debout se tenait jeudi place de la République à Paris. L'affluence était forte pour la traditionnelle AG.

*Le mouvement Nuit debout, qui occupe la place de la République à Paris depuis le 31 mars dans la foulée d'une manifestation contre le projet de réforme du code du travail* est désormais armé d'une "radio debout" et d'une "TV debout". Les occupations de places se multiplient dans de nombreuses villes de France et à Bruxelles. Quelle sera l'issue de *ce mouvement* et qu'espèrent les participants ? (lemonde.fr 08/04/2016)

g) "**Nuit debout**" : neuf choses que vous ne savez peut-être pas Depuis le 31 mars, la place la République, à Paris, est devenue l'épicentre d'un mouvement citoyen inédit qui a essaimé partout en France, Lancée le 31 mars place de la République, l'opération "**Nuit debout**" est devenue *un mouvement qui a essaimé à travers la France. Depuis, chaque soir, les noctambules occupent l'espace public* dans la lignée de l'occupation de la Puerta del Sol à Madrid des "Indignés", de la place Syntagma à Athènes par la "Génération des 700€", [...]. (sud-ouest.fr 13/04/2016)



Esta locución muy recientemente aparecida en la prensa gala no ha integrado el léxico francés porque en numerosos casos sigue apareciendo entrecomillada.

NUIT DEBOUT/ NOCHE EN PIE

La prensa española hace un calco semántico que aparece entrecomillado de la expresión francesa o bien un calco formal. Creemos que esto muestra que la expresión es sentida como un préstamo que no ha integrado en absoluto la lengua española.

h) **‘La noche en pie’**: *los indignados franceses se extienden a otras ciudades*

Miles de personas se reunieron ayer por la noche en la plaza de la República

La **‘Nuit debout’**, *el movimiento de Indignados franceses continúa ocupando la Plaza de la República de París* después de seis días. Este martes, unas 2000 personas participaron en la asamblea en la que también tomaron la palabra un grupo de refugiados y activistas de esta causa en un intento de dar visibilidad a la situación en la que viven estas personas que en muchas ocasiones se encuentran durmiendo en la calle, [...]. Frente a las centenares de personas que acudieron los primeros días han pasado a ser miles los ciudadanos en el movimiento que no solo responde a la Ley El Khomri, la reforma laboral que Valls intenta implantar siguiendo las ordenes de Bruselas. En la **‘Nuit debout’** confluyen también movimientos ecologistas, activistas, [...]. (Elmundo.es 07/04/2016)

i) **Nuit debout** : *la indignación prende en Francia*

Las protestas contra la Ley del Trabajo han tornado en un movimiento contestatario que hierva en las plazas de decenas de ciudades

**La Nuit debout, la noche en pie**, *el movimiento de confluencia de luchas que arrancó en Francia el 31 de marzo, tras la jornada de huelga general convocada contra la Ley del Trabajo*, se extiende en ciudades de todo el país, [...]. Desde el 31 de marzo se suceden en toda Francia asambleas multitudinarias en ciudades como París, que empiezan al atardecer y se prolongan hasta bien entrada la noche, con múltiples actividades (como talleres y debates de todo tipo y hasta una biblioteca, una universidad popular, una enfermería, una cantina, una radio y una televisión que emiten en directo desde la plaza de la República) (diagonalperiodico.net 13/04/16)

## 5 Conclusión

El discurso periodístico es una fuente inagotable de neologismos fraseológicos. Entre estos, destacan muy particularmente las locuciones débiles y las semi-locuciones por ser las más numerosas. Es de resaltar que la mayoría de ellas son locuciones nominales, hecho que Alain Polguère ha destacado igualmente en los corpus con los que trabaja. Las dos locuciones que presentamos tienen, a nuestro entender, “un recorrido vital” diferente. Mientras que la expresión española *mareas ciudadanas* se ha integrado totalmente en la lengua española, no podemos decir lo mismo respecto de la locución *nuit debout* respecto a la lengua francesa. Las razones, a nuestro entender, se deben en primer lugar a que esta expresión es muy reciente y, en segundo lugar, a que la realidad que denomina ha perdido mucha fuerza social.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS  
WITH COLOR WORDS:  
EXAMPLES IN THE LANGUAGES  
OF ARCHITECTURE

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**Abstract**

This paper concentrates on German and Italian phraseological units containing at least one color word as an adjective modifying a noun, such as *grüne Architektur* and *architettura verde*. Color words have been widely investigated in general language. However, they also contribute to the building of terms in languages for specific purposes. Semantically, it is the color word that conveys the main specialized meaning, which is transferred to the entire phraseological unit. This characteristic is common to German and Italian phraseological units. Differences are to be found in the morpho-syntactic behavior of the phraseological units (e.g. in inflection).

**1 Introduction**

Phraseological units (PUs) are the linguistic concretization of the cultural growth and development through the centuries of a speaker's community, and show aspects of its history. To mention just one example, the German PU *eine Lanze für jemanden brechen*, carrying the meaning of 'to speak in defense of someone,' has its origin in medieval tournaments. PUs more or less explicitly reveal stereotypes, ways of thinking, and cultural models; and it is interesting to analyze PUs, their meanings, and their uses in different languages in order to see whether ways of perceiving reality are

similar or not. Semantic fields like animals (e.g. *ein ausgemachter Esel sein, essere un asino calzato e vestito*)<sup>1</sup>, food (e.g. *Tomaten auf den Augen haben, avere gli occhi foderati di prosciutto*), numbers (e.g. *ein Gesicht wie sieben Tage Regenwetter machen, fare due passi*)<sup>2</sup>, and colors (e.g. *keinen roten Heller haben, essere al verde*)<sup>3</sup> are good sources for building PUs, as they offer concepts referring to concrete situations like being blind or going broke, but they also carry a figurative meaning.

PUs are fixed combinations of words whose structure corresponds to two main criteria. Semantically, words in PUs cannot be substituted with other words. This restriction is bound to the characteristic that at least one of the words in the unit has a transferred meaning, as in *libro verde*, which refers to a consultation document on a specific problem—and not just a green-colored document. The only changes allowed are inflections to adapt to the morpho-syntactic context (declension of nouns, articles, and adjectives)<sup>4</sup>. Syntactically, the word order cannot be changed.

PUs can have a referential use when they convey a content message by referring to objects, phenomena, or events in the real world (Burger 2007, 36–37; Granger / Paquot 2008, 42). They can be divided into two subgroups (Burger 2007, 37–38): nominative PUs, i.e. phrases denoting objects and phenomena; and propositional PUs, i.e. statements about objects and phenomena.

The following paper concentrates on German and Italian nominative PUs in the specialized field of architecture that contain one color word as an adjective modifying a noun.

## 2 Theoretical background

### 2.1 German and Italian phraseological units in general language and in languages for specific purposes

Color words have traditionally been seen as belonging to general language, used to describe one of the visible characteristics of objects or situations. They contribute nonetheless to the building of terms in languages for specific purposes (LSPs), including some used by non-experts (e.g. *febbre gialla* and *morbo blu* in the language of medicine). Both in general language and in LSPs, color words in nominative PUs can have a

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<sup>1</sup> See Bosco Coletso (2011).

<sup>2</sup> See Chimanskaia (2014) for Russian and Italian PUs.

<sup>3</sup> See Wanzeck (2003) for German PUs.

<sup>4</sup> Some PUs do not admit changes in number (e.g. *Pagine Gialle, \*Pagina Gialla*).

referential or a figurative use<sup>5</sup>. In the referential use, there is indeed a direct relation to the referent in the real world (e.g. *Gelbe Seiten, Pagine Gialle*). The use of the color word (and of the capital letters) create a univocal meaning. Not all pages which are yellow in the real world, indeed, are Yellow Pages. Figurative use is when color words are used in a non-literal sense, and the object or the situation described by the noun is not actually characterized by that color (e.g. *schwarzer Tag, mercato nero*). To this group of color words with a figurative use also belong expressions in which the color words have had a referential use in the past (e.g. *rote Zahlen* were written in red).

The main advantages of the use of color expressions in LSPs are:

1. Terminological transparency: this is favored by the relation between the color word and reality, or rather a vision of reality, also in the figurative use of the color word.
2. Conciseness: the color word acquires new semantic traits, which are added to physical characteristics of the color. These semantic traits substitute phrases and sentences. In this way, there is an easier transfer of information—one avoiding complex constructions.
3. Unambiguity: although a color word potentially gives access to various interpretations when used in combination with a noun, it is rich in conventional meanings. The color word in the PU is conventionally motivated and can so be understood by experts.

## 2.2 Phraseological units and compounds

It is relevant to compare and contrast nominal PUs and compounds with a color word, as they share some semantic and syntactic aspects. It is thus not always easy to distinguish a PU from a compound.

Words for colors can contribute to the building of endocentric nominal compounds in German by constituting their first element (e.g. *Rotwein*)<sup>6</sup>. In this case, the color word has no inflectional endings (e.g. *\*Roterwein*). In Italian, words for colors occur only in exocentric nominal compounds,

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<sup>5</sup> See, however, Wanzeck (2003): “Die Farbe als konkreter Gegenstand erhält innerhalb der Farbphraseologismen abstrakte Bedeutungen” (23).

<sup>6</sup> Some compounds with a color word are exocentric (e.g. *Rotkehlchen, Blauschwanz*).

as first elements (e.g. *biancospino*) or as second elements (e.g. *pellerossa*). A relevant difference between German and Italian is that Italian words for color are inflected<sup>7</sup>.

Color words occur as first elements in German PUs (*schwarzes Brett*) and as second components in Italian PUs (*cronaca nera*). These combinations present inflectional endings (with there being only some exceptions in German – such as *Forelle blau*). It could be argued that the main difference between a German nominal compound and a PU is that of inflectionality (see *Grünstreifen* and *grüne Politik*). However, this simple solution meets with other types of problems, both from an intralingual perspective and from an interlingual one. From an intralingual perspective, semantic problems arise. In general, the word for a color has a referential meaning within the compound and a figurative one in the PU. A *Rotwein* is indeed a wine with a red color, whereas *graue Literatur* does not refer to books or articles written on grey pages. From an interlingual perspective, inflectionality is not a criterion of differentiation, as nominal compounds in Italian have inflectional endings (e.g. *pettirosso*).

Another problem in German is the mutual relation of phrases like *roter Wein* and *weißes Bier* with corresponding compounds (*Rotwein* and *Weißbier*). The two expressions can be considered semantically equivalent (Donalies 2007, 47): *Rotwein* = *roter Wein*<sup>8</sup>. *Rotwein* is a compound whose head selects a variety of modifiers such as adjectives indicating color (e.g. *Weißwein*), verbs referring to typical properties (e.g. *Glüh-*, *Schaumwein*) and nouns referring to ingredients (e.g. *Apfel-*, *Erdbeer-*, or *Blaubeereswein*). *Roter Wein* is a nominal phrase, i.e. a word group, where the noun can be modified on its left by a range of adjectives (*edler*, *schlechter*, *guter*, and *junger*, for example). It is the range of possible adjectives that permits one to classify *roter Wein* as a nominal phrase but not as a PU: each component of the phrase maintains its literal meaning.

In order to find a definition of PUs suitable for German and for Italian, it is necessary to consider their morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics. Nominal PUs with a color word are combinations of an adjective with inflectional endings, and a noun, whose meaning changes specifically in accordance with the semantic traits given by the adjective. German and Italian PUs differ in the position of the components (the

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<sup>7</sup> See Grossmann / Rainer (2004, 46-47).

<sup>8</sup> Differences are to be found in frequency. The compound word *Rotwein* is found significantly more frequently in a greater number of texts (39,836 tokens in 30,989 texts) than is the phrase *roter Wein* (884 tokens in 832 texts). See <https://cosmas2.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2-web/>

adjective being to the left of the noun in German and to the right in Italian).

### 3 Objectives of the paper

This paper considers German and Italian PUs in the field of architecture which adhere to two criteria:

1. They contain a word for a color
2. They are nominal PUs.

PUs containing color words are present in all European languages (some examples being *Schwarzer Freitag*, *colletti bianchi*, *blue Monday*, and *los años verdes*), and they have long interested scholars<sup>9</sup>. This is due to the fact that terms for colors have a long history, as they are primarily words referring to the external, physical characteristics of an object<sup>10</sup>. In addition, German and Italian words for colors have some common etymological origins. With regards to the choice to analyse PUs in the semantic field of architecture, in the German-Italian language pair, PUs containing color terms in the language of architecture have not yet been taken into consideration for analysis.

The analysis draws from two small-scale corpora (about 60,000 tokens for each language), which include written texts of a variety of types collected from 2014 to 2017:

- web sites (including architects' official web sites and those of producers and sellers of architectural materials);
- articles for experts and for a broad readership published in online magazines and online newspapers;
- handbooks for professional experts and do-it-yourself readers interested in home renovation.

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<sup>9</sup> See Grossmann (1998, 8ff.).

<sup>10</sup> The Italian *colore* derives from Old Latin *colos*, originally 'a covering'; the German *Farbe* derives from got. *farwa*, 'appearance, form' (Kluge 2002). See also Bosco Colettos (2009, 199): "Già per Aristotele il colore era il carattere più importante di un corpo, quello che meglio lo contraddistingueva e infatti fin dall'antichità il colore è il segno del riconoscimento."



The study analyzes the semantic and morpho-syntactic features of nominal PUs, looking for differences and similarities between German and Italian with regard to the expression of specialized concepts using color words (primarily green and white). I address the following questions:

1. is there a relationship between the free and figurative meaning of the PUs,
2. how do the PUs characterise the language of architecture as a LSP?

#### 4 Nominal phraseological units in use

The language of architecture creates specialized words and expressions by using common words whose standard meanings are given specialized semantic traits. Some Italian examples are *cappotto termico* (the term refers to the external insulation of a building and not to a coat) and *pavimento galleggiante* ('floating floor'—i.e., a floor that is not nailed or glued to the subfloor). Some German examples are *Nonne* (undertile) and *Glätteller* (pan).

Terms for colors are common in daily use—at least, the eleven basic ones (Berlin / Kay 1969): white, black, red, yellow, green, blue, brown, grey, pink, orange, and purple. Words for colors are often derived from a root referring to brightness (brightness having been the most significant characteristic of an object for ancient populations) (see Bosco Coletos 2009, 198)<sup>11</sup>. German and Italian terms for colors have profound interrelations, as many Italian words (*blu*, *bianco*, and *grigio* for example) are Germanic loans.

The use of color words in LSPs has already been the object of analysis in one of my previous articles about the language of economics (see Crestani 2012). In that paper, I analyzed how color-related terms like *schwarz / nero* in expressions such as *schwarzer Markt / mercato nero* or *Schwarzer Montag / lunedì nero*, or how terms like *rot / rosso* in expressions such as *rote Zahlen / in rosso*, build a connection between specialization and generalization of LSPs. Most people usually recognize that *schwarz* and *rot* convey negative meanings in describing (in the given

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<sup>11</sup> For example, in Latin, white and black were differentiated according to their brightness (*candidus / albus*, *niger / ater*). The Italian words *bianco* e *nero* do not have this semantic trait: *bianco* derives from the Germanic word *\*blank*, whereas *nero* derives from *niger*.

expressions) the condition of being in a difficult economic situation. Typically, only experts are capable of explaining the motives for this situation, because these words activate a deeper meaning. In other words, what non-specialists usually do not understand is the denotative part of the expressions, while they do recognize the connotative part.

Although specialized expressions in architecture may contain words with a figurative meaning, the main function of architectural language—as for every LSP—is the *Darstellungsfunktion*, to use the terminology of Bühler (1982). *Darstellung* means that the language in the concrete form of a word, a phrase, a sentence, or a text describes reality, thus creating a one-to-one relationship between the referent and the meaning. In the concrete use of language, this theoretically univocal relationship actually seems to be more complex, carrying a variety of sub-meanings activated by the language users. Again, in discourse about architecture, the participants involved are both experts (architectures, engineers, etc.) and non-professionals (people who are interested in renovating their houses or buying a new one). Colors are used to build nominal PUs with a referential function.

I begin with the color *grün* and *verde* and then I move on to *weiß* and *bianco*, showing in the process how deep the cross-linguistic relationships between German and Italian are.

#### 4.1 *Grün* and *verde*

The adjective ‘green’ is used to define a particular type of architecture in the PUs *grüne Architektur* and *architettura verde*. To tentatively define these expressions for green architecture, they express a way of building which does not damage the environment and aims to protect it. This temporary definition is indeed bound to the etymological origin of *grün* and *verde*. *Grün* derives from the Indo-European root *\*ghre-* meaning ‘to grow,’ carrying the sense of the ‘color of growing plants’; *verde* relates to the idea of growth, from the Latin verb *verēre* meaning to ‘flourish’ (see Bosco Coletsos 2009; Crestani 2012)<sup>12</sup>. Green is the color of living plants

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<sup>12</sup> PUs with the adjective *grün* have long attracted the interest of researchers Dobrovól'skij / Piirainen (1997, 275) who have categorized *grün* from a cultural-semiotic perspective:

- a. ‘good’ (*grünes Licht*);
- b. ‘immature’ (*grüner Junge*);
- c. ‘envious’ (*grün vor Neid*);
- d. ‘a lot’ (*jemandem über den grünen Klee loben*); and
- e. ‘color’ (*dasselbe in Grün*).

and grass—and, in general, of a healthy environment. Most photos and images turned up in a web search using the search terms *grüne Architektur* and *architettura verde* show buildings with a lot of plants. The color green is visually pregnant, and it conveys a specialized meaning, which is metonymical<sup>13</sup>: green architecture cannot be reduced to the presence of vertical gardens covering the sides of a building and roof gardens, it requires a series of specific practices (e.g., the use of rainwater, the installation of solar panels, and a preference for natural building materials like stone and wood), which are bound to specific objectives like avoiding thermal bridging and reducing heat islands. Green architecture aims to ensure that today’s lifestyle does not limit the opportunities of future generations. Both German and Italian expressions have a specialized meaning related to that of *Nachhaltigkeit* and *sostenibilità* (see alternative expressions like *nachhaltiges Bauen* and *architettura sostenibile*). The specialized meaning can be obscured in favor of a general meaning (such as one full of negative semantic traits), in particular in articles published in newspapers written for an inhomogeneous readership (1):

- (1) “Grüne Architektur” ist oft nur Etikettenschwindel. (www.welt.de, 2013)

A negative meaning is manifested only in this example in the corpus. An extended search in the corpora of the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (<https://cosmas2.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2-web/>) shows, however, that the PU *grüne Architektur*—particularly in newspapers—is used without any particular connection to the specialized meaning. There is a direct connection to the ideas that green architecture is a trend (2), that it brings earnings (3), and that it is chic (4):

- (2) Wie halten Sie es mit der grünen Architektur? Solche Themen folgen einer gewissen Mode. (Focus, 2012)
- (3) Mittlerweile ist grüne Architektur ein derart lukratives Geschäft, dass der Taschen-Verlag innerhalb dreier Jahre bereits den zweiten 400-seitigen Bildband zum Thema herausgegeben hat. (Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2012)

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<sup>13</sup> *Grün* and *verde* do not always convey a specialized meaning. *Grüner Daumen* and *pollice verde* are, for example, PUs with a general meaning, where adjectives refer only to nature in the narrow sense: *Ich liebe Pflanzen, habe aber keinen grünen Daumen* (www.stern.de). Other examples are *grüne Jahre*, *grünes Holz*, *anni verdi*, and *legno verde*.

- (4) “Grüne” Architektur und “grünes” Design sind schick – von neuen, energieeffizienten Bürohochhäusern über die Inneneinrichtung von Luxusapartments mit natürlichen Baustoffen bis hin zu hochmodernen, teuren Klapprädern für die kurzen Wege der Dynamischen und Erfolgreichen. (Die Tageszeitung, 2007)

In the Italian corpus, the PU *architettura verde* is not present in the newspaper articles<sup>14</sup>, only in the handbooks: a text genre with a specialized readership. Newspapers articles and information websites (including the websites of architects specializing in green architecture) contain other PUs with *verde* as the second element: *facciata verde* (5) and *parete verde* (with the same meaning as *facciata verde*). The *facciata verde* is a green façade “created by growing climbing plants up and across the facade of a building, either from plants grown in garden beds at its base, or by container planting installed at different levels across the building” ([www.growinggreenguide.org](http://www.growinggreenguide.org)).

- (5) (Le facciate verdi) costituiscono uno spazio per la compensazione ambientale, creando degli habitat naturali. ([www.paolobedogni.com](http://www.paolobedogni.com))

*Verde* is attested here with a metonymic meaning (*totum pro pars*). Another similar construction is *tetto verde*, which is also attested in the German corpus as *grünes Dach*:

- (6) I tetti verdi sono un utile strumento per il risparmio energetico dell’abitazione. ([www.edilportale.com](http://www.edilportale.com))
- (7) Immer mehr Häuser in der Hansestadt bekommen ein grünes Dach. ([www.abendblatt.de](http://www.abendblatt.de), 2014)

Green architecture is a relevant socio-political topic, and is regulated by laws and norms that have given rise to new concepts and new expressions such as *bonus verde*, a PU introduced into Italian to indicate a tax credit for people who intend to build a green roof or a green façade on their home:

- (8) Il bonus verde spetta anche per le spese sostenute per interventi eseguiti sulle parti comuni esterne degli edifici condominiali [...]. ([www.edilportale.com](http://www.edilportale.com))

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<sup>14</sup> This is due to the fact that *architettura verde* has alternate expressions such as *bioarchitettura*, *architettura sostenibile*, and *architettura bioclimatica*.

With the exception of *grüne Architektur* and *architettura verde* (which are always PUs), the other expressions can occur as simple nominal phrases, when the adjective loses its specialized metonymical meaning and reacquires its original meaning of a thing whose color is actually green (9-10), for instance a building whose roof has been painted green, or a kitchen wall:

- (9) Der Boden bricht ein, aber ihr landet auf einem grünen Dach.  
(www.gamestar.de)
- (10) La parete verde della cucina la cambierei con un bel porpora.  
(www.homify.it/forum/50202/colore-pareti)

The reason for the stability of the specialized meaning of *grüne Architektur* (maintained in its principal semantic traits like ‘respect for the environment’ and ‘use of eco-friendly materials,’ even when it is used with a negative connotation) is that the noun *Architektur* can only be used as a specialized word referring to the architectural field. In the PU it is the word *Architektur* which carries the main specialized meaning of the construction. The other PUs analyzed have a different semantic interpretation: it is the adjective that gives the PU a specialized meaning (a *Dach* is a *grünes Dach* only when it hosts a garden, etc.). When *grün* and *verde* are substituted with other color words, the PU loses its phraseological status and becomes a nominal phrase: *rotes Dach*, *gelbe Fassade*, *parete gialla*, *facciata rossa*; etc.

Their status as PUs makes it necessary to analyse not only the semantic but also the syntactic restrictions governing these expressions. PUs are so constructed that the adjective cannot be separated from the noun to be used with a predicative function in a sentence. To mention an example: the construction *Das Dach ist grün* is grammatically correct, but it is semantically different from the PU *grünes Dach*. In the sentence, *Dach* and *grün* have different syntactic functions (i.e., subject and predicative). The components of PUs unite to perform a single grammatical function:

- (11) Berlin will grüne Dächer. (*grüne Dächer* = complement in accusative)
- (12) I tetti verdi rappresentano un beneficio per l’ambiente. (*tetti verdi* = subject)

An evident morpho-syntactic difference between German and Italian PUs is inflection, which is richer and more complex in German. Italian has only inflectional endings for gender and number (*il tetto verde*, *i tetti*

*verdi*). In German, the position of the adjective before the noun requires that the adjective inflects for case, number, and gender:

- A. when there is no determiner preceding the adjective, the adjective follows the strong inflection (e.g. *grünes Dach; auf grünem Dach; grüne Dächer*);
- B. when there is a definite determiner, the adjective manifests the weak inflection (e.g. *das grüne Dach; auf dem grünen Dach; die grünen Dächer*);
- C. when there is an indefinite determiner, the adjective has strong inflection in the nominative singular and the accusative singular neuter (e.g. *ein grünes Dach*).

## 4.2 *Weiß* and *bianco*

These adjectives are used in PUs, which are semantically similar to the ones analyzed in the previous paragraph. Examples are the PUs *weißes Dach* and *tetto bianco* with the meaning of ‘reflective’ (maintaining the old meaning of ‘bright, radiant, clear’ from the Proto-Germanic *\*hwitaz*):

- (13) Weiße Dächer reflektieren die einstrahlende Sonnenwärme.  
([www.energiezukunft.eu](http://www.energiezukunft.eu))

Both in German and in Italian, the expressions can be found in general language as nominal phrases, where *weiß* and *bianco* have the meaning of ‘snow covered’:

- (14) So schön ist der Blick über die weißen Dächer von Prenzlauer Berg. ([www.bz-berlin.de](http://www.bz-berlin.de))
- (15) Arriva la neve: tetti bianchi nel Vallo di Diano.  
(<http://cilentoitalia.altervista.org>)

In Italian, putting the adjective before the noun (*bianco tetto*) would convey a non-specialized meaning (e.g. evoking an emotional idea of wonderful landscapes; see (16):

- (16) La vista spaziava a 360° sopra i bianchi tetti dell’incantevole città fino all’acropoli illuminata sopra di noi. ([www.tripadvisor.it](http://www.tripadvisor.it))

While *weiß* and *bianco* describe an inherent and permanent characteristic of the roof in the specialized expressions (the color refers to the material

the roof is made of), they describe a non-permanent characteristic of the roof in the expressions with a general meaning.

Other PUs, attested in both German and Italian texts, are *weißes Zertifikat* and *certificato bianco*, which are documents certifying a certain level of reduction in energy consumption. The adjective adds the specialized meaning of the absence of a value—in particular, the absence of high values of energy consumption:

- (17) I certificati bianchi sono attestati dal GSE, gestore dei servizi energetici, e possono essere ottenuti da vari soggetti che effettuano progetti per il risparmio e l'efficientamento energetico. (www.studiofanfulla.it)

## 5 Conclusions

Nominal PUs with a color adjective are used in a similar structure in German and Italian, as English is presumably the source language (see *green architecture*, *green roof*, *white roof*, etc.); thus, German and Italian create equivalent translations to enable transnational discourse about architecture. Similarities are indeed due to common linguistic strategies developed at the European level. Semantically, it is the adjective that conveys the main specialized meaning, one which is transferred to the entire PU. This transference of meaning is common to German and Italian PUs.

Differences are to be found in the morpho-syntactic behavior of the PUs: the color adjective is inflected in German according to gender, case, and number; while in Italian, it is only inflected according to gender and number<sup>15</sup>. This characteristic is not distinctive to PUs in the LSPs, but it is also typical of PUs in general language:

- *Er macht Photos für das schwarze Brett.*
- *Ich habe alles auf dem schwarzen Brett gelesen.*

The PUs found in the texts collected have a different structure (adjective + noun in German; noun + adjective in Italian).

In both languages PUs with a specialized meaning which I found in my corpora are endocentric constructions (e.g., a *grünes Dach* is a roof; a

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<sup>15</sup> Not all PUs can reflect variation in number: *\*die blauen Blumen* (as a symbol for Romanticism), *\*die roten Kreuze* (as an organization ensuring assistance), and *\*la Pagina Gialla* (as a book with phone numbers).

*certificato bianco* is a certificate); whereas PUs having a general meaning can be endocentric (*foglio rosa* is indeed a sheet) or exocentric (*blaue Ente* is not a duck)<sup>16</sup>. A further similarity between German and Italian is that the PUs with a specialized meaning in architecture are only partially idiomatic: only the adjective has a figurative meaning (see, instead, constructions like *roter Faden*—where both the noun and its adjective are idiomatic)<sup>17</sup>.

The differences between German and Italian PUs are due to the geographical salience of given concepts. The PUs studied are linguistically very similar in German and in Italian, but they are not equivalent in their connection to the reality they describe. An example: while it is common to see green roofs in Germany, this is not so in Italy. The PUs are thus different at a conceptual level (though not at a verbal one).

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<sup>16</sup> The concepts of 'endocentric' and 'exocentric' were introduced into phraseology by Rothkegel (1973, 24).

<sup>17</sup> See also Wanzeck (2003, 16–17).



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## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

# THE ROLE OF METAPHORS IN TECHNICAL ENGLISH PHRASEOLOGY FROM A CONTRASTIVE AND COGNITIVE PERSPECTIVE (ENGLISH AND SPANISH)

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### **Abstract**

The use of figurative terms is very frequent in technological discourse (Semino 2008). We provide representative Spanish-English examples of metaphors and metonymies commonly used in the fields of Architecture, Civil and Maritime Engineering, Mining and Telecommunications. The outcome of the research reported here, the *Bilingual Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Metaphors and Metonymies*, was published by Routledge in 2016. The results of the study suggested that metaphorical phrasemes help not only to give names and to explain technological advances but also provide a way of thinking about science itself (Fauconnier, 1997).

### **1 Introduction: Metaphors and Metonymies in Science and Technology**

In constant evolution, technology gives rise to metaphors which serve an important function in communicating, i.e. they make complex scientific texts more easily comprehensible to readers by reflecting and developing scientific ideas in simpler terms (see Hesse 1980; Keller 2009). Metaphors consist of ‘understanding and experiencing one kind of thing, that is, the target domain in terms of another, the source domain’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 5). There is a transposition of meaning based on a correspondence of

uses, functions or aspects between a source domain and a target domain. This transposition may involve metaphorical language expressions or image metaphors. Such metaphors help convey the concepts underlying different types of technical texts.

New inventions and phenomena in engineering are often named with metaphoric and metonymic expressions and terms, some of which have been compiled in the English-Spanish *Bilingual Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Metaphors and Metonymies*. A representative selection of examples is included here for contrastive analysis, and all the examples presented come from the *Bilingual Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Metaphors and Metonymies Spanish-English / English-Spanish* (Cuadrado et al, 2016), quoted in the references.

In the case of technical terms, the experiential basis of metaphor (Lakoff 1992, 37) establishes parallel correspondences between two different conceptual domains: an abstract one involving the behavior, functions or reactions of engineering structures is represented in terms of a physical domain, involving the behaviour, functions or reactions of a human or animal body. Below is shown an English conceptual metaphor related to *ship*. Conceptual metaphoric formulations appear in small caps.

#### A SHIP IS A WOMAN

Many people wonder why a ship is referred to as a 'she.' A possible explanation may be that it was customary in early days to dedicate a ship to a goddess, under whose protection she sailed. The ship carried the diety's carved image on her bow not as a decoration, as later generations imagined, but as an aid to finding the way. (Brasch 1969).

Another psycho-linguistic explanation may lie in the next conceptual metaphor, A SHIP IS A PREGNANT WOMAN.



Figure 1: English conceptual metaphor for ship

Ships and cars were thought of as “containers” that, like mothers, carried in themselves and finally delivered a load. In addition, ships and mothers secured the survival of their precious burden.

Nevertheless, this example poses questions such as how metaphors achieve this effect, and how metaphors get readers and texts closer. From a cognitive perspective, the metaphorical meaning comes from sensorimotor experience, that is, from conventional background knowledge, according to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT, Gibbs 1994; Kövecses 2002, and Lakoff and Johnson 1980). CMT explains that systematic mappings from a source domain to a target domain result in coherence between a great number of seemingly unrelated expressions, as well as in their corresponding entailments. See below examples of conceptual metaphors in Mining and Telecommunications. Mining is one of the most ancient activities done by human beings and the names of its objects teem with human associations and characteristics (See examples related to human body parts in Table 2 below: *face*, *finger*, *gland*, *cleavage* or the term *pregnancy*). Many of these metaphors are repeated partially or wholly in Spanish.

#### A MINE HAS A LIFE

*Face signals, finger raise, gland, cleavage, pregnant solution.*

Telecommunications is, surprisingly, related to natural sciences, as the image of a cascade is widely used in technology, particularly in the area of computer science. Thus, a computer may have a “cascade virus”, which causes the characters to fall to the bottom of the screen. Also, a “cascade server” is a content management system which makes possible the function of “cascade windows” i.e. an option which enables the arrangement of multiple open windows on a computer screen. These metaphors have an exact correspondence in Spanish: “virus en cascada”, “ventanas en cascada/avalancha”.

As these examples reveal, metaphors help us to translate our cognitive world into words and help engineers to embody their own world and communicate it to others. A final noteworthy theoretical issue is that the process of translating engineering metaphors is neither straightforward nor easy. Snell-Hornby (1995, 56) reminds us that it is a complex of at least three dimensions: *object* or the item described by the metaphor, *image* or the item in terms of which the metaphor is described (vehicle in Richards’ terminology), and *sense*, or the traditional *tertium comparationis*, which shows in what particular aspects the object and the image are similar (tenor, for Richards).

The *Bilingual Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Metaphors and Metonymies Spanish-English/English-Spanish* was co-authored by the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid Research Group DISCYT (“Estudios cognitivos y sociopragmáticos del discurso científico y técnico”), which conducted an in-depth study of the translation of technical metonyms and metaphors. The objective of the publication was two-fold: to identify English and Spanish metaphors in specialized areas; and to translate them, respectively, into Spanish and English. Using existing empirical methods (Pragglejaz 2007; Cameron 2007; Steen 2007), this project identified key figurative language in different areas: Agricultural Engineering, Architecture, Aeronautical and Naval Engineering, Bio-Technology, Civil Engineering, Geology and Mining, Sports, and Telecommunications. The approach is based on the theory of metaphor and conceptual blending principles (Deignan 2005; Gibbs 2008; Lakoff 1992; Lakoff / Johnson 1999; Steen 2007; Fauconnier / Turner 2002). In the sections that follow, we will focus on how the translation process works in the fields of Architecture, of Civil and Maritime Engineering, of Mining and of Telecommunications.

## 2 Data, Methodology and Discussion

We show a selection of translations from Spanish into English of authentic examples from Architecture, Civil and Maritime Engineering and from Mining and Telecommunications texts. Translation is a necessary process for Spanish engineers who want to publish technological advances and papers in English.

### 2.1 Architecture metaphors

Úbeda-Mansilla in Cuadrado et al. (2016) claims that metaphors in this field are linked mainly to the creative process during which architects design a product. Language is an essential part of architecture as it is connected to the mental task of invention and creativity during the design of buildings (Cuadrado et al. 2016, lvii). One of the most outstanding conceptual metaphors is BUILDINGS ARE HUMAN BEINGS, with many common terms in the two languages. A building has a “core, arteries, articulations, skin and veins” and also the same corresponding terms in Spanish: “corazón, arterias, articulaciones y venas”. Buildings also age like human beings and therefore may suffer fatigue or stress.

Interestingly, many Architecture metaphors in English are inspired by the equestrian world as well. No wonder, as the horse was a very valuable possession in medieval times, being used for multiple purposes: war, transportation, agriculture and recreation among the most frequent ones (examples 1 and 2, Table 1). There is also a clear correlation between animals and architectural elements in English (examples 3 to 7) in Table 1. The = sign indicates the same metaphor and & indicates a different metaphorical term in English. Terms with no sign attached are not metaphorical in translation in the tables below.

SPANISH METAPHOR	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1) Tejado a dos aguas	Saddle back-roof &
2) Arco de herradura	Horseshoe arch &
3) Ojo de buey	Bull's eye &
4) Ventana de ojo de buey	Ox-eye window =
5) Cubierta de mariposa	Butterfly roof=
6) Bucranio	Ox-head =
7) Cabeza de pico	Dogtooth (ornament)&

Table 1: Spanish Architecture metaphors and their English equivalents

## 2.2 Civil Engineering Metaphors

There are plenty of metaphorical lexical correspondences in the two languages in this area, according to Roldán (2015, in Cuadrado et al.)

SPANISH METAPHOR	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
8) agujero de alivio	<i>weep hole (presas) &amp;</i>
9) alma de viga	<i>web &amp;</i>
10) apuntalamiento	<i>underpinning &amp;</i>
11) armadura reforzada	<i>braced frame =</i>
12) cuello	<i>throat &amp;</i>
13) deformación permanente	<i>yield &amp;</i>
14) depósito	<i>tank &amp;</i>
15) desplazamiento vertical en fallas	<i>throw &amp;</i>
16) docilidad del hormigón	<i>workability &amp;</i>
17) efecto de arrastre	<i>dragging effect =</i>
18) envejecimiento	<i>aging =</i>
19) esfuerzo directo	<i>stress &amp;</i>
20) fatiga	<i>fatigue =</i>
21) fisuración de la capa de rodadura	<i>scabbing &amp;</i>
22) forjado en rosario	<i>string forging &amp;</i>
23) fuga (tuberías)	<i>leak, leakage &amp;</i>

24) garra de fijación	<i>yoke &amp;</i>
25) gato	<i>Jack</i>
26) hormigón deshidratado	<i>vacuum concrete &amp;</i>
27) lecho	<i>bed =</i>
28) lengua de tierra	<i>Tongue =</i>
29) momento de torsión	<i>Torque &amp;</i>
30) paramento aguas arriba	<i>upstream face</i>
31) patología de estructuras	<i>pathology =</i>
32) portillo	<i>wicket &amp;</i>
33) pozo (túneles)	<i>well =</i>
34) presa de residuos	<i>tailings &amp;</i>
35) red de carreteras	<i>road network =</i>
36) red de tuberías	<i>pipe network =</i>
37) relajación de esfuerzos	<i>stress relaxation (structures) =</i>
38) subpresión	<i>uplift</i>

Table 2: Spanish Civil Engineering Metaphors translated into English

The translation of metaphorical terms requires a good knowledge of Civil Engineering as divulged in different source texts, and expertise in the terminology of both the source language and the target language: many terms are translated by a different metaphor (*presa de residuos*> *tailings*) or by a specific term which is not metaphorical, i.e. *subpresión*> *uplift*.

There are several instances of **loan translations**. This is not surprising as many Civil Engineering techniques are taken from publications written in English. Loan translation occurs when the semantic components of a given term or terminological phrase are literally translated into their equivalents in the target language, in this case Spanish. Loan translation usually involves the construction of a lexical item or expression strictly in accordance with the respective constituent structure of the original. More examples are included in Table 3:

1)	torcedura	<i>warp =</i>
2)	topo	<i>mole =</i>
3)	vibrador	<i>vibrator =</i>
4)	vulnerabilidad (hormigón)	<i>vulnerability =</i>

Table 3: Loan translations in civil engineering metaphors

Some general steps in the translation of Civil Engineering texts include determining the type of text and genre, asking for expert help or revising the final translation several times (Santiago / Roldán 2003, 329), and also identifying metaphorical terms, like those italicized and discussed in 1) to 3) below.

- (1) *bed*, a lexical unit frequently used in Geotechnics which is an important branch of civil engineering. When building foundations, engineers must test the soil capacity in order to calculate its strength. *Bed* tends to collocate with *rock* and its translation into Spanish, though conveying a more literary tenor than in English, seems semantically equivalent: *lecho de roca*. Actually, it is part of the conceptual metaphor PARTS OF STRUCTURES ARE DOMESTIC OBJECTS (similar examples included in this conceptual metaphor in civil engineering are: *chair, banquette, box, curtain, lattice, apron*, etc.). Genre: Engineering Procedures.

Depth to *bedrock* can be a critical parameter in geotechnical investigations. *Bedrock* influences the stability of structures built above it, particularly in earthquake prone areas.

Source: <http://www.hgiworld.com/services/engineering/depth-to-bedrock>

- (2) *Stress relaxation* relates to the behavior of soils or materials considered for construction. The engineer must consider this risk during the design stage. Its translation slightly varies from English but it is included in a similar semantic group: “*relajación de esfuerzos*”. As it involves an engineering operation, it is part of the conceptual metaphor: STRUCTURES ARE HUMAN BEINGS with its entailment “engineering techniques are medical techniques”. Similar examples included in this conceptual metaphor in civil engineering are *reinforcing, strengthening, stabilization, curing, monitoring, rehabilitation*, etc.). Genre: Abstract of journal article.

On the basis of a series of indoor *stress relaxation* tests for Nanning expansive soils, the characteristics of stress relaxation under the condition of direct shearing for the unsaturated remolded expansive soils have been investigated. The results show that *relaxation* curves of stress belong to non-completed decay type under different water contents, and the stresses tend to be stable.

Source: <http://cedb.asce.org/cgi/WWWdisplay.cgi?278831>

- (3) *Scabbing* represents a failure in road building surface. The biological and medical link involved in this metaphor in English is also kept in Spanish: *fisuración de la capa de rodadura*. It forms part of the conceptual metaphor STRUCTURES ARE HUMAN BEINGS and its entailment ‘structural problems are medical problems’. Similar examples included in this conceptual metaphor in civil engineering are: *collapse, swelling, cracking, fatigue, fracturing, pathology*, etc. Genre: Abstract of journal article.

This paper presents failure mechanism of the *scabbing* of concrete plates subjected to high velocity impact and effects of fiber sheet reinforcement. Prior to impact tests, strain measurement method using acrylic bar with strain gauges is validated by conducting impact test to concrete bar specimen.

Source: <http://adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2012JSCSE.68...398B>



The main sources of reference for the translation of these metaphors were Beigbeder (1997), Blockley (2005), the IATE database and 2lingual Google search. Metaphors were always chosen bearing in mind their context of production. Context was understood in a wide sense to cover specific Civil Engineering sub-genres, cultural factors and situational constraints.

To sum up, determining the genre of the text and the contextual background of the topic are useful strategies for accurate translations of metaphors in civil engineering texts.

### 2.3 Maritime Engineering Metaphors

Some examples were chosen at random from three letters: “o”, “p”, “r”. The dictionaries used for translation were principally Delgado (2010), González Liaño / López Pampín (2004), IATE and 2Googlelingual search. Expert advice was useful for terms with more than one translation, such as *señal parásita* > noise, false signal. Table 4 shows other examples. It is to be noted that most Spanish metaphors are based on the Mediterranean lingua franca. Contact between the English and Spanish maritime cultures was through French. This explains why some terms are translated by an equivalent term, marked in the table with =.

SPANISH METAPHOR	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
5) obra muerta (ship)	<i>upper works, deadworks &amp;</i>
6) ojo de buey	<i>bull's eye &amp;</i>
7) ojo de la escalera	<i>open [hollow]newel</i>
8) oreja (ancla con cepo)	<i>shoulder &amp;</i>
9) oreja del bauprés	<i>bee block, bowsprit bee [cheek]&amp;</i>
10) palanca de pie de cabra	<i>claw lever, crow lever &amp;</i>
11) paleta directora	<i>turning vane, splitter</i>
12) palo macho	<i>lower mast, kingpost &amp;</i>
13) palo macho mesana	<i>lower mizzen mast</i>
14) palo macho trinquete	<i>lower foremast</i>
15) pana (embarc. menor)	<i>bottom[flooring] board</i>
16) pasador de aletas	<i>cotter-pin, cotter</i>
17) patín de la cruceta	<i>crosshead shoe &amp;</i>
18) peana (bote de remos)	<i>boat stretcher, stretcher, footboard</i>

19) peine de roscas	<i>thread gauge</i>
20) percha (palo)	<i>spar, middling spar, boom spar</i>
21) perfil con bulbo	<i>bulb section =</i>
22) periodo de cabeceo	<i>pitching period</i>
23) periquito, perico	<i>mizzen topgallant sail</i>
24) perturbación (pantalla de radar)	<i>Clutter</i>
25) peso muerto	<i>deadweight, deadweight tonnage =</i>
26) piano de válvulas	<i>valve nest &amp;, manifold</i>
27) pie de amigo (amurada, brazola, etc.)	<i>stay, brace</i>
28) pie de gallo	<i>crowfoot =</i>
29) rabo de rata	<i>pointed rope</i>
30) rascanubes	<i>moonraker, moonsail &amp;</i>
31) reflujo	<i>reflux, ebb =</i>
32) reguera (amarra)	<i>stern rope</i>
33) riñón	<i>thrust shoe [pad], bearing shoe &amp;</i>
34) rizo (cabo)	<i>reef line</i>
35) rizos (largar los rizos- cabo)	<i>unreef</i>
36) roda de planchas	<i>soft nose(d) stem, plate(d) stem, soft nose &amp;</i>
37) rollo (cable)	<i>coil</i>
38) rosa de los vientos	<i>compass card [rose], wind rose =</i>
39) rostro (espolón)	<i>ram, beak &amp;</i>
40) rompeolas	<i>breakwater =</i>
41) talón (extremidad de popa de la quilla)	<i>heel =</i>
42) tuerca cautiva (construcción naval)	<i>castellated nut &amp;</i>

Table 4: Spanish Naval Engineering metaphors translated into English

Three examples of Spanish naval metaphors may suffice to indicate that their translation into English requires a sound background knowledge of different Naval Engineering genres and the use of strategies such as visuals (Figure 2, *seno de la ola* > wave trough), collocation identification (example 5) and, undoubtedly, a recognition of metaphors.

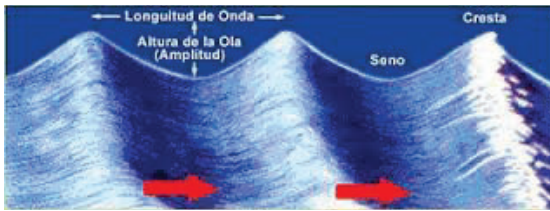


Figure 2: “seno de la ola” metaphor

- (4) sp. Una ola cualquiera está caracterizada por su amplitud, su longitud y su período. La amplitud es la distancia vertical entre la cresta y el *seno de la ola*.

eng. Any wave is characterized by its breadth, its length and its period. Amplitude is the vertical distance between the crest and the **trough** of the wave). (Genre: Textbook)

- (5) sp. Una supresión de *señal parásita* con el sensor montado es recomendable, pero no obligatoriamente necesaria.

eng. A *false signal* suppression with integrated sensor is recommended but not compulsory. (Genre: Instruction Booklet)

- (6) sp. Para solucionar este problema, se ha instalado un plano abatible en la proa, a modo de *rompeolas*.

eng. To solve this problem, a swing plane is installed in the bow, as a *breakwater*. (Genre: Naval Architecture)

([www.revistanaval.com/armada/tear/lvtp7.htm](http://www.revistanaval.com/armada/tear/lvtp7.htm))

As a rule, the translation of a naval metaphor requires finding a word or a phrase in the target language that would convey a conceptual content similar to that in the source language, which could be the same metaphor, a different metaphor or a non-metaphorical term or collocation. A cursory comparison of Table 2 metaphors with those in Table 3 shows that English Civil Engineering terms tend to be more metaphorical than their Naval Engineering counterparts. This claim should be studied in more depth when we are able to compare all the terms in both disciplines.

Finally, Úbeda-Mansilla in Cuadrado et al. (2016, 243) also draws attention to an interesting interdisciplinary phenomenon of interest to Cognitive Analysis: there are terms that are used both in Architecture and shipbuilding because both use timber for building, in elements such as *anchor joint* (junta de anclaje), *sail vault* (bóveda vaída).

## 2.4 Mining Metaphors

The conceptual metaphor ROCKS ARE HUMAN BEINGS is frequently used in Spanish geology and mining to describe both the functions and characteristics of certain rocks in Spanish (literal English translations of the terms are provided in parentheses). Thus, *roca madre* (mother rock), *roca viva* (live rock), *roca sana* (healthy rock), *roca efusiva* (warm/affectionate rock) are related to human attributes such as motherhood, health and affection. From a translation point of view, it is not clear whether the origin is English or Spanish on several occasions. Some examples point at this parallelism in the two languages: *roca estéril* (barren rock), *rocas de origen consanguíneo* (consanguineous rocks) or *rocas intrusivas* (intrusive rocks).

## 2.5 Telecommunication Metaphors

Argüelles in Cuadrado et al. (2016) states that the image of a cascade, a waterfall in natural sciences, is widely used in technology, more specifically in the area of electronics and computing sciences. For example, in electronic communications for amplifiers a *cascade* is a series of components where the output of the first amplifying device serves as the input for the next stage and so on.

In computer science, this image conceptualizes the behaviour of a computer virus called a *cascade virus*, which causes the characters to fall to the bottom of the screen. A *cascade server* is a content management system which makes possible the function of *cascade windows* i.e. an option which enables the arrangement of multiple open windows on a computer screen.

This image is not the only one borrowed from nature: the phenomenon of *avalanches* is also used in electronics. It describes a breakdown in a semiconductor diode where, due to a sudden increase in the flow of electrical current, current carriers collide with valence electrons and produce the cumulative multiplication of carriers, resulting in uneven current flow. *Avalanche noise* is a form of noise produced “in a region at or close to the point of avalanche breakdown”.

These image metaphors have exact correspondences in Spanish in the area of electronics; *Cascada* in computing science (“virus en cascada, servidor en cascada” and “ventanas en cascada”); *avalacha* in radio communications (“ruido de avalancha”).

All the examples discussed provide evidence that metaphoric and metonymic terms abound in technology and are not dead but retain much

of their figurative and pragmatic value in English and Spanish and are frequently used in both languages.

### 3 Conclusions

The translation of these types of technical metaphors and metonymies has seldom been specifically dealt with in standard bilingual or in technical dictionaries (e.g., Delgado 2012), and certainly not in English-Spanish ones. The *Bilingual Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Metaphors and Metonymies* shows how frequent the use of this figurative language is in science and technology in both languages. Each language has its own way of mapping the same metaphors and metonymies. However, as regards the cognitive and similarity mechanisms employed to create them, some of these appear to be shared by English and Spanish. This explains why some metaphors are similar. Semantic calques from English into Spanish also play an important part when the translation is identical.

Another of this study's interesting findings is that bilingual technical glossaries do not always include all the possibilities for translating a given metaphor according to different engineering areas. For example, *deformación permanente* is translated as "yield" in Beigbeder's dictionary (2002, 477), which is suitable in civil engineering but this term is also translated as *creep* in technical legislation, as *permanent strain* in aeronautical engineering or as *permanent deformation* in metallurgy and the iron and steel industry. This is the reason why, in many cases, terms were ascribed in the dictionary to their corresponding field of science: to contextualize their metaphorical-use and explains the different translations of the same term. Conversely, identical lexical units with different translations may be found in sources within the same discipline. The solution is to favour the most up to date use of the terms, as found in prestigious journals and indexed in scientific databases, usually online. By focusing on the English-Spanish and Spanish-English translations of metaphors in a variety of field-specific contexts, this chapter has offered some practical tips on how to cope with translations in specific academic fields and thus on effective communication. It is obvious that if translators develop an awareness of metaphorical units, this will give them a better contrastive knowledge of languages and improve their translating skills. Metaphorical and metonymical terminology are frequently used in engineering to make structures and concepts more accessible to readers. Context, however, is a fundamental key to their interpretation.

The empirical analysis of nearly one hundred examples in this study showed that the two languages share a similar conceptual framework,

which eases translation, although there is not always a one-to-one equivalence between English and Spanish.

Empirical testing suggests that in order to confirm the right meaning in figurative engineering terms, it is necessary to use electronic resources in addition to traditional paper dictionaries and glossaries. The most useful tools in order of importance for translating texts effectively are the following:

- Specialized Engineering dictionaries and glossaries.
- General bilingual technical dictionaries: e.g., Boud's (1997) *Routledge Technical Dictionary*.
- 2lingual Google Search
- IATE (Interactive Terminology for Europe)
- Specific naval and civil engineering glossaries
- Traditional paper dictionaries (monolingual and bilingual)

Finally, consultation with engineers and experts is extremely useful to elucidate the key concepts that help to determine whether the meaning of a scientific or technical term is different from its meaning in general use and, therefore, figurative in its technical context.

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## **PART 4**

# **PHRASEOLOGY IN DICTIONARIES: PHRASEOGRAPHY**





## CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

# DIGGING INTO A THESAURUS FOR TREASURES: PHRASEOLOGICAL CONCEPTUAL MAPS IN THE *LONGMAN LANGUAGE ACTIVATOR*

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### Abstract

The article describes how the conceptual maps of the thesaurus-like *Longman Language Activator* (1993, 2002) (LLA) allow semantically related phraseologisms to be identified. It analyses selected idioms and collocations taken from the LLA keyword entries WORK, BRAVE, WIN, and ANGRY that are respectively related to the FRAME-project (FRAscologia Multilingue Elettronica–Electronic Multilingual Phraseology) semantic fields “people and work”, “people and their behaviour”, “human relations” and “emotions”. The aim is to highlight main differences in their use and to show that the LLA could feature as a primary source of the English phraseologisms to be added to the FRAME database.

### 1 Introduction

The relations between ‘thesaurus’ and ‘*Longman Language Activator*’ (LLA1, 1993; LLA2, 2002)<sup>1</sup> on the one hand, and between ‘treasures’ and ‘phraseological conceptual maps’ on the other, emerge quite clearly in the title, but the relation between ‘treasures’ and ‘thesaurus’ needs to be further

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<sup>1</sup> The *Longman Essential Activator* (LEA) (1997), which was designed for intermediate students, is not analysed in the present paper. The headword list is shorter than in the LLA1, but LEA “moves further into the territory previously occupied by usage books”, though its tone is “often overtly prescriptive” and usage notes are occasionally incorrect (Rundell 1999, 50).

explored, beyond the intentional play on words based on their common etymology. References are made to either LLA1 or LLA2; or to LLA, if they concern both.

Section 2 will thus show why the LLA is a thesaurus, how its conceptual maps are presented, why its contents can be considered treasures, and how prominently it might feature as a source for the FRAME project, which is briefly described since its implementation is the ultimate aim of the present analysis.

FRAME stands for *FR*aseologia *Multilingue Elettronica* (Electronic Multilingual Phraseology): the project aims at creating a database which will contain phraseologisms related to twenty-five semantic fields concerning human life in its diverse social aspects, in as many as nine languages (at the time of writing). ‘Phraseologism’ is predominantly used in corpus linguistics studies to refer to the statistically measured “co-occurrence of a lexical item and one or more additional elements which function as one semantic unit” (Ellis 2008, 2). Terminology in the field of phraseology, especially across languages, is a relevant problem in general (Burger *et al.* 2007). ‘Phraseologism’, however, is here taken as equivalent to Italian *fraseologismo*, which is used as an umbrella term to cover differently-named types of phraseological units in the languages included in the project. This article will deal with English collocations and idioms, which, independently of their definitions, are widely recognized as part and parcel of phraseology.

Section 3 will focus on the treasures, that is the idioms and collocations included in LLA2 keyword entries WORK, BRAVE, WIN, ANGRY, as representatives of the FRAME-project fields “people and work”, “people and their behaviour”, “human relations” and “emotions”. Despite some criticism especially concerning the effectiveness of the presentation of conceptual maps (Sierra, 2000; Lea, 2008), it will be shown how the LLA2’s treasures can be purposefully raided to find meaning-related phraseologisms and to highlight main communicative and pragmatic differences in their use. Their analysis is also meant to provide a sound basis to ultimately identify equivalent Italian phraseologisms to be included in the FRAME database.

Some concluding remarks will be presented in Section 4.

## 2 Is the LLA a thesaurus?

The LLA is a learner’s dictionary designed for upper-intermediate/advanced learners. It shares some of the features of a THESAURUS (OED, 2b): “a collection of concepts or words arranged according to sense”. Not by chance

the only OED citation concerns Roget's *Thesaurus*<sup>2</sup>, first published in 1852. The LLA does indeed group together "individual word-meanings and phrase-meanings that generally share the same idea, concept or semantic area" (Gadsby, 2002, viii)<sup>3</sup> in each keyword entry, yet it does not entirely fit either the traditional OED definition or Roget's model. Actually, the LLA1 does compare itself to Roget's *Thesaurus*. According to Leech (1993, F12), the LLA provides users with ways of dealing with the following need: "if we [learners] know the meaning (roughly) that we want to express, how can we find a word to fit it?". To answer this question, the LLA does not just list near-synonyms, but words and phrases that belong to the same semantic area: it adds information about their pronunciation and especially fine-grained explanations about their semantic and pragmatic features.

Leech further explains that, differently from the LLA, "Roget's *Thesaurus* met this need [embodied in the question above] for native speakers" who, unlike learners, looked for a word they could not remember but "knew how to use it when found" (Leech, 1993, F12). Differently from Roget's *Thesaurus* and other onomasiological dictionaries, the LLA gives definitions for all keywords, which represent basic concepts, as well as for each word or phrase entered under them. Keywords, which have "clear, direct names", are presented alphabetically, as headwords usually are in semasiological dictionaries. In fact, the macrostructure of thesauri can be alphabetical or thematic; the LLA macrostructure is both, since it is composed of common concept words only, but which are arranged alphabetically. These words are common in the sense that they express the "basic building blocks of the language core vocabulary that helps to activate the learner's passive knowledge" (Stark, 2011, 183); they are the organizing principle of this dictionary-thesaurus, which not by chance is named the *Activator* (not a common word at all) because of its function. Keywords are also common because they occur frequently in the language and in the *Longman Learner's Corpus*; as such they are already known by target users.

Keywords in the LLA are often followed by cross-references to other semantically related keywords, thus immediately tracing links across concepts. Keywords are subdivided into numbered sections, each dealing with a different sense/use: a so-called menu lists all the single words and the literal and figurative multi-word combinations included as subentries in each section. In a functional perspective, as "basic-level concepts",

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<sup>2</sup> The whole title is *Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases classified and arranged so as to facilitate the expression of ideas and assist in literary composition*.

<sup>3</sup> On the same page Gadsby adds that "the index contains all the word-meanings and phrase-meanings in the *Longman Activator*". Actually, the index contains the alphabetical list of words and phrases included in the LLA (see section 2.1).

keywords specifically concern the “language of predication – or words that say something *about* a person or thing as opposed to items that *name* the person or thing” (Rundell / Ham 1994, 174; emphasis in the original). This approach explains the presence of multi-word lexemes both as keywords and as subentries (see 2.2 below), as it extends the concept of synonymy as a strict criterion in order to select and include them. Indeed, the LLA2 (2002, xxi) does not mention synonyms, but “words in the same meaning area”. According to Scholfield, semantic area refers to “homogeneity of meaning within the groups of words and phrases” which represent “legitimate alternatives” in specific, and specified, contexts (1993, F18). This allows to establish an underlying model which shapes a network among and within entries. Semantic area is thus used in a way which is slightly different from that of semantic field in the sense of “some loose meaning connection like ‘eat’, ‘table’ and ‘bread’” (Scholfield 1993 F18). The LLA1 emphasizes the “meaning differences” rather than the similarities between subentries that “seem to be almost synonymous” (Summers 1993, F8), and it only cursorily mentions near synonyms. According to Barker (2000, 1) “word meaning mediates between conceptualization and language: simply put, words name concepts”. Since keywords name concepts, they constitute “concept entries” (Scholfield 1993, F17). It is thus worth noting that, as highlighted by Stark (2011, 345), the keywords and “the entries themselves are semasiologically oriented”, because in the LLA words and phrases, as forms, “precede definitions”, as meanings. Interestingly, this very citation is recorded in the OED at SEMASIOLOGICALLY. However, the LLA’s overall organization is clearly onomasiological. A distinction between onomasiological dictionaries and thesauri seems in order.

According to Sierra (2000, 224) “the term onomasiological dictionary covers all dictionaries that are used for finding a word from an idea”: it includes thesauri proper, synonym dictionaries, and reverse dictionaries. In Sierra’s sense the LLA with its concept-oriented approach is onomasiological. Thesauri, or thesauruses<sup>4</sup>, are specialist dictionaries and they are “the oldest type of onomasiological dictionaries” (Sierra 2000, 224), and “the oldest recorded form of lexicographical works” (Kay / Alexander 2016, 367). Marelo (1990, 1088) specifies that “the first dictionary ever printed was a thesaurus”<sup>5</sup>. Thesauri, as onomasiological dictionaries, connect names to concepts and they are “primarily constructed from the bottom upwards” (Kay / Alexander 2016, 369). Traditional thesauri

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<sup>4</sup> In LLA1 (F17) they are referred to as “thesaurusi”: a misprint, or, one might wonder, a mark of the LLA uniqueness?

<sup>5</sup> It was a “bilingual dictionary, Venetian-German, known as *Introito e porta*, 1477” (Marelo 1990, 1088).

are based on thematic classifications in which the “world is arranged by the authors’ points of view” (Sierra 2000, 224). The macrostructure of the LLA is not hierarchical, since it is not composed of classes and categories as in Roget’s *Thesaurus*, or in the much more recent *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (online, [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)). Its microstructure, too, is rather idiosyncratic: it is neither entirely distinctive, in the sense of “attempting to find classes with contents which are recognizably semantically discrete from all others of similar meaning”, nor entirely cumulative, in the sense that the contents of each entry are composed of “many words with a relation of similarity to each other, but not finely distinguished in their meaning” (Kay / Alexander 2016, 370). The LLA is both partly distinctive in its macrostructure, since its keywords are indeed “semantically discrete”, although they are not “classes” with a “complex hierarchical structure”; and only partly cumulative in its microstructure, since the relations of similarity are “finely distinguished” and defined in order to avoid the possible assumption that any word or phrase in an entry can function as a (strict) synonym for any other. Marelló (1990, 1084) distinguishes defining from cumulative thesauri, and in her terminology the LLA could be a defining learners’ thesaurus.

To sum up, the LLA is quite different from traditional thesauri, which mainly include (near) synonyms and sometimes antonyms, as for example, in the *Oxford Learner’s Thesaurus* (2008). In fact, it is not a thesaurus proper, but it definitely is an onomasiological dictionary, in as far as it is a “dictionary of *ideas* and how to express them in English” (Summers 1993, F8). According to Scholfield (1993, F17), it is “a unique synthesis of meaning-based and alphabetical organization”. In Quirk’s words (1993, Preface) the LLA is “a radically different type of dictionary” which presents “linguistic—not just lexical—information”, especially in terms of use.

## 2.1 The Index

Another feature of the LLA is at the basis of, and shows in, the index (and in the A to Z body as well): the fact that semantic space is continuous and that words live in a never-ending network. As Scholfield (1993, F18) highlights: “the underlying model of how the concept groups of items are themselves interconnected is not that of a *hierarchy* but a *network*”. The index, the keywords and especially their sections and subentries are self-revealing in terms of semantic nets and of the ways they have been mapped.

The 125-page LLA2 index<sup>6</sup> includes all the words present in the dictionary and plays a major role in showing links between them and concept keywords. Words are alphabetized in bold and so are idioms, phrasal verbs and compounds. Idioms are also recorded as phrases in italics under the alphabetized word(s) that occur in them. Thus, for example, *call a spade a spade* is alphabetized in bold, but it is also recorded under *spade* in italics; in both cases, it is semantically cross-referenced to HONEST 4<sup>7</sup>. Phrases other than idioms which contain alphabetized words are usually listed under one of them, in italics: see the example of *tell the truth* below. Some are presented twice: for example, *piece of work* is both alphabetized in bold and listed under *work* in italics. They are all cross-referenced to the appropriate keywords.

The distinctions between phrases, an umbrella-term, collocations and idioms are not clear-cut. Usually bipartite collocations are not included in the index, but the words that form them, or at least one of them, direct(s) to the appropriate keyword(s). For example, *bald* was included in the index in the LLA1 and directed to HONEST 4; the run-on collocation *bald truth* was given under the subentry *bald*, where *tell the bald truth* was an example. Some collocations are also presented as phrases in the index under one of the words they are composed of. Thus, in the LLA2, where *bald* does not feature anywhere, *tell the truth* ('to say what really happened or what the true situation is') and *to tell the truth* ('say this when you want to be honest about something even if it is something unpleasant that other people may not like') are both listed in the index under *truth*; the latter also under *tell*, probably because of its formulaic use. However, given their conceptual differences, they are cross-referenced to different keywords: *tell the truth* to HONEST 4 and TRUE 5; *to tell the truth* to ADMIT 2.

The use of the index is necessary and its presence is a characterizing part of a thesaurus. According to Sierra (2000, 225) "most authors think the index is the best entry point [...] for consulting thesauri". As will be seen, the index might not prove immediately useful in locating unknown phraseologisms, though concept-words are supposed to help considerably.

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<sup>6</sup> The index, built into the body of the dictionary in the 1993 edition, was moved to the back in the 2002 one.

<sup>7</sup> Its definition, which is slightly different from the LLA1's, is "to say exactly what you think about someone or something, especially in a situation where other people would be more polite".

## 2.2 The keywords

The LLA keywords, as common concept-naming words, include, for example, prepositions (ABOUT), pronouns (NOTHING); adverbials, (IN GENERAL, ON TIME); adjectival phrases (GOOD ENOUGH); and prepositional verbs (COME FROM). Others embed related concepts, especially near synonyms (COUNT/CALCULATE, SHOULD/UGHT TO, STUPID/SILLY); antonyms (CONVENTIONAL/UNCONVENTIONAL, CAN/CAN'T, DO/NOT DO, ENOUGH/NOT ENOUGH, MUST/DON'T HAVE TO); pairs of words that belong to the same semantic area and that are often confused by learners (SCHOOL/UNIVERSITY, WORD/PHRASE/SENTENCE). In each keyword, as Scholfield highlights, "it has often proved valuable to enter in the same subentry group both phrases and single words, and not necessarily all of the same part of speech" (1993, F18). This is another key characteristic of the LLA, which also differentiates it from dictionaries of synonyms that usually include as headwords words from the same part of speech only.

Keyword mapping in the LLA has been criticized. According to Lea (2008, 546), "one of the weaknesses that we perceived in the *Activator* (LLA2) was the conceptual structure, which works well when the user's own mental map of concepts matches the way they are divided up in the *Activator*, and rather less well when it does not". This statement chimes with the following point made by Sierra: "Current onomasiological dictionaries are inadequate because they do not take into account the fact that the conceptualizations users engage in are different and variable, thus users' clue words do not coincide with those of the lexicographer" (2000, 223).

Eason and Yates (1995, 210) noticed that the LLA includes a limited number of nouns<sup>8</sup> as keywords. This might well be a shortcoming for learners, given the determining role nouns are believed to play in the concept-naming process<sup>9</sup>. With reference to the concepts analysed) in Section 3 below, the noun courage, as the equivalent of Italian *coraggio*, which is a FRAME keyword, is not a keyword in the LLA, but it is included

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<sup>8</sup> As Summers (1993, F8) clearly states, "concrete nouns" are not concept-names, since the LLA "does not address itself to words for 'real world' items" which are "left to the *Longman Lexicon*" (1981).

<sup>9</sup> In collocations dictionaries verb+noun, noun+verb, and adjective+noun collocations have traditionally been listed in noun entries. This approach has recently been questioned: the *Macmillan Collocations Dictionary* (2010) and the *Longman Collocations Dictionary and Thesaurus* (2013) include some verb+noun, noun+verb, and adjective+noun combinations in verb and in adjective entries. The word *Thesaurus* in the *Longman Collocations Dictionary* refers to synonyms of the lemma and to information about their differences.



in the index, where it directs to the adjectival keyword BRAVE/NOT BRAVE. Similarly, both *anger* and *angry* are listed in the index, but only the latter is a keyword and the former directs to it. *Win* is in the index, and directs to GET and WIN (verb); so is *victory*, which also directs to WIN.

On the basis of its overall structural organization, of the arrangement of its keywords and contents, and of the presence and role of the index, the LLA is here considered a thesaurus—though it is not a thesaurus proper.

### 2.3 The treasures

In his preface to the 1879 edition of the *Thesaurus*, John Lewis Roget, the son of Peter Mark Roget, highlights that “in the endeavour to enrich our treasury of expression” to add “word to word and group to group” might have as a consequence that the original “nearly synonymous words [ ... ] would be lost in a sea of phrases” (1879, xi)<sup>10</sup>. There is no risk of this in the LLA, partly because it defines all words and phrases, partly because of the nature of its concept-names and of its macro and micro-structure arrangement, and partly because of the characteristics of its index. The “treasury of expression” analysed here refers to the collocations and the idiomatic phrases included in the LLA. It is the concept-oriented approach of the LLA that allows the retrieval of collocations and idioms which would be impossible to find under the same entry in semasiological dictionaries, and which are the core elements in the FRAME project. For this reason, they represent treasure-like values that are worth digging for in the LLA.<sup>11</sup>

The inclusion of collocations is commented on and exemplified in the very rich, detailed and theory-informed front matter of the LLA1, also in

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<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to note that, though in a novel set in the late 1940’s, roughly one hundred years after its publication, Roget’s *Thesaurus* was “devoured” by one of the characters “to improve his vocabulary” (Philip Roth *I Married a Communist* [1998] 1995, 36-48).

<sup>11</sup> Other thesauri could not be used for the same purposes since they differ considerably from the LLA. The *Oxford Learner’s Wordfinder Dictionary* (1997) gives meaning(s) first and it does not include idioms and collocations; the *Macmillan Thesaurus* (online, <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/thesaurus-category/british>) includes idioms and collocations among “synonyms and related words”, but access is via the *Macmillan Dictionary*’s headwords, and it is not based on conceptual maps (Murphy, 2013); the *Collins English Thesaurus* (online, <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-thesaurus/>) includes some undefined, often exemplified multi-word units, but their differences are not explained; the *Oxford Learner’s Thesaurus. A Dictionary of Synonyms* (2008) (Lea, 2008; Bogaards, 2009) is based on a conceptual framework and includes collocations in boxes on *Patterns and Collocations*, but not idioms.

connection with “selection restrictions” (Summers 1993, F10; Leech, 1993, F13; *Improving your English with the Activator*, F30, F32). In the shorter, more practical LLA2, collocations are only mentioned as “collocation information”, which shows “words that are commonly used with the word you’re looking at” (2003, xxv). In the body of both editions bipartite collocations are run-ons in bold in single-word subentries. Collocations as phrases are also run-ons in single word subentries.

Idioms are only cursorily mentioned in the LLA1 as “performed sequences of words”: these, however, also include “fixed expressions and habitual collocations” (Leech, 1993, F13)<sup>12</sup>. Idioms are considered as fixed and non-compositional combinations: often they are semantically unmotivated. In the words of Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen (2010, 75) “they cannot be accounted for without addressing elements of concrete, basic level images”, which contribute to their conceptualization. Idioms are subentries.

Examples of collocations and idioms are taken from the LLA2.

### 3 Collocations and Idioms

The collocations and idioms that include the concept-word will not be presented here. In the perspective of this article, it is the collocations and the idioms that do not include it that are more significant, because they would not be retrievable in the same entry in semasiological dictionaries. It must be added that the collocations and idioms which do not include the concept-word selected as a starting point can be found only by digging deep into each related entry, as is shown in the following paragraphs. Their definitions are always reported in order to show differences in their use.

#### 3.1 WORK

In the index, *work* as a noun directs to thirteen keywords which represent concrete and more abstract concepts and uses, ranging, for example, from JOB to MUSIC. Notably the plural *works* directs to ALL/EVERYTHING, when it is used in the spoken, informal *the works* (“all the things that are needed for a particular activity”); and to SPOIL, when it is used in the idiom *throw a spanner in the works* (to unexpectedly do something that prevents a plan or process from continuing or succeeding).

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<sup>12</sup> Incidentally, this also justifies the treatment of some collocations as subentries.

As a verb, *work* directs to the two multi-word keywords WORK FOR SB and WORK HARD. Idiomatic combinations which include *work* as a verb direct to another four keywords.

All these numerous and different keywords well exemplify the conceptual maps and the network of meanings the LLA is based on, though the actual retrieval of idioms and collocations is not always straightforward. For example, the collocation *daily grind* is included as a run-on in the subentry *grind* at WORK 6 (unpleasant or boring work). In the index, *grind* directs to WORK 6, but *work* unexpectedly does not. The idiom *pull/get your finger out* (say this to tell someone to do sth faster or work harder)<sup>13</sup> is listed in the index both alphabetically in bold and as a phrase under *finger*, and it is cross-referenced to WORK HARD 7, whereas *work hard* only directs to WORK HARD 1. In these cases, the index, though perfectly consistent with the criterion according to which it has been created, might prove baffling, since a learner would hardly ever think of *grind* or *pull* or *finger* as common concept-words for *work*. Learners would possibly not be able to find them, unless they perused all the subentries of WORK and of WORK HARD. The purely word-based alphabetical index is less useful to access unknown collocations and especially idioms, in which the links between form and meaning are typically disrupted. Yet, looking into the microstructure proves extremely fruitful.

Many other collocations and idioms are presented in the other keyword entries that are cross-referenced to at *work* in the index. Sample collocations are *good/sterling effort* (WORK 5, the effort involved in working); *go into teaching/nursing/politics/journalism, practise medicine, law* (WORK 7, to do a job that you get paid for). Idioms include *call it a day* (STOP 7, to decide to stop working because you have done enough work); *hand in glove* (WITH/TOGETHER 3, if one organization is hand in glove with another organization, they work together very closely in order to do something dishonestly); *be in cahoots (with)* (WITH/TOGETHER 3, working secretly and closely with another person or group in order to do something dishonest or cheat someone).

Despite possible mismatches between lexicographers' and learners' concept-names, these examples show that the LLA does disclose many pragmatic details which are extremely relevant both pedagogically and to the FRAME project.

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<sup>13</sup> “say this” refers to words or expressions to be used in the spoken language, as opposed to “use this” which refers to neutral or formal (written) language.

### 3.2 BRAVE

According to Moon (2013, 271), *brave* is “a defining vocabulary item”, and so is *courage* (for example in the *Longman Defining Vocabulary*)<sup>14</sup>, though *courageous* is not. *Brave* is considerably more frequent than *courageous* (Moon 2013, 263), and this distinction also affects their collocates. *Courage* and *brave* are both in the index, while only *brave* is a keyword. From the conceptual point of view *courage* is strictly connected with bravery and it is accordingly referenced to BRAVE/NOT BRAVE.

The undefined but exemplified collocations *have guts* and *it takes guts to do sth* are run-ons in the subentry *guts*, labeled informal (BRAVE/NOT BRAVE 4: the ability and determination to do something dangerous that other people are afraid to do). *Have the guts to do sth* (to be brave enough to do something unpleasant that other people are afraid to do), and *have the nerve to do sth* (to be calm and confident enough to do something that is frightening or dangerous) are subentries at BRAVE/NOT BRAVE 5, while their opposites *not have the guts* (not to be brave enough to do something that people think you should do) and *not have the nerve* (not to be brave or confident enough to do something because you think it is too difficult) are at BRAVE 7. In the index, they are phrases under *guts* and *nerve* respectively. Notably, *have the nerve* (if someone has the nerve to do something they do something that you think is so rude that you are surprised they did it) is cross-referenced to RUDE 5, once more showing how meanings are inter-related and how difficult it is to disentangle them in order to translate them into words and word combinations in a linear sequence.

The idioms *find/get up/pluck up the courage* (BRAVE/NOT BRAVE 5: to force yourself to be brave and do something that you are afraid of doing, after thinking about it for a long time) and *lose your nerve* (BRAVE/NOT BRAVE 7: to suddenly lose the confidence and calmness that you need in order to do something dangerous and frightening), figure both as alphabetized items and as phrases in the index, where the former is the only phrase listed under *courage*.

Despite a certain amount of repetition, this detailed treatment and the accuracy of different definitions are a prominent feature of most keyword subentries that include antonyms: they provide learners with highly relevant pragmatic information, such as the difference between what “people think” and what “you think”. The presence of *courage* in the index is highly relevant.

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<sup>14</sup> The *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1978) was the first Learners’ Dictionary to adopt, and include in its back matter, the defining vocabulary used in its definitions.

### 3.3 WIN

*Win* as a verb is included in the *Longman defining vocabulary* and therefore it is a likely candidate as an initial concept-word to be looked up in the index, where it directs to GET 3 and to WIN 1, 2, 6, where there are very few run-on collocations not including *win*, for example, *landslide victory* (win 6: when one party or candidate gets far more votes than their opponents in an election). More collocations are included in the other numbered sections of WIN, but they are presented elsewhere in the index. For example, in the index *prize* directs to WIN 9, where *first/second/third prize* is a run-on in the subentry for *prize* (something that you get when you win). All concern races, competitions and elections with the only exception of *hit the jackpot*, a run-on collocation in the subentry *jackpot* in the literal sense (WIN 9: the largest amount of money that can be won in a game of chance), presented under *jackpot* in the index. It must be added that *hit the jackpot* is also an idiom (to have a great success or a piece of good luck: *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms*, 1979), but this use is not present in the LLA.

Conversely, apart from *romp home* (WIN 4: to win a race or game easily) and *scrape home* (WIN 5: to win by a very small number of votes or points or by a very small distance in a race), idioms that do not include the word *win* are used in contexts other than races, competitions or elections: *carry the day* (WIN 2: to win by persuading people to accept a plan, proposal, or idea); *sweep to victory* (WIN 4: to win very easily in a way that impresses people – used especially in news reports). In the index, they are all alphabetized and recorded under *home*, *day* and *victory* respectively.

Interestingly, the FRAME semantic field “human relations III” especially concerns negatively connoted actions such as insulting, scorning, slandering, libeling and winning against somebody (my translation). In the English examples analysed above and in many others, *win* does not carry a negative load. Actually, the act of winning often embodies the concept *against somebody*, but this is seen in the winner’s positive light as success, not in the loser’s as failure, though the former implies the latter. Should the Italian *vincere contro qualcuno* turn out to be used in different contexts (for example, *vincere contro un avversario degno di rispetto* (to win against a worthy opponent), this might bring into question its belonging in the same FRAME semantic field as represented by insulting, scorning, slandering, and libeling.

### 3.4 ANGRY

In their 1994 article, Rundell and Ham say that *angry* “can legitimately be seen as a basic-level concept” (1994, 174). In the index both *angry* and *anger* direct exclusively to the keyword ANGRY. The wealth of collocations and especially of semantically related idioms not including the adjective *angry* is great.

Collocations as diverse as *heated argument, debate, discussion* (ANGRY 5: *angry* and *excited*) and *fly into a rage, shake with rage, in a blind/jealous/terrible rage* (ANGRY 14: a very strong feeling of anger that someone has that is either very difficult for them to control or is expressed very suddenly or violently) are run-ons in the subentry *heated* and *rage* respectively. Idioms are rather numerous, among them, *blow your top/hit the roof/go crazy/go nuts/have a fit* and *go ballistic/go bananas/go berserk* also *go ape*, labeled American. Despite being different subentries, these are all defined in exactly the same way (ANGRY 6, informal, to suddenly become very angry)<sup>15</sup>. In *get on sb’s nerves* (ANGRY 7, if someone or something gets on your nerves they annoy you, especially by continually saying or doing something that you do not like), the plural *nerves* is used quite differently from *nerve* at BRAVE/NOT BRAVE (see above): *nerve* and *nerves* are indeed listed separately in the index. Both *get on sb’s nerves* and *be a pain in the neck* (ANGRY 8: to be very annoying), together with other idioms, seem to equate making someone angry with annoying them.

The well-known *be like a red rag to a bull/be like waving a red rag in front of a bull*, labeled British and American respectively, are listed last at ANGRY 7 (if something is like a red rag to a bull, it will always make a particular person angry): this means that they are, or were, at the time of the LLA2 publication, less frequently used than the other combinations.

Quite interestingly in this case the semantic links among phraseologisms emerge from the analysis of the subentries of only one keyword.

## 4 Concluding remarks

Though from a totally different perspective than the LLA’s, Piirainen (2016) analyses a great number of idioms in different languages that share the same or similar underlying images (see 2.3 above). Among those which are

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<sup>15</sup> In her analysis of *blow your top, hit the roof* and *go berserk*, Congionti (2017) found that *go berserk* is by far the most frequent both in the *British National Corpus* (BNC) and in the *Corpus Of Contemporary American* (COCA), and definitely much more frequent in American English than in British English.

partially linked to the concepts captured by *brave* and *angry*, the following are not included in the LLA: *not to be afraid of death or devil* ('to be afraid of nobody and nothing; to be fearless, brave or foolhardy') (2016, 197); *someone would turn in his/her grave* ('someone (a dead person) would be very angry or upset about something which is happening now, if they were still alive to experience it') (2016, 219); and *to let off/blow off steam* ('to abreact, work off one's anger, tension or frustrations; to get rid of pent-up energy or emotion') (2016, 162). This further highlights the difficulties inherent in the identification of the links between concepts and the words and combinations that express them.

With the aim of overcoming those difficulties, the LLA bases its overall system on the alphabetical order of the word-based index, on the concept-keywords in the macrostructure, and on both semantic and pragmatic information given in the microstructure. This simultaneously linear and conceptual presentation allows the identification and retrieval of differently worded but semantically akin phraseologisms, which in semasiological dictionaries appear separately in different entries. However, as already seen, the location of expressions is not always straightforward. In this respect, it is worth noting that Birch (2007)<sup>16</sup>, before investigating the actual use of the LLA by university students engaged in encoding activities, first trained them to use it.

The wealth of semantically related idioms and collocations and of the many contextual and pragmatic differences in their use often surface only by digging deep into long and varied entries. Definitions and examples include highly valuable pragmatic, contextual, and grammatical restrictions on the use of the words and word combinations which share and express a common basic semantic concept. All of these pertain to the LLA pedagogical aims, but also to the specific FRAME objectives.

To achieve these objectives, much remains to be done, in terms of a contrastive/comparative analysis of Italian equivalents. Pragmatic asymmetries might emerge, as is partially shown in the case of *win*. However, the role performed by the LLA as a primary source of English phraseologisms has been assessed.

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<sup>16</sup> To my knowledge Birch (2007) is the only person to have carried out an investigation into the use of the LLA. Students followed a think-aloud protocol and revised previously written compositions using the LLA1. Results show that "students were able to incorporate more lexical chunks in their writing, which took the form of collocations, idioms and set-phrases" (2007, 68).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

PHRASEOLOGY IN GENERAL  
BILINGUAL DICTIONARIES:  
IDIOMS AS EQUIVALENTS OF SINGLE WORDS<sup>1</sup>

ANDREJS VEISBERGS

**Abstract**

The conventional practice in bilingual lexicography is to provide B-language idiom equivalents or analogues for A-language idioms and B-language lexical items for A-language words. B-language idioms are not normally provided for A-language words. This reflects thinking in terms of structures, rather than of semantic equivalence. The sharp division by structures in dictionaries erects needless barriers by transferring theoretical concepts of idiom, compound, derivative and metaphorical lexical item into practical lexicography. The phrase/compound-idiom divide is often quite arbitrary and diachronically volatile. Moreover, often the only functional equivalent for a word is an idiom and vice versa.

**1 Introduction**

Integrating phraseology into bilingual dictionaries involves several lexicographical conventions: the marking of idioms or phraseological blocks, use of labels, choice of equivalents, etc. The conventional practice in bilingual lexicography is to provide B-language idiom equivalents or analogues for A-language idioms and B-language lexical items for A-language words. Occasionally, in the absence of any corresponding idioms

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in Language B, a lexical item or explanation may be provided. However, B-language idioms are not normally provided for A-language words. This reflects thinking in terms of structures, rather than of semantics (or semantic equivalence). There is the somewhat vague idea of “semantic plus value” (Gouws 1996, 70). However, semantic plus value does not apply to idioms as a whole, only those that possess some cultural specificity difficult to transfer to a different language. There are also many words and collocations that possess such semantic plus value.

Idiomatic features (metaphor, figurativeness, opacity) are not unique to idioms, they can also be embodied in other lexical structures, especially in derivatives or compounds. For example, English idiomatic phrasal and post-positive verbs, which are frequently fully idiomatic, tend to correspond to prefix verbs in many languages. Other types of phraseological units frequently carry a meaning that can be better expressed in a single word or non-idiomatic phrase in the other language. Conversely, an English idiom would be the best equivalent for non-idiomatic lexemes, derivatives or “phrases”.

This paper is partly based on empirical data from the author’s work in compiling a general Latvian-English dictionary where a more flexible approach to the idiom-word divide was applied, tearing down the conventional barriers of lexicographical thinking and practice. The dictionary in question is a large, general one, aimed at a relatively advanced Latvian user of English. It is unidirectional (aimed at the Latvian user) with no explanations for the Latvian part, while explanations for the English part are provided where possible: labels, register, nuance markers, bracketed semantic explanations. The entry structure consists of meanings, examples, and collocations subdivided by meaning, while the idiom block comes at the end of the entry.

This paper offers a contrastive view of aspects of idiomaticity in spelling (compound versus phrase) and structure (prepositional verbs versus postpositive formations), comparing the equivalents offered by dictionaries in various language combinations. The author believes in order that dictionaries satisfactorily address target audience and level of sophistication, and directionality and purpose, they should be “much more phrasal than they currently are” (Granger 2008, 1353) and that lexicographers should think more in terms of equivalence of meanings, not structures, words or phrases (Atkins / Rundell 2008).

## 2 Lexicographical Tradition

There are certain conventions governing the treatment of idioms in bilingual lexicography (Bejoint 2000, 220). In bilingual dictionaries, the A-language idiom is normally provided with an idiom equivalent or analogue in the Language B, if any exist. If none exists, an explanatory definition is used, or sometimes a lexeme is provided to explain the idiom. This I think is a reasonable solution. Occasionally it is suggested that supplying an idiom counterpart is dangerous, as it may not function as an equivalent in all possible contexts. However, a backtranslation check can ascertain whether equivalence exists.

Lexical items and entries are normally provided with lexical counterparts. When the focus is on Language B (active dictionaries), several equivalents are often given and, in very rare cases when it is the only possible option, a compressed idiom such as a postpositive or phrasal verb might appear. This reflects thinking in terms of structures rather than of semantics or semantic equivalence. In my opinion, this is not always right, as it erects barriers (non-existent in reality) between the rather theoretical concepts of idiom, compound, collocation, derivative, and metaphorical lexical item, while we should be focusing on meaning and register. Moreover, there are frequent cases when the compound-idiom divide is quite arbitrary and often changes over time, e.g. in English from *honneymoon* to *honeymoon* (see also further). For some expressions the spelling is not synchronically stable either. In language pairs in contrast there are cases where the only perfect equivalent for a word is an idiom and vice versa. Failing to provide it distorts equivalence of meaning, for example, dictionaries with English as language B generally have much less idiomatic material in English and, as a result, English translations and usage are often more bookish, less “typical” (Hanks 1988), more Latinised than natural English usage. It is, however, well known that “idiomaticity facilitates communication” (Bejoint 2000, 216).

## 3 The Dictionary Dilemma

While updating the new Latvian-English dictionary (Veisbergs 2016), I concluded that, quite often, rather than the standard word-for-word equivalence, a Latvian word might have not only English lexical equivalents but also an English idiom or two. Sometimes an idiom was the only adequate equivalent, e.g.

- (1) *sastīķēt* (to together stick) ‘to chip in’

- (2) *apmuļķot* (to around fool) ‘to make\* a fool (of), to fool, to take\* for a ride’
- (3) *appuišot* (to around boy) ‘to fetch and carry, to wait on hand and foot’

In its turn a Latvian idiom might have an English collocation or lexical counterpart with an analogous image that would be a better semantic match than an idiom with an analogous image, e.g.

- (4) *domu grauds* (thought grain) ‘aphorism, maxim’
- (5) *ziedu laiki* (blossom days) ‘heyday, highday, palmy days, prime, zenith’
- (6) *sarkanais gailis* (the red cock) ‘fire; ielaist sarkano gaili – (to let the red cock in) – to set\* fire (to)’; similar to German: *den roten Hahn aufs Dach setzen*.

Sometimes an idiom would have several equivalents: words, phrases, idioms:

- (7) *tukši vārdi* (empty words) ‘mere words, wind, hot air, lip service’.

Finally, a simple entry that pertinently illustrates the structural and semantic shifts between languages:

- (8) *galarezultāts* (end-result) outcome, the end result; ◇ *galarezultātā* (in the end-result) – *at the end of the day*; in the end.

The Latvian compound, corresponding to an English compound or collocation, corresponds to an English idiom when used in a declined form.

A more flexible approach to the idiom-word divide, tearing down the conventional barriers of lexicographical thinking and practice was used in updating the Latvian-English dictionary. Editors and proof-readers raised mild objections, or perhaps expressed surprise, not so much because they doubted equivalence, but because I was going against convention. Providing B-language idioms for A-language words is not a normal practice, and it has not been discussed in literature yet. However, use of more idiomatic material seems more natural in the B part of a dictionary than we are used to.

This proposal involves several caveats. A smaller-scale dictionary providing the one or two most general equivalents will not have much space for idioms as equivalents. Directionality is of importance, since in passive dictionaries the B part is often more explanatory and lacks equivalents. In an active dictionary aimed at native speakers looking for foreign

equivalents, a wide selection of correspondences is often welcome: alternative equivalents for words may be words, collocations or idioms. Professional translators face many problems and the bigger the choice the better. Research has so far focused mostly on the degree of equivalence of the offered units (Potgieter 2006). Specific language pairs would also carry certain linguistic idiosyncrasies, such as prefix versus postposition dominance in verb distribution. Frequency and currency must be taken into account as well.

## 4 Idioms

Theoretical debate on what we should consider an idiom or idiomatic expression is never-ending.

Differentiating between various types of multiword units (idioms and collocations, free combinations, and various subtypes of transitory formations, clichés, catchphrases and sayings) is not easy (Bentivogli / Pianta 2002; Oppenocht / Schutz 2003, 219; Nuccorini 2003, 367). It is also not particularly rewarding in practice. On the issue of classifications, Atkins concludes: “our language is so fine and flexible and subtle and complex that such a task seems doomed to failure” (Atkins 2008, 47). Corpus analysis, as can be seen in the study by Moon (1998) drives us to look at “fixed expressions and idioms” together since collocations also present a cline (Cowie (1998, 20; 2008, 164-165).

In order not to get bogged down in terminological issues, a working definition for idiom follows. Idioms are a subcategory of multiword expressions, units or items, the other big group being fixed word combinations. Three criteria apply: idioms are fixed expressions, they are multiword combinations and they possess figurative, transferred or metaphorical meaning. Each of the three main criteria is a continuum that is relative, subjective and varied. Does the combination of the three criteria make idioms so unique and special that they stand apart from other linguistic items? I would answer positively when dealing with the issue in theory, but in lexicographic practice these strict borderlines are more of a burden than an asset.

Fixedness is relative. Idioms often tend to have many lexical component variants, they also tend to have quantitative variants: elliptical forms are possible. In addition, they change over time and can undergo transformations contextually (Veisbergs 1996; Naciscione 2010). Collocations demonstrate a similar gradience (van der Meer 2000, 127), tending to be fixed, restricted to varying extent in semantic and morphological ways.



The multiword-unit criterion is also relative as a result of divergent spellings. Spelling occasionally fluctuates, it has frequently changed over time, and two-component nominal idioms often fuse into a compound, e.g., *honey moon* > *honeymoon*. Even synchronically there are variations as regards spelling as one word or two, illustrated by the English saying “when in doubt, hyphenate”. Language pairs often show semantically identical formations falling under different structural categories (words, compounds, collocations and idioms). Formations with two or three separate components in one language may occur as a single item in another. Thus English *honeymoon* has the following counterparts:

- (9) Itv. *medus mēnesis*, ger. *Flitterwochen*, *Honigmonat*, *Honigmond*,  
 rus. *медовый месяц*, pol. *miesiąc miodowy*, est. *mesinädalad*, lit.  
*medaus mėnuo*, fr. *lune de miel*, it. *luna di miele*.

Of the above expressions in eight languages, it is an idiom in five and a compound in three, purely as a result of spelling. Similarly, the English *Don Juan* has both idiomatic and compound correspondences. In Latvian it used to be a phrase (*dons Žuans*), but now has blended into a compound (*donžuāns*).

Finally, figurativeness or idiomaticity is not unique to idioms, it can be present in compounds, derivatives and root lexemes (Rio-Torto 2012). And it is not distributed symmetrically and equally in all languages. For example, *to trumpet* is just as figurative as *to shout from the housetops*, and the corresponding Latvian item is a lexeme *izbazūnēt* [*to trombone out*]. It is noteworthy that the musical instrument’s noun and verb (*bazūne*, *bazūnēt*) in Latvian are not idiomatic, it is the prefix that in this case adds the idiomatic meaning to the derivative verb. In any case, the Latvian lexical item is the closest equivalent to the English idiom and vice versa. Needless to say idioms are not all equally non-transparent: idiomaticity is scalar.

## 5 General viewpoint

Idiom treatment in general dictionaries reflects various issues: whether phraseology is given in phraseological blocks or whether idioms go by meanings, or in rare cases whether idioms can be provided as separate entries. One of the issues most discussed (and the most relevant for users in practice) is under which component to place the idiom, i.e., the keyword issue (Yong / Peng 2007; Mulhall 2010); and how to let the user know where to find it, i.e., search strategies. It is well known that users are not sure where to find idioms (Atkins / Varantola 1998, 30). Issues of perhaps less general relevance touch on labelling, deciding on the canonical form of the idiom

(Bejoint 2010, 314) and the issue of idiom equivalence, which “plays a remarkably small role within theoretical discussions” (Faro 2004, 83). In bilingual dictionaries, the theoretically insoluble choice of lexicographic equivalents has to be tackled on an individual basis: finding and choosing equivalents, analogues, explanations. Equivalence is a complicated notion *per se* (though not abandoned as out-of-date in lexicography): an equivalent is not always monosemantic (that users think is univocal), sometimes denotational and connotational equivalents differ (Duval 2008, 274). Sometimes we have pseudoequivalents (false friends).

In a subchapter on “equivalents of idioms”, Bo Svensén unhesitatingly states “idioms in the source language must as far as possible be paralleled in the target language by idioms with the same content” (Svensen 1993, 156). The rule is: idiom for idiom. This should not be mandatory: language structures are different, and so are ideas about some linguistic concepts, for example there are varying definitions of what constitutes a compound in different languages. Other authors are more cautious, pointing out that the issue of idiom lemmatisation is a never-ending one, to a large extent because the definition of idiom is so unclear and the idiomatic cline precludes clear, universal solutions. However, it is a fundamental issue (Harras / Proost 2005, 277).

Some theorists (cf. Chafe 1968; Gouws 1991; Botha 1992) agree that words and idioms share a common trait in that they both exist as a single semantic unit. Zgusta (1971, 154) talks about ‘parallelism between multiword units and words’, which is suggestive of giving them independent entry status. It is well known that some phrases are lexical and behave like lexical items (Bejoint 2010, 308). The idea of idiom-word equivalence is not new: for a time, the Soviet school even had a rather bold theory that idioms and phraseological units necessarily had word equivalents (Vinogradov 1947; Babkin 1970). This is often not the case, but occasionally it is true, and it is occasionally also true in languages in contrast. Then there is the somewhat imprecise idea of “semantic plus value”: “many idioms, merely by their nature as idioms, have a semantic plus value” (Gouws 1996, 70). However, not every idiom's semantic plus value can be preserved in cross-linguistic transfer, because the plus value sometimes “stems from the specific cultural background or cultural reference” (Gouws 1996, 70), in other words, these are idioms that possess some cultural specificity difficult to transfer to a different language. Many words and collocations also possess this semantic plus value, which should be retained in translation into language B. In dictionaries we should aim at “similar image” (Schemann 1991, 2792), or functional equivalents evoking

“mental images from the same conceptual domain” (Lubensky / McShane 2007, 925). A similar image can be carried by different structures.

As stated, idiomatic features (metaphor, opacity) can also be embodied in lexical structures, especially in derivatives or compounds. For example, English phrasal verbs, which are frequently fully idiomatic, tend to correspond to prefix verbs in many languages. There can even be a certain regularity between the use of English postpositions and German, Latvian or Russian prefixes (see below). Other types of phraseological units occasionally carry a relatively simple idiomatic meaning that can be expressed in a word: *neck and neck (even, level), on the nail (immediately)*.

## 6 Dictionaries

Dictionaries in various languages offer non-idiomatic equivalents for the English idiom *to have a hair of the dog (that bit you)*: ger. *ein Konterbier trinken [to drink a counterbeer]*, ltv. *salāpīties [to mend oneself]*, rus. *опохмелиться [to unhangover oneself]*. This is optimal as these are the closest semantic correspondences. Consequently we could expect the English idiom to be offered as the best equivalent for these lexical items or collocations in the reverse variant. However, we usually see non-idiom equivalents: *to take a drink «the morning-after», to cure a hangover*. This illustrates a general phenomenon of bilingual dictionaries: B-language part is always less idiomatic than the A-language part.

Comparing parallel bilingual dictionaries (e.g. *Collins English-German-English Dictionary*) we see a prominent shift towards non-idiomatic solutions:

(10) *to put oneself in(to) sb's hands – sich jdm anvertrauen*

(11) *sich jdm anvertrauen – to entrust oneself to sb*

Similarly:

(12) *dog's dinner or breakfast – Schlamassel*

(13) *Schlamassel – mix-up; mess*

(14) *to force sb's hand – jdn zwingen*

(15) *jdn zwingen – to force sb to do sth*

Or in *Pons English-German-English Dictionary*:

(16) *in this/sb's neck of the woods – in diesen/jds Breiten*

(17) *in unseren/diesen Breiten – in our part/these parts of the world.*

These examples also fail the test of backtranslation. It is interesting to note that studies of translated text corpora show more use of stale phraseology in comparison with the source texts and a preference for a concrete rather than idiomatic use (Baker 1996). Is this not due to what the dictionaries offer?

Atkins and Rundell have stated that what is to be matched is the semantic content and the collocational needs, and that in case of phraseology “only the message really matters” (Atkins / Rundell 2008, 469-472). By implication this means our choice of equivalents should not be ruled by structures.

## 7 Phrasal verbs

An interesting parallel for contrastive studies is the comparatively regular correspondence between Latvian prefixed verbs and English phrasal verbs. Many English verbs consist of two or more parts: a base verb and a preposition or adverb particle (or both). In many cases the meaning of this verb is a sum of the verb and the meaning of the particle. In other cases the combination bears only figurative meaning. In many cases both. While, strictly speaking, there are several subtypes (verb plus preposition, or adverb, or both, or notional words added), differentiating between them is often difficult (Cowie / Mackin 1976, 7), e.g. *pick up on*, *go in for*, *go up in smoke*. Besides, it is hardly worth doing so, for purely pragmatic reasons. However, phrasal verbs are normally considered idiomatic in English lexicography. English phrasal verbs are semantically very similar to Latvian prefixed verbs that can have both direct and figurative meaning:

(18) *izkrist* – 1. *fall through/out*, 2. *fail (an exam)*

(19) *iekrist* – 1. *fall in*, 2. *get caught*.

Latvian also achieves a greater variety of semantics through reflexive and non-reflexive verbs:

(20) *sakrist* – *fall in, coincide*; *sakristies* – *grow thin, lose weight*

(21) *pārdot* – *sell*; *pārdoties* – *sell out*

(22) *izlauzt* – *break off*; *izlauzties* – *break out*

A small contrastive examination of semantically equivalent verbs and corresponding particles and prefixes reveals considerable similarity, going beyond mere coincidence. Also, the figurative meanings of some verbs actually coincide, testifying to the general, perhaps universal, process of meaning transfer in various languages:

- (23) *ieskriet* – run into ‘meet by chance’  
(24) *uzdot* – give up ‘stop trying’  
(25) *norakstīt* – write off ‘cancel’  
(26) *izrakstīties* – write oneself out ‘lose originality’

This illustrates a frequent cross-language pattern of embodying similar or identical meaning in different structures in two languages. Similarly, the category of infinitive is formed by suffix in Latvian, German and Russian while English uses the particle *to*. However, this should not preclude using these different structures as equivalents in a bilingual dictionary.

## 8 Conclusions

The sharp structural matching of entries and their equivalents in bilingual dictionaries is not conducive to perfection, as it transfers the barriers between theoretical concepts such as idiom, compound, derivative and metaphorical lexical item into bilingual dictionary practice. There are frequent cases where the word/compound-idiom divide is quite arbitrary and diachronically volatile. There are also cases where the only perfect equivalent for a word is an idiom and vice versa. B-language parts of bilingual dictionaries have a distinct tendency to be less idiomatic than A-language parts. Lexicographers have for some time been trying to integrate phraseological aspects of language into dictionaries, arguing that dictionaries should be “much more phrasal than they currently are” (Granger / Paquot 2008, 1353), that dictionaries should be more “pattern-driven” (Hanks 2008, 103) or “more phrase-centred” (Béjoint 2010, 318). The author of this paper cannot but agree with these views. When faced with a choice between structural conventions and semantic common sense, we should prefer the latter. Electronic and digital dictionaries could have more idiomatic material as they enjoy unlimited space. Generally, I believe that large general bilingual dictionaries should be much more phrasal than they currently are.

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## CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

# PHRASÉOLOGIE ET PHRASÉOGRAPHIE DES ÉMOTIONS DANS LES DICTIONNAIRES BILINGUES FRANÇAIS-ITALIEN<sup>1</sup>

MICHELA MURANO

### Abstract

The phraseology of emotions, often dealt with in the field of French as a foreign language, is a topic of interest for contrastive phraseology as well. In this context, the language pair French-Italian has not been studied in detail. This study reports how the phraseology of primary emotions is described in recent bilingual French-Italian dictionaries. It explores a corpus of French phraseological units expressing three of the primary emotions (joy, fear and surprise). Starting from an examination of some important and typical aspects of the phraseology of emotions such as somatic phraseological units, the study focuses on polysemy and on the copresence of literal and figurative meaning.

## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Les études sur la phraséologie des émotions

Le lexique des émotions a récemment fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches<sup>2</sup>, qui ont pu mettre en évidence des difficultés de description dues à ses

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<sup>1</sup> Je tiens à remercier Paola Cotta Ramusino et Fabio Mollica pour leur soutien lors de la rédaction de cet article.

<sup>2</sup> En Europe, de nombreux chercheurs ont travaillé dans le cadre du projet international *EMOLEX* (*Le lexique des émotions dans cinq langues européennes* :

caractéristiques intrinsèques : premièrement, il est « récalcitrant aux classifications rigides » (Tutin / Novakova 2009, 5) ; deuxièmement, « la polysémie y règne en maître, les métaphores foisonnent, les collocations pullulent » (Tutin / Novakova 2009, 6).

Cette dernière considération justifie les nombreuses études qui mettent l'accent sur la combinatoire syntaxique et lexicale (Tutin / Novakova 2009), parmi lesquelles quelques-unes se situent dans le domaine du Français Langue Etrangère et soulignent l'importance de l'enseignement de la phraséologie des émotions, car « on peut trouver des affects dans quasiment toutes les situations de communication sociales et divers types de collocations vont alors apparaître à côté d'expressions figées propres, elles aussi, à la situation » (Cavalla / Labre 2009, 306).

La phraséologie des émotions s'avère également un terrain d'enquête intéressant pour les études contrastives : Dobrovolskij et Piraiinen (2005, 145ss), auteurs d'une étude sur la phraséologie de la peur, adoptent une approche cognitive qui prévoit, pour les unités figurées conventionnelles (*conventional figurative units*) se référant au même concept et formant un champ sémantique, une analyse selon leur nature métaphorique et le repérage des domaines sources et des domaines cibles. Plus récemment, Krzyzanowska (2011, 141ss) a étudié la phraséologie de la tristesse dans le couple de langues français-polonais et Marti Solano (2013) a analysé l'expression idiomatique de la joie en perspective trilingue (français-anglais-espagnol). En revanche, aucune étude contrastive n'a concerné le français et l'italien, si l'on fait exception de l'ouvrage de Bidaud, qui a recueilli et traduit du français à l'italien plus de mille « expressions *figées*<sup>3</sup>, *bivalentes*, *peu 'figurées'* qui, en constituant des *réponses* à un stimulus, expriment des *sentiments* » (Bidaud 2002, 1), dénommées *structures figées de la conversation*. Pour chaque expression française, ce répertoire indique une étiquette sémantique (E.S.) qui signale le ou les sentiments que l'expression permet de manifester, ainsi que les équivalences proposées (E.P.) : par exemple, pour *Y a pas le feu* l'E.S. est *calme* et les E.P. sont *Calma !* et *Che furia c'è ?*.

La phraséologie relevant du champ sémantique des émotions reste donc un domaine en grande partie inexploré pour le couple de langues français-italien, y compris en ce qui concerne le traitement lexicographique de ces

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*sémantique, syntaxique et dimension discursive*), lancé en 2009 et dirigé par I. Novakova et P. Blumenthal.

<sup>3</sup> En italiques dans le texte.

Séquences Figées<sup>4</sup> (dorénavant SF), que nous allons examiner dans cet article.

## 1.2 Questions de phraséographie bilingue

Dans ce travail, qui se limitera à la phraséologie de trois émotions primaires - la joie, la peur et la surprise -, nous analyserons le traitement de ces SF dans trois dictionnaires bilingues du français et de l'italien : la sixième édition du dictionnaire de Raoul Boch (dorénavant *B*), l'édition de 2006 du Garzanti (*G*) et celle de 2012 du Sansoni (*S*). Un premier corpus sera établi sur la base d'un dictionnaire monolingue, ensuite les SF retenues seront cherchées dans les versions électroniques des trois dictionnaires bilingues choisis.

Nous allons sélectionner quelques aspects du traitement de la phraséologie dans les dictionnaires bilingues, qui intéressent les deux moments fondamentaux dans le parcours d'accès aux SF<sup>5</sup> : (1) l'identification et le repérage et (2) la présentation des informations relatives à la SF.

Concernant l'identification et le repérage des SF, les opérations qui se situent au niveau de la *macrostructure phraséographique* (Blanco / Moreno 1997, 179), nous vérifierons d'abord la présence des SF françaises dans les dictionnaires bilingues ainsi que l'indication de leur statut figé, qui les distingue des séquences non figées présentées en exemples ; puis nous prendrons en compte le nombre d'enregistrements.

Du point de vue des informations fournies sur les SF, nous nous concentrerons sur l'équivalence et en particulier sur le degré d'équivalence (totale, partielle ou zéro). L'équivalence totale, dérivant de la pleine correspondance au niveau des lexèmes et de la superposition structurale et sémantique, est traditionnellement l'apanage des SF appelées *internationales* qui témoignent un emprunt, un calque ou une origine commune (grecque, latine, biblique etc.) (Giacoma 2012, 78–80).

Selon Dobrovolskij et Piirainen (2005, 62), dans le dictionnaire le risque est de postuler une équivalence totale (*full equivalence*) entre deux expressions perçues intuitivement comme équivalentes, même s'il ne s'agit pas d'équivalents fonctionnels (*functionally adequate equivalents*). Les dictionnaires devraient permettre de trouver des expressions parallèles, dont les possibilités combinatoires sont identiques : seulement dans le cas d'une coïncidence de tous les paramètres sur les plans sémantique, syntaxique et

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<sup>4</sup> Nous empruntons la dénomination *Séquences Figées* à Mejri (1997 et ss.).

<sup>5</sup> Nous avons largement détaillé ces deux étapes dans un travail précédent (Murano 2010).

pragmatique on peut parler d'équivalence fonctionnelle (Dobrovolskij / Piirainen 2005, 63ss).

La présence d'un équivalent total étant un cas idéal, le dictionnaire présente le plus souvent des équivalents phraséologiques partiels, pour lesquels nous adoptons ici la typologie établie par Giacoma (2012, 81ss) : (1) équivalence sémantico-structurelle, mais non correspondance des lexèmes ; (2) équivalence sémantique, mais non correspondance des lexèmes et de la structure ; (3) présence d'une contrepartie littérale pour la SF de L1, alors que la SF de L2 n'admet qu'une lecture (compositionnelle ou non compositionnelle) ; (4) polysémie de la SF de L1 ; (5) différence de connotation. Nous vérifierons quels moyens sont employés dans les dictionnaires du corpus pour renseigner et alerter le consultant à ce propos : marques, indications de cotexte, exemples etc.

Nous signalerons également la présence éventuelle d'équivalents non phraséologiques : nous pouvons cependant supposer qu'une large majorité des équivalents seront phraséologiques, car on peut s'attendre à ce que les deux langues comparées expriment des sens tels que, par exemple, 'être heureux' ou 'avoir peur' par le biais de SF.

Nous consacrerons le dernier volet de cette étude au traitement du sous-corpus constitué par les SF dont le sens compositionnel exprime une réaction physique à l'émotion, ce qui nous permettra d'aborder la question des SF polysémiques et des SF remotivables.

## 2 Joie, peur et surprise dans les dictionnaires bilingues français-italien

### 2.1 Constitution du corpus et méthodologie de l'analyse

Le corpus de départ est constitué de SF françaises contenues dans un dictionnaire monolingue qui fait référence pour la langue française, le *Petit Robert* édition 2017 (dorénavant *PR*), et il a été construit sur une base onomasiologique, à travers la recherche plein texte de substantifs, verbes et adjectifs faisant partie des réseaux analogiques liés aux trois émotions considérées et le relevé des SF contenues dans les articles correspondants, tels que *joie, joyeux, bonheur, content, gai, heureux, ravissement, (se) réjouir* ; *peur, frisson, frousse, trouille* ; *surprise, surprendre, étonnement, étonner, stupéfaire, stupéfait*. Le choix d'un dictionnaire de langue générale au lieu d'un dictionnaire de locutions a été déterminé par la volonté de ne retenir que les SF les plus usuelles.

Ensuite, nous avons sélectionné 20 SF pour *joie*, 33 pour *peur*, 20 pour *surprise*<sup>6</sup>: il s'agit d'expressions idiomatiques qui signifient 'être heureux' / 'avoir peur' / 'être surpris' et décrivent l'émotion, comme *être aux anges*, *avoir la trouille*, *tomber de la lune* ; de SF phrastiques qui expriment l'émotion, comme *les bras m'en tombent*, *il y a de quoi tomber à la renverse* ; de SF qui expriment les sens 'provoquer la joie/la surprise/la peur', comme *donner le frisson*, *prendre au dépourvu* ; enfin, nous avons retenu quelques collocations choisies parmi celles qui n'ont pas de traduction littérale en italien, comme *être éperdu de bonheur*.<sup>7</sup> Il en résulte le corpus suivant :

*Joie* : *avoir la joie au coeur*, *avoir le coeur en fête* ; *boire du (petit-) lait* ; *être/se croire au paradis* ; *être au septième ciel* ; *être aux anges* ; *être aux oiseaux* ; *être éperdu de bonheur*, *de joie* ; *être fou comme un balai* ; *être fou de joie* ; *être gai comme un pinson* ; *être hébété de joie* ; *être heureux comme un pape* ; *être heureux comme un poisson dans l'eau* ; *être heureux comme un roi* ; *être transporté de joie* ; *nager dans la joie* ; *ne pas se sentir de joie* ; *ne plus se posséder de joie* ; *se faire une fête de*.

*Peur* : *avoir eu chaud* ; *avoir la chiasse* ; *avoir la colique* ; *avoir la frousse* ; *avoir la pétoche* ; *avoir la peur au ventre* ; *avoir la trouille* ; *avoir le taf* ; *avoir le trac* ; *avoir le trouillomètre à zéro* ; *avoir les boules* ; *avoir les chocottes* ; *avoir les foies* ; *avoir les glandes* ; *avoir les grelots* ; *avoir les jetons* ; *avoir une peur bleue* ; *avoir plus de peur que de mal*<sup>8</sup> ; *claquer des dents* ; *donner le frisson* ; *donner des sueurs froides* ; *en avoir des sueurs froides* ; *en être quitte pour la peur* ; *être plus mort que vif* ; *faire dans sa culotte* ; *faire dans son froc* ; *faire froid dans le dos à qqn* ; *faire glacer le sang* ; *les avoir à zéro* ; *même pas mal, même pas peur* ; *mon sang n'a fait qu'un tour* ; *ne craindre ni dieu ni diable* ; *ne plus avoir un poil de sec*.

*Surprise* : *cueillir qqn à froid* ; *en mettre plein la vue* ; *en rester baba* ; *en rester bleu* ; *en rester bouche-bée* ; *en rester coi* ; *en rester/en être comme deux ronds de flan* ; *être frappé de stupeur* ; *faire des yeux comme des soucoupes* ; *il y a de quoi tomber à la renverse* ; *les bras m'en tombent* ; *prendre de court* ; *prendre au dépourvu* ; *rouler des billes* ; *sauter au*

<sup>6</sup> Après l'élimination des SF enregistrées à plusieurs reprises, le nombre de SF présentes dans le PR s'élève à environ 50 pour *surprise* et environ 80 pour *peur* et pour *joie* (pour cette dernière émotion, il s'agit surtout de collocations avec le mot *joie*).

<sup>7</sup> Nous avons évidemment exclu les SF qui contiennent du lexique des émotions, mais dont le sens relève d'un autre champ sémantique, comme *n'avoir pas peur des mots* ('parler avec franchise, précision').

<sup>8</sup> Nous avons choisi d'utiliser cette forme lemmatisée, présente dans le TLFi, qui réunit les formes *Il y a plus de peur que de mal* et *Il a eu plus de peur que de mal* enregistrées dans le PR s.v. *mal* et *peur*.

*plafond ; tomber de l'armoire ; tomber de la lune ; (en) tomber de sa chaise ; tomber de tout son haut ; tomber des nues.*

Toutes ces SF ont été cherchées dans les versions électroniques des trois dictionnaires bilingues choisis, afin de vérifier leur enregistrement et de pouvoir évaluer et comparer les informations fournies.

## 2.2 Quelques observations au niveau de la macrostructure phraséographique

On peut constater que les SF du corpus ont été presque toutes enregistrées : sur 73 SF, seules 9 manquent dans les trois dictionnaires. Il s'agit d'*avoir la joie au coeur, avoir le coeur en fête, être aux oiseaux, être fou comme un balai, être hébété de joie, être heureux comme un pape* (sous-corpus *joie*) ; *avoir le taf* (sous-corpus *peur*) ; *tomber de l'armoire* et *rouler des billes* (sous-corpus *surprise*). On constate aisément que les deux SF issues de la francophonie présentes dans notre corpus figurent parmi celles que les dictionnaires bilingues n'enregistrent pas : *être aux oiseaux* et *être fou comme un balai* sont en effet accompagnées dans le *PR* de la marque diatopique *Canada* ; il en va de même pour *avoir le taf*, la seule SF exprimant le sens 'avoir peur' au niveau argotique.

Concernant le nombre d'enregistrements de chaque SF, seul *S* a fait le choix de l'enregistrement unique, sous le premier mot « plein » de la SF (Murano 2010, 165), alors que *B* et *G* enregistrent les SF à plusieurs reprises : par exemple, la SF *en rester/en être comme deux rond de flan* est enregistrée s.v. *flan, rester, rond* dans *B*, mais uniquement s.v. *deux* dans *S*.

Quelques séquences que le *PR* enregistre comme figées se retrouvent dans les dictionnaires bilingues parmi les exemples, sans que leur statut phraséologique soit reconnu et mis en évidence par la police de caractères ou la position dans l'article : c'est le cas par exemple d'*avoir le trac* dans *G* et *S* de *ne plus se posséder de joie* dans *B* et *G*.

Si l'on compare chacun des dictionnaires bilingues avec le *PR*, on remarque que *G* est le dictionnaire bilingue qui s'éloigne le plus du matériel phraséologique présenté dans le *PR*, avec 17 SF manquantes et 6 SF qui perdent leur statut phraséologique<sup>9</sup>.

On peut tout de même considérer que ces dictionnaires, n'ayant pas beaucoup perdu par rapport aux SF qui figurent dans un dictionnaire monolingue, sont assez riches en matériel phraséologique au moins pour un locuteur italoophone en situation de version, ce qui s'avère important, vu

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<sup>9</sup> Dans *B*, on compte 10 SF manquantes et 4 enregistrées comme des séquences libres; dans *S*, 14 SF manquantes et 5 SF enregistrées comme des séquences libres.

l'absence de dictionnaires phraséologiques bilingues récents pour le couple de langues français-italien. On y repère même des SF que le *PR* n'enregistre pas, comme *heureux comme le roi en France* (*B*) ou *être aux nues* (*G*), ou encore des acceptions manquantes de SF polysémiques (§ 2.3 et 2.4.2).

### 2.3 La microstructure phraséographique : les équivalents

Notre corpus comporte très peu de SF françaises que l'on peut traduire mot à mot par des SF italiennes, ce qui fait supposer une équivalence totale (§ 1.2). Il s'agit des 10 SF suivantes : *être (se croire) au paradis – essere in paradiso*, *être au septième ciel – essere al settimo cielo*, *être fou de joie – essere pazzo di gioia*, *être gai comme un pinson – essere allegro come un fringuello* (sous-corpus *joie*) ; *avoir la chiasse et avoir la colique – avere la cacarella*, *avoir une peur bleue – avere una fifa blu*, *être plus mort que vif – essere più morto che vivo*, *faire glacer le sang – far gelare il sangue* (sous-corpus *peur*) ; *tomber des nues – cadere/cascare dalle nuvole* (sous-corpus *surprise*).

Pour ces SF, à côté de l'équivalent total, un autre équivalent phraséologique est parfois proposé, comme *farsela sotto (dalla paura)* (*B*) pour *avoir la chiasse*, *avere una paura folle* (*G*) et *avere una paura tremenda* (*S*) pour *avoir une peur bleue* ou *cogliere qcu. impreparato, prendere qcu. in contropiede* (*S*) pour *prendre au dépourvu*. Les exemples fournis pour ces SF sont extrêmement rares : *elle a une peur bleue des araignées* (*S*), *j'ai eu une peur bleue* (*G*); *depuis la naissance de sa fille, il est au septième ciel* (*S*).

On repère une seule homologie non respectée : *être heureux comme un roi* n'est jamais traduit par *essere felice come un re*, pourtant attesté dans la lexicographie monolingue contemporaine de l'italien (*Garzanti* 2018, s.v. *RE*), mais par *essere felice come una Pasqua*. Inversement, comme nous le verrons plus bas (§ 2.4.3), une équivalence proposée comme totale peut s'avérer erronée faute d'informations ultérieures.

Si l'on prend en compte également les équivalents qui diffèrent très légèrement, d'autres SF s'ajoutent, dans lesquelles le singulier est remplacé par le pluriel, le masculin par le féminin, ou bien il y a une différence au niveau de l'article (présence /absence), de la préposition ou de l'adverbe : *avoir la frousse, avoir la pétoche, avoir la trouille, avoir le trac – avere fifa/strizza, claquer des dents – battere i denti, donner le frisson – dare/far venire i brividi* (sous-corpus *peur*) ; *prendre au dépourvu – prendere alla sprovvista, rester bouche-bée – restare a bocca aperta* (sous-corpus *surprise*). Dans un autre cas, la SF équivalente contient des unités lexicales



de la même famille, mais la construction syntaxique est différente : *en avoir des sueurs froides – sudare freddo* (S).

Autant de preuves que, même lorsque les deux systèmes phraséologiques sont proches, une description fine de leur relation est nécessaire. Le cas de *avoir le trac* est emblématique, car le *trac* est, selon la définition du PR, la « peur ou angoisse irraisonnée que l'on ressent avant d'affronter le public, de subir une épreuve, d'exécuter une résolution, et que l'action dissipe généralement ». Cette SF nécessite donc d'indications cotextuelles et contextuelles, que nos dictionnaires ajoutent avant ou après les équivalents, qui peuvent ne pas être phraséologiques (B), ou par le biais d'exemples :

*B : avoir le trac* essere ansioso (prima di affrontare una prova, di esibirsi ecc)

*G : avoir le trac* (di attore, cantante) essere preso dal panico (prima di uno spettacolo)

*S : avoir le trac* avere la tremarella ; *j'avais le trac avant mon entretien* avevo la tremarella prima del colloquio ; *avoir le trac avant d'entrer sur scène* avere il panico da palcoscenico

En effet, la plupart des équivalents sont partiels et expriment le même sens (é. sémantiques, § 1.2) en s'appuyant sur une image différente, qui peut être plus ou moins facilement décodée par les locuteurs italo-phones. Parmi les images les plus transparentes on compte les suivantes : *être heureux comme un poisson dans l'eau, nager dans la joie, ne pas se sentir de joie, ne plus se posséder de joie et se faire une fête de* (sous-corpus *joie*) ; *avoir la peur au ventre, avoir plus de peur que de mal, faire dans sa culotte, faire dans son froc, faire froid dans le dos à qqn, même pas mal même pas peur, ne craindre ni Dieu ni diable* (sous-corpus *peur*) ; *il y a de quoi tomber à la renverse, ouvrir/faire des yeux comme des soucoupes, tomber de la lune* (sous-corpus *surprise*). Le sens figé de ces SF est donc tout à fait compréhensible pour les locuteurs italo-phones à partir du sens compositionnel, même si ces séquences ne sont pas figées en italien. Il en va de même pour les collocations comme *être éperdu de joie, être transporté de joie* etc.

Dans d'autres cas, l'image véhiculée par la SF française est éloignée mais l'équivalent italien appartient au même domaine d'expérience : par exemple *boire du (petit-)lait* est traduit dans les trois dictionnaires par *andare in brodo di giuggiole*, une SF dont les composants renvoient au domaine de l'alimentation ; les SF *tomber de tout son haut* et *tomber de sa chaise* utilisent le verbe *tomber*, qu'un italo-phonie relie sans peine à la SF *cadere dalle nuvole* ; encore, *être aux anges* est traduit par *essere al settimo*

*cielo* (*B*) o *toccare il cielo con un dito* (*S*, *G*), qui utilisent la même métaphore de base GOOD IS UP (Lakoff / Johnson 1980, 16).

Les SF françaises peuvent être complètement opaques pour des locuteurs italophones par rapport à l'émotion qu'elles expriment ou décrivent : dans le sous-corpus *peur*, il s'agit de *avoir le trouillomètre à zéro*, *avoir les boules / les chocottes / les foies / les glandes / les grelots / les jetons*, *les avoir à zéro*, *mon sang n'a fait qu'un tour*, qui expriment le sens 'avoir peur'. Pour toutes ces SF, *B* et *G* se limitent à fournir un équivalent (*avere fifa / strizza / la tremarella*), alors que *S* ajoute un exemple pour *avoir le trouillomètre à zéro* (« quand les lions sont passés près de lui, il avait le trouillomètre à zéro! »), *avoir les chocottes* (« inutile d'avoir les chocottes pour demain, tout se passera bien ») et *avoir les jetons* (« depuis qu'il s'est fait braquer dans le métro, il a les jetons de rentrer tard le soir »).

Pour la SF *avoir les boules*<sup>10</sup>, des équivalents exprimant des sens différents sont proposés dans les trois dictionnaires : *essere incavolato* ('être fâché') dans *B* et *essere giù di corda / avere il morale sotto i tacchi* ('être déprimé') dans *G*. Dans *S*, la SF est présentée comme étant polysémique et chaque acception est illustrée d'un exemple, ce qui est emblématique de la richesse des informations fournies par ce dictionnaire, si l'on pense que le *PR* lui-même ne rapporte que l'acception 'en avoir assez, être énervé' :

*S* : *avoir les boules (colloq)*: 1 (être effrayé) *essere spaventato*, *prendersi un colpo*: *j'ai eu les boules! j'ai cru que j'allais me faire renverser par le bus!* [...] 2 (être furieux) *averne abbastanza*: *j'ai les boules! je viens d'apporter ma chaîne hi-fi à réparer et elle est de nouveau en panne!* [...] 3 (être déprimé) *essere giù di corda*, *avere il morale sotto i tacchi*: *elle a les boules: son mec vient de la quitter [...]*.

Dans le sous-corpus *surprise*, les SF les plus opaques sont les suivantes : *en rester bleu* ou *en rester comme deux ronds de flan*, qui expriment le sens 'être surpris' ; *en mettre plein la vue*, *cueillir à froid* et *prendre de court*, qui expriment le sens 'surprendre' avec différentes nuances. On peut ajouter à cette liste les SF *en rester baba* et *en rester coi*, qui peuvent être difficiles à décoder du fait de la méconnaissance des deux adjectifs, l'un de registre familier (*baba*) et l'autre accompagné dans le *PR* par la marque *vieux* (*coi*).

Alors que *G* se limite à fournir un seul équivalent, on peut remarquer dans *B* et *S* une tendance à l'emploi d'équivalents multiples : *rimanere a bocca aperta* et *rimanere di stucco* dans *B*, *rimanere di sasso* et *rimanere di stucco* dans *S*. Le niveau de langue soutenu de *rester coi* implique la présentation dans les trois dictionnaires de l'équivalent *rimanere sbalordito*. Profitant pleinement de la place que l'enregistrement unique des SF permet

<sup>10</sup> Cf. aussi le traitement de la SF *avoir les glandes*.

d'accorder au traitement de la phraséologie, *S* se démarque également par la présentation d'exemples s.v. BABA et s.v. PLEIN :

*Quand il m'a annoncé qu'il allait se marier, j'en suis resté baba* quando mi ha detto che si sarebbe sposato, sono rimasto di stucco  
*Il voulait lui en mettre plein la vue et il était venu la chercher en Harley Davidson* voleva fare colpo su di lei ed era andato a prenderla in Harley Davidson ; *on va leur en mettre plein la vue!* li stupiremo (con effetti speciali)!

#### **2.4 Un cas particulier d'équivalence phraséologique : les SF dont le sens compositionnel exprime des réactions physiques**

Un groupe assez nombreux de SF de notre corpus est constitué de syntagmes qui, pris dans leur sens littéral, indiquent l'expression d'une réaction physique à l'émotion<sup>11</sup>: en ce qui concerne la peur, on repère par exemple *avoir eu chaud, claquer des dents, en avoir des sueurs froides, mon sang n'a fait qu'un tour, ne plus avoir un poil de sec*<sup>12</sup> ; en ce qui concerne la surprise, il s'agit entre autres de *faire des yeux comme des soucoupes, les bras m'en tombent, rester bouche-bée, sauter au plafond/en l'air*<sup>13</sup>.

Ces SF peuvent être rapprochées des *locutions gestuelles* (Heinz 1993) ou *kinégrammes* (Burger 1976<sup>14</sup>), qui sont les SF « dont la forme est identique à un syntagme libre décrivant un geste, par ex. *se frotter les mains* » (Heinz 1993, 22). La différence réside dans le fait que les SF de notre corpus décrivent une réaction involontaire et non un geste volontaire, qui est lui-même un signe faisant partie d'un code non langagier.

En outre, quelques-unes de ces SF qui décrivent une réaction physique sont remotivables, car « les syntagmes libres à partir desquels elles se sont constituées continuent à exister à côté de la forme figée » (Heinz 1993, 27) :

<sup>11</sup> Les SF *donner le frisson, faire froid dans le dos à qqn, faire glacer le sang* se rapprochent de ce groupe, mais ne seront pas prises en compte ici car elles signifient 'provoquer une émotion'.

<sup>12</sup> Les SF *avoir la colique, avoir la chiasse, faire dans sa culotte, faire dans son froc* font aussi partie de ce groupe de SF, qui confirme les résultats de Dobrovol'skij et Piirainen (2005, 145ss): comme dans les autres langues européennes, en français les trois domaines source de la phraséologie de la peur sont le froid, la défécation spontanée et la faiblesse physique (incapacité à tenir debout, à bouger, à respirer, augmentation des pulsations cardiaques, transpiration).

<sup>13</sup> Les SF *il y a de quoi tomber à la renverse, en rester bleu, tomber de tout son haut, tomber de sa chaise* font aussi partie de ce groupe.

<sup>14</sup> Cité par Schmale (2013, 4) et Heinz (1993, 22).

c'est le cas d'*avoir eu chaud*, dont la séquence libre homonyme est d'un usage courant.

Nous considérons que ces SF posent des problèmes lexicographiques qui méritent une analyse détaillée : premièrement, la présentation dans le dictionnaire du rapport entre le sens premier du syntagme et le sens figuré dans les SF remotivables ; deuxièmement, la description de la polysémie de ces SF, car une seule réaction physique peut correspondre à plusieurs émotions ; troisièmement, l'analyse des écarts entre les deux systèmes phraséologiques et en particulier les équivalences mot à mot qui s'avèrent trompeuses.

### 2.4.1 Les SF remotivables

En ce qui concerne les locutions remotivables, prenons comme exemple la SF *ne plus avoir un poil de sec*, que le PR, en réunissant dans une même paraphrase tant le sens premier et compositionnel que le sens idiomatique, définit « être trempé de sueur (sous l'effet de la chaleur, de la peur) ». Dans les dictionnaires bilingues du corpus, seul *S* fait état de ces deux sens et fournit un équivalent phraséologique qui correspond à une autre réaction physique de la peur, lexicalisée en italien, alors que *B* et *G* se limitent à donner un équivalent du sens propre :

*B* : s.v. POIL : (fam.) *ne plus avoir un poil de sec*, essere in un bagno di sudore

s.v. SEC : (fam.) *n'avoir plus un poil de sec*, essere in un bagno di sudore

*G* : s.v. POIL: *ne pas avoir un poil de sec*, essere in un bagno di sudore

*S* : s.v. POIL: *n'avoir plus un poil de sec* (colloq): 1 (être mouillé) essere bagnato fradicio; 2 (être en sueur) essere in un bagno di sudore; 3 (mort de peur) avere i sudori freddi

Dans d'autres cas, lorsque l'équivalent italien est lui aussi une SF remotivable, aucun dictionnaire bilingue ne signale la présence des deux sens, propre et figuré, ni l'émotion qui est à l'origine de la réaction physique : c'est le cas de *rester bouche bée* et de *claquer des dents*.

Enfin, dans le traitement de *avoir eu chaud* le figement syntaxique qui impose l'emploi de la SF au passé permet aux trois dictionnaires de la présenter de manière autonome, sans référence au sens propre, et favorise la présentation en discours (s.v. CHAUD) :

*B* : (fig., fam.) *j'ai eu chaud!*, l'ho scampata bella!;

*G* : *on a eu chaud!* (fam) ce la siamo vista brutta!;

*S* : *on a eu chaud!* (colloq) *ce la siamo vista brutta!* *on a eu chaud!* *À cinq minutes près, on ratait notre train!* *ce la siamo vista brutta!* *Per cinque minuti non perdevamo il treno!*

## 2.4.2 Les SF polysémiques

Une SF décrivant une réaction physique peut correspondre à plusieurs émotions et s'avérer donc polysémique. Par exemple, le *PR* et le *TLFi* définissent ainsi la SF *sauter au plafond, en l'air* : « exprimer vivement un sentiment de surprise ou d'indignation »<sup>15</sup>. La description lexicographique de ces SF dans les dictionnaires bilingues doit rendre compte de cette polysémie : la recherche et la présentation des équivalents n'en deviennent que plus problématiques, car l'éventail d'émotions couvert par la SF française peut ne pas trouver de correspondance dans la SF italienne. Si l'on observe les enregistrements de *sauter au plafond* dans nos dictionnaires, on repère facilement ces points critiques :

*B* : s.v. PLAFOND : (fig., fam.) *sauter au plafond*, rimanere sbalordito, sconcertato, (anche) andare su tutte le furie

s.v. SAUTER (fig.) *sauter au plafond*, andare su tutte le furie

*G* : s.v. PLAFOND : *sauter au plafond*, fare salti di gioia, di sorpresa: *la nouvelle le fit sauter au plafond*, alla notizia ha fatto salti di gioia, di sorpresa

s.v. SAUTER *sauter au plafond* (o *en l'air*), andare su tutte le furie; rimanere sbalordito

*S* : s.v. SAUTER : *sauter au plafond* (colloq): 1 (de colère) *andare su tutte le furie: s'ils apprennent que tu ne veux plus venir, ils vont sauter au plafond*, se scoprono che non vuoi più venire andranno su tutte le furie; 2 (de joie) *fare salti di gioia: quand il a appris qu'il avait réussi son examen, il a sauté au plafond*, quando ha saputo che aveva passato l'esame ha fatto salti di gioia.

Les sentiments de surprise et d'indignation sont exprimés par les équivalents fournis dans *B* s.v. PLAFOND et dans *G* s.v. SAUTER, qui traitent la polysémie de la SF française de manière complète. Dans *G* s.v. PLAFOND et dans *S*, une autre émotion est introduite, la joie, qui n'était pas évoquée dans la définition des dictionnaires monolingues et qui est associée à la colère dans *S* et à la surprise dans *G*. On repère en outre que les dictionnaires

<sup>15</sup> Un autre exemple dans notre corpus est celui de *mon sang n'a fait qu'un tour*, qui décrit selon le *PR* la réaction physique à la peur et à l'indignation. Dans nos dictionnaires bilingues, les équivalents fournis se rattachent soit à l'une de ces émotions, la colère (*non ci ho più visto* dans *G* et *mi è ribollito il sangue nelle vene* dans *S*), soit à une forte émotion non précisée (*ho provato un tuffo al cuore* dans *B*).

qui choisissent l'enregistrement multiple des SF s'exposent au risque de fournir des informations non uniformes et parfois incomplètes : par exemple s.v. PLAFOND, *B* ne fournit qu'un équivalent décrivant la manifestation de la colère.

### 2.4.3 Les équivalences trompeuses

La description d'une même réaction physique peut avoir été lexicalisée différemment dans les deux langues et renvoyer à des émotions complètement différentes en français et en italien. La traduction mot à mot s'avère donc une fausse équivalence, sur laquelle les dictionnaires bilingues devraient alerter les consultants.

Dans notre corpus la SF *les bras m'en tombent* correspond à ce cas : d'après le *PR*, elle correspond uniquement à la réaction provoquée par la surprise (« Les bras m'en tombent : je suis stupéfait ») ; d'autres sources monolingues soulignent en revanche une polysémie de la SF, qui peut également être utilisée pour exprimer la lassitude, la fatigue, le désespoir (*TLFi*, s.v. BRAS) ou l'accablement (*expressio.fr*).

La traduction mot à mot en italien, *mi cadono/cascano le braccia*, est une SF qui exprime uniquement la déception :

*Garzanti 2013* : CADERE LE BRACCIA, CASCARE LE BRACCIA v.intr. venire lo sconforto, lo scoramento: *un film davvero brutto: il finale mi (= a me) ha fatto cadere le braccia; a sentire a certi discorsi mi (= a me) cascano le braccia*

Vu cette dissemblance, dans le traitement lexicographique de la SF française on ne devrait pas oublier de mentionner les émotions qu'elle exprime et de souligner que la surprise est la première émotion par ordre d'importance. Or, sur les cinq enregistrements présents dans les dictionnaires du corpus, la SF est traduite à quatre reprises mot à mot, sans aucune autre indication et sans faire état de sa polysémie :

*B* : s.v. BRAS : *les bras m'en tombent!*, mi cadono le braccia!

s.v. TOMBER : (fig.) *les bras m'en tombent!*, mi cascano le braccia!

*G* : s.v. BRAS : *les bras m'en tombent*, non posso crederci

s.v. TOMBER : *les bras m'en tombent*, mi cascano le braccia: *c'est à vous en faire tomber les bras!* (fam) *roba da farti cascane le braccia*

*S* : s.v. BRAS : *les bras m'en sont tombés* (fig) *mi sono cadute le braccia*

Un consultant italoophone pourrait en déduire que les SF française et italienne sont des équivalents totaux et que la SF française exprime seulement la déception. Seul le consultant de *G*, s'il choisit de parcourir l'entrée BRAS, saura par le biais de l'équivalent *non posso crederci* que la SF française exprime la surprise.

### 3 Conclusions

Au sein du vaste domaine d'études qu'est le lexique des émotions, les recherches sur la combinatoire lexicale et la phraséologie relevant du champ onomasiologique des émotions se sont multipliées dans les dernières années. Notre recherche, qui s'inscrit dans ce cadre, a ciblé le traitement lexicographique de ces SF en perspective bilingue, dans les dictionnaires français-italien. Cette étude a porté sur un corpus certes non exhaustif, ni du point de vue des séquences analysées, qui se limitent à quelques SF relevant de trois émotions primaires et ne comprennent pas les SF italiennes, ni du point de vue des dictionnaires analysés, car les dictionnaires phraséologiques monolingues et bilingues n'ont pas été pris en compte. Toutefois, quelques observations relevant d'une analyse contrastive et phraséologique peuvent déjà être présentées.

Du point de vue de la phraséologie contrastive, le micro-système phraséologique que nous avons analysé présente peu de SF qui peuvent être traduites "mot-à-mot" (ou presque) d'une langue à l'autre, et qui font supposer la présence d'une équivalence totale. La plupart des équivalents sont partiels : il s'agit d'équivalents sémantiques fondés sur des images et des métaphores conceptuelles en général plutôt transparentes pour les italophones ; des SF opaques sont aussi bien présentes, du fait de la présence de mots d'argot ou vieilliss, ou encore d'images éloignées de celles évoquées par le sens littéral de la SF italienne. Parmi les SF du corpus, celles qui indiquent au sens propre une réaction physique constituent un cas de figure intéressant pour l'analyse contrastive, car la remotivation et la polysémie qui les caractérisent fonctionnent de manière inégale dans les SF des deux langues.

Du point de vue de la phraséographie, sur un plan quantitatif on repère une très bonne représentation de la phraséologie française dans les dictionnaires bilingues, qui recensent presque toutes les SF enregistrées dans le PR. Les choix lexicographiques concernant le nombre d'enregistrements ont des répercussions sur la qualité des informations fournies : dans *S* les SF ne sont enregistrées qu'une fois, ce qui permet une analyse fine du sens de l'expression, souvent illustrée par des exemples. En revanche, *B* et *G* optent pour l'enregistrement multiple et encourent ainsi le risque de fournir des informations incomplètes ou incohérentes entre les différents enregistrements : cela est particulièrement évident pour les SF exprimant au sens propre une réaction physique à l'émotion, qui sont remotivables et souvent polysémiques.

Les homologues non respectées et les fausses équivalences dénoncées par Ferrario (1995 et 2002) sont très rares ; il n'en demeure pas moins que

des améliorations seraient envisageables, surtout dans *B* et *G* : l'uniformisation du traitement des SF enregistrées à plusieurs reprises, notamment par une présentation cohérente des équivalents ; comme solution alternative, on peut envisager le choix d'effectuer un seul enregistrement complet enrichi d'exemples authentiques tirés de corpus et illustrant les restrictions, le(s) cotexte(s) et le(s) contexte(s) d'emploi. En outre, en ce qui concerne notre corpus de SF, il serait important, pour la description des SF dont le sens littéral exprime une réaction physique, d'indiquer l'émotion ou les émotions correspondantes, en particulier si elles diffèrent en français et en italien.

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## CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

# EL TRATAMIENTO DE LAS VARIANTES FRASEOLÓGICAS EN LOS REPERTORIOS BILINGÜES

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### Abstract

The description of phraseological units in bilingual lexicographic databases has improved in recent years. Nevertheless, the lexicographic procedure employed is not very well-defined, especially where variations are concerned. Our aim was to investigate the criteria used to include these phraseological units, to establish whether these criteria include frequency of use and, if so, which aspects are involved, (diaphasic or diachronic: *en un momento/en un periquete/en un credo*). Another issue relates to the number of variations of a phraseological unit to be included: *importar un bledo, un pepino (o tres), un pito (o tres)*, etc. The analysis was conducted on material from the two most recent and up-to-date large size dictionaries published in Italy: Garzanti (2009) and Zanichelli (2012).

### 1 Introducción

El estudio de las expresiones fijas se ha abordado desde numerosos puntos de vista no sólo en el seno de la lingüística española, sino también desde una perspectiva contrastiva (Arribas 1998; San Marco Bande 2001; Liverani 2003; Quiroga 2006). Estas publicaciones han servido de base para la elaboración de trabajos posteriores, como los que proponen una reflexión sobre el tratamiento de las unidades fraseológicas (UUFF) en la lexicografía

tanto monolingüe como bilingüe.<sup>1</sup> Sin embargo, todavía no contamos con una respuesta satisfactoria para los numerosos problemas que plantea la inclusión de variantes fraseológicas. Por ejemplo, en un buen número de expresiones se observan cambios o alteraciones léxicas (*tener guardadas / cubiertas las espaldas*), morfológicas (*hacer el ridículo / hacer el ridi*); gramaticales (*a todo / más andar*) o sintácticas (*no dar el/su brazo a torcer*).<sup>2</sup> Además, se pueden obtener variaciones mediante otros mecanismos como la adición de elementos: *de golpe/de golpe y porrazo*. Por otro lado, se dan casos en los que el cambio de un solo término implica la modificación total del significado de la expresión como en *en/de balde*. Por lo tanto, nos parece oportuno estudiar la modalidad empleada en la lexicografía para registrar dichas expresiones.

Precisamente este trabajo se enmarca en el ámbito de la lexicografía bilingüe italoespañola. El propósito de este estudio es el de observar el modo en que se han incluido las variantes fraseológicas en dos de los diccionarios bilingües más modernos publicados en Italia: Garzanti (2009, DG) y Zanichelli (2012, DZAP),<sup>3</sup> para ello, haremos una breve referencia a los conceptos de variación y variante.

Entre los rasgos que caracterizan las unidades fraseológicas, destacan el de la idiomaticidad y la fijación. Esta última característica es el punto de partida para entender la variación. La estabilidad de los componentes de una unidad fraseológica o su fijación formal viene dada por la repetición, es decir, por el uso repetido y frecuente que una determinada comunidad hablante hace de un grupo de palabras específico. Sin embargo, esta no debe entenderse en términos absolutos, sino según una gradación. La fijación fraseológica es -como apunta Corpas en su *Manual* (1996)- una característica relativa, ya que numerosas unidades fraseológicas admiten entre los elementos que las constituyen una cierta variación. De modo que los rasgos de fijación y variación se perfilan como dos aspectos interrelacionados. En este sentido, Montoro del Arco (2004, 593) señala que

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<sup>1</sup> Véase la parte dedicada a la lexicografía bilingüe italoespañola en [www.contrasti-va.it](http://www.contrasti-va.it)

<sup>2</sup> Sobre este aspecto véase, García-Page (2008).

<sup>3</sup> La razón de la elección de estos repertorios obedece al hecho de que se trata de obras que se preocupan por ampliar la información fraseológica. Introducen, en algunas ocasiones, otras explicaciones útiles para el usuario: ejemplos, marcas, acotaciones, etc. Indicaciones que en obras anteriores no se aprecian. En consecuencia, pensamos que el aspecto que tratamos aquí probablemente ha sido objeto de una mayor atención.

“hay que atender en la misma medida a la variación y a la fijación, como dos caras de la misma moneda”.

## 2 Variación y variante de unidades fraseológicas

La bibliografía en torno a las nociones de variación y variante es amplia y no se ha llegado a una propuesta que aúne las diferentes posiciones (Zuluaga 1980; Carneado 1985; Corpas 1996; García-Page 1996, 1999, entre otros). Sin ánimo de ser exhaustivos en este aspecto, puesto que nuestro objetivo es observar su inclusión en las obras bilingües mencionadas, brevemente repasamos algunas teorías para contextualizar la cuestión.

Se entiende por variante fraseológica (Zuluaga, 1980, 107) el cambio formal que se produce, mediante la sustitución de una parte de la expresión, de uno o algunos de los elementos que componen la UF, sin alterar la estructura y el significado de sus elementos constituyentes. Por ejemplo, *coger las de Villadiego* y *tomar las de Villadiego* son consideradas como auténticas variantes, dos formas de una misma unidad (Zuluaga 1980, 109). En cambio, *tomar las de Villadiego* y *poner los pies en polvorosa* no serían variantes, sino expresiones sinonímicas. Por otro lado, expresiones como *ponerse al corriente* 'informarse' y *estar al corriente* 'conocer', pese a su parecido estructural, no se consideran propiamente variantes ya que presentan un significado léxico diferente. Este es el caso también de casos opuestos (Zuluaga 1980, 107) como por ejemplo *de vacas gordas/flacas*.

Carneado (1985, 271-274) ha distinguido los siguientes tipos de variantes: léxicas, variantes por extensión y morfológicas. Entre las primeras, las más numerosas, encontramos formas como *hacerse el tonto/sordo*, etc.; en las denominadas variantes por extensión, caracterizadas por la adición u omisión de algunos de los constituyentes, se encuentran expresiones en las que “se interpolan y adicionan elementos que, con frecuencia, fortalecen el matiz emocional y expresivo del giro” (Carneado 1985, 274). Una muestra de este tipo sería: *de (puro) milagro* o *darse (mucho) bombo*. Por último, en el tercer tipo correspondiente a las variantes morfológicas, Carneado observa que a veces los componentes no verbales están sujetos a modificaciones, como: *estar en cierne(s)* o *corte de manga/s*. También visible en el siguiente ejemplo extraído de Garzanti bajo el lema *carne*: “(colloq.) *en su(s) (mi, mis, tu, tus...) propia(s) carne(s)*, *sulla propria* (mia, tua...) *pelle: es una esperienza que he vivido in mis proprias carnes*, è un'esperienza che ho vissuto sulla mia pelle.

El concepto de variante, para Corpas (1996, 28), implica que las UUFF tengan lugar:

dentro de una misma lengua funcional, no present[en] diferencias de significado, se[an] libres e independientes de los contextos en los que aparecen, se[an] parcialmente idénticas en su estructura y en sus componentes, y se[an] fijas, en el sentido de que formen parte de una serie limitada y estable.

La autora aconseja que no se las confunda con las variaciones por derivación *culo/illo de mal asiento* o por transformación *meter la pata/meterdura de pata*, ni con las UUFF que presentan variaciones lingüísticas (diatópicas, diafásicas, etc.) como pueden ser: *mearse de risa/ morirse de risa*; tampoco con las expresiones con casillas vacías como *a mi/tu aire*. Introduce la noción de ‘modificación creativa’ y la define como “el resultado de un acto creativo y voluntario dentro de los límites de un lenguaje relativamente fijo y establecido” (2003, 187), como por ejemplo *ponérsete los pelos de punta/ponérsete el vello de punta*. Corpas distingue entre modificaciones internas y externas. Las primeras “afectan a la estabilidad y estructura de sus componentes individuales”, mientras que las externas “no afectan a su estructura formal”, la autora afirma que se encuentran sobre todo en el texto periodístico. En cambio, otros autores, por ejemplo Burger (1998, en Corpas 2003, 192) considera que esta subdivisión es problemática ya que no siempre se logra diferenciar entre unas y otras.

Para García-Page (1996, 479), la noción de variante indica “una construcción prefabricada que admite la sustitución léxica de alguno de sus componentes sin alterar su significado”. Posteriormente, explica (1998, 225) que numerosas UUFF “toleran variaciones de naturaleza diversa” e indica que distintos autores han anotado este hecho, es decir, que “algunas expresiones fijas consiguen variar, en relación o no con el contexto, su estructura léxica, morfológica, gramatical, e incluso, gráfica, y así se habla de variantes léxicas, morfológicas, gramaticales y gráficas, respectivamente”. Por último, recogemos la propuesta de Montoro del Arco (2004, 596) que aborda conjuntamente tanto la noción de variante como la de variación y afirma que:

todas, [...], deben cumplir unas premisas: no pueden presentar diferencias de significado; son libres, independientes de los contextos; son parcialmente idénticas en su estructura y en sus componentes (es decir, la variante se produce mediante sustitución de una parte de la expresión: de uno, o solo algunos de los elementos componentes); y la sustitución misma es fija. Las variantes, además de estas características léxicas, son fundamentalmente alternativas léxicas.

Con estas palabras recogemos unas muestras que resumen la complejidad y la falta de acuerdo en un serie de trabajos referidos a esta problemática.

### 3 Información metodológica sobre la variación fraseológica en las obras seleccionadas

Como ya apuntó Montoro del Arco (2004, 598), son abundantes los puntos que siguen todavía oscuros en la lexicografía y uno de ellos es la cuestión de la fraseología. La revisión de la literatura existente sobre este aspecto en los diccionarios bilingües ítaloespañoles del s.XX y principios del XXI así lo demuestra (San Vicente 2007, 2008, Lombardini / Carreras 2008).<sup>4</sup>

La razón, como ya se ha explicado en numerosos estudios, hay que buscarla en la falta de sistematización de estas unidades en la gramática y, consecuentemente, en las obras lexicográficas.

El diccionario Zanichelli (DZAP) alude a la cuestión fraseológica en la presentación: “dado que una buena explicación de un término debe tener en cuenta la combinación del mismo con el resto de los elementos lingüísticos tanto en las expresiones comunes como en las idiomáticas, frecuentemente con grandes diferencias de significado respecto al literal, se ha dedicado particular atención a dichas combinaciones”. Esta es la única referencia y, aunque no se explica en qué consiste esa ‘atención’, es un hecho que los autores perciben el tema como una cuestión que requiere un tratamiento específico.

Por lo que se refiere al diccionario Garzanti (DG), únicamente informa de su ubicación –al final del artículo y precedido por un punto azul– y la tipografía utilizada: negrita. Ninguno de los dos se pronuncia sobre las variantes. Por supuesto, esto no significa que dichos repertorios no las recojan, como veremos seguidamente.

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<sup>4</sup> Caso especial es el diccionario bilingüe español/italiano de Calvo y Giordano publicado en la editorial Herder. Aunque no nos ocupamos de este repertorio, consideramos oportuno mencionar que hay una reflexión sobre la metodología para la inserción de UUFF. Concretamente, en la introducción explican que utilizan el orden alfabético para dar cuenta de palabras que solo se usan en determinadas expresiones como *a macha martillo*, mientras que el criterio que guía la inclusión del resto de las UUFF es “generalmente el primer sustantivo, y si no lo hubiere, el primer verbo, adjetivo, etc. En ciertos casos, sin embargo, se ha seguido la pauta de introducir la expresión bajo la palabra más significativa de la misma, aunque no fuera el primer sustantivo, verbo, etc, y en otros casos una misma expresión se podrá encontrar en más de una entrada” (2011, 16). Estas indicaciones son, sin duda, no solo utilísimas para facilitar la búsqueda por parte de un potencial usuario, sino un claro indicio de la preocupación de los autores por dar cuenta de estos fenómenos.



### 3.1 Variantes en el diccionario

La falta de claridad sobre los aspectos que acabamos de esbozar en el apartado anterior no puede no tener una consecuencia desde un punto de vista aplicativo. En efecto, en la elaboración de obras lexicográficas, uno de los temas que mayor preocupación ha despertado es la inclusión de variantes fraseológicas (Wotjak 1998; Montoro del Arco 2004). En este sentido, Wotjak (1998, 314) plantea un conjunto de interrogantes e hipotiza una solución basada en la utilización de una serie de signos tipográficos que ayuden a diferenciar unas variantes de otras.

Por su parte, Tristán (1998, 304) propone el uso de barras oblicuas para mostrar variantes léxicas y aconseja una indicación diafrecuentativa siempre que sea posible, de lo contrario invita a seguir el orden alfabético. En la misma línea, Montoro del Arco (2004, 601-602) sugiere que los elementos, separados por barras oblicuas de los que habla Tristán, se encierren además entre corchetes, y recomienda el uso del paréntesis para indicar cuantificadores como *todo*, *muy*, *mucho*, etc.

A continuación se mostrará cómo se incluyen las variantes en las obras objeto de este estudio.

En primer lugar, aunque se aconseja que las series fraseológicas como *vacas gordas/ flacas* o *de buena/mala fe* que implican un cambio de significado, se introduzcan separadamente, constatamos que a menudo se presentan juntas (DG). En cambio, para mayor claridad, el DZAP las incluye como subentrada del mismo lema. Por otra parte, Garzanti consigna entre paréntesis como elementos no constitutivos de la UF *buena/mala fe* las preposiciones, indicaciones utilísimas cuyo empleo no queda reflejado en la presentación (Tabla 1).

Otro caso sin resolver es el de las unidades fraseológicas denominadas intersinonímicas o esquemas fraseológicos. El DLE recoge *de uvas a brevas*, o *a peras*, también *de higos a brevas* y *de Pascuas a Ramos*<sup>5</sup>. Este diccionario, las identifica como locuciones adverbiales coloquiales y, en lugar de dar una definición, utiliza la unidad fraseológica *de tarde en tarde* como explicación. Nuestros repertorios también reflejan parcialmente la información del diccionario de la Academia. En italiano se observa una cierta confusión al determinar las partes obligatorias de la UF, por ejemplo el equivalente *ogni morte di papa* presenta la preposición ‘a’ como elemento obligatorio en Zanichelli; mientras que su ausencia entre paréntesis -como debería aparecer- en Garzanti impide que se entienda como facultativo, es decir, no parece haber acuerdo o reflexión sobre cuáles son los elementos fijos, constitutivos de las expresiones fraseológicas.

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<sup>5</sup> Véase <http://dle.rae.es>.

DG <sup>6</sup>	DZAP
<b>Fe</b> •( <i>de</i> o <i>con</i> ) <i>buena fe</i> , (in) <i>buonafede</i> : <i>lo hizo de buena fe</i> , lo ha fatto in buona fede   ( <i>de</i> o <i>con</i> ) <i>mala fe</i> , (in) <i>malafede</i>	<b>Fe</b> ◆ <sup>7</sup> <i>buena fe</i> <i>buonafede</i> , <i>buona fede</i> : <i>abusar de la buena fe de al.</i> abusare della buonafede di qlcu. □ <i>actuar</i> (o <i>hacer</i> ) <i>de buena fe</i> <i>agire in buonafede</i> ◆ <i>mala fe malafede</i> □ <i>de mala fe</i> in <i>malafede</i> : <i>actuar de mala fe</i> <i>agire in malafede</i> : <i>hacer algo de mala fe</i> <i>fare qlco. in malafede</i>
<b>Vaca</b> • <i>vacas flacas</i> , <i>vacche magre</i> : <i>ahorra por si vienen épocas de vacas flacas</i> , <i>risparmia in caso vengano tempi di vacche magre</i>   ( <i>colloq.</i> ) <i>vacas gordas</i> , <i>vacche grasse</i> .	<b>Vaca</b> ◆ <i>vacas flacas</i> ( <i>fig.</i> ) <i>vacche magre</i> : <i>época de vacas flacas</i> <i>tempo di vacche magre</i> ◆ <i>vacas gordas</i> ( <i>fig.</i> ) <i>vacche grasse</i> : <i>época de vacas gordas</i> <i>tempo di vacche grasse</i>
<b>Uva</b> •( <i>colloq.</i> ) <i>de uvas a brevas</i> (o <i>a peras</i> ), (a) <i>ogni morte di papa</i> : <i>veo a mi familia de uvas a brevas</i> , <i>vedo la mia famiglia ogni morte di papa</i> <b>Higo</b> •( <i>colloq.</i> ) <i>de higos a brevas</i> , <i>ogni morte di papa</i> <b>Pascua</b> •( <i>colloq.</i> ) <i>de Pascuas a Ramos</i> , <i>ogni morte di Papa</i>	<b>Uva</b> ◆ <i>de uvas a peras</i> ( <i>fam.</i> ) <i>a ogni morte di papa</i> <b>Higo</b> ◆ <i>de higos a brevas</i> ( <i>fig., fam.</i> ) ( <i>muy de tarde en tarde</i> ) <sup>8</sup> <i>a ogni morte di papa</i> <b>Pascua</b> ◆ <i>de Pascuas a Ramos</i> ( <i>fig.</i> ) <i>a ogni morte di papa</i>

Tabla1: variantes series fraseológicas/esquemas fraseológicos

Por otro lado y a modo ejemplo, si se hace una búsqueda en la parte italiano-español, *a ogni morte di papa* (*fig.*) le corresponde un único equivalente: *de Pascuas a Ramos* (DZAP). Lo que resaltamos en este caso es la falta de

<sup>6</sup> Transcribimos la tipografía utilizada en los diferentes repertorios por ser un aspecto central en la introducción de variantes fraseológicas. Sin embargo, decisiones editoriales del presente volumen non impiden mantener el cromatismo utilizado en el diccionario DZAP para distinguir la UF y los ejemplos: rosa oscuro para la UF y rosa más claro para el ejemplo en español. Del mismo modo, desaparece el color verde del rombo utilizado para indicar que se trata de una UF.

<sup>7</sup> Con el rombo lleno en verde se hace referencia a la fraseología, concretamente los autores hablan de ‘locuciones’; mientras que con el símbolo cuadrado vacío indican que se trata de una ‘locución dependiente’, aunque en la presentación no se hace referencia a esta distinción.

<sup>8</sup> Señalamos que la fuente puede haber sido el diccionario de la Academia que recoge esta misma UF: <http://dle.rae.es>

circularidad en la información que se proporciona en cada una de las secciones del mismo repertorio.<sup>9</sup>

Por otra parte, observando el caso de la UF sinónima *de tarde en tarde* se nota que el tratamiento del adverbio no se consigna como elemento facultativo en DZAP, sino como parte integrante de la UF:

DG	DZAP
<b>Tarde</b> ( <i>muy</i> ) <i>de tarde en tarde</i> , ogni tanto, di tanto in tanto	<b>Tarde</b> ◆ <i>de tarde en tarde</i> di tanto in tanto, di quando in quando, ogni tanto □ <i>muy de tarde en tarde</i> molto raramente, ben di rado

Tabla 2: elementos facultativos

Esta práctica también se observa en el tratamiento de otras expresiones que contienen otros cuantificadores como: *poner (toda) la carne en el asador*, *tener (muchas) tablas* y *(más) tarde o (más) temprano* por citar algunas. De modo que en “**poner** (o **echar**) **toda la carne en el asador** (*fig., fam.*) mettercela tutta, rischiare il tutto per tutto” (DZAP), se incluye ‘toda’ como parte integrante de la UF;<sup>10</sup> mientras que la segunda se recoge sin el cuantificador y, la última, la tratan de acuerdo con lo que aconseja la praxis lexicográfica, es decir, empleando el paréntesis: “**(más) tarde o (más) temprano** prima o poi, presto o tardi: *tarde o t. lo haremos* prima o poi lo faremo”.

Otro punto interesante es el modo en que aparecen registradas unidades fraseológicas que pueden ir en forma positiva, por ejemplo *importar un bledo*. Una selección razonada debería recoger, en primer lugar, aquellas que se usan preferentemente según su forma positiva/o negativa. Sin embargo, las presentaciones de esos repertorios no recogen nada al respecto.

<sup>9</sup> Para este aspecto bastante frecuente e inexplicable, véase Valero (2012), *Fraseología gramática, lexicografía*. Mantova, Universitas Studiorum.

<sup>10</sup> Lo mismo que Garzanti “**echar** (o **poner**) **toda la carne en el asador**, rischiare il tutto per tutto, mettercela tutta: *en los últimos minutos el equipo echó toda la carne en el asador para ganar el partido*, negli ultimi minuti la squadra ha rischiato il tutto per tutto per vincere la partita”.

DG	DZAP
<p><b>Bledo</b> (<i>colloq.</i>) <b>importar un bledo</b>, non importare niente: me importa un bledo lo que tú digas, non mi importa un accidente di quello che dici.</p> <p><b>Pepino</b> (<i>colloq.</i>) <b>importar un pepino</b> (o <i>tres pepinos</i>), non fregar niente, non importare un fico secco: <i>me importa tres pepinos lo que digas</i>, non me ne frega niente di ciò che dici.</p> <p><b>Pimiento</b> (<i>colloq.</i>) (<i>niente</i>) fico secco, accidente, <i>me importa un pimiento lo que hagas</i>, non mi importa un fico secco di quello che fai;</p> <p><b>Pito</b> (<i>colloq.</i>) <b>un pito</b> (o <i>tres pitos</i>), niente, meno di niente, un fischio: <i>me importa un pito</i>, non me ne importa un fischio</p> <p><b>Comino</b> [segunda acepción, no UF, ejemplo] <i>me importa un comino</i>, non mi importa un fico secco</p>	<p><b>Bledo</b> ♦ <b>importar un bledo a al.</b> (<i>fig., fam.</i>) non importare un fico (secco) a qlcu., non importare un accidente a qlcu.: <i>a ti te importa un b. lo que opinen los demás</i> a te non importa un fico secco di quello che pensano gli altri</p> <p><b>Pepino</b> ♦ <b>importar un pepino</b> (<i>fam.</i>) non importare un fico (secco), non importare un cavolo: <i>me importa un p. que no me haya invitado a su fiesta</i> non m'importa un fico secco che non mi abbia invitato alla sua festa</p> <p><b>Pimiento</b> ♦ <b>un pimiento</b> (<i>fam.</i>) un cavolo, un fico secco, un accidente: <i>me importa un p. que vengas</i> non me ne importa un cavolo che tu venga; <i>no entender, no saber un p. de algo</i> non capire, non sapere un fico secco di qlco. <i>no valer un p.</i> non valere un accidente.</p> <p><b>Pito</b> ♦ <b>importarle un pito a al.</b> (<i>fam.</i>) non importare un fico (secco) a qlcu.: <i>me importa un p. que no venga</i> non m'importa un fico secco che non venga</p> <p>♦ <b>no entender (ni) un pito</b> (<i>fam.</i>) non capire un accidente (o un tubo)</p> <p>♦ <b>no valer (ni) un pito</b> (<i>fam.</i>) non valere un fico secco</p> <p><b>Comino</b> ♦ <b>importar un comino</b> importare un fico secco: <i>sus problemas me importan un c.</i> dei suoi problemi non mi importa un fico secco</p>

Tabla 3: variantes fraseológicas - forma positiva o negativa

Tampoco aquí se observan remisiones. Y por otro lado, se constatan incoherencias como la que se observa bajo la voz *pimiento* (DZAP) donde se recogen UUFF que tienen distinto significado y que deberían separarse, tal y como como reproducen posteriormente los autores con las expresiones contenidas bajo el lema *pito*. En este último caso, se aprecia un uso acertado del paréntesis para dar cuenta de la optatividad de la negación copulativa ‘ni’ en *no entender (ni) un pito* y *no valer (ni) un pito*<sup>11</sup>. En cuanto al

<sup>11</sup> En estos ejemplos se observan numerosas discordancias en el uso de las marcas. Sobre este aspecto, véase Valero (2015), “Consideraciones sobre el tratamiento

diccionario Garzanti, como anotábamos más arriba respecto de la circularidad, bajo la voz *fico* en la sección italiano/español, se consigna “(non) **importare un fico (secco) a qulcu.**, (no) importar a alguien un comino (o un bledo)” como UF. Es curioso, por otro lado, que el elemento facultativo ‘a qualcuno’ se presente como obligatorio.

A esta problemática en el tratamiento de las variantes en el diccionario, hay que añadir, como señala convenientemente Vega (2002, 247), otro dilema no menos importante, aunque sí “más subjetivo, el de determinar la primacía de una sobre otra u otras”. Esta consideración es válida también para el tratamiento de las variantes fraseológicas en el bilingüe. Nos preguntamos si la inserción o determinación de una específica UF en detrimento de otra, responde al criterio de la frecuencia de uso. Hemos podido observar que a veces resulta casi imposible determinar cuál goza de mayor popularidad. Tal y como habían anticipado Tristá (1998) y más tarde también Montoro (2004), una posible solución será la de optar por el orden alfabético.

Veamos ahora otro tipo de expresiones fraseológicas que admiten cambios morfológicos, se trata de casos que se enmarcan en lo que García-Page (1999, 226), denomina “afijación apreciativa (aumentativo, diminutivo, superlativo...)”, según este autor, los cambios: “Generalmente, afectan al componente nominal de una locución verbal: dormir como un ángel/angelito, echar una cana/canita al aire, poner de patas/patitas en la calle [...]”. En nuestros repertorios se encuentran reflejadas de la siguiente manera:

DG	DZAP
<p><b>Pata</b> • (<i>colloq.</i>) <b>a pata</b>, a piedi   <b>Poner a alguien de patas en la calle</b>, mettere alla porta qlcu., licenziare qlcu.: <i>se pasó y lo pusieron de patas en la calle</i>, ha esagerato e l’hanno messo alla porta</p> <p><b>Patitas</b> • (<i>colloq.</i>) <b>poner a alguien de patitas en la calle</b>, sbattere qlcu. fuori dalla porta</p>	<p><b>Pata</b> ◆ <b>a pata</b> (<i>fam., hum.</i>) a piedi: <i>quisieron regresar a p. vollero tornare a piedi.</i></p> <p>◆ <b>poner de patas en la calle a al.</b> cacciare (o sbattere) qlcu. fuori di casa</p> <p><b>Patita</b> ◆ <b>ir a patita</b> (<i>fam.</i>) andare a piedi</p> <p>◆ <b>poner a al. de patitas en la calle</b> (<i>fig., fam.</i>) cacciare via (o buttare fuori) qlcu. a pedate.</p>

Tabla 4: variantes con cambios morfológicos

Se observa aquí que tanto Garzanti como Zanichelli presentan la forma derivada bajo entradas diferentes, sin remisiones. En cuanto a las marcas de

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lexicográfico de unidades fraseológicas desde la perspectiva de la marcación pragmática” en *Cuadernos AISPI 6*, ya que no se explica en ninguno de los repertorios examinados el significado y alcance de las marcas que utiliza.

uso, todas las expresiones deberían tener la misma indicación, no nos explicamos la diferencia.

Del mismo modo, en el siguiente ejemplo obsérvese que *mosquita muerta* o *mosca muerta* (DZAP) son meros equivalentes de *santarellino*, es decir, en la parte italiano/español no se considera UF. En cambio, sí lo es en la sección español/italiano. En esta parte hay que señalar también que los verbos con los que se puede combinar no aparecen entre paréntesis -como en otros casos-, sino separados por comas.

DG	DZAP
Solo la recoge en <b>mosquita</b> • ( <i>colloq., fig.</i> ) <b>mosquita muerta</b> , gattamorta	<b>Santarellino (ITA)</b> , santarellina (o santerellino, santerellina): s.m., f. (iron.) mosquita (f.) muerta, mosca (f.) muerta: <i>fare la santarellina</i> hacer la mosquita muerta; <i>faccia da s.</i> cara de mosca muerta. <b>Mosca</b> ♦ <b>mosca muerta</b> ( <i>fig.</i> ) gattamorta <b>Mosquita</b> ♦ <b>ser, parecer una mosquita muerta</b> ( <i>fig.</i> ) essere, sembrare una gattamorta.

Tabla 5: circularidad parcial entre las dos secciones de una misma obra

Por otro lado, tal como explica García-Page (1999, 229), destacan los casos en los que, “el signo enfático consiente formación derivativa (generalmente, superlativo): *pasarle de puta/putísima madre, dar la real/realísima gana, hacer su santa/santísima voluntad*”. Estas formas están presentes en Zanichelli,<sup>12</sup> pero únicamente recoge el modo superlativo bajo el lema *gana*, mientras que Garzanti prescinde completamente de dicho sufijo.

<sup>12</sup> Al menos en estos ejemplos.

DG	DZAP
<p><b>Gana</b> [no recoge esta UF]  <b>Madre</b> •de puta madre, da sballo, fichissimo, (<i>moltissimo</i>) un casino, un puttanaio: <i>la película es de puta madre</i>, il film è fichissimo; <i>me lo pasé de puta madre en la fiesta</i>, mi sono divertita un casino alla festa  <b>Voluntad</b> •hacer su (<i>mi, tu...</i>) <i>santa voluntad</i>, fare il bello e il cattivo tempo<sup>13</sup></p>	<p><b>Gana</b> ◉<sup>14</sup> <i>darle la real gana</i> (o la realísima gana) (pop.) parere e piacere: <i>salgo con quien me da la real g.</i> esco con chi mi pare e piace □ <b>no darle la real gana</b> (o <i>la realísima gana</i>) de (pop.) non parlarsene proprio: <i>¡ven aquí inmediatamente!</i> - <i>¡no me da la real g.!</i> vieni qui subito! - non se ne parla proprio! □ <b>no darle a al. la real gana</b> (o <i>realísima gana</i>) de (pop.) non pensarci proprio a: <i>no me da la real g. de decírtelo</i> non ci penso proprio a dirtelo  <b>◆ de puta madre</b> (<i>vulg.</i>) da sballo, fichissimo: <i>¡una fiesta de puta m.!</i> una festa da sballo!; [en función de adv.] alla grande: <i>hoy estoy de puta m.</i> oggi sto alla grande  <b>Voluntad</b> ◆ <i>hacer su santa voluntad</i> fare i propri comodi: <i>hace su santa v. sin escuchar a nadie</i> fa i propri comodi senza ascoltare nessuno</p>

Tabla 6: variantes enfáticas

## 4 A modo de conclusión

Por supuesto, en las líneas precedentes no hemos agotado el tema de las variantes dado que son numerosas, de diversa naturaleza y no fácilmente adscribibles a un único tipo reconocido por las autoridades en el tema.

Hemos podido constatar que, a pesar de que en las presentaciones de estas obras no se alude en ningún momento a la cuestión tratada, se registran numerosas formas. La manera más usual para dar cuenta de ellas es mediante la utilización de signos tipográficos, entre los que destaca ampliamente el uso del paréntesis. En cambio, para separar posibles combinaciones con distintos verbos o sustantivos se emplea la coma. Las distintas UUFF, que se recogen bajo una mismo lema en el apartado correspondiente, se separan mediante una barra recta (DG) o el símbolo que introduce la indicación de UF (DZAP). No se encuentran casos de uso de la

<sup>13</sup> No entramos en este estudio en la traducción de las UUFF, sin embargo ya aquí se pueden vislumbrar los problemas que plantean.

<sup>14</sup> Símbolo no especificado en la guía de consulta ni en la presentación.

barra oblicua ni del corchete para señalar posibles variantes fraseológicas. Todas las UUFF están recogidas siguiendo un orden alfabético. La inclusión de variantes, una o más, bajo un mismo lema, no responde, en principio, a ningún criterio conocido.

Por último, comparando los repertorios estudiados en este trabajo, comprobamos que la presentación de las variantes es poco uniforme. Sin embargo, lo que llama la atención es que no hay coherencia dentro de un mismo diccionario. Estamos seguros de que en muchos casos puede deberse a una simple falta de atención y que las nuevas tecnologías mejorarán muchas de las objeciones observadas. Desde luego, es necesario que los bilingües recojan este tipo de expresiones y creemos que su inserción en la microestructura habrá planteado no pocos interrogantes a sus autores, preguntas cuya respuesta quizá podamos ver plasmada ya en la macroestructura de futuras obras. El uso de los signos tipográficos y el empleo de colores pueden, sin duda, mejorar su consulta, como se demuestra en DZAP. Consideramos también que sería necesario indicar no solo el número de variantes, sino también si los cambios de significado de las expresiones, debido a modificaciones o añadidos léxicos, gramaticales, etc., tienen alguna implicación en su presentación.

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# CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

## ANSÄTZE ZUR KONZEPTION EINES BILINGUALEN UNIKALIA-WÖRTERBUCHS DEUTSCH-RUMÄNISCH

MIHAI CRUDU

### Abstract

The aim of the present paper is to highlight the need for a German-Romanian dictionary of bound words. By bound words, we mean those lexemes that, for either linguistic or extralinguistic reasons, are currently present only in fixed phrases such as ger. *sich anheischig machen*, *im Nu* or rom. *a (nu) avea habar*, *a o zbughi*. We address the above-mentioned shortcoming and lay the ground for developing a perspective consistent on the micro- as well as the macro-level, for a bound words dictionary.

### 1 Ausgangspunkt und Vorhaben

Ziel der nachstehenden Ausführungen ist die Vorstellung eines Projekts, das sich als angewandte Fortsetzung meines Promotionsstudiums versteht. Den theoretischen Ausgangspunkt bildet meine Dissertation, die ich 2015 an der Universität Bukarest verteidigt und anschließend veröffentlicht (Crudu 2016) habe. Dabei ging es mir um die ausführliche Untersuchung einer speziellen lexematischen Kategorie, die als sprachliche Universalie<sup>1</sup> eingestuft wurde: die *Unikalia*. Damit sind die Wörter gemeint, die nur noch in

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<sup>1</sup> Siehe die Studie von Dobrovolskij (1988), dessen Ziel es ist, die phraseologisch gebundenen Formative (neben anderen Sprachphänomenen) aus der Perspektive der Universalienlinguistik auszuloten. Der Autor unterzieht ein umfangreiches Inventar von Phrasemen mit unikalen Komponenten (am Sprachmaterial des Deutschen, Englischen und Niederländischen) einer ausführlichen Untersuchung und stellt

festen Wortverbindungen erhalten geblieben sind, wie z. B.: dt. *sich anheischig machen*, *fehl am Platze sein*, *einer Sache verlustig gehen* bzw. rum. *a-i sări cuiva bâzdâcul*, *beat criță*, *a-și lua tâlpășița* usw., wobei die fett markierten Lexeme als unikal gelten, weil sie nur in diesen Wortkombinationen begegnen.

Im vorliegenden Beitrag nehme ich mir schwerpunktmäßig vor, Ansätze zur Konzeption eines Unikalia-Wörterbuchs zu besprechen, wobei der Fokus—gemäß meinen Sprachkompetenzen und meinem Anliegen—auf dem Sprachenpaar Deutsch-Rumänisch liegt. Die Bearbeitung der Unikalia als Lemmata ist aus mehreren Gründen eine Herausforderung für die Lexikografie und / oder Phraseografie, da sie zahlreiche Schwierigkeiten bereit hält. Davon seien hier nur einige aufgezählt:

- Wie sollen die Unikalia in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass sie phraseologisch gebunden sind und daher semantisch lediglich in Phrasemen eine Bedeutung erlangen, als Einträge in Wörterbüchern beschrieben werden? Wie kann man Lexeme wie z. B. dt. *Geldhahn* (aus dem Phrasem *den Geldhahn zudrehen*) oder rum. *razna* (aus dem Phrasem *a o lua razna*) als einzelne Lemmata beschreiben?

- Wie soll mit den Unikalia aus der Perspektive der bilingualen Lexikografie umgegangen werden? Sind sie überhaupt übersetzbar oder sind nur die dazugehörigen Phraseologismen übersetzbar?

- Inwieweit sorgen die gegenwärtig auf dem Markt kursierenden Nachschlagewerke für eine einheitliche und nachvollziehbare Eintragung der Unikalia?

- Wie könnte ein bilinguales Unikalia-Wörterbuch aussehen?

Solche Fragen und andere sollen in diesem Artikel angesprochen und womöglich auch beantwortet werden.

## 2 *Unikalia* in der Linguistik

### 2.1 Deutschsprachige Arbeiten

*Unikalia* machen auf den ersten Blick einen relativ kleinen Sektor der Sprache aus, weshalb geraume Zeit kein Bedarf (oder sogar kein Interesse) an ihrer Untersuchung bestand.

Dobrovol'skij ist 1978 eine erste eingehende und strukturierte Auseinandersetzung mit dem Phänomen zu verdanken. Die von ihm

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dabei mehrere Postulate auf, von denen hier nur eines zitiert sei: “Je stärker analytisch die Sprache, desto regulärer das phraseologische System dieser Sprache“ (1988, 212).

sogenannten *phraseologisch gebundenen Formative* werden grundsätzlich auf ihre Variation im Komponentenbestand hin überprüft. Zehn Jahre später wendet sich derselbe Autor den phraseologisch gebundenen lexikalischen Elementen als universalem Sprachphänomen zu (siehe auch Fußnote 1 im vorliegenden Beitrag). 1994 publiziert Dobrovol'skij zusammen mit Piirainen zwei empirische Studien, deren Hauptziel es ist zu überprüfen, inwiefern die Phraseologismen mit phraseologisch gebundenen Elementen bei den Sprechern mental noch präsent sind. Dobrovol'skij geht in seinen Forschungen – z. T. auch mit Piirainen – von folgenden zwei Hauptideen aus:

- Die Unikalität der Wörter ist ein rein in der Synchronie angesiedeltes Phänomen und von daher lediglich in einem begrenzten Zeitraum analysierbar;

- Das unikale Wort sagt die anderen am Phrasem beteiligten Lexeme voraus und bedingt ihre Distribution im Phrasem.

Andere Linguisten, die sich mit dem Phänomen der Unikalität befasst haben, sind Fleischer (1989), Häcki Buhofer (2002), Sailer (2004), Soehn (2006) und Holzinger (2013). Ohne hier eine ausführliche Darstellung unterschiedlicher Auffassungen der jeweiligen Autoren vorzunehmen, dies würde den Rahmen des Aufsatzes sprengen, möchte ich im Nachstehenden ein paar Grundrisse präsentieren, die für die in dieser Arbeit anvisierte Problematik von Belang sind.

Häcki Buhofer (2002, 140) spricht in ihrer Studie Fragen des Unikalisierungprozesses an und stellt dabei fest, dass viele Wörter dieser Art früher als freie Lexeme kursierten, die allmählich eine figurative Bedeutung gewannen. Diese neue Bedeutung war oft kontextabhängig, was anschließend zur Isolierung des Wortes in einer festen Wortfügung bzw. in festen Wortfügungen führte. So lässt sich auch die Tatsache erklären, dass die Unikalisation kein absolutes Phänomen ist. Manche Wörter neigen zur Isolierung in Phrasemen, andere überleben nur noch da, wohingegen wieder andere sogar einer "Entunikalisierung" ausgesetzt sind<sup>2</sup>.

Soehn und Sailer nehmen eine synchrone Untersuchung unikalischer Komponenten vor, wobei sie deren distributionelle Restriktion pointieren. Darüber hinaus erstellen sie (zusammen mit Trawinski und de Jong) im

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<sup>2</sup> Vgl. dabei auch den Ansatz von Stumpf (2015), dem u.a. es zu dokumentieren gelingt, dass die Unikalität ein graduelles Phänomen sei. Freilich ist diese Erkenntnis für die Erstellung eines Wörterbuchs von großem Belang, insbesondere bei der Auswahl der zu lemmatisierenden Komponenten. Daraufhin wäre ein Wörterbuch mit Unikalia ein im synchronen Sprachzustand angesiedeltes Werk, das gelegentlich einer Aktualisierung bedürfte. Eine digitalisierte Aufbereitung des Wörterbuchs wäre meines Erachtens eine zu begrüßende Lösung.

Rahmen des Forschungsprojekts “CoDII“ (Collection of Distributionally Idiosyncratic Items)<sup>3</sup> eine Liste mit unikalenen Wörtern des Deutschen und Englischen mitsamt den entsprechenden Kommentaren.

In der Fachliteratur rezenteren Datums ist ein Aufsatz von Holzinger (2013) zu erwähnen, der sich mit dem Phänomen der Unikalität aus lexikografischer Perspektive auseinandersetzt. Dabei geht es ihm um einen Vergleich zwischen Unikalia als Einträgen in Lexika und ihrem tatsächlichen Auftreten in Korpora. Konstatiert wird, dass nicht alle Phraseme mit unikalenen Wörtern denselben Festigkeitsgrad aufweisen. Mitunter sind gelegentliche Abweichungen zu registrieren, die zumeist vorsätzlich sind und bestimmte Bedeutungsschattierungen erzielen.

## 2.2 Rumänische Arbeiten

Die einschlägige Literatur in rumänischer Sprache steckt noch in den Kinderschuhen, obwohl das Rumänische über relativ viele Unikalia verfügt. Zumeist sind sie linguistisch schlicht den Archaismen zugeordnet, ohne der Tatsache Rechnung zu tragen, dass auch phraseologisch gebundene Lexeme ausfindig gemacht werden können, die nicht veraltet sind; vgl. z. B. *buzna* (in *a da buzna*), *duium* (in *cu duiumul*), *habar* (in *a (nu) avea habar*) u. a.

Zwar wird schon ziemlich früh bemerkt<sup>4</sup>, dass manche Archaismen nur noch in festen Fügungen überleben, vernachlässigt wird aber, dass solche Phänomene näherer und getrennter Untersuchung bedürfen. Erst 2001 nimmt Copceag eine gestaffelte Klassifikation unikalener Wörter des Rumänischen vor, wobei er sich an die Gliederung von Fleischer (1982) anlehnt.

Auch Cernea (2009, 97–99) widmet den unikalenen Wörtern ein Kapitel ihrer Dissertation, in dem über das sogenannte “criteriul ocurenței exclusive“ (dt. Kriterium der exklusiven Okkurrenz) gesprochen wird. Die Autorin legt in ihrer Gliederung auf Phraseologismen mit unterschiedlichen Arten von Archaismen Wert, etwa mit lexikalischen (z. B. *a fi / a ajunge la aman*), morphologischen (bspw. *a-și da aere*) und semantischen Archaismen (z. B. *a ține catastifele*), und fügt dabei noch die Phraseme mit

<sup>3</sup> Die Datenbank ist unter <https://www.english-linguistics.de/codii/> online verfügbar. Eine detaillierte Vorstellung des Projektes CoDII findet sich in Sailer und Trawinski (2006, 471–4).

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. bspw. den Ansatz von Dimitrescu (1958, 41), die in Phrasemen erhalten gebliebene Lexeme als “lebendige Archaismen“ bezeichnet. Auch Șerban und Evseev (1978, 44) konstatieren, dass manche Wörter—dank einem semantischen Verschleiß—ihre Autonomie eingebüßt haben und daher nur in festen Wortfügungen anzutreffen sind.

non-archaischen Elementen (bspw. *în amonte*, *în aval*, *a cădea în desuetudine*) hinzu.

Wie man sehen kann, weist das Konzept der Unikalität in der rumänischen Linguistik eine eher diffuse Bedeutung auf, weshalb ich hier der Überzeugung Nachdruck verleihen will, dass ein spezielles Wörterbuch mit Unikalialia ein auf dem Markt zu begrüßendes Novum wäre, das vor allem auf das Phänomen selbst bzw. auf dessen Erforschung aufmerksam machen würde.

### 2.3 Unikalialia: Eigene Begriffsbestimmung

Ich übernehme hier den Definitionsvorschlag aus Crudu (2016, 113):

*Phraseologische Unikalialia* sind im Sprachsystem isolierte Einzelmorpheme bzw. -lexeme, die aus verschiedenen inner- und/oder außersprachlichen Ursachen im synchronen Sprachzustand formell und inhaltlich nur noch in stabilen satzgliedwertigen<sup>5</sup> Wortkombinationen beibehalten worden sind und deren Teilnahme an den Wortneubildungsprozessen diachron sehr beschränkt ist.

Von den in dieser Definition aufgezählten Kriterien ausgehend soll auch die Sichtung der im Nachschlagewerk einzubegreifenden Stichwörter erfolgen.

Zu den Ursachen des Unikalialisierungsprozesses, die ich im Laufe meiner Forschung (Crudu 2016, 262) habe beobachten können, zählen u. a.:

- *Archaisierung der Wörter*: Manche Begriffe verschwinden aus dem Usus, entweder weil das durch das betreffende Wort Bezeichnete nicht mehr gebraucht wird und daher aus dem aktiven Wortschatz ausscheidet, oder weil es durch andere aktualisierte Wörter bzw. Wortformen ersetzt wird. Wie dem auch sei, isolieren sich manche Lexeme – bevor sie in Vergessenheit geraten – in bestimmten Verbindungen und überleben nur noch da. Beispiele hierfür wären dt. *Kuppelpelz* (in *sich einen Kuppelpelz verdienen*) oder rum. *sacagiu* (in *a vinde apă la sacagiu*).

- *Entlehnungsprozesse*: Einige entlehnte Wörter blieben über lange Zeiten den meisten Sprechern unzugänglich, weshalb irgendwann kein Bedarf mehr für deren Benutzung bestand. Von daher wurden viele von ihnen aufgegeben, während manche noch in Phraseologismen erhalten

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<sup>5</sup> Aus methodologischen Gründen habe ich meinen Forschungsgegenstand auf satzgliedwertige Phraseme beschränkt, obwohl Unikalialia vereinzelt auch in satzwertigen Phraseologismen auftreten (vgl. bspw. das Sprichwort *Morgenstund' hat Gold im Mund*).



geblieben sind. Vgl. bspw. dt. *Paroli*<sup>6</sup> (in *jemandem, einer Sache Paroli bieten*) oder rum. *azbuche*<sup>7</sup> (in *a fi la azbuche*).

- *Interne Wortbildungsprozesse*: Oft wurde ein Wort infolge der Beteiligung an Ableitung, Zusammensetzung oder eben Konversion unikal. Wörter wie dt. *vorstellig* (in *bei jemandem vorstellig werden*) oder rum. *bâjbâite* (in *pe bâjbâite*) gehen selbstredend von frei vorkommenden Lexemen (dt. *vorstellen* bzw. rum. *a bâjbâi*) aus, weisen jedoch eine phraseologische Gebundenheit auf.

### 3 *Unikalia* in der Lexikografie: Eine kritische Darlegung

Bei einer aufmerksamen Durchsicht der Nachschlagewerke—sowohl monolingualer wie auch bilingualer—fällt ein großes Defizit auf: Die recht uneinheitliche Eintragung unikalener Wörter. In diesem Teil der Arbeit geht es um eine kritische Übersicht über ausgewählte Wörterbücher mit genauem Bezug auf die Lemmata, die unikal sind. In einem ersten Schritt widme ich mich der vergleichenden Untersuchung monolingualer Wörterbücher für beide hier infrage kommende Sprachen, und daran anschließend wende ich mich bilingualen Nachschlagewerken zu.

#### 3.1 *Unikalia* in der monolingualen Lexikografie

In der deutschen Lexikografie werden die phraseologisch gebundenen Wörter unterschiedlich bearbeitet, was hier plakativ anhand von vier beliebigen *Unikalia* dokumentiert werden soll. Die für diese Studie untersuchten Nachschlagewerke sind P-GW-DaF<sup>8</sup>, als ein speziell für Fremdsprachler konzipiertes Wörterbuch, dessen Inhalt sich grundsätzlich an der Gegenwartssprache orientiert, bzw. D-DUW, als Wörterbuch für Muttersprachler.

Das P-GW-DaF (2004) versieht idiomatische Redewendungen schlicht mit einem Viereckchen, das jedem Phrasem voransteht. Somit gibt es keinen konkreten lexikografischen Kommentar über die Anwesenheit eines Phraseologismus. Im Falle der *Unikalia* gibt es keine speziellen Angaben

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<sup>6</sup> Das Wort ist zwar italienischen Ursprungs, ist aber ins Deutsche unter dem Einfluss des Französischen eingedrungen. Es geht auf ein Kartenspiel zurück.

<sup>7</sup> Das rumänische Nomen ist ein verdunkeltes Kompositum, das von den altslawischen Wörtern *azŭ* und *buki* herkommt, die früher das kyrillische Alphabet bezeichneten.

<sup>8</sup> Für jedes der angeführten Wörterbücher werden einfachheitshalber Kürzel benutzt. Im Literaturverzeichnis sind die vollständigen Titel angegeben.

über deren phraseologische Gebundenheit. Vgl. z. B. Einträge wie *ausfindig* (107), *habhaft* (578), *Letzt* (847), *vorstellig* (1522) u. a., wo direkt das entsprechende Phrasem wiedergegeben bzw. erklärt wird. Auch in der Einleitung zum Aufbau des Wörterbuchs wird mit Bezug auf die Eintragung phraseologischer Ausdrücke nur wenig Aufschluss gegeben.

Die lexikografischen Informationen im D-DUW (2007) sind mit Bezug auf Unikalia zwar spezifischer, jedoch nicht immer homogen. Wenn wir uns dieselben Stichwörter ansehen, dann stellt sich Folgendes heraus: *ausfindig* kommt "in der Verbindung" vor (212), *Letzt* (1073) und *vorstellig* hingegen "in der Wendung" (1873), wobei im Falle des Lemmas *habhaft* kein schriftlicher Verweis auf seine phraseologische Gebundenheit vorhanden ist, obwohl es einen Asteriskus gibt, der die Anwesenheit einer festen Wortverbindung ankündigt (738). Noch kurioser erscheint dies, wenn man bedenkt, dass die Phraseme *etwas ausfindig machen*, *bei jemandem vorstellig werden* und *einer Sache habhaft werden* dieselbe Struktur aufweisen: Adverb + Verb (+ Ergänzung). Wo da der Unterschied zwischen den Termini *Verbindung* und *Wendung* sein soll, wird unerklärlicherweise in den einleitenden Erklärungen nicht ausgeführt. Bei einer genaueren Durchsicht unikalischer Stichwörter fallen noch weitere verwirrende Formulierungen auf: "nur in der Fügung" (z. B. beim Eintrag *Daffke*, 369), "meist in der Wendung" (bspw. im Falle des Stichwortes *Geldhahn*, 663) u. a. Wie man sehen kann, werden die unikalischen Lemmata durch lexikografische Bemerkungen gekennzeichnet, die oft uneinheitlich und relativ sind.

Ähnliches gilt für die rumänische Lexikografie. Konsultiert habe ich folgende repräsentative Nachschlagewerke: DEX (1998) und NDULR (2007). Von vornherein ist anzumerken, dass die Phraseme in den theoretischen Vorbemerkungen dieser Wörterbücher nur oberflächlich erwähnt werden. Exemplarisch habe ich hier ebenfalls vier Unikalia exzerpiert: *buzna*, *iveală*, *ort* und *tălpășiță*.

Das DEX (1998) weist eine ziemlich einheitliche Kennzeichnung unikalischer Lexeme auf, indem es solche Phänomene prinzipiell mit dem Kommentar "În expresia" (dt. ‚in der Wendung‘) markiert; siehe die Einträge *buzna* und *tălpășiță* (122, 1074). Ein anderes Indiz für die Anwesenheit eines Phrasems ist ein kleines Sternchen, das vor der Wortfügung steht; vgl. z. B. den Eintrag *iveală* (511). Anders steht es um das Nomen *ort* (730), dessen Artikel im Wörterbuch umfangreicher ist. Das Wort gilt heute als archaisch, weshalb als Erstes eine Definition angegeben wird und erst dann die entsprechende, gegenwärtig noch kursierende Redewendung *a da ortul popii* mitsamt Bedeutung.

Das NDULR (2007) gibt erstaunlicherweise gar keinen Hinweis, der das Vorhandensein eines Phrasems bekannt gibt. Die etwaigen Phraseme kommen lediglich im Fließtext des betreffenden Stichwortes vor, was freilich nicht immer übersichtlich ist. Im Falle unikalier Lemmata wird identisch vorgegangen; vgl. die jeweiligen Einträge (181, 632, 951f., 1483).

### 3.2 *Unikalia* in der bilingualen Lexikografie (Deutsch-Rumänisch)

Aus Platzgründen beschränke ich mich nun auf die Analyse von nur zwei Wörterbüchern. Dabei ziehe ich die umfangreichsten, auf dem Markt existierenden bilingualen Nachschlagewerke zurate, die das Sprachenpaar Deutsch-Rumänisch beinhalten: DGR (2007) und DRG (1996). Zwecks Einheitlichkeit und um eines zutreffenden Vergleichs willen untersuche ich dieselben Lemmata wie weiter oben.

Das DGR (2007) erweist sich als sehr einheitlich, wenn es um die Eintragung phraseologischer Wendungen geht. Bei *Unikalia* wird unmittelbar nach dem Stichwort der Vermerk „in expr.“ (dt. ‚in der Wendung‘) in runden Klammern angegeben; siehe die einzelnen Einträge (127, 552, 769, 1382). Für die dazugehörenden Phraseme werden wo möglich mehrere Übersetzungsvarianten vorgeschlagen, je nach den im Rumänischen bestehenden Formulierungsmöglichkeiten.

Durch seine Struktur–basierend auf Wortnestern–weist das DRG (1996) den Nachteil auf, benutzerunfreundlich bzw. relativ schwer lesbar zu sein. Die phraseologischen Ausdrücke werden mit einem Asteriskus markiert und die *Unikalia* direkt mit dem entsprechenden Phrasem angeführt, wobei die Übersetzungen mehr oder weniger phraseologisch sind. Vgl. bspw. den Eintrag *buzna* (219), für dessen Phrasem *a da buzna* folgende Äquivalenzen vorgeschlagen werden: *ungestüm hereinstürmen* / *herinstürzen* (sic!) / *hineinstürmen* / *hineinstürzen*. Interessant sind auch das Stichwort *ort* und der Phraseologismus *a da ortul popii* (1029f.), wo idiomatische Ausdrücke als Übertragung angegeben werden: *das Zeitliche segnen*, *sein Leben aushauchen* u. a. Die Äquivalenz ist zwar nicht formell, gibt aber die Bedeutung treu wieder.

#### 4 Aufbau des geplanten Wörterbuchs und Lemmabeschreibung

Der Aufbau des geplanten Wörterbuchs ist zweiteilig und umfasst beide Richtungen der Kontrastierung: Deutsch-Rumänisch bzw. Rumänisch-Deutsch. Von daher ist es sowohl Deutsch- wie auch Rumänisch-Lernenden gewidmet, die aber ein hohes Sprachniveau (C1/C2) haben müssen. Zugleich mag das Wörterbuch ein nützliches zweisprachiges Instrument für Übersetzer, Lehrer, Linguisten sein, die mit den zwei Sprachen arbeiten. Die Eintragung der Wörterbuchartikel erfolgt nicht nach phraseografischem – also nach den jeweiligen Phrasemen, sondern nach lexikografischem Prinzip – also nach Lemmata.

Die Stichwörter (in diesem Fall die Unikalia) sind streng alphabetisch anzuordnen. Es wird im deutschen Korpus jeweils die vom Duden empfohlene Rechtschreibung<sup>9</sup> benutzt, während für das Rumänische die in DOOM<sup>10</sup> vorgesehenen Regeln als Stütze dienen. Ins Wörterbuch aufgenommen werden alle Unikalia, unabhängig von ihrer etwaigen Zugehörigkeit zu bestimmten Sondersprachen. Es kommen also sowohl aktuelle Wörter (z. B. dt. *ausfindig* in *etwas ausfindig machen*, *Letzt* in *zu guter Letzt* bzw. rum. *habar* in *a (nu) avea habar*, *iveală* in *a ieși la iveală*) vor, wie auch veraltende bzw. veraltete Wörter in Redewendungen (bspw. dt. *Laufpass* in *den Laufpass geben*, *Quivive* in *auf dem Quivive* bzw. rum. *coneț* in *a face cuiva conețul*, *toptan* in *cu toptanul*) oder solche, die aus unterschiedlichen Sprachregionen stammen (z. B. dt. *Daffke* in *aus Daffke*, *Hochschein* in *keinen Hochschein haben* bzw. rum. *bleau* in *a nu zice nici bleau*, *năbuzna* in *a da năbuzna*). Zwecks Übersichtlichkeit, aber auch aus Gründen der Benutzerfreundlichkeit weisen die Artikel eine einfache Gestaltung auf, wobei jeder neue Eintrag in halbfetter Schrift steht und auf einer neuen Zeile beginnt. In der Art werden sogenannte Wortnester vermieden, die den Lesefluss eher beeinträchtigen bzw. das Auffinden eines bestimmten Lemmas erschweren würden. Etwaige Schreibvarianten werden nicht unter ein und demselben Eintrag wiedergegeben, sondern getrennt (ebenfalls in halbfetter Schrift) und werden vom Zeichen “↑” begleitet, das vor dem Wort steht und auf den Haupteintrag hinweist, wo das betreffende Lemma ausführlich dargestellt wird:

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<sup>9</sup> Auflage aus dem Jahr 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Auflage aus dem Jahr 2010.

**FF** (ugs.) ↑ *Effe***ff**

Tabelle 1: Schematische Darstellung eines Lemmas mit Schreibvariante im Deutschen

**năbuzna** Adv. (reg.) ↑ *buzna*

Tabelle 2: Schematische Darstellung eines Lemmas mit Schreibvariante im Rumänischen

An erster Stelle steht immer das unikale Stichwort, das lexikografisch zu bearbeiten ist, ggf. wird in eckigen Klammern auch die Angabe der Aussprache wiedergegeben, wenn das Lemma ein Fremdwort und seine Aussprache spezifisch ist: dt. *Vabanque* oder *Quivive* sind z. B. französischen Ursprungs und werden so ausgesprochen. Außerdem folgt auch ein kurzer Verweis auf die Herkunft des Lexems<sup>11</sup>, der mit dem Zeichen “<“ markiert ist. Dabei wird freilich vom Zeichensystem der *International Phonetic Association (IPA)* Gebrauch gemacht.

**Vabanque** [va'bã:k / va'baŋk] < frz. va banque

Tabelle 3: Schematische Darstellung eines Lemmas fremden Ursprungs inkl. phonetischer Transkription

Dem Stichworteintrag folgen *recte* die grammatischen Angaben zur Wortart. Bei deutschen Nomen sollen—gemäß der lexikografischen Praxis—das Genus (aufgrund bestimmter Artikel) und die Genitiv- bzw. die Pluralform aufgeschrieben werden, wohingegen für die rumänischen Nomen keine Angabe der Genitivform notwendig ist. Im Falle der Verben ist die Konjugationsform anzugeben. Für weitere Wortarten erwähne ich allein die erforderlichen Auskünfte.

Unmittelbar nach den grammatischen Informationen stehen in runden Klammern die Angaben zum Verwendungsradius, wo sowohl Stilebenen als auch zeitliche bzw. räumliche Zuordnungen angeführt werden: dt. umgangssprachlich, scherzhaft, derb, veraltet, veraltend, regional, berlinisch, rum. colocvial, învechit, regional usw. Solche Vermerke entnehme

<sup>11</sup> Das Wörterbuch dokumentiert hauptsächlich den synchronen Ansatz, liefert somit nur marginal bei Fremdwörtern etymologische Informationen.

ich natürlich den zurate gezogenen Nachschlagewerken, aufgrund derer das Korpus gewonnen wurde.

Als äußerst kompliziert erweist sich die nächste Information, die die Übersetzung des Stichwortes beinhaltet. Dabei kann es bisweilen zu erheblichen Schwierigkeiten kommen, da nicht alle Unikalia übersetzbar sind bzw. oft kein monolexematisches Pendant in der Zielsprache vorhanden ist. Wörter wie dt. *Honigkuchenpferd* oder rum. *berbeleac* sind in die jeweils andere Sprache durchaus unübersetzbar, weshalb in diesem Fall auf die Übersetzung des einzelnen Lexems Verzicht geübt und erst später die Entsprechung des dazugehörigen Phrasems angegeben wird. Wenn das Stichwort über kein Pendant verfügt, dann ist das durch einen Strich “-“ symbolisiert. Daran anschließend kommt das Phrasem, in dem das Stichwort auftaucht, mitsamt Übersetzung in die Zielsprache. Sollte das unikale Lexem in mehreren Phraseologismen auftreten, dann wird jedes Phrasem von seiner entsprechenden Übersetzung begleitet.

Als Letztes ist dem Eintrag ein monolinguales Anwendungsbeispiel (oder eben mehrere, wenn mehrere Phraseme infrage kommen) hinzuzufügen, das ich dem Wortschatzportal der Universität Leipzig<sup>12</sup> entnehme.

Schematisch weist ein kompletter Wörterbuchartikel folgende Struktur auf: Stichwort / (Schreibvariante)<sup>13</sup> / (Aussprache) / (Verweis auf die fremde Herkunft) / grammatische Angaben / (Verwendungsradius) / (Übersetzung des Stichwortes + grammatische Angaben) / dazugehöriges Phrasem / Übersetzung(en) des Phrasems / Anwendungsbeispiel.

Im Wörterbuch sehen die Lemmata wie folgt aus:

**Fettnäpfchen** [fɛtnɛpfçɛn] das; -s/- (ugs., scherzhaft): strachină s.f. *ins Fettnäpfchen treten* ‚a face o gafă, a călca în străchini, a o da în bară‘  
 [...] *ich trete nicht nur ins Fettnäpfchen, ich springe tagtäglich mit vollem Anlauf hinein!* (Quelle: [www.sat1.de](http://www.sat1.de), 25.01.2011)

Tabelle 4: Beispiel eines kompletten Wörterbuchartikels im Deutschen

<sup>12</sup> <http://corpora.uni-leipzig.de/en>.

<sup>13</sup> Die in Klammern stehenden Angaben sind nur fallweise vorhanden, kommen also nicht bei allen Stichwörtern vor.

*izbeliște* s.f. (volkssprachlich): –. *a lăsa pe cineva de izbeliște* ‚jn. im Stich lassen‘

*În anul 2009, au fost fost abandonati 11 copii, în 2010 au fost lăsați de izbeliște la spital 14 nou născuți.* (Quelle: [www.adevarul.ro](http://www.adevarul.ro), 07.05.2012)

Tabelle 5: Beispiel eines kompletten Wörterbuchartikels im Rumänischen

## 5 Fazit

Die durchgeführte Untersuchung lässt den Schluss zu, dass dem Phänomen der Unikalisation eine größere Beachtung geschenkt werden sollte, da es sich aus lexikografischer Sicht als viel komplexer als gedacht erweist. Überdies ist erneut darauf hinzuweisen, dass die gegenwärtige Lexikografie die phraseologisch gebundenen Lexeme nur defizitär bearbeitet, weshalb in dem hier vorliegenden Beitrag der vorher ausgeführte Vorschlag unterbreitet und begründet wurde.

Abschließend sei der Überzeugung Ausdruck gegeben, dass ein bilinguales Unikalialia-Wörterbuch ein nützliches Instrument sein könnte, das nicht nur Linguisten zur Verfügung stehen soll, sondern auch Übersetzern, Lehrern, Studenten, Kulturwissenschaftlern, Historikern und allen anderen, die mit den zwei Sprachen arbeiten. Darüber hinaus mag ein solches Nachschlagewerk als Muster für gleichgeartete Wörterbücher mit anderen Sprachenpaaren dienen.

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## CHAPTER TWENTY-SEVEN

# LES PROVERBES DANS CINQ DICTIONNAIRES GÉNÉRAUX DE LA LANGUE GRECQUE ET DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE

OLYMPIA TSAKNAKI

### **Abstract**

This paper focuses on the differences in treatment found in a number of general monolingual dictionaries of the French and Greek languages, particularly regarding the interpretation of proverbs considered to be equivalent. Given that the general dictionary is a useful tool for both native and non-native speakers, we attempt to show how such a tool can best help a foreign language learner or a translator interested in proverbial equivalents. First, we present the theoretical issues involved and the microstructure of the dictionaries presented. Then, we deal with the differences between proverbs considered equivalent. In order to conduct our study, we based ourselves primarily on dictionaries and on Internet.

### **1 Introduction**

L'objet de cet article est d'explorer les différences observées dans certains dictionnaires monolingues généraux des langues française et grecque par rapport au traitement des proverbes considérés équivalents et, plus particulièrement, par rapport à leur interprétation. Les proverbes font partie des expressions de la sagesse populaire pareillement aux expressions idiomatiques, les dictons ou les clichés (CECR<sup>1</sup> 2001). Notre étude n'est pas d'ordre phraséographique. Étant donné que le dictionnaire général est un ouvrage à consulter précieux aussi bien pour les locuteurs natifs que pour

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<sup>1</sup> *Cadre européen commun de référence pour les langues.*

les utilisateurs non natifs (Anastassiadis-Syméonidis & Mitsiaki 2009, Atkins 1985, Laufer & Hadar 1997), on souhaite étudier dans quelle mesure un tel outil satisfait les besoins des apprenants d'une langue étrangère ou des traducteurs qui sont à la recherche d'équivalents proverbiaux. Pour ce faire, nous avons mené une étude comparative. Dans un premier temps, nous présentons notre problématique et notre méthodologie et, dans un second temps, nous nous intéressons aux différences entre les proverbes considérés équivalents en nous basant principalement sur les dictionnaires et, de plus, sur Internet.

Différents efforts ont été déployés par de nombreux chercheurs afin de définir le proverbe. Dans le cadre de cette recherche, un proverbe s'entend comme une phrase générique (Kleiber 1989), fait partie des expressions figées (Norrick 1985, Kleiber 1994), est anonyme (Arnaud 1991, Schapira 1999), « véhicule un message achevé et autonome du point de vue référentiel et grammatical », « [la phrase] doit se présenter comme un énoncé anaphorique clos, sans rapport déictique avec l'énonciateur ou la situation de discours » (Schapira 2000), est une « unité polylexicale codée, possédant à la fois une certaine rigidité ou fixité de forme et une certaine « fixité » référentielle ou stabilité sémantique, qui se traduit par un sens préconstruit, c'est-à-dire fixé par convention pour tout locuteur, qui fait donc partie du code linguistique commun » (Kleiber 2000).

## 2 Équivalence interlinguale et interculturelle

Deux proverbes peuvent être équivalents au niveau formel et sémantique:

- (1) Ό,τι λάμπει δεν είναι χρυσός  
Tout ce qui brille n'est pas or

ou ils peuvent être caractérisés par une équivalence communicative, autrement dit, une équivalence au niveau sémantique mais avec des différences au niveau lexical et syntaxique :

- (2) Στην αναβροχιά καλό και το χαλάζι  
(Faute de pluie, on se contente de la grêle)  
'Faute de grives, on mange des merles'

Par ailleurs, il se peut qu'un proverbe ne dispose pas d'équivalents dans l'autre langue.

Les variantes sur le plan formel et/ou lexical au niveau intralingual ont été prises en considération exclusivement dans le cas où il y avait un rapport avec les proverbes équivalents de l'autre langue. Précisons aussi que les

proverbes peuvent subir le défigement ou la troncation. Ces phénomènes n'entrent pas dans l'objet de cette recherche.

### 3 Problématique

Les proverbes se caractérisent par une valeur autonome mais trouvent une raison d'être lorsqu'ils s'insèrent dans un contexte en fonction des besoins communicationnels, ils relèvent donc du discours. S'il est admis qu'il s'agit d'un produit culturel, il s'avère également nécessaire de posséder des connaissances spécifiques. Nous pourrions soutenir que l'accès à l'interprétation d'un proverbe d'une langue-culture étrangère, nécessaire pour son usage correct, est facilité par son proverbe équivalent. Malgré cela, on croit que la vraie valeur d'un proverbe dans le discours reste un sujet assez troublant. Pourrait-on parler d'un usage idoine des proverbes considérés équivalents ? Pourrait-on utiliser un proverbe d'une langue étrangère dans une autre langue, en se basant sur un dictionnaire général sans éprouver de la perplexité par rapport à son usage adéquat ?

Il est indéniable que les dictionnaires généraux sont censés informer sur la définition et l'emploi synchronique des mots et locutions en respectant les objectifs pour lesquels ils sont produits et diffusés. Néanmoins, ils sont fréquemment obligés de se soumettre à des contraintes comme la brièveté des définitions, voire même des interprétations proverbiales. Cet inconvénient lié à des dictionnaires généraux, abrégés ou pas, se minimiserait dans le cas des dictionnaires spécialisés ou des recueils de proverbes. Néanmoins, un dictionnaire général doit être autant que possible complet, concret et suffisant.

### 4 Recherche

Les dictionnaires que nous avons étudiés dans l'intention d'élaborer notre corpus sont, pour le grec moderne, le *Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής* (1998) de l'Institut d'Études Néohelléniques de la Fondation Manolis Triantafyllidis<sup>2</sup> (désormais LKN), le *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (1998) de G. Babiniotis (désormais LNEG) ainsi que le *Χρηστικό Λεξικό της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας* (désormais HLEG) et, pour le français, *Le Petit Robert* (2013) (désormais PR) et le *Dictionnaire de français « Littré »* (désormais LIT). Nous avons aussi visé à inclure dans notre recherche le

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern\\_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/index.html](http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/index.html).

<sup>3</sup> <http://litre.reverso.net/dictionnaire-français/>.

*Nouveau dictionnaire de français pour la famille, les études et le bureau*, Larousse (2006). Cependant, la couverture de ce dictionnaire n'a pas été prouvée suffisante puisque le nombre de proverbes y figurant qui nous intéressait était peu élevé.

Pour constituer notre corpus de proverbes bilingue, nous nous sommes appuyée sur des proverbes français et grecs prélevés dans des sources variées (v. Tsaknaki 2005). Pendant l'opération de la recherche dans les dictionnaires, nous avons exclu des proverbes qui restent sans traitement ou qui n'ont pas comme équivalent un proverbe et, enfin, des proverbes considérés équivalents répertoriés dans au moins un dictionnaire français et un dictionnaire grec mais dépourvus d'interprétation dans l'une des deux langues. Notre corpus final comprend 55 proverbes dont 15 ont une interprétation identique et 40, une interprétation qui présente des différences. Le nombre de proverbes retenus qui ont une équivalence formelle est comparable à ceux qui ont une équivalence communicative.

Comme nous pouvons lire dans la Préface du PR, l'utilisateur d'un dictionnaire ne doit pas accuser les lexicographes de négligence ou de retard quand un vocable trop rare ou trop spécialisé n'a pas été répertorié. Pour ce qui concerne le LNEG et le LKN, l'emploi est le critère selon lequel les lexicographes de ces deux dictionnaires décident d'incorporer un mot, indépendamment de son origine (LNEG) et sauf si l'emploi de ce mot est strictement limité ou spécialisé (LKN). Pour le LKN en particulier, les proverbes font partie de l'article quand ils sont connus et leur intégration aide à la compréhension sémantique de l'entrée. Quoiqu'il en soit, nous ne prétendons pas à l'exhaustivité mais à la représentativité.

## 5 Microstructure des dictionnaires

Notre but n'étant pas d'émettre des critiques quant à la description du lexique ou aux critères de choix qualitatif ou quantitatif des proverbes inclus, nous ne pourrions pas ignorer cependant l'organisation de la microstructure des dictionnaires (Gavriilidou et Mavrommatidou 2017). Par rapport à l'accessibilité, comme il arrive habituellement avec les unités polylexicales dans le cas des dictionnaires généraux, l'adressage n'est pas lemmatique. Les proverbes sont insérés dans l'article. Il paraît que cela se passe souvent sans suivre une méthode systématique, à côté d'exemples de combinaisons libres. Chez le LIT, les proverbes « sont indiqués dans des sections à part ». Dans le HLEG, les expressions idiomatiques se trouvent à la fin de l'article, classées par ordre alphabétique.

Un problème crucial qu'un utilisateur rencontre est l'article dans lequel il est susceptible de trouver le proverbe qu'il cherche. Un proverbe, et

particulièrement son interprétation, ne peuvent pas être adressés à tous ses composants. Cela est complètement raisonnable et prévisible, cependant il oblige souvent l'utilisateur à retarder sa recherche. Par exemple, dans le LKN, l'analyse des phraséologismes se limite dans l'entrée qui est considérée comme principale. Ce dictionnaire et le PR utilisent l'astérisque (\*) dans le cas de renvois. Ce symbole indique l'article au sein duquel est expliquée la signification proverbiale.

Les étiquettes pour qualifier une séquence varient : locution proverbiale (LOC. PROV.), phrase proverbiale (ΠΑΡ ΦΡ), phrase (ΦΡ.), proverbe (ΠΑΡ, παροιμ., PROV.). Les dictionnaires ne définissent pas toujours clairement quels sont les critères scientifiques qui imposent l'usage de l'un de ces termes. Une autre dissimilitude sur le traitement des proverbes concerne la graphique valorisée, p.ex. des caractères gras et/ou italiques. Les moyens graphiques ne diffèrent pas de ceux utilisés pour mettre en évidence les mots traités dans l'article ou les exemples. La lettre initiale du proverbe est soit minuscule soit majuscule. En général, les proverbes sont utilisés hors contexte mais peuvent être accompagnés d'un exemple d'usage possible ou d'une citation. Dans le LKN, le symbole ~ remplace le mot d'entrée quand il est utilisé dans un proverbe tandis que, au sein du LNEG, le même symbole remplace le proverbe dans l'exemple qui illustre son emploi. Les exemples fournis sont en général forgés. Certaines substitutions paradigmatiques de constituants sont proposées, surtout dans les dictionnaires grecs. Parfois, un synonyme est proposé.

## 6 Différences interlinguistiques

Après l'étude des proverbes attestés dans les dictionnaires, ont été détectées, en dehors des similarités, des différences interlinguistiques au niveau de l'interprétation<sup>4</sup>. Les dictionnaires sont présentés dans ce qui suit selon

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<sup>4</sup> Il est nécessaire de noter que l'étude des différences intralinguistiques se trouve en dehors des limites de cette étude. Tel est le cas de l'exemple suivant où l'interprétation fournie par le LKN est plus générale par rapport à celle du LNEG, en dépassant l'horizon des parents et de leurs successeurs.

ΠΑΡ Από ρόδο βγαίνει ακάθι κι απ' ακάθι βγαίνει ρόδο (D'une rose sort une épine et d'une épine sort une rose): une mauvaise personne peut avoir de bons parents et vice versa (LKN)

ΦΡ. (παροιμ.) απ' ακάθι βγαίνει ρόδο κι από ρόδο βγαίνει ακάθι (d'une épine sort une rose et d'une rose sort une épine): de mauvais parents mettent au monde de bons enfants et de bons parents mettent au monde de mauvais enfants (gén.) quelque chose qui n'est pas bon peut provenir de quelque chose ou de quelqu'un de bon et vice versa (LNEG).

l'ordre suivant : LKN, LNEG, HLEG, PR, LIT. Est fournie la traduction de l'interprétation vers le français et, dans le cas d'une équivalence communicative, la traduction littérale du proverbe grec.

### 6.1 Interprétation différente

Dans cette catégorie appartiennent les proverbes dont l'interprétation présente un écart significatif qui nous conduirait à ne pas avoir le droit de les employer dans le même contexte. Ce décalage peut être illustré dans l'exemple ci-dessous où les dictionnaires grecs proposent un emploi du proverbe plus étendu :

*(Θέλει) και την πίτα ολόκληρη / σωστή / αφάγωτη και το σκύλο χορτάτο*  
 ((Il veut) la tarte intacte et le chien rassasié): pour la personne qui essaie de tirer le maximum de bénéfices sans coût pour soi-même

*και την πίτα ολόκληρη | σωστή και τον σκύλο χορτάτο*: pour des cas où on a des exigences trop fortes et on renonce à faire les concessions essentielles afin qu'on puisse tirer un certain avantage, où on veut tout avoir

*On ne peut pas avoir (réclamer) le beurre et l'argent du beurre* : on ne peut jouir d'un bien et du fruit de sa vente, il faut choisir

*και την πίτα ολόκληρη/σωστή/αφάγωτη και τον σκύλο χορτάτο (παροιμ.)* : pour la personne qui veut tout avoir, sans pertes

### 6.2 Interprétation partiellement différente

Un autre cas qui suscite l'intérêt est la limitation<sup>5</sup> par rapport à l'usage d'un proverbe au regard de celui que propose un dictionnaire de l'autre langue :

*ΠΑΡ έκφρ. τα ράσα δεν κάνουν τον παπά* (Les habits ne font pas le prêtre): l'aspect extérieur d'une personne ou son titre ne lui apportent pas la valeur toute aussi importante

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<sup>5</sup> Il est essentiel de dire que, d'après notre recherche sur Internet, la limitation peut concerner aussi les cinq dictionnaires dans leur ensemble. Dans le cas du proverbe *Tel père, tel fils*, les dictionnaires se réfèrent uniquement à la relation parents (père) - enfants (fils).

(παροιμ.) *τα ράσα δεν κάνουν τον παπά*: La vraie valeur de la personne qui exerce une fonction n'incombe pas à l'aspect extérieur mais à ses vraies compétences, à sa qualité en termes d'être humain

ΦΡ. *τα ράσα δεν κάνουν τον παπά* (παροιμ.): les aspects extérieurs, les titres, ne montrent pas la vraie valeur d'une personne

LOC. PROV. *L'habit ne fait pas le moine* : on ne doit pas juger des gens sur l'apparence. (fr. L'air ne fait pas la chanson : on ne doit pas juger les gens sur l'apparence.)

*L'habit ne fait pas le moine*, on ne doit pas juger des personnes par l'apparence. Cela se dit aussi des personnes dont la conduite n'est pas conforme à leur état. Cette façon de parler est prise des auteurs du droit canon, traitant de la capacité ou incapacité de posséder des bénéfices ; elle veut dire au propre : Il faut être profès et non simple novice pour posséder un bénéfice régulier, par opposition aux bénéfices séculiers. [De Brieux]

Dans les dictionnaires français et le LNEG, le *loup* et le *corbeau* ont acquis une connotation négative. Nous pouvons utiliser les proverbes suivants pour caractériser des personnes *méchantes*, *malhonnêtes*, *abominables* et *malveillantes*. Ce qui semble intéressant dans l'interprétation des autres dictionnaires est que nous pouvons utiliser ce proverbe pour des personnes n'ayant pas obligatoirement de traits négatifs.

ΠΑΡ *κόρακας κοράκου μάτι δε βγάζει* (Un corbeau ne crève pas l'œil d'un autre corbeau<sup>6</sup>) entre des personnes qui ont des intérêts communs il y a de la compréhension et de la solidarité

(παροιμ.) (α) *κόρακας κοράκου μάτι δεν βγάζει*: entre des personnes abominables et malveillantes il y a de la solidarité

*κόρακας κοράκου μάτι δε(ν) βγάζει*: (παροιμ.): pour déclarer qu'il y a de la solidarité entre des personnes corrompues ou/et ayant des intérêts communs

LOC. PROV. *Les loups ne se mangent pas entre eux* : les méchants, les gens malhonnêtes ne se nuisent pas entre eux

Les loups ne se mangent pas, les méchants s'épargnent entre eux

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<sup>6</sup> Un (Le) corbeau ne crève pas l'œil d'un autre (du) corbeau existe aussi en français mais ne figure pas dans les deux dictionnaires français.



De la même façon, il y a des cas dans lesquels l'emploi figuratif et/ou littéral du proverbe n'est pas précisé.

*l'appétit vient en mangeant*, lit. et fig. pour des biens ou des succès qui deviennent un motif pour de nouveaux biens ou de nouveaux succès

(παροιμ.) l'appétit vient en mangeant: plus on acquiert ou on apprécie, plus on désire

L'appétit vient en mangeant (παροιμ.-souv. fig.): plus un désir se satisfait, plus il augmente [<fr. L'appétit vient en mangeant]

PROV. L'appétit vient en mangeant : plus on a, plus on veut avoir

L'appétit vient en mangeant, le désir de s'enrichir ou de s'élever augmente à mesure qu'on acquiert de la fortune ou des honneurs

Des unités lexicales contribuant à la formulation de l'interprétation proverbiale peuvent être sémantiquement apparentées :

ΠΑΡ *Quand le chat n'est pas là, les souris dansent*, quand les supérieurs sont absents et pour cela la discipline affaiblit

Quand le chat n'est pas là, les souris dansent: quand le responsable, celui qui surveille des personnes, est absent, ces personnes négligent leurs devoirs ou se comportent d'une manière incontrôlable: *dès que leurs parents sont partis, la maison a été plongée dans le chaos.~!*

quand le chat n'est pas là, les souris dansent (παροιμ.): quand le responsable ou le supérieur est absent, la discipline et le sens de responsabilités affaiblissent [<fr. Quand le chat n'est pas là, les souris dansent]

Quand le chat n'est pas là, les souris dansent : les subordonnés s'émancipent quand les supérieurs sont absents

*Quand les chats n'y sont pas, les souris dansent*, c'est-à-dire en l'absence des chefs, des maîtres, les inférieurs, les écoliers se dérangent<sup>7</sup>

ΠΑΡ *Στην αναβροχιά καλό (είν') και το χαλάζι* (Faute de pluie, on se contente de la grêle): quand on se contente de quelque chose qui ne nous

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<sup>7</sup> *Quand les chats n'y sont pas, les souris s'ébattent*, ou, *absent le chat, les souris dansent*, en l'absence du maître, du surveillant, on prend toute licence. (v. *souris*).

satisfait pas pleinement parce que nous ne pouvons pas avoir ce dont nous avons envie

*Στην αναβροχιά καλό και το χαλάζι:* quand on n'a pas ce dont on a besoin, on s'en tient là

ΦΡ.: *Στην αναβροχιά καλό (είν') και το χαλάζι (παροιμ.):* quand une personne est amenée à composer avec quelque chose qui n'est pas ce dont elle a besoin ou envie

PROV. *Faute de grives, on mange des merles :* faute de ce que l'on désire, il faut se contenter de ce que l'on a

*Faute de grives on prend, on mange des merles, c'est-à-dire* parce qu'on n'a pas le meilleur, ce n'est pas une raison de dédaigner le bon

### 6.3 Interprétation plus analytique

L'interprétation du proverbe suivant est plus explicative dans le LNEG. Il serait important de se concentrer également sur l'adjectif *élevé* :

ΦΡ *ο σκοπός αγιάζει [ajíazi] τα μέσα* (La fin sanctifie les moyens): la pertinence de l'objectif permet l'utilisation des moyens indus

ΦΡ. *Ο σκοπός αγιάζει τα μέσα:* (i) pour justifier des actions qui, étant indécentes, illégales ou socialement inacceptables, se font en vue d'atteindre un but sacré ou élevé : *il volait pour aider les personnes démunies et il disait que ~*) (ii) (par ext. abusivt.) pour soutenir que tout moyen est légitime, afin d'atteindre un but, même s'il est partial : *Pourquoi ne pas le soudoyer pour qu'il me serve ? ~!*

*Ο σκοπός αγιάζει τα μέσα:* pour atteindre un but élevé, les moyens indécents, immoraux ou en général inacceptables sont justifiés

LOC. PROV. *Qui veut la fin, veut les moyens :* Celui qui veut atteindre son but accepte d'y arriver par tous les moyens. *La fin justifie les moyens*=thèse de machiavélisme politique

*Qui veut la fin veut les moyens,* quand on veut une chose, il faut accepter les moyens ; on est responsable des moyens.

## 7 Contexte situationnel

Les cas présentés mettent en exergue l'existence des différences, subtiles ou majeures, au niveau de l'interprétation de proverbes considérés équivalents. La question qui se pose est si les proverbes appartenant à cette catégorie sont de vrais équivalents entre eux et avec des proverbes synonymes (*Katá mána katá kírēh*) [Tels mère et père], *Tel père, tel fils, To mīlo káto ap'tē mīliá tha pései* [La pomme sous le pommier tombera], *Tel maître, tel valet*), le degré auquel ils le sont ou ne le sont pas, et si les interprétations des dictionnaires sont complètes ou suffisamment analytiques.

Il va sans dire que l'ensemble des circonstances qui pourraient déclencher l'emploi d'un proverbe ne peuvent pas être précisées à l'intérieur d'un article dictionnaire. Nous estimons aussi que l'assemblage des proverbes dans des posttextes n'apporterait pas une solution car il pourrait amener l'utilisateur à des conclusions erronées et incomplètes à cause de l'impossibilité de classer les proverbes exclusivement sous un thème et à cause du fait que tous les utilisateurs ne pensent pas au même thème/mot pour chercher un proverbe.

Pour pouvoir examiner si les interprétations offertes par les dictionnaires répondent aux besoins des utilisateurs, c'est-à-dire, si elles correspondent à l'emploi des proverbes dans le discours et couvrent les cas découlant de leur insertion, nous proposons la recherche d'occurrences pour ces proverbes dans des corpus de discours écrit ou oral. Il faut absolument reconnaître que tous les proverbes ne reviennent pas avec la même fréquence dans des textes (Tsaknaki 2011) et que les corpus disponibles dans les différentes langues ne satisfont pas toujours les exigences des chercheurs.

Afin de mettre en lumière le problème de l'équivalence, nous avons réalisé sur le web une recherche d'exemples authentiques présentés ci-dessous<sup>8</sup>.

Les pistes que nous avons tracées dans le présent travail ne peuvent pas prétendre fournir actuellement des résultats généralisables mais constituent le point de départ d'une recherche approfondie à travers des données authentiques disponibles.

« Beaucoup de gens utilisent les autres et les mettent dans un état de dépendance. Jusqu'au jour où cela ne les arrange plus. Or, *on ne peut pas avoir le beurre et l'argent du beurre*<sup>9</sup>. »

<sup>8</sup> Les exemples grecs ont été traduits en français.

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.emploi-pro.fr/edito/article/peut-on-dire-non-a-un-collegue-trop-serviable-aca-320>.

*On ne peut pas avoir le beurre et l'argent du beurre.* On ne peut pas entrer dans l'œil public, et dans la célébrité qui apporte un certain nombre de choses — pas grand-chose à mon avis — et ne pas en subir les conséquences<sup>10</sup>.

Je suis une femme de 29 ans et nous discutons souvent de ce sujet [conciliation travail-famille] entre copines universitaires. Et notre conclusion est qu'*on ne peut pas avoir le beurre et l'argent du beurre*<sup>11</sup>.

*L'habit ne fait pas le moine* : le statut ne fait pas la compétence, et la compétence ne crée pas la spécialité<sup>12</sup>.

*L'habit ne fait pas le moine.* Et le respect qu'ils souhaitent, ils l'auront toujours, dès lors qu'ils sauront l'inspirer par leurs vertus<sup>13</sup>.

*L'habit ne fait pas le moine.* C'est vrai que de dehors le resto ne paie pas de mine. Par contre passé la porte le cadre est sympa, joli mur de briques<sup>14</sup>.

...obsessif, la personne qui dit qu'elle a «créé» le premier ministre. *Tel père, tel fil*<sup>15</sup>...

*Tel père, tel fils*... Le programme de Macron est-il le prolongement de celui de Hollande<sup>16</sup>?

Volkswagen Caddy, *tel père tel fils*. Volkswagen a présenté dans son usine en Pologne ce qu'elle appelle la 4<sup>e</sup> génération du Caddy<sup>17</sup>.

Honnêtement, il n'y a personne sur terre à qui je ferais suffisamment confiance pour faire ça, mais bon, ils s'en sont plutôt bien sortis. Les yeux sont bandés, le dessin est prêt, les aiguilles sont branchées, le tatouage peut commencer. Perso je stresserais trop. Pas de blague, parce que *les loups ne se mangent pas entre eux*. Le plan, c'est de choisir un dessin qui plaira à son pote, et au vu des réactions de l'un comme de l'autre, je pense que l'objectif est plutôt atteint<sup>18</sup>!

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.ledauphine.com/loisirs/2014/01/23/carla-bruni-sarkozy-avec-une-presse-libre-on-ne-peut-pas-avoir-le-beurre-et-l-argent-du-beurre-dfrk?image=352031E0-0BFF-42FF-B144-597F8311D99E>.

<sup>11</sup> <http://blogues.lapresse.ca/lapresseaffaires/cousineau/2009/07/14/welch-pdg-et-mere-de-famille-ne-se-conjuguent-pas/>.

<sup>12</sup> Naville Pierre (2016) *Vers l'automatisme social ?*, Paris : Syllepse.

<sup>13</sup> <http://le-myosotis-occitan.over-blog.com/article-l-habit-ne-fait-pas-le-moine-53471808.html>.

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.tripadvisor.fr/>.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.antinews.gr>.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.quotidien-libre.fr/tel-pere-tel-fils-macron/>.

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.moniteurautomobile.be/actu-auto/nouveaux-modeles/salon-geneve-2015-volkswagen-caddy-tel-pere-tel-fils.html>.

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.kotplanet.be/fun/confiance-ultime-entre-amis-le-tatouage-a-laveugle/>

*Un corbeau ne crève pas l'œil d'un autre corbeau* et aucun psychiatre ne conteste l'avis d'un autre psychiatre.<sup>19</sup>

J'avais tellement appris en lisant ce livre que j'avais envie d'en apprendre encore plus. *L'appétit vient en mangeant* comme on dit. J'ai lu d'autres livres de Thich Nhat Hanh<sup>20</sup>...

Elle prend goût à la viande crue. *L'appétit vient en mangeant*. Elle découvre la saveur de la chair humaine<sup>21</sup>...

... si on ne sait absolument rien, on n'est pas intéressé à en savoir plus. *L'appétit vient en mangeant*<sup>22</sup>.

*Quand le chat n'est pas là, les souris dansent*. Et les enfants ? Comment se comportent-ils en l'absence de leurs parents<sup>23</sup>?

Quand la maman célèbre est absente de la maison, regardez ce que le papa et la petite fille font. Cela cadre bien avec ce que l'on dit : *Quand le chat n'est pas là... les souris dansent*<sup>24</sup>.

## 8 Conclusion

Cette recherche nous a permis de localiser des différences présentées dans cinq dictionnaires monolingues généraux des langues française et grecque par rapport aux interprétations proverbiales. Comme nous avons pu constater, un manque de systématisme caractérise la microstructure des dictionnaires généraux et les interprétations des proverbes considérés équivalents sont marquées par une dissymétrie. Pour nous assurer du degré d'équivalence entre deux ou plusieurs proverbes et de la pertinence des interprétations proverbiales dans les articles dictionnaires, nous préconisons leur étude dans des grands corpus. Il ne fait aucun doute qu'il faut également considérer les particularités d'un dictionnaire général et le fait que la microstructure se rattache à la politique lexicographique et à des contraintes techniques. Cela permettra de mettre en lumière les analogies et différences afin de déboucher à une conclusion qui apportera une aide

<sup>19</sup> <https://antipsyhiatriki.blogspot.gr/>

<sup>20</sup> [https://mafiadoc.com/les-3-livres-qui-ont-change-ma-vie-finance-technique-trend\\_59f15ab31723dd1d2a291f1c.html](https://mafiadoc.com/les-3-livres-qui-ont-change-ma-vie-finance-technique-trend_59f15ab31723dd1d2a291f1c.html)

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.lefigaro.fr/cinema/2017/03/15/03002-20170315ARTFIG00231-juliacournau-de-grave-j-ai-regarde-massacre-a-la-tronconneuse-a-6-ans.php>

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.tovima.gr/society/article/?aid=366597>

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.lci.fr/tele/seuls-a-la-maison-un-loft-story-avec-des-enfants-ca-vous-choque-1507126.html>

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.mothersblog.gr/news/story/51736/otan-i-diasimi-mama-leipei-deite-ti-kanoy-n-mpampas-kai-kori-vid-pics#ixzz54vaQH4Yt>

précieuse à l'utilisateur et savoir s'il est convenable d'utiliser ces proverbes dans des cas similaires. Notre recherche joue le rôle de déclencheur afin de prolonger la recherche sous d'autres angles de la problématique qui nous a préoccupée ici, p.ex. à des domaines connexes comme la traduction, la didactique des langues et, en général, le traitement de la phraséologie.

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## CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT

# NOMENCLATURA Y METÁFORAS LEXICALIZADAS EN EL *CURSO ELEMENTAL DE BOTÁNICA* (1785) DE CASIMIRO GÓMEZ ORTEGA Y ANTONIO PALAU Y VERDERA Y EN SU TRADUCCIÓN AL ITALIANO (1788)<sup>1</sup>

ELENA DAL MASO

### Abstract

This article focuses on Gómez Ortega and Palau y Verdera's *Curso elemental de botánica* (1785) and its first Italian translation (1788). The aim is to examine the development and propagation of modern botanical language across Europe during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with reference to Spanish treatises and their translations. In order to achieve this purpose, we focus on the lexicalized metaphors which appear in the Spanish and Italian versions of *Curso elemental de botánica* and carry out a contrastive analysis based on three levels of equivalence (total, partial and zero) and on motivation (iconic and symbolic).

### 1 Introducción

A lo largo del siglo XVIII, el florecimiento de la ciencia moderna determinó en España una ampliación de los saberes especializados y con ella la acuñación de un léxico —mono- y pluriverbal— “fuertemente neológico” (Álvarez de Miranda 1992, 45) que fue difundándose en los tratados de la

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<sup>1</sup> El presente artículo se enmarca en las investigaciones del grupo *Traducciones científicas y técnicas de interés hispánico (TraCTIH)*, dirigido por Matteo de Beni (Università degli Studi di Verona).



época y también en las traducciones de obras procedentes de otros países europeos. En el ámbito de la botánica, la popularización de la taxonomía y de la nomenclatura binominal linneanas produjo la propagación de propuestas terminológicas dirigidas a establecer un lenguaje botánico exacto y riguroso en lengua española, tal y como se atestigua en los volúmenes publicados por Barnades (1767), Palau y Verdera (1778), Gómez Ortega (1785) y Cavanilles (1795-1797) (Nomdedeu Rull 2016). Una parcela no del todo irrelevante de ese nuevo repertorio lingüístico se asentaba en procesos de proyección metafórica que hacían referencia a entidades y fenómenos recién descubiertos mediante elementos conocidos y familiares: este es el caso de las voces pluriverbales españolas *cola de perro*, *sello de Salomón*, *uña de caballo*, etc., y de las italianas *albero di Giuda*, *borsa del pastore*, *occhio di bue*, etc.

Con el fin de profundizar en la creación y difusión del vocabulario científico moderno, en el presente trabajo nos proponemos llevar a cabo un análisis contrastivo y conceptual de las metáforas lexicalizadas que se documentan en el *Curso elemental de botánica*, publicado por Casimiro Gómez Ortega y Antonio Palau y Verdera en 1785<sup>2</sup>, y en su primera traducción al italiano por Giambattista Guatteri (1788)<sup>3</sup>. Siendo los dos botánicos españoles unos de los pioneros en acoger y divulgar la nomenclatura binominal de Linneo en el país ibérico, su tratado es testimonio de los esfuerzos llevados a cabo por los estudiosos de la Ilustración para establecer una correspondencia entre los términos de la clasificación linneana y los nombres vernáculos españoles que traducían o adaptaban los vocablos latinos y griegos, o que, alternativamente, designaban las especies vegetales por medio de metáforas u otros recursos cognitivos<sup>4</sup>. En este sentido, Gómez Ortega y Palau y Verdera pueden considerarse, junto con otros científicos de la época, dos protagonistas de la transición española de la postura tournefortiana<sup>5</sup> a la concepción botánica de Linneo (Nomdedeu Rull 2015):

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<sup>2</sup> En las ediciones posteriores de dicha obra se omite el nombre del segundo autor, que tampoco se cita en la traducción italiana de 1788 (§ 2 del presente trabajo).

<sup>3</sup> En el *Curso elementare teorico di botanica* no se hace mención explícita al nombre del traductor; a pesar de ello, esta obra suele atribuirse a Giambattista Guatteri, catedrático de botánica y fundador del jardín botánico de Parma, como apuntan, entre otros, Aguilar Piñal (1986), Puerto Sarmiento (1992) y Puig Samper Mulero (1996). Asimismo, cabe subrayar que Gómez Ortega no solamente pasó algún tiempo en Italia por razones de estudio, sino que mantuvo cierta correspondencia epistolar con Guatteri (Puerto Sarmiento 1992, 324).

<sup>4</sup> Acerca de la relación entre lengua y botánica, véase Gallardo San Salvador y Navarro (2015).

<sup>5</sup> Sobre la difusión de la propuesta clasificatoria de Tournefort y su propagación en España véanse Nomdedeu Rull (2015), (2016).

No obstante, estas serán meras ilusiones en un país anclado en la práctica tournefortiana. [...] habrá que esperar a una segunda generación, formada en Italia y Francia, para que este método fuera imperante en las aulas españolas. [...] La publicación del *Curso elemental de botánica...*, redactado por Casimiro Gómez Ortega, aun cuando mantenga algo de eclecticismo doctrinal, supuso la definitiva generalización de estas teorías en todas las cátedras españolas, metropolitanas y americanas, en las que la botánica tuvo cabida (González Bueno 2008, 200).

Si a esto sumamos la rapidez con la cual se publicó la primera edición italiana del *Curso elemental de botánica*, tan solo tres años después de la difusión de la versión original, puede vislumbrarse la aportación no solamente de la obra española sino también de la italiana a la fijación de las relaciones que poco a poco fueron estableciéndose entre la nomenclatura linneana y el léxico botánico de los idiomas europeos<sup>6</sup>.

Hoja *lampiña* (folium glabrum) la desnuda y lisa, sin pelos, ni otra desigualdad, como en la *Oreja de Oso* ó Primula Auricula, Linn. 204, en el *Alamo temblon* ó Populus tremula, Linn. 1463, y en la *Lauréola macho* ó Dafne Laureola, Linn. 233. (Gómez Ortega / Palau y Verdera 1785, 48)

Foglia *pulita* (folium glabrum) la nuda, liscia, senza peli, né altra disuguaglianza, come nell'*Orecchia d'Orso*, o Primula Auricula Linn. 205, nel *Pioppo tremolo*, o Populus tremula Linn. 1464, e nella *Laureola maschio*, o Dafne Laureola Linn. 510. (Gómez Ortega 1788, 71)

Así, pues, entre el conjunto de las voces presentes en los dos textos, hemos seleccionado las metáforas lexicalizadas —es decir, las secuencias pluriverbales fijas con un significado global idiomático— fijando las debidas equivalencias entre los vocablos españoles y los italianos a partir del término linneano que los acompaña en los dos tratados. A este respecto, cabe destacar que a una metáfora fraseológica de una lengua corresponde, en algunos casos, un compuesto sintagmático no idiomático (p. ej. *encomienda de Santiago/giglio narciso giacobeo* o *labbro di Venere a foglia lacinata/cardencha laciniada*) o una lexía simple (p. ej. *árbol del Paraíso/olivagno, servato/coda di porco*)<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> De acuerdo con Nomdedeu Rull (2015, 138), la nomenclatura linneana se introdujo en España y se vertió en español por primera vez en *Principios de botánica* (1767), de Miguel Barnades y Mainader, y en *Explicación de la filosofía y fundamentos botánicos de Linneo* (1778), de Antonio Palau y Verdera.

<sup>7</sup> Hemos excluido de nuestro corpus los pares de unidades pluriverbales que carecen en ambos idiomas de un significado figurado, como por ejemplo los que incluyen los adjetivos ‘común’, ‘oficinal’ o ‘cultivado’ (p. ej. *azafrán cultivado/ zafferano coltivato*, *peonia oficinal/peonia officinale*, *zarza común/rovo comune*) o los que ofrecen una descripción literal de la planta designada, de su aspecto exterior (p. ej.

Una vez confeccionado el corpus hemos examinado el grado de equivalencia existente entre las unidades españolas y las italianas basándonos en los postulados de la fraseología contrastiva (Navarro 2008), en la teoría cognitivista de la metáfora (Lakoff/ Johnson 1980; Lakoff/ Turner 1989) y en la teoría del lenguaje figurativo convencional de Dobrovól'skij y Piirainen (2005). En consecuencia, en los apartados que siguen se ofrecerá, después de una presentación sintética de los dos textos considerados, la descripción de las metáforas seleccionadas a la luz de los dominios cognitivos que intervienen en ellas y adoptando la tradicional partición en tres niveles de equivalencia —total, parcial y cero—, que tiene en cuenta bien los rasgos estructurales y léxicos, bien los aspectos semánticos y conceptuales de las unidades objeto de estudio.

## **2 El Curso elemental de botánica y su traducción al italiano<sup>8</sup>**

El *Curso elemental de botánica* está configurado por dos apartados principales —la *Parte teórica* y la *Parte práctica*— en los que se proporcionan respectivamente “las definiciones de todas las partes de la Planta y de sus principales diferencias” y una traducción fiel del “compendio publicado por Linneo baxo del título de *Systema Naturae* por lo tocante al Reyno Vegetable” (1785, prólogo, s/p). Completan la obra un prólogo y un discurso preliminar, así como un apéndice a la *Parte teórica*, la cual recoge una serie de instrucciones para poder llevar a cabo el proceso de herborización.

Con respecto a la versión original, el texto italiano aporta unas cuantas modificaciones de relieve, como por ejemplo la añadidura, al principio de la obra, de una advertencia al lector (*Il traduttore a chi leggerà*) y de testimonios sobre la edición original. En este último capítulo se justifica otro cambio, relativo al título del tratado:

Avvertesi che quantunque l'Originale impresso in Madrid uscisse in nome d'amendue i Professori, non si nomina nel titolo della Traduzione il

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*murages de hojas ancha/cicerchia a foglia grande*) o del lugar donde suele estar difundido (p. ej. *litospermos de los sembrados/litospermo de' campi*).

<sup>8</sup> Para realizar nuestra investigación, nos hemos basado en el ejemplar español impreso en 1785 en la Imprenta Real de Madrid —consultable en la *Biblioteca Digital* del Real Jardín Botánico de Madrid (CSIC)—, y en el ejemplar italiano impreso en 1788 en la Reale Stamperia de Parma —consultable en Internet Archive—. Cabe señalar que el *Curso elemental de botánica* también se tradujo al italiano en una edición posterior, publicada en Brescia en 1802.

degnissimo Signor Palau Professore Secondario, perché oltre di constare manifestamente esser travaglio del solo Signor Ortega Primario Professore, senza che il Secondario abbiavi avuta altra parte che quella di rivedere il manoscritto, lo stesso Signor Pallau l'ha confessato nella Nota, che stampò ne' primi fogli del terzo Tomo della Traduzione, che va pubblicando in lingua spagnuola della Parte Pratica del Cavaliere Linneo sopra l'Edizione del Reichard (Gómez Ortega 1788, *Giudizj, ed avvertenze sull'originale di quest'opera*, s/p).

Por otro lado, la traducción italiana manifiesta la ausencia completa de la *Parte práctica*, siendo, en opinión del traductor, innecesaria para el público de estudiosos italianos —buen conocedor del latín— al que iba dirigida la edición:

Si è risparmiata la versione della *Parte Pratica*, come meno opportuna tra di noi, dove trovasi frequentemente il *Systema naturae* del Linneo, dal quale è stata fedelmente trasportata nel volgare Castigliano per agevolare l'intelligenza a quegli Spagnuoli, che inclinano a questo studio senza essersi impossessati del Latino (1788, *Il traduttore a chi leggerà*, s/p).

A pesar de estas diferencias, en ambas obras la nomenclatura botánica se halla mencionada en los seis capítulos de la *Parte teórica* y en cuatro índices que concluyen dicha sección; los dos primeros recogen, en orden alfabético, los nombres en latín y en español o italiano de las partes y los rasgos propios de los vegetales, los últimos dos, en cambio, recopilan los nombres de las especies de plantas en latín y en español o italiano. De la consulta de estos índices y de los demás contenidos de la *Parte teórica* procede el corpus de metáforas lexicalizadas que va a ser objeto de estudio a continuación.

### **3 Las metáforas lexicalizadas del *Curso elemental de botánica* y su traducción al italiano. Análisis contrastivo**

En cuanto al conjunto de las voces botánicas empleadas por Gómez Ortega y Palau y Verdera y por Guatteri, hemos seleccionado las que cumplen dos criterios: la polilexicalidad y la presencia de una metáfora conceptual subyacente. Como resultado, conforman nuestro corpus 74 expresiones pluriverbales (40 españolas y 34 italianas) cuyo significado —no literal— evoca una imagen distinta de la planta designada por efecto de una parcial superposición metafórica entre entidades diferentes. Se trata, en cada caso, de *image metaphors* (Lakoff/ Turner 1989, 89–90), es decir, metáforas que ponen en relación una imagen —la de una especie vegetal— con otra distinta, que guarda con la primera un vínculo de semejanza (p. ej. *oreja de*

*oso/orecchio d'orso*) o se asocia a algún conocimiento cultural específico (p. ej. *lágrima de Job/lacrime di Giobbe*).

### 3.1 Equivalencia total

En la primera clase hemos agrupado los pares de metáforas lexicalizadas españolas e italianas que son totalmente equivalentes, al evocar la misma imagen y presentar una estructura y unos constituyentes léxicos idénticos. También hemos incluido en este primer nivel las unidades que difieren por alguna ligera variación formal, sin que esto afecte a la dimensión icónica o al significado global de dichas voces. Este es el caso de *barbas de cabrón/barba di capra*, que manifiesta un cambio de género en la alusión al mismo rumiante y de número en *barbas/barba*, y de las tres parejas *barba cabruna/barba di becco de' prati*, *espuela de caballero hortense/sprone di cavaliere* y *oreja de ratón de los sembrados/orecchia di topo*, en las que aparece, en un idioma u otro, un elemento adicional (*de' prati*, *hortense* y *de los sembrados*); sin embargo, este resulta accesorio en la producción de la imagen del referente extralingüístico. Asimismo, se han incorporado, junto con *barba cabruna/barba di becco de' prati*, los pares *cola de caballo de invierno/coda cavallina d'inverno*, *cola de caballo ofical/coda cavallina* y *lengua de ciervo/lingua cervina*, puesto que la alternancia de un sintagma preposicional en un idioma y de un adjetivo en el otro no repercute en la representación icónica de la expresión.

Español	Italiano	Nomenclatura Linneana <sup>9</sup>
Amor de Hortelano	Amor di Ortolano	<i>Galium aparine</i>
Barba cabruna	Barba di becco <sup>10</sup> de' prati	<i>Tragopogon pratense</i>
Barbas de cabrón	Barba di capra	<i>Spiraea aruncus</i>
Bolsa de pastor	Borsa del pastore	<i>Thlaspi bursa pastoris</i>
Cola de caballo de invierno	Coda cavallina d'inverno	<i>Equisetum hyemale</i>
Cola de caballo ofical	Coda cavallina	<i>Equisetum arvense</i>
Cola de perro	Coda di cane (Lima) <sup>11</sup>	<i>Cynosurus lima</i>

<sup>9</sup> Los nombres científicos son los que proporcionan los autores.

<sup>10</sup> En la unidad en cuestión, el sustantivo italiano *becco* alude al macho de la cabra (*Vocabolario Treccani*).

<sup>11</sup> En esta tabla y en las siguientes se proporcionan entre paréntesis los sinónimos documentados en los dos tratados.

Cola de zorra de prados	Coda di volpe dei prati	<i>Alopecurus pratensis</i>
Corona imperial	Corona imperiale	<i>Frutillaria imperialis</i>
Diente de león oficial	Dente di leone officinale (Taraxacon)	<i>Leontodon taraxacum</i>
Espátula fétida (Lirio)	Spatola fétida (Iride)	<i>Iris foetidissima</i>
Espuela de caballero hortense	Sprone di Cavaliere (Consolida Reale)	<i>Delphinium ajacis</i>
Lágrima de Job / Lágrima de Moisés	Lacrima di Giobbe	<i>Coix lacryma Jobi</i>
Lengua de ciervo	Lingua cervina	<i>Asplenium scolopendrium</i>
Oreja de oso	Orecchio d'orso	<i>Primula auricula</i>
Oreja de ratón de Grecia	Orecchia di topo di Grecia	<i>Cerastium perfoliatum</i>
Oreja de ratón de los sembrados	Orecchia di topo	<i>Cerastium arvense</i>
Pedo de lobo	Vescia di lupo	<i>Orchis latifolia</i>
Pie de león común (Alquimila)	Piè di leone comune (Alchimilla)	<i>Alchimilla vulgaris</i>
Pie de león de los Alpes	Piè di leone delle Alpi	<i>Alchimilla alpina</i>
Sello de Salomón	Sigillo di Salomone	<i>Convallaria polygonatum</i>
Sofía de los cirujanos	Sofia de' chirurghi	<i>Sisymbrium sophia</i>

Tabla 1: Equivalencia total

Por lo que concierne al plano semántico y conceptual, en este nivel el reino vegetal se describe mediante la referencia a la realidad y a algunas figuras simbólicas. En concreto, los dominios fuente más frecuentes son: la fauna —sobre todo las partes del cuerpo animal—; algunos objetos inanimados relacionados con la existencia humana, por ejemplo la bolsa, la corona, la espátula y la espuela; figuras bíblicas como Job, Moisés y Salomón. De ahí que la motivación subyacente pueda ser icónica, al revelar una relación de semejanza física (*oreja de oso/orecchio d'orso*)<sup>12</sup>, o bien simbólica, en alusión a acontecimientos o personajes vinculados con las

<sup>12</sup> En Domínguez (1853) se halla la definición siguiente: “Planta cuyas hojas se parecen a las orejas del oso”.

creencias de una comunidad de hablantes determinada (*lágrimas de Job o de Moisés/lacrima di Giobbe*<sup>13</sup>, *sofia de los cirujanos/sofia de ' chirurghi*)<sup>14</sup>.

### 3.2 Equivalencia parcial

Forman parte del segundo nivel de equivalencia cuatro pares de metáforas lexicalizadas españolas e italianas que se caracterizan por evocar imágenes distintas y manifestar una divergencia formal en los componentes léxicos y, en un caso (*espejo de Venus/mazza ferrata*), en la estructura de las unidades.

Español	Italiano	Nomenclatura Linneana
Árbol del amor	Albero di Giuda <sup>15</sup>	<i>Cercis siliquastrum</i>
Escoba de castañuela	Occhio di Bue (Buftalmo d'acqua)	<i>Buphthalmum aquaticum</i>
Espejo de Venus	Mazza ferrata	<i>Campanula speculus Veneris</i>
Oreja de monje (Sombbrero)	Bellico di Venere volgare	<i>Cotyledon umbillicus (Veneris)</i>

Tabla 2: Equivalencia parcial

De manera parecida al nivel anterior, los elementos que configuran los dominios fuente de las proyecciones metafóricas son partes del cuerpo animal, objetos inanimados o figuras que se remontan a creencias

<sup>13</sup> En la edición de 1780 del *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* de la RAE se lee en la entrada de *lágrima*: “Cierta yerba de la hechura de la caña, que florece por Junio, ó Julio, y produce su simiente, que es una piedrecita del tamaño del aljófár grueso, que puesta al sol resplandece, de la qual se hacen los rosarios llamados de LÁGRIMAS. Llámase regularmente LÁGRIMAS de David, ò de Job. *Lithospermon milium solis*”.

<sup>14</sup> Según se afirma en la traducción de la *Parte práctica de botánica* de Linneo, publicada por Palau y Verdera en 1786, el *sisimbrio sofia* se llamó “*Sofia Chirurgorum* ó *Sabiduria de los Cirujanos*, porque los que seguían á *Paracelso* prometían curar con ella qualquiera ulcera” (Linneo 1786, t. V, 110). De manera parecida, Targioni Tozzetti (1813, t. III, 17) declara lo siguiente: “*Erba falcòna. Erba Sofia. Sofia dei Chirurghi. [...] Annuu. Fu adoperata per le ulcere, e per le ferite, che però Sophia chirurgorum era chiamata*”. La voz española adquirió posteriormente la forma *sabiduria de los cirujanos* (véanse Cullen (1795, 86); Hernández de Gregorio (1803, 260), entre otros).

<sup>15</sup> El origen de este nombre vernáculo es bastante dudoso, al estar ausentes, en los tratados y diccionarios consultados, datos sobre la posible relación de Juda con el vegetal en cuestión. Asimismo, el nombre en cuestión suele estar acompañado a menudo por la variante *albero di Giudea* (p. ej. en Savi 1811, 85).

mitológicas. A estos hay que añadir la presencia de un somatismo en *oreja de monje*. Como resultado, la motivación es icónica (por ejemplo en *mazza ferrata*) o simbólica (como en *bellico di Venere volgare*)<sup>16</sup> según el vínculo que se establece entre el dominio fuente y la planta que este designa.

Por lo que concierne al par *espejo de Venus/mazza ferrata*, de la consulta de algunos diccionarios y tratados de la época se deduce que el equivalente más adecuado de *espejo de Venus* hubiera sido el nombre vernáculo *specchio di Venere* (véanse, entre otros, Targioni Tozzetti (1809, t. II, 1) y Pollini (1811, 50)). De hecho, *mazza ferrata* parece asociarse más bien a otra especie vegetal, no perteneciente a la familia de las campanuláceas, como puede comprobarse en el *Dizionario della lingua italiana* de Carlo Antonio Vanzon (1836, t. IV, 247): “[Mazza] ferrata. T. d’agric. Chiamasi così una Specie di carciofo, per la similitudine che ha la sua boccia, di forma quasi rotonda, colle mazze ferrate: è priva affatto di spine”.

### 3.3 Equivalencia cero

En el último nivel de equivalencia encuentran cabida las metáforas lexicalizadas de un idioma a las que les corresponde, en la otra lengua, un compuesto sintagmático no idiomático o una lexía simple<sup>17</sup>.

Español	Italiano	Nomenclatura Linneana
Árbol del Paraíso	<b>Olivagno</b>	<i>Elaeagnus angustifolia</i>
<b>Antirrimo de hoja de orégano</b>	Bocca di leone a foglia d’origano ( <i>Antirrimo</i> )	<i>Anthirrinum organifolium</i>
<b>Cardencha laciniada</b>	Labbro di Venere a foglia lacinata ( <i>Dissaco</i> )	<i>Dipsacus laciniatus</i>
<b>Cinoglosa con hoja de alhelí</b>	Lingua di cane a foglia di Keiri	<i>Cynoglossum cheirifolium</i>
<b>Cinoglosa oficial</b>	Lingua di cane officinale	<i>Cynoglossum officinalis</i>
<b>Cotyledon bastardo</b>	Bellico di Venere bastardo	<i>Cotyledon spuria</i>

<sup>16</sup> *Bellico* corresponde a *ombelico*, es decir ‘ombligo’ (*GRADIT*). Cabe señalar que en numerosos diccionarios de la época *oreja de monje* se considera sinónimo de *ombligo de Venus*; véanse, por ejemplo, el *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1737, t. V) y el *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1780), ambos publicados por la Real Academia Española, y el de Terreros y Pando ([1767] 1787).

<sup>17</sup> En la tabla que sigue se señalan en negrita los compuestos sintagmáticos no idiomáticos y las lexías simples.



<b>Cotyledon español</b>	Bellico di Venere spagnolo	<i>Cotyledon hispanica</i>
Dafne vellosa	<b>Timelea villosa</b>	<i>Daphne villosa</i>
Encomienda de Santiago (Flor de Lis)	<b>Giglio narciso giacobeo</b>	<i>Amaryllis formosissima</i>
<b>Escabiosa mordida</b>	Morso del diavolo	<i>Scabiosa succisa</i>
Galán de noche	<b>Cestro notturno</b>	<i>Cestrum nocturnum</i>
Leche de pájaro de Arabia (Vicarios)	<b>Ornitogalo d'Arabia</b>	<i>Ornitogalum arabicum</i>
Leche de pájaro de flor amarilla (Ornitogalo)	<b>Ornitogalo a ombrella</b>	<i>Ornithogalum umbellatum</i>
Manto de Santa María	<b>Colocasia</b>	<i>Arum colocasia</i>
Palomilla de tintes	<b>Orchide che sembra una farfalla</b>	<i>Anchusa tinctoria</i>
Peine de pastor	<b>Giasone di montagna</b>	<i>Scandix pecten Veneris</i>
Pie de lobo de Europa	<b>Licopio (Marrobio acuatico)</b>	<i>Lycopus europaeus</i>
Pie de pájaro	<b>Ornitopodio</b>	<i>Ornithopus scorpiodes</i>
Rocío del sol (Hierba de la gota)	<b>Rorella</b>	<i>Drosera rotundifolia</i>
<b>Servato</b>	Coda di porco (Peucedano)	<i>Peucedanum officinalis</i>
Uña de caballo (Tusilago)	<b>Tossilagine (Farfara)</b>	<i>Tussilago farfara</i>
Vejiga de perro (Alkekenge)	<b>Solatro Halicacabo</b>	<i>Physalis alkekengi</i>

Tabla 3: Equivalencia cero

En bastantes ocasiones, la expresión no metafórica es una vulgarización del término linneano, como *cestro notturno* (del lat. *Cestrum nocturnum*), *colocasia* (de *Arum colocasia*), *cotyledon español* (de *Cotyledon hispanicus*), *ornitopodio* (de *Ornithopus*), *tossilagine* (de *Tussilago farfara*). Por otra parte, la *palomilla de tintes* se vierte en italiano mediante una paráfrasis, *orchide che sembra una farfalla* ('orquídea que se parece a una mariposa').

En cuanto a los dominios fuente de este conjunto de metáforas, se constata de nuevo la intervención del reino animal, de objetos inanimados, figuras religiosas y mitológicas. En *rocío del sol*, por contra, se alude a un fenómeno atmosférico, mientras que en *galán de noche* se evoca una planta de la familia de las solanáceas mediante una imagen humana. Al igual que

en los niveles anteriores, la motivación puede ser icónica, como en *lingua di cane officinale*/*la foglia di Keiri* y sus equivalentes españoles *cinoglosa officinal*/*con hoja de alhelí*<sup>18</sup>, o simbólica, como en *encomienda de Santiago*<sup>19</sup> y *morso del diavolo*<sup>20</sup>.

## 4 Conclusiones

El análisis que acabamos de esbozar representa un primer intento de ahondar en la fijación y evolución de las lexías pluriverbales del ámbito botánico aplicando al estudio diacrónico de la lengua los postulados de la fraseología contrastiva y las teorías de la metáfora y del lenguaje figurativo convencional. La indagación de las imágenes que constituyen el dominio fuente de las expresiones consideradas nos ha permitido vislumbrar el grado de metaforicidad que subyace tras los nombres de referentes extralingüísticos concretos como las especies vegetales, lo cual evidencia que en ocasiones el traslado metafórico se lleva a cabo de un dominio más abstracto y marcado culturalmente —piénsese, por ejemplo, en la mitología y los episodios bíblicos— a otro real y objetivo —en nuestro caso las plantas citadas en los dos textos examinados—, y no viceversa. Además, hemos podido observar la intervención de elementos de la vida cotidiana o supuestamente bien conocidos —animales y unos cuantos objetos— en la denominación metafórica de la flora; la semejanza es, en estos casos, responsable de la transferencia parcial de rasgos de un dominio concreto a otro dominio concreto. Todo ello demuestra la necesidad de estudiar el proceso evolutivo de las lenguas adoptando una perspectiva que no se limite a cuestiones formales y semánticas sino que considere también la formación del vocabulario a la luz de las operaciones mentales que crean conexiones metafóricas o de otra naturaleza entre entidades distintas.

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<sup>18</sup> “Cinoglossa [...] Specie di piante fan., borragine, della pentandria monoginia, così da Linneo denomin. perchè le loro foglie, larghe, lanceolate e più strette alla base, presentando la forma d’una lingua di cane” (Bognolo 1839, 1115).

<sup>19</sup> Boutelou (1827, 125) explica el origen de esta voz del modo siguiente: “Todo el conjunto de la flor se da una semejanza al ordado encarnado que usan los caballeros del hábito de Santiago en sus vestidos; y de esto le viene el nombre vulgar á la planta”.

<sup>20</sup> “Radice obliqua, fibrosa, all’apice smorsicata (d’onde ne derivò il nome di Morso del diavolo)” (Naccari 1826 vol. 1, 101).

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## **PART 5**

# **PHRASEOLOGY IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING, TRANSLATION AND LANGUAGE FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES**



# CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

## INTERFERENCE AND LINGUISTIC ATTRITION IN STUDENTS OF TRANSLATION DEALING WITH PHRASEOLOGY

CARLA MARELLO / ELISA CORINO<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

In translating from a foreign language into their own, Italian-speaking students of a MA course in translation tend to produce utterances that are barely acceptable, if not completely unacceptable. These errors mostly involve the production of unusual combinations of words, and result from the weak idiomatic force of restricted collocations, which often mark sub-codes that general language teaching might not cover.

In addition to this, a lack of language awareness of the mother language can result in cases of interference and attrition in both the target translation texts and in the students' essays.

Collocations in dictionaries will be discussed, and combinatorial dictionaries will be presented as possible scaffolding tools students should be trained to use.

### **1 Introduction**

In translating from a foreign language such as English, French, Spanish, or German, Italian-speaking students of a university master's course in translation tend to produce Italian collocational utterances that are barely acceptable, if not completely unacceptable.

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<sup>1</sup> This contribution is the result of a close collaboration between the two authors, nonetheless Carla Marelllo wrote § 2.1, 5, 6, Elisa Corino wrote § 1, 2, 3, 4.



In this contribution, we are looking into the reasons that cause these errors, which appear to be related to combinations of words in the source text that are either restricted collocations or idiomatic expressions. In particular, we are going to address the following research questions:

- Are students aware of collocations in their mother language, especially if scarcely idiomatic?
- Which are the most common collocational errors?
- Can corpora concordances convince students of the existence of restrictions?
- Are there lexicographic tools which might help?

During the course, students are asked to judge their mates' translations, comparing them with their own and "tagging" errors and differences. The analysis grids show that errors in the translation of collocations and idiomatic expressions are often detected by students (Corino 2014), although they are not recognized as such, but simply attributed to a wrong choice of words, or to matters that affect the sphere of register.

Error detection is particularly problematic in the case of restricted collocations: if students understand the restrictions to matching two or more words of the source text (eg., N+V and V+N collocations) and translate them in an appropriate way into the target text, then they correctly mark the possible wrong combinations. On the other hand, those who produce odd "collocations" (as the result of literal translation or attrition/interference processes) are less willing to recognize them as errors and to amend them.

These difficulties can be the result of the weak idiomatic force of restricted collocations: they are products of sub-codes and language teaching might not cover them all. The debate about which collocational lexicon should be taught is in fact broad and still open (Marello 2014).

## **2 Collocations: between Interference and Attrition**

Translation is a special environment for interference to take place in, since two systems are openly in contact and thus more permeable to the passage of elements from the one to the other and vice versa. Interference is a phenomenon students of foreign languages are very conscious of and, when they reach a certain level of competence, they tend to pay attention to the possible effect of their mother tongue on the L2 when dealing with both lexis and syntax. The fact that the foreign language—the target language in translation practice—can influence the mother language—the source language when dealing with translation—is not always taken into consideration by students, but this turns out to be a very frequent and even more tricky

problem, as it is the result of a lack of awareness and underestimation of the possible risks.

This is even more true for collocations. A collocation is a “combination of words which is restricted, as the choice of a word B is lexically bounded to the previously chosen word A” (Marello 1996, 203)<sup>2</sup>. If students know that the Italian pattern *fare una domanda* frequently becomes *to make a question* instead of *to ask a question* in learners of English, they do not always realize that the influence of one language over another is also possible the other way round: *to come up with a project* must be translated with an appropriate collocational pattern in Italian, and the literal version (*avanzare un progetto*) is actually an unacceptable substitute for the correct *proporre un progetto*.

Attrition is the reduction or weakening of the speaker’s first language due to the influence of a second code. Foreign language students are often exposed to teachers who are native speakers of Italian and whose L1 bears traces of attrition phenomena<sup>3</sup>. As Schmid (2011) points out, it usually refers to problems in remembering native words because they are blocked by a word from the other language. One of the results is the use of odd expressions, and interface phenomena between lexis and syntax such as collocations are particularly affected. This not only the case of verb-noun patterns but also verbal government and the selection of prepositions, which after all belong to the sphere of phraseology and need to be learnt by heart just as idioms.

## 2.1 Linguistic awareness

Part of the translation process relies on the metacompetence a translator should develop when dealing with two interacting languages. As Butzkamm and Caldwell (2009) suggested, the double focus on L2 and L1 improves awareness of language structures and thus also cognitive control over the verbal coding/decoding procedure: it means critical learning of the language, which requires conscious operations with regard to both L2 and L1.

Translation activates the focus on form that has been solicited in the field of language teaching and learning since the nineties (see Long 1991 and

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<sup>2</sup> [...] combinazione di una o più parole tale per cui, avendo scelto, per esprimere un certo significato complesso, la parola A, la scelta della parola B è lessicalmente vincolata.

<sup>3</sup> One of the most amusing cases: one of our female departmental colleagues unintentionally saying *Noi siamo supposte* instead of *We are supposed*. The Italian sentence might be translated *we are suppositories*.

more recently Ellis 2015), as it involves attracting learners' attention to the meanings realized by specific forms.

In line with what has been observed about the benefits of metalinguistic thinking in translation practice, a translation tagging activity was proposed to the students of an MA course to guide them through the process of understanding, comparing and evaluating texts and their language use. The students had to produce a translation, to compare their own product with their mates' and subsequently to correct and report on the texts, avoiding if possible the comment "this is wrong because it doesn't sound good". Analyzing a target text by labeling its morphosyntactic, lexical and textual/pragmatic characteristics is a complex activity that involves the use of CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency) skills. The objective, beyond testing translation skills, was exactly that of stimulating—and verifying—the ability to describe the phenomena that regulate the linguistic systems involved in the translation process, forcing students to explicitly compare structures in parallel texts.

As expected, collocational patterns proved really hard to deal with. Nonetheless, what is striking is that this was true not only for the success of the first part of the task—the translation—but also for the second part—the analysis and comment—which is the real display of students' awareness and metalinguistic competence. Students who had problems translating collocations also seemed to have problems detecting and correcting them.

Nesselhauf analysed errors made by German students learning English and maintained that collocations should be taught with reference to their mother tongue.

Learners have to be made aware of L1-L2 differences, otherwise, despite having learned the correct collocation, they are still likely to produce the L1 equivalent. It seems pointless, for example to teach German-speaking learners the collocation *have an experience* without alerting them to the fact that *\*make an experience* (the equivalent to German *eine Erfahrung machen*) is not possible in English. (Nesselhauf 2003, 239)

Contrastive analysis and translation proved to be more effective in the teaching of collocations than non-contrastive form-focused instruction and also than message-focused instruction in a functional syllabus (cfr. Laufer / Girsay 2008). For the students in our MA, some of whom show little awareness of collocational patterns in their mother tongue either<sup>4</sup>, it was thus thought that contrastive teaching of collocations might also be beneficial to their mother tongue competence.

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<sup>4</sup> Our students show wrong choices of collocates while writing in Italian, proving that there do exist grey spots in their linguistic competence in L1 as well.

This study is intended to show the difficulties students have in managing collocational patterns in translation. Data and examples have been extracted from a very large corpus of translations and essays that the authors have been collecting for the last five years. The MA course is attended by more than 200 students every year, so we decided to take a qualitative approach and quote significant utterances produced by many students over the years, that represent a reliable and generalizable case record.

### 3 Collocational errors in translations and their tagging

The main aim of the translation tagging process is to stimulate metalinguistic reflection and therefore linguistic competence. Students have to be aware of the different levels of analysis (morphosyntax, lexis, functions) and be capable of separating them by categorizing the occurrences they have detected as inaccurate.

The tagset is a subset of the *Korrekturrichtlinien* (KRL)–guidelines–for the evaluation of translations used at the Institut für Übersetzer und Dolmetscher in Heidelberg (Corino 2014 and Corino 2017). In this particular context we will focus on the distribution of the G/koll<sup>5</sup> tag. The data we have collected since 2013 can be organized into a taxonomy that matches the value of the translation with that of the analysis.

We can sum it up as follows:

- Good translation and Good tagging
- Wrong translation and Good tagging
- Good translation and Wrong tagging
  - Tagging of well-formed structures
- Wrong translation and Wrong tagging
  - Wrong tag
  - General tag
  - Multiple tags
- Wrong collocation which was not detected

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<sup>5</sup> G/koll is an item listed under the general tag G/lex, meaning *Abweichung von den morphologischen und lexikalischen Normen auf Seiten der Zielsprache/Verstöße gegen die lexikalische Morphologie, Terminologiebildung, und Phraseologie* (Deviation from the morphological and lexical norms on the part of the target language/violations of lexical morphology, terminology formation, and phraseology).

### 3.1 Good tagging as a display of linguistic awareness

Among the examples of good tagging we can identify two main possible situations.

The first case is due to the possibility of multiple versions of the same collocation and most of the time students are aware of the possibilities: they use the tagging simply to stress the different choices they have made and their comments state the acceptability of the occurrence.

In (1), for instance, we have more than one possible equivalent to the English collocation *to receive benefit*:

- (1) To receive the greatest benefit from the Museum's Audio Tour [...]  
 1a. Per usufruire dei vantaggi dell'audioguida del Museo [...].  
 1b. Per godere dei vantaggi offerti dall'audioguida del Museo [...]  
 1c. Per ottenere il massimo vantaggio dal Tour Audio del Museo

All of them are viable collocations in Italian, according to dictionaries including Lo Cascio (2013) and they are attested by google with a fair number of occurrences for each of them (676,000 for 1a; 635,000 for 1b; 978,000 for 1c).

The second most common case is when students identify a collocational mistake and trace it back to the appropriate category, thus proving a certain language awareness on their part.

Source text	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
The two friends still want to continue their communication and exchange ideas because they have <b>come up with</b> an innovative <b>project to start a new business</b> when they both retire.	Le due amiche, però, vogliono ancora continuare a comunicare e scambiarsi idee <b>avendo avanzato un progetto</b> innovativo per <b>iniziare un nuovo affare</b> per quando andranno in pensione.	Le due amiche vogliono continuare la loro comunicazione e scambiarsi le proprie idee: hanno infatti <b>pensato a un progetto</b> innovativo per <b>avviare una nuova attività</b> quando andranno in pensione.	G/koll  G/koll

Table 1. Language awareness in categorization

Group 1's translation certainly does not correspond to the right V-N collocation in Italian, since one cannot *avanzare un progetto*, one can *avanzare una proposta* or *proporre un progetto*, if anything (as clearly stated by Lo Cascio 2013, Fig. 1).

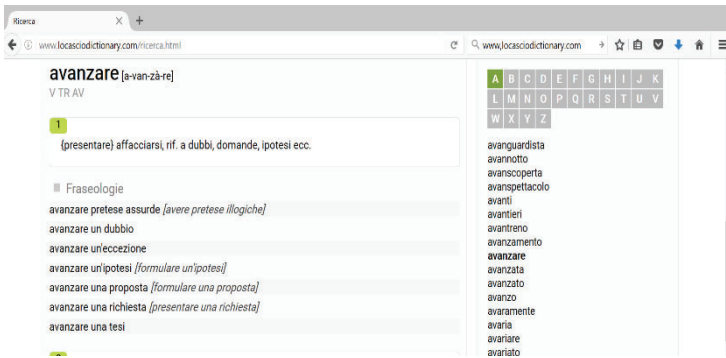


Figure 1. *Avanzare* in Lo Cascio's *Dizionario Combinatorio*

On the other hand, the version of Group 2 is not collocation oriented: they rather chose a very general verb (*pensare*), which does not really translate the source text, nor does it strictly collocate with the noun, but it works anyway.

The mistake with the second occurrence within Group 1's translation regards the selection of the noun: in this context *business* cannot really be translated with *affare*. More importantly, the choice of the noun should influence the choice of the verb, which is not the case here, as the first group proves not to be sensitive to the required connection between the two parts of speech.

Lo Cascio (2013) lists *affare* as the object of many verbs, among others *avviare*, but not *iniziare*. Sometimes the value of the translation and the correctness of the collocational pattern selected by students depends on the kind of text they are confronted with. When dealing with Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), for instance, they will have to have a deep understanding of the co-text and chose the equivalent that best suits the LSP requirements.

In Table 2 we can see an example.

Group 1's version is apparently acceptable and perfectly understandable, but it turns out to be a wrong collocation from the LPS point of view. In the Italian microlanguage of physics and electronics, one cannot *disporre una tensione* (though it is possible *disporre una resistenza*), a *tensione* is rather *applicare*, as Group 2 maintains.

A quick Google search confirms the goodness of the tagging: there are no occurrences of *disporre una tensione*, whereas we can find many of *applicare una tensione* in specialized websites<sup>6</sup>:

Source text	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
[...] <b>steht eine Spannung</b> von einigen Volt, so richten sich die länglichen Moleküle auf Grund ihres Dipolcharakters parallel zum starken elektrischen Feld	<b>Si disponga</b> ora <b>una tensione</b> di alcuni volt su un cristallo liquido mediante elettrodi trasparenti di biossido di stagno	A questo punto, <b>applicando una tensione</b> di alcuni Volt sul cristallo liquido mediante degli elettrodi trasparenti di diossido di stagno	G/koll

Table 2. Language awareness in LSP

- (2a) A una resistenza  $R = 1$  ohm viene applicata *una tensione*  $V_1 = 6$  V. (*Logica-Matematica.it – Esercizi di Fisica*)
- (2b) Un metodo di misura consiste nell'*applicare una tensione* di riferimento alla capacità, attraverso una resistenza e per un determinato periodo (Colella, *Manuale di metrologia e strumentazione elettronica*)
- (2c) Supponete di *applicare una tensione di corrente alternata con un valore di picco di 5 V* (*Elettronica for dummies*)

This example adds the variable of LSP to the outline and demonstrates the troubles students have not only in translating collocations, which is an obvious difficulty, but also in recognizing the need to look for the right combination of words and not just an impressionistic solution that “sounds good”.

In Table 3, “to protect the secrecy” is not a restricted collocation. Still, it cannot be translated into Italian with any combination of words, which is probably why Group 2 tagged it as a collocational error. Actually, *preservare la protezione* is an odd pattern, but so is *proteggere la riservatezza*.

<sup>6</sup> The following examples are quoted from (3a) [www.logica-matematica.it/sezioni/test\\_universitari/professioni\\_sanitarie/fisica.asp](http://www.logica-matematica.it/sezioni/test_universitari/professioni_sanitarie/fisica.asp); (3b) <https://books.google.it/books?isbn=8820330342>; (3c) <https://books.google.it/books?is-bn=8820368862>

Source text	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
However, if Maria and Ann decide that the encryption/decryption done by the machine is not enough <b>to protect their secrecy</b> , they would have to change the whole machine.	Comunque sia, se Maria ed Ann decidessero che la tecnica di criptazione/decriptazione della macchina non fosse abbastanza segreta al fine di <b>preservare la loro protezione</b> , dovrebbero cambiare l'intero automa.	Tuttavia, se Maria e Anna ritenessero che il processo di codifica/decodifica eseguito dalla macchina non fossero sufficiente a <b>proteggere la loro riservatezza</b> , dovrebbero cambiare la macchina nella sua interezza.	G/koll

Table 3. Error tagging and collocations

This example brings up a didactic issue and a theoretical discussion about the fine-grained difference between collocations, colligations and semantic preferences. Certainly, it is up to the academic teacher to decide how accurate the students' analysis should be and whether it is worth asking them to operate such a fine distinction.

For our purposes, we think that the tag G/koll is a relatively good choice: students have detected a peculiar structure involving a verb-noun combination, and that means they should be able to deal with its translation.

### 3.2 Bad tagging as display of linguistic unawareness

Linguistic unawareness and difficulties in identifying collocations (and phraseology in general) in both L2 and L1 become evident in those cases where the translation is good, but students have tagged it as not acceptable.

Source text	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
This does present a new challenge for employers, who will have to <b>sift through</b> all this additional information.	Ciò rappresenta una nuova sfida per i datori di lavoro, che dovranno <b>passare al setaccio</b> tutte queste informazioni extra.	Ciò rappresenta una nuova sfida per i datori di lavoro, che dovranno <b>vagliare</b> tutte queste informazioni extra.	F/phras

Table 4. Difficulties in identifying collocations



In this case Group 1 opted for the literal—though perfectly fitting—Italian equivalent of the English “to sift through”, whereas Group 2 marked it as an inappropriate phraseological choice.

The boundaries between collocation and phraseology are sometimes blurred and students often overlap categories, marking as G/koll occurrences that should be F/phras (as in Table 5) and vice versa.

Source text	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
La convocation adressée dans ces conditions est réputée <b>notifiée à personne</b> à la date à laquelle son destinataire en a accusé réception.	La convocazione trasmessa secondo queste condizioni è considerata come <b>notificata alla persona</b> nella data di confermata ricezione da parte del suo destinatario.	La convocazione indirizzata a queste condizioni si ritiene <b>notificata in mani proprie</b> alla data in cui il destinatario ne ha accusata ricevuta.	G/koll

Table 5. Collocations and phraseology - overlapping

More serious mistakes are those related to the tagging of translation errors as collocations, though they are not, see Table 6:

Source text	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
<b>However</b> , as mentioned above, if one day they found that their code was broken, each would have to replace the whole machine with a new one instead of just changing the machine in the second layer.	<b>Ad ogni caso</b> , come menzionato sopra, se un giorno le due amiche realizzassero che il loro codice fosse violato, entrambe dovrebbero sostituire l'intera macchina con una nuova invece di cambiare solo il secondo livello dell'automa.	<b>Tuttavia</b> , come abbiamo detto poco fa, se un giorno scoprissero che il loro codice è stato decifrato, entrambe dovrebbero rimpiazzare la macchina con una nuova, invece di sostituire soltanto il secondo strato.	G/koll

Table 6. Wrong error tagging

Here it is definitely not a case of collocational error; students might have labelled (GB spelling) it as G/koll because of the multiword phrase translating the connective, thus completely missing the category of the occurrence and its pertinent level of analysis.

Tagging inaccuracies can also occur where collocations are not recognized as such, and students rather focus on a single lexeme within the pattern. Table 7 is an example of this tendency: the translation is faulty, but G2 focused on the word *introduite-introdotta* and not on the collocational structure as a whole. It is true that *introdurre* is the wrong lexical choice (though it is the right literal translation), but the defectiveness of the translation is due to the tight bond between the word *demande-domanda/richiesta* and the LSP (law) context: in Italian a *domanda* cannot be *introdotta*, but rather *inoltrata*. G2 suggested the collocation *avanzare una richiesta*, which works as a V-N combination, but is questionable from the LSP point of view.

Source text	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
Lorsqu'une demande relative à l'exercice de l'autorité parentale est <b>introduite</b> [...]	Qualora una domanda relativa all'esercizio della potestà dei genitori sia <b>introdotta</b> [...]	Dal momento in cui una richiesta relativa all'esercizio della potestà genitoriale è <b>avanzata</b> [...]	S/lex

Table 7. LSP and collocations

The last set of examples of wrong tagging shows the inappropriate use of general tags and multiple tags. Students seem to hesitate to attribute a precise tag, as if they were not really sure how to describe a certain occurrence. So they seek the use of either superordinate categories—as in Table 8 where they comment on the error as a lexical occurrence linked to the grammar sphere (G/lex)—or overlap tags (see Table 9).

Source	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
<b>Cobertura de Hurto</b>	<b>Copertura di furto</b>	<b>Copertura furto/da furto/per furto</b>	G/lex

Table 8. Use of general tag

Source	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
In Kooperation mit ClimatePartner erfolgt die Kompensation der CO <sub>2</sub> -Emissionen gezielt über die Unterstützung zertifizierter Klimaschutzprojekt e.	Questa compensazione viene realizzata in cooperazione con ClimatePartner attraverso il supporto di progetti certificati per la <b>protezione del clima</b> . <sup>41</sup>	In collaborazione con Climate Partner la compensazione delle emissioni di CO <sub>2</sub> ha luogo allo scopo di sostenere progetti certificati per la <b>difesa dell'ambiente</b> .	G/z <sup>41</sup> S/lex? <sup>41</sup> G/koll <sup>41</sup>

Table 9. Tag overlapping

Apart from the typo due to the blank between the word *clima* and the full stop, the translation of the German compound *Klimaschutz(projekte)* is criticized and tagged as both a lexical and a collocational error. Group 1, though, gave a perfectly acceptable version, which sticks to the meaning of the source text. Group 2, on the contrary, strays from the point by connoting the translation and adding their interpretation. There are no lexical mistakes in the first translation, and certainly no collocational errors. Finally, blanks in awareness and language competence with regard to collocations emerge in the failure to detect and tag real errors. It is not rare to find passages that do include wrong collocational patterns, but that have not been highlighted by the commenting group. This is mainly due to the apparent correctness of the collocates, which generally belong to a high register, rather than a popular one.

Source	Translation G1	Translation G2	KRL
La <u>convocation</u> <u>adressée</u> dans ces conditions est réputée notifiée à personne à la date à laquelle son destinataire <b>en a accusé réception</b> .	La <u>convocazione</u> <u>effettuata</u> secondo questi criteri è da considerarsi notificata in mani proprie <b>alla data di ricezione da parte del destinatario</b> .	La <u>convocazione</u> <u>inviata</u> con tali modalità si considera notificata in mani proprie nella data in cui il destinatario <b>ne accusa ricevuta</b> .	-----  S/lex!

Table 10. Collocations in context

*Effettuare una convocazione* as in Table 10 is considered by Lo Cascio (2013) a collocation in Italian, probably because it is often used in administrative contexts, though it sounds rather unusual in other contexts and it is not the right translation in this context where *inviare/mandare una convocazione* are preferable.

### 3.3 Preliminary remarks

Students' attribution of the G/koll tag can be inaccurate and if we compare it to teachers' corrections, we can observe a different distribution.

	Studenti	Correzioni		Studenti	Correzioni
G/gr	13	-	Gt/pron	3	9
G/sk	16	3	S	1	-
G/val	2	6	S/gr	12	-
G/att	1	14	S/sk	20	6
G/stell	22	59	S/lex	38	-
G/pron	3	10	S/lex!	83	75
G/prap	21	68	S/lex?	87	124
G/flex	1	-	S/lex >	20	6
G/temp	5	11	S/lex <	20	26
G/modi	2	9	St/rel	3	4
G/kompar	1	10	F	9	-
G/gen	5	11	F/lex	13	5
G/num	31	20	F/inf	123	41
G/koni	-	9	F/mark	50	48
G/o	22	29	F/kon	5	-
G/z	43	53	F/bild	4	11
G/lex	3	-	F/phras	4	-
G/wb	1	1	D/ort	-	10
G/phras	5	-	D/omis	-	3
G/koll	17	42	*G/lex!	1	-
Gt	1	-	*G/lex?	2	-
Gt/junk	7	5	*F/lex?	1	-
			TOTALE KRL	721	728

Table 11. KRL by students and teachers

Table 11 compares the KRL attributed by students and teachers to the Italian translations of an English text in the academic year 2013/14<sup>7</sup>.

The total number of tags given by students and teachers is approximately the same, but the G/koll and the S/lex cells show an inverted proportion of the numbers in the respective columns. Teachers identify more collocations than students, use of the lexical tag and of G/präp, which might be closely related to lexical and collocational patterns, are different. The variations in tag attribution are certainly due to the students' level of competence, but it is also true that it is generally difficult to categorize collocations. They are interface phenomena, which could fit into different slots, as they cut across the grammar, the semantic and the functional spheres.

What is important, though, is that students learn to detect them in the L2, but most of all in their L1.

#### 4 Control corpus: written academic language

The study of university students' language proficiency has grown in importance since Lavinio / Sobreros' 1991 seminal paper. Italian researchers have focussed on the passage from High School to University see Ambel / Faudella (2001), Fiorentino (2009), on pre-university selected students competences (see Cardinale / Corbucci / Fagotto 2017) and on the writing skills of University Students (see Calamai 2012; Salerno / Sposetti 2014) and in general on language learning in young people language (see Coveri 2011 in Stefanelli / Saura 2011; Coveri 2014; Lubello 2016), but little has been said about the role of interference and attrition on collocations until now. Still, the mastering of collocations can give some important clues about the students' intralinguistic competence and their ability to separate codes at an interlinguistic level.

Our analysis of translations and their tagging highlighted the uncertainty among students in identifying collocations. This was found to be not only a matter of languages in contact: gaps also surfaced in students' ability to identify fixed patterns in their mother language itself. On the one hand, we observed an inability to manage the V-N collocations of the academic LSP related to the text genre "book review". On the other hand, the influence of the language of the text students are dealing with emerges in lexical choices and syntactic structures. The same issues were also encountered in the essays (in the form of academic book reviews) written in Italian by the students at the end of the course.

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<sup>7</sup> The table is an extract from the MA thesis of Sabina Orbech (2015)

Some collocations produced by students are the result of the overlapping of two similar patterns and could be accepted under the semantic similarity between the interfering structures. For instance, *stendere un volume [sic]*—meaning to write, to compose a book—is not a defined collocation in Italian, whereas *stendere un rapporto/una relazione*—to write a report—is.

- (3) Visto che ogni capitolo è scritto da un autore diverso, è stato molto utile ed interessante leggere un po' sui specialisti che avevano tutti insieme **steso questo volume**.

The analogy is clear and students have simply replaced one object with the other (the *report* with the *book*), though collocating it with the same verb. Other inaccuracies are due to similarities between forms, such as in (4), where *adoperare un arricchimento* is used instead of *operare un arricchimento*

- (4) Un ruolo determinante in questo processo l'ha avuto proprio William Shakespeare che, attraverso la scrittura delle sue commedie e delle sue tragedie, **ha adoperato un enorme arricchimento** lessicale di questa.

Or (5), where *apportare esempi* is used instead of *portare esempi*

- (5) si occupano di traduzioni di titoli di libri, giornali e film, **apportando esempi** di differenti traduzioni inglesi.

(6) and (7) are definitely examples of L2 interference in L1 collocations:

- (6) Lo raccomanderei **definitivamente** a chi è interessato all'argomento.
- (7) È bene che il traduttore sia sempre consapevole delle **scelte che prende**.

The first is to be traced back to the English *definitely*, which should rather be translated with the Italian *di sicuro, certamente*; the second is the translation of *to take one's pick, to make one's choice*, the student probably chose the verb *prendere* to avoid the more common *fare una scelta*.

Language contact causes not only lexical interference, but it also surfaces in syntactic constructions, especially when it comes to prepositions in parallel forms. When two words or phrases occur in a parallel structure and require the same preposition to be idiomatically correct, in English the preposition does not have to be repeated, whereas in Italian it does. (8) is an example of the omission of the preposition, a frequent mistake that reflects the English pattern.

- (8) non si tratta di un manuale di traduzione, bensì \*un'accurata riflessione.

On the contrary, (9) shows a sort of hypercorrectness which results in an incorrect sentence, with the wrong insertion of the preposition *del*.

- (9) la parte che tratta delle forme di allocuzione “Lei” e **del** “Voi”.

Preposition dropping is a matter of preposition attachment and coordination, also attested in past centuries, and we reported it in the Italian NUNC newsgroup corpus 10 years ago (Barbera / Corino / Onesti 2007). It seems to have increased in frequency, as it crops up almost systematically in the students' works.

As for prepositional phrases, it is also important to highlight some restricted combinations (VERB + PREP, ADJ + PREP, NOUN + PREP) where mistakes often occur. It is important to point these out to students, or they will never be aware of their faultiness.

For instance, the following occurrences might be cases of attrition (*it is interesting to know* and *with the help of*).

- (10) È stato molto **interessante a sapere** quali lavori ed autori condizionavano ogni periodo.

- (11) **Aiutandosi del lavoro** della sua collega.

(12) and (13) are more complex. (12) is elliptical (missing [*dall'inglese*]), (13) is triggered by the wrong belief that *verosimiglianza* and *somiglianza* select the same preposition.

- (12) L'utilizzo dei pronomi **nelle traduzioni all'italiano**

- (13) Un traduttore sacrifica la fedeltà in nome **della verosimiglianza alla lingua** di arrivo.

## 5 Turning to bilingual lexicographic tools for help

Recent bilingual dictionaries sometimes feature a collocation field, with digitalized versions allowing searches in the field. Nonetheless, users have to be aware that they are dealing with a collocation in order to choose the right translation. Bilingual lexicographers sometimes alert users with an explicit field for collocations—as for instance in the Giacoma / Kolb German-Italian dictionary, which has the field “collocatori” *collocates*—although most present-day bilingual dictionaries include collocations in the examples (mixed with other lexical features and meanings) or in the

phraseology field. An effective solution might be the systematic introduction of lexically/semantically oriented discrimination: this is what Blumenthal and Rovere do in their *Wörterbuch Italienischen Verben* (Wiv). We will explain the different approach through the collocation *rivestire una carica*.

The Giacoma / Kolb considers *rivestire qualcosa di importanza* as a collocation (see Fig. 2), while Wiv deals with this meaning of *rivestire* by means of a restriction alert on the N1 of the syntactic construction 5. N-V-N1 (see Fig. 3).

5 *fig* (assumere) *rivestire qc* {ARGOMENTO IMPORTANZA} *entw* einnehmen

Figure 2: *rivestire* – Giacoma / Kolb



Figure 3. *rivestire* - Wiv

Wiv is a dictionary for German translators translating from Italian into German, as can be seen from the discriminators<sup>8</sup>, but we want to stress that Wiv can be used also by Italian native speakers willing to face a detailed description of combinatory properties of the 2016 Italian verbs selected from among the most frequent in Italian newspapers<sup>9</sup>.

We said lexically/semantically oriented discrimination, because in the case of *rivestire* we appreciate the difference between *rivestire una grande importanza*, *un ruolo decisivo* and *rivestire la carica di, il grado di* and the semantic alert *fig. 3*. In the case of *rivestire il bambino con gli abiti della festa* Wiv, together with the construction N-V-N1-(con N3), remarks: Sem.: N1 is a human being and N3, if present, an item of clothing.

<sup>8</sup> In the 2016 digital version, an effort was made to help the translator of German texts into Italian by supplying a sort of reverse list of German verbs mentioned in translations from Italian texts that had been quoted as examples in the Italian-German part. This list can be queried by choosing the German-Italian dictionary. The German verbs have no constructions, they are just a reference to the Italian verbs they translate.

<sup>9</sup> And also in some other specialized text sources.



Wiv also identifies idioms, which are dealt with under the construction which best fits them. See for instance the treatment of *colpire qualcuno nel vivo* under “costruzione” n. 6).

6. N-V-N1-(AvV<sub>loc</sub>) treffen

Sem.: N: nicht menschl.;

N1: menschl.;

AvV<sub>loc</sub>: Körperteil

Es.:

1) Lo schiaffo lo colpi in pieno viso. (Zingarelli)

2) Venne colpito da un proiettile vagante. (Palazzi/Folena)

3) La pallottola ha colpito il cacciatore alla testa, uccidendolo sul colpo. (Sole)

4) Cosa posso fare nell'attesa per evitare che nonostante le mie buone intenzioni per un eventuale incidente (l'intonaco cade a pezzi e potrebbe colpire i passanti) possa trovarmi in guai giudiziari? (Sole) - verletzen

5) Mio padre, temendo la rozzezza di quei monelli di strada, cercò di riportarlo alla calma, tanto più che la palla l'aveva colpito solo di striscio, causandogli un dolore del tutto passeggero. (Sole) - ...zumal der Ball ihn nur gestreift hatte...

Id.:

6) colpire qn. nel vivo - jdn. zutiefst treffen

Es.: 1) Quella frase l'ha colpito nel vivo. (Vocabolario della lingua italiana)

The systematic introduction of lexically/semantically oriented discrimination under the “same” syntactic construction<sup>10</sup> gives an idea of *collocational continuum* more similar to language usage than the practice of isolating collocations in fields with borderlines which are often difficult to define. This is the same type of attitude assumed by Lo Cascio (2013) in his introduction, in which he explains why he did not entitle his dictionary “collocation dictionary” but preferred the term *combinatorio*.

The translation problems presented in this paper indicate that the use of a reference tool such as Wiv is the ideal way to refine students’ sensibility to verb-noun combinations, since Wiv shows combinations starting from the verb, whereas other collocational dictionaries usually show combinations starting from the noun.

## 6 Conclusion

The analysis of the work (translations, error tagging, book reviews) of students of an MA course in Translation drew attention to the fact that students are often unaware of the existence of collocational patterns in their

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<sup>10</sup> The construction is repeated and numbered as many times as required by the change in discriminators.

own language, and revealed phenomena of interference and attrition due to language contact in both directions.

A concluding remark is that the quality of the students' comment on translations mostly mirrors the quality of the translations themselves and parallels the quality of the book reviews. We believe that this quality can be traced back to the level of metalinguistic competence of the students, as scarce metalinguistic competence results in difficulties in defining the category and kind of errors, unsuitable comments, and even a lack of awareness in the judgement of their own translations (which is generally mediocre). This situation not only affects L1-L2 translations, but is more deeply rooted, as its traits surfaces in the L1 book reviews as well, where collocational errors are very frequent.

Therefore, students should be trained to recognize collocational patterns and most of all in the consultation of lexicographic tools (and corpora) that can solve some of their doubts and prevent some of the most awkward collocational choices.

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## CHAPTER THIRTY

### COLLOCATION ET LOCUTION : DEUX NOTIONS LEXICALES POUR MIEUX APPRENDRE LE VOCABULAIRE

PAOLO FRASSI / OPHÉLIE TREMBLAY

#### Abstract

In this article we present the main approaches to the teaching of phraseological units and demonstrate the limitations of these approaches with regard to the definition of and the distinction between a phraseme and a collocation. We then introduce our own definition of these categories, which is based on Explanatory and Combinatorial Lexicology; and we explore the RL-fr – *Réseau Lexical du Français*, a lexical network that distinguishes between phrasemes and collocations. We explore this lexical resource for two phraseological units containing the French noun SOUPE: a phraseme (SOUPE AU LAIT) and a collocation (*s'emporter comme une soupe au lait*).

#### 1 L'apprentissage et l'enseignement du vocabulaire : le défi des unités phraséologiques

Apprendre une langue est un long processus, parsemé de difficultés de toutes sortes : exceptions, règles grammaticales complexes, temps de verbes irréguliers, etc. Sur le plan lexical, les unités phraséologiques (POMME D'ADAM, TOMBER DANS LES POMMES, EN RANG D'OIGNON, COUPER LA POIRE EN DEUX, POIL DE CAROTTE, etc.)<sup>1</sup> présentent certains défis, aussi bien pour

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<sup>1</sup> Dans tout l'article, nous utilisons les PETITES MAJUSCULES pour représenter des unités phraséologiques de type LOCUTION ou des unités lexicales de type LEXEME. Les syntagmes en *italique* sont quant à eux des *collocations*.

les apprenants eux-mêmes que pour les enseignants. D'abord, les caractéristiques de ces types d'expressions (aspect figé, difficulté à les traduire, difficulté à les utiliser correctement en contexte, etc.) font en sorte que les enseignants manifestent une certaine réticence à les enseigner en salle de classe (Detry 2008). De plus, la majorité du matériel proposé pour travailler les expressions idiomatiques apparaît inadéquat, comme le montre l'analyse d'Irujo (1986) pour les manuels d'anglais langue seconde : ou bien ceux-ci ignorent complètement les expressions idiomatiques, ou bien ils leur réservent une place dans une liste de vocabulaire, sans plus d'explication à leur sujet. Deux analyses du traitement des locutions dans les manuels – de portugais brésilien (Costa Branco de Carvalho 2013) et du français (Berthemet 2017) – arrivent aux mêmes conclusions. On peut imaginer que le traitement des locutions dans les manuels d'apprentissage d'autres langues n'échappe pas à cette regrettable « règle ». Ainsi, le manque de matériel pour supporter l'enseignement des unités phraséologiques représenterait un des facteurs expliquant les difficultés liées à leur enseignement et à leur apprentissage en classe de langue seconde.

Pour contourner les difficultés posées par l'apprentissage des expressions figées, plusieurs démarches d'enseignement ont néanmoins été proposées (Boers / Demecheleer / Eyckemans 2004 ; Detry 2008). Nous les détaillerons dans la deuxième partie de cet article.

Ces approches ne permettent cependant pas de contourner un problème important, celui du traitement et de la description des unités phraséologiques dans les dictionnaires, qui représentent pourtant un outil d'enseignement et d'apprentissage de la langue (Beech 2004 ; Bishop 2000) et par conséquent, des unités phraséologiques elles-mêmes. Nous allons illustrer ce problème dans la troisième partie de l'article, à travers un exemple concret de recherche, dans les dictionnaires monolingues et bilingues, d'unités phraséologiques (locutions et collocations) formées avec le nom *SOUPE*. Cet examen nous permettra de mettre en évidence l'existence de problèmes de nature conceptuelle, concernant la compréhension même des phénomènes lexicaux en jeu dans l'apprentissage et l'enseignement des unités phraséologiques, quelle que soit la démarche pédagogique choisie et quel que soit le type d'ouvrage utilisé pour en rechercher le sens. En effet, que ce soit dans les manuels ou durant l'enseignement, on explique rarement aux apprenants ce qu'est une locution (par exemple, *NE PAS SE SENTIR DANS SON ASSIETTE*) et ce qui la distingue d'autres types d'expressions idiomatiques, dont les collocations (*assiette copieuse/appétissante/fumante ; remplir/manger/vider son assiette*). Or, la connaissance de notions métalinguistiques peut soutenir l'enseignement et l'apprentissage d'une langue seconde et des unités phraséologiques (locutions et collocations) en

particulier. Notre définition de ces deux phénomènes, présentée dans les sections 4 et 5, s'appuie sur la Lexicologie Explicative et Combinatoire (dorénavant LEC, Mel'čuk et al. 1995 ; Polguère / Mel'čuk 2006 ; Mel'čuk 2008 ; Mel'čuk 2013). La LEC fournit les outils conceptuels et métalinguistiques permettant de distinguer clairement collocations et locutions, notamment dans les descriptions lexicographiques.

Nous examinerons enfin le traitement lexicographique de ces deux types d'unités phraséologiques dans une ressource lexicale informatisée originale, le *Réseau Lexical du français* (dorénavant RL-fr, Lux-Pogodalla / Polguère 2011 ; Polguère 2014). Aux fins de notre analyse, nous examinerons une locution – SOUPE AU LAIT – et une collocation – *s'emporter comme une soupe au lait* – qui gravitent autour de l'unité lexicale SOUPE. L'étude de ces exemples nous permettra de mettre en évidence la spécificité du RL-fr quant à l'accès au sens de chacun de ces types d'unités – comparativement aux dictionnaires traditionnels monolingues –, notamment grâce à la représentation visuelle des liens entre l'unité phraséologique et ses « voisins ».

En conclusion, nous discuterons des avantages et des limites des propositions formulées dans cet article quant à la question de l'enseignement des notions métalinguistiques (locution, collocation) susceptibles de soutenir l'enseignement/apprentissage des unités phraséologiques et l'utilisation de ressources originales comme le RL-fr.

## **2 Les approches d'enseignement et d'apprentissage des expressions idiomatiques**

### **2.1 Critères de sélection des expressions**

Le choix des unités phraséologiques à enseigner devrait d'abord reposer sur certains critères. Irujo (1986) en dégage quatre : la fréquence, la transparence, la convenance et la similarité avec la langue première de l'apprenant.

Le premier critère renvoie au fait que les expressions à enseigner devraient être celles qui sont le plus souvent utilisées dans la langue courante.

La transparence concerne le fait que le sens de l'expression puisse transparaître facilement à travers l'un ou plusieurs des mots qui la composent, d'une façon littérale ou figurée. Ainsi, SOUPE POPULAIRE ('repas distribué gratuitement aux indigents') est plus transparent que SOUPE AU LAIT ('coléreux'). Notons que les unités phraséologiques ne sont jamais, par définition, transparentes ; elles se placent sur une échelle allant du ± transparent au ± opaque.



Le troisième critère, la convenance (*appropriateness* en anglais), renvoie à l'importance de sélectionner des expressions du registre standard plutôt que des registres argotique ou familier, qui risquent peu d'être utilisées par des apprenants de L2. Ce choix est important, car les dictionnaires eux-mêmes, s'ils distinguent habituellement les expressions familières et standard, ne spécifient pas toujours si elles sont plutôt utilisées à l'écrit, dans des contextes littéraires (ex.: NOBLESSE OBLIGE) ou encore si ces expressions ne sont plus en usage ou vieilles (*passer sur quelque chose comme chat sur braise*), ce qui peut aussi dépendre d'un critère de fréquence.

Enfin, la similarité d'une expression de la L2 avec une expression dans la langue maternelle des apprenants est un critère non négligeable si l'enseignant possède un public linguistiquement homogène. En effet, la ressemblance entre deux expressions va faciliter leur apprentissage.

Une fois ces critères de sélection appliqués, l'enseignant peut faire appel à différentes approches didactiques pour travailler les unités phraséologiques choisies.

## 2.2 Approches d'enseignement des unités phraséologiques

Les recherches menées sur les approches d'enseignement à privilégier mettent en valeur trois démarches principales : traduction/comparaison ; métaphore conceptuelle ; étymologique.

La première approche consiste à proposer une explication du sens littéral de l'expression idiomatique en question, et ensuite une comparaison de cette expression avec son équivalent, s'il existe, dans la L1 de l'apprenant. Ainsi, selon Irujo (1986), l'enseignement des expressions devrait suivre une certaine progression : il s'agit d'abord de travailler les expressions identiques dans les deux langues, puis celles qui sont similaires (voir section 3.1). Il importe également de rendre les apprenants conscients des sources d'interférences possibles.

L'approche de la métaphore conceptuelle consiste quant à elle à faire regrouper les expressions idiomatiques selon un thème, afin de faciliter la compréhension (c'est l'approche que nous adoptons en partie dans notre article, toute notre analyse reposant sur l'observation de locutions et collocations formées à partir d'un même mot thématique, SOUPE).

Enfin, l'approche étymologique s'appuie sur une perspective diachronique qui prend en compte l'histoire de la locution et les éléments socioculturels qui y sont rattachés, ce que De Serres (2011) met en évidence en disant qu'une locution suscite toujours un sens donné auprès d'une communauté linguistique.

Ces approches peuvent fonctionner efficacement en contexte de classe lorsque l'enseignant est présent comme médiateur pour choisir les expressions appropriées à enseigner et les démarches d'enseignement qui conviennent le mieux. Cependant, lorsque l'apprenant ne bénéficie pas du soutien de l'enseignant, il doit chercher le sens des nouvelles unités phraséologiques dans le dictionnaire.

### 3 Un exemple de consultation des dictionnaires : les expressions formées avec SOUPE

#### 3.1. Les expressions en français et en italien

Un apprenant de français L2, suivant son niveau de compétence linguistique, peut décider de déchiffrer le sens d'une unité phraséologique en ayant recours soit à un dictionnaire monolingue français, soit à un dictionnaire bilingue français-italien. Prenons le cas d'un apprenant italophone, qui rencontre les unités phraséologiques suivantes : *monter/s'emporter comme une soupe au lait*, GROS PLEIN DE SOUPE, MANGER LA SOUPE SUR LA TÊTE DE QQN, CRACHER DANS LA SOUPE, *arriver comme un cheveu sur la soupe*, SOUPE POPULAIRE.

L'apprenant pourrait se fier à son intuition et rattacher immédiatement quelques-uns de ces phrasèmes à des expressions plus ou moins équivalentes en italien, dans une démarche de traduction/comparaison. Par exemple, CRACHER DANS LA SOUPE correspond à l'italien SPUTARE NEL PIATTO IN CUI SI MANGIA ou encore MANGER LA SOUPE SUR LA TÊTE DE QQN correspond à MANGIARE LA MINISTRA IN TESTA A QCU. Les choses se compliquent à partir du moment où il n'y a plus de correspondance intuitivement immédiate entre une locution en français et en italien : GROS PLEIN DE SOUPE, ne correspond pas en italien à une locution, sa traduction pouvant être GRASSONE, CICCIONE. De la même façon, *arriver comme un cheveu sur la soupe* correspond à *come i cavoli a merenda*, *monter/s'emporter comme une soupe au lait* à *accendersi come uno zolfanello* et SOUPE POPULAIRE à MENSA DEI POVERI.

Ces exemples montrent que l'appui sur sa langue maternelle (dans ce cas l'italien), à travers une approche 'intuitivement' comparative, n'est pas toujours la bonne solution pour avoir accès au sens des unités phraséologiques. Comme nous l'avons souligné, le passage par les dictionnaires, qui sont les outils vers lesquels l'apprenant se tourne de préférence pour retrouver les sens des mots, s'avère ainsi indispensable.

### 3.2 Comment les unités phraséologiques sont-elles organisées dans les dictionnaires ?

La consultation des dictionnaires pour retrouver les sens des unités phraséologiques peut présenter des problèmes d'ordres différents. Tout d'abord, puisque les expressions idiomatiques sont des unités multi-lexémiques, l'utilisateur du dictionnaire, et en particulier s'il s'agit d'un dictionnaire papier, doit avancer des hypothèses quant au critère de classement appliqué par le lexicographe (c'est-à-dire sous quel mot de l'expression il doit ouvrir le dictionnaire).

Nous allons commencer par quelques exemples montrant l'absence d'homogénéité dans le classement des unités phraséologiques dans les dictionnaires. Afin de montrer que cela concerne aussi bien les dictionnaires bilingues que les dictionnaires monolingues, nous avons pris deux dictionnaires bilingues (le *Larousse français-italien* et le *Boch*), dont nous avons consulté la section français-italien – Tableau 1 –, et deux dictionnaires monolingues français, le *Trésor de la Langue Française* et le *Petit Robert* – Tableau 2.

phrasème	<i>Larousse fr-it</i>	<i>Boch</i>
<i>s'emporter, monter comme une soupe au lait, être soupe au lait</i>	<b>SOUPE</b>	<b>SOUPE</b>
GROS PLEIN DE SOUPE	GROS	GROS
MANGER LA SOUPE SUR LA TÊTE DE QQN	MANGER	<b>SOUPE</b>
CRACHER DANS LA SOUPE	CRACHER	-
<i>arriver comme un cheveu sur la soupe</i>	CHEVEU	CHEVEU
SOUPE POPULAIRE	<b>SOUPE</b>	<b>SOUPE</b>

Tableau 1 : Articles dans lesquels sont enregistrées les unités phraséologiques (dictionnaires bilingues).

phrasème	TLFi	PR
<i>s'emporter, monter comme une soupe au lait, être soupe au lait</i>	LAIT	SOUPE
GROS PLEIN DE SOUPE	PLEIN	SOUPE
MANGER LA SOUPE SUR LA TÊTE DE QQN	MANGER	MANGER
CRACHER DANS LA SOUPE	SOUPE	SOUPE
<i>arriver comme un cheveu sur la soupe</i>	CHEVEU	CHEVEU
SOUPE POPULAIRE	SOUPE	SOUPE

Tableau 2 : Articles dans lesquels sont enregistrées les unités phraséologiques (dictionnaires monolingues).

Deux cas de figure sont possibles : soit le dictionnaire choisit de fournir la description de l'unité phraséologique dans l'article concernant le premier mot ayant un sémantisme plein (ex. : MANGER dans MANGER LA SOUPE SUR LA TÊTE DE QUELQU'UN) ; soit, il prend comme repère un mot-clé, souvent le plus opaque du point de vue du sémantisme 'littéral' de la locution, sans forcément qu'il s'agisse du premier mot figurant dans l'unité phraséologique (ex. : SOUPE dans GROS PLEIN DE SOUPE). Si l'utilisateur est familier avec le critère de classement (qui doit être défini de manière claire par le lexicographe), il pourra retrouver aisément les expressions idiomatiques qu'il cherche dans le dictionnaire.

### 3.3 Failles dans le traitement des unités phraséologiques dans les dictionnaires traditionnels

Dans les dictionnaires bilingues comme dans les dictionnaires monolingues, l'emploi d'un même critère de classement n'est vraisemblablement pas la règle. Par exemple, le *Larousse fr-it* enregistre *s'emporter, monter comme une soupe au lait* sous SOUPE, alors que toutes les autres unités phraséologiques sont décrites dans l'article concernant la première unité lexicale ayant un sémantisme plein. Dans un cas, le critère de classement se trouve en dehors des deux que nous avons mentionnés ci-dessus : il s'agit de GROS PLEIN DE SOUPE sous PLEIN dans le TLFi.

Aujourd'hui la grande majorité des dictionnaires bilingues et monolingues sont disponibles en version électronique : il est donc suffisant d'entrer l'expression idiomatique dans un masque de saisie pour accéder directement à l'article dans lequel celle-ci est décrite. Il est néanmoins important de souligner qu'une bonne description lexicographique se doit de tenir compte des critères sur lesquels elle repose, dont notamment le lien entre l'unité phraséologique et le mot-vedette.

Ainsi, si ce n'est les dictionnaires spécialisés dans le traitement des phrasèmes, la description des unités phraséologiques dans les dictionnaires traditionnels présente des failles non négligeables. Nous avons présenté uniquement les ambiguïtés concernant le positionnement à partir d'une unité lexicale spécifique, et nous n'allons pas traiter ici les problèmes qui peuvent toucher soit à leur définition ou glose, soit à l'emploi d'un indicateur métalinguistique approprié, pour lesquels nous renvoyons aux études de Tutin (2005) et Frassi (2017).

C'est pour toutes ces limites que, pour nous, à partir d'une définition de *phrasème*, et d'une modélisation théorique plus stricte de ce type d'entité lexicale, il est possible de parvenir à une description lexicographique donnant lieu à une représentation non seulement plus conforme à la nature de l'unité phraséologique, mais également plus intuitive, directe et immédiate, tant du point de vue du repérage de la locution que de l'accès à son sens.

#### **4 Deux notions lexicales à la rescousse : *collocation et locution***

Comme le rappelle Mel'čuk (2013, 129), il existe des unités lexicales de type *lexies* qui se manifestent dans toutes les langues et qui sont pré-confectionnées : ces unités lexicales, que Mel'čuk propose d'appeler *phrasèmes*, ne peuvent pas être générées librement par les locuteurs ; par exemple, SOUPE POPULAIRE ne peut pas être remplacée par \*SOUPE PLEBÉIENNE ou \*BOUILLON POPULAIRE. Si cela n'est pas possible, c'est parce que les phrasèmes ont un ensemble de propriétés syntaxiques et sémantiques qui les distinguent des syntagmes libres. Or, il n'existe pas qu'un seul type de phrasème, car ces propriétés ne s'appliquent pas de la même manière à tous les types d'entités lexicales multilexémiques.

Comme nous venons de le voir, dans certains types d'unités phraséologiques, connues sous le nom de *locutions*, les éléments qui les composent sont irremplaçables ; en outre, du point de vue syntaxique, il est impossible d'insérer quoi que ce soit à l'intérieur de ce type d'unité phraséologique. Et, finalement, leur signifié n'est pas toujours compositionnel.

Du point de vue de l'apprenant, et à partir du degré de transparence-opacité d'une locution, nous pourrions distinguer, d'une part, des locutions dont le degré d'opacité est plutôt élevé, par exemple SOUPE AU LAIT : dans ce cas le signifié ('coléreux') n'a rien à voir ni avec le signifié de SOUPE ni avec le signifié de LAIT. De l'autre, il existe des locutions dont le degré d'opacité est moins élevé, comme dans SOUPE POPULAIRE : cette locution ne désigne pas, à vrai dire, un type particulier de soupe ni une recette spécifique

liée à la soupe ; il désigne, par métonymie, un organisme qui offre des repas gratuits aux indigents. Ainsi, son signifié se laisse plus facilement deviner par rapport au cas précédent.

Un autre type d'unité phraséologique présente deux composantes, dont l'une est choisie librement par le locuteur et l'autre est choisie en fonction de la première composante pour exprimer un signifié donné. Ce type d'unité phraséologique est communément connu sous le nom de *collocation*<sup>2</sup>. Dans la collocation, l'élément choisi librement par le locuteur est appelé *base* alors que l'élément choisi en fonction de la base pour exprimer un signifié donné est appelé *collocatif*. Prenons l'exemple de *arriver comme un cheveu sur la soupe* : la lexie *arriver* est choisie librement par le locuteur qui, pour exprimer un signifié donné par rapport à cette lexie (un sens connoté négativement qui correspond plus ou moins à 'mal à propos') associe une expression toute faite (*comme un cheveu sur la soupe*). Ces types de phrasèmes diffèrent essentiellement des locutions par plusieurs aspects. D'abord ils se composent de deux éléments, alors que la locution est un seul et unique élément. Ensuite, l'un de ces deux éléments est choisi librement par le locuteur alors que l'autre est déjà tout prêt dans la langue pour s'associer avec une autre lexie : la locution, en revanche, est indécomposable. Finalement, l'association entre les deux éléments de ce deuxième type de phrasèmes n'est pas obligatoire : on peut dire en français *il est arrivé comme un cheveu sur la soupe* ou *il est arrivé mal à propos*. Inversement, dans une locution, puisqu'il s'agit d'un bloc unique, il est impossible de remplacer quoi que ce soit (voir l'exemple de SOUPE POPULAIRE plus haut). Remarquons que la partie figée de ce type de phrasème (COMME UN CHEVEU SUR LA SOUPE) – qui correspond à une locution – ne peut se combiner avec n'importe quelle lexie du français. Ainsi, on ne pourrait jamais dire *\*s'emporter comme un cheveu sur la soupe* ou *\*arriver comme une soupe au lait*<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Pour la notion de *collocation* voir aussi : Hausmann 1989 ; Béjoint / Thoiron 1992 ; Tutin 1995 ; Grossmann / Tutin 2002 ; Grossmann / Tutin 2003 ; Hausmann / Blumenthal 2006.

<sup>3</sup> Nous tenons à souligner également que, dans le cadre du présent article, nous traitons uniquement de collocations du français dont la base se situe à gauche et le collocatif – qui a un caractère locutionnel – se situe à droite. Il existe toutefois d'autres types de collocations (comme par exemple *assister à un exposé*) dans lesquelles l'ordre entre la base et le collocatif est inversé et le collocatif n'a pas les propriétés d'une locution.

## 5 Deux modélisations lexicographiques « modèles »

Les propriétés des différents types de phrasèmes constituent ainsi un prérequis du lexicographe pour leur modélisation dans n'importe quel outil lexicographique.

Du point de vue de la LEC, la locution constitue une unité lexicale à part entière, une *lexie* à proprement parler. Elle jouit donc du même traitement que les autres entrées lexicales : pour la LEC, une locution, en effet, fait l'objet d'un article lexicographique et, si l'on considère un dictionnaire dans le sens traditionnel du terme, elle rentrerait de droit dans sa nomenclature et serait soumise à un traitement lexicographique analogue à celui qui est réservé aux autres entrées lexicales.

Cela permet ainsi de résoudre les nombreux problèmes et ambiguïtés qui concernent le traitement des locutions dans les dictionnaires – tant bilingues que monolingues – et que nous avons analysés plus haut.

Pour ce qui est du traitement des collocations, la question se complique du moment que la collocation n'est pas une *lexie* à part entière et qu'elle est modélisée par la LEC via le système des fonctions lexicales. Celles-ci ne concernent pas uniquement les collocations : plus globalement, elles rendent compte des liens syntagmatiques et paradigmatiques les plus récurrents entre *lexies* dans la majorité des langues naturelles (voir Mel'čuk 1996, 38) et sont formalisées au moyen de la formule traditionnelle de la fonction au sens mathématique du terme –  $f(x) = y$  – où les deux variables, par transposition au domaine de la lexicologie, sont associées à deux *lexies* d'une langue,  $L_1$  et  $L_2$ .

La fonction lexicale **Magn** est un exemple de fonction lexicale syntagmatique qui permet de formaliser la relation entre deux *lexies* dont la seconde est un modificateur – donc un collocatif – de la *lexie*-clé  $L_1$  – la base de la collocation. Le collocatif, dans ce cas, intensifie le sens de sa base. Par exemple, la collocation *s'emporter comme une soupe au lait* est codée de la manière suivante :

**Magn** (*s'emporter*) = *comme une soupe au lait*

Pour la LEC, une collocation, en vertu de ses propriétés syntactico-sémantiques, se prête à être décrite, du point de vue lexicographique, sous l'entrée de l'un de ses constituants, à savoir la base de la collocation, au moyen des fonctions lexicales. Ainsi, la collocation *s'emporter comme une soupe au lait* sera décrite dans l'article consacré à la *lexie* S'EMPORTER par voie d'explicitation de la fonction lexicale **Magn**. La démarche de la LEC constitue, comme nous allons montrer dans la section qui suit, une spécificité du point de vue du traitement des locutions et des collocations,

et ce non seulement du point de vue de leur positionnement dans les articles des dictionnaires, mais également du point de vue de l'explication de leur signifié.

## 6 Le Réseau Lexical du Français (RL-fr)

### 6.1 Présentation de la base de données

Base de données conçue dans le cadre de la LEC, le RL-fr « is similar to a lexical system [...] : a huge network of lexical units connected by a broad range of lexical links encoding semantic or combinatorial lexical relations » (Lux-Pogodalla / Polguère 2011, 55). Les unités lexicales traitées dans le RL-fr sont organisées selon un système de graphes lexicaux, chaque nœud du graphe correspondant à une unité lexicale. L'ensemble du réseau tient en vertu des liens qui se tissent entre les nœuds et qui correspondent à des liens syntagmatiques ou paradigmatisés. Pour une présentation détaillée des aspects de la microstructure et de la macrostructure du RL-fr, nous renvoyons à Polguère (2014)<sup>4</sup>.

La conformation du RL-fr s'apparente à la famille de bases de données de type *-Net*, comme par exemple *WordNet* ou *FrameNet*, et propose un traitement lexicographique et une organisation des unités lexicales qui, pour la langue française, n'a pas d'équivalents. En effet, l'organisation par graphes lexicaux permet un affichage du lexique plus intuitif par rapport à celui des dictionnaires traditionnels. Ceux-ci, même dans leur version informatisée, arrivent difficilement à s'émanciper de la dimension linéaire de leurs antécédents en format papier : les unités lexicales s'affichent souvent encore par ordre alphabétique et l'article de dictionnaire se propose dans la même forme que dans n'importe quel dictionnaire traditionnel non numérisé. La nouveauté du RL-fr repose sur une représentation du lexique qui répondrait, selon certaines études (voir Aitchison 2012), à la manière dont notre cerveau organiserait les unités lexicales, c'est-à-dire sous forme de réseau.

Nous tenons à souligner que le RL-fr n'a pas été conçu en premier lieu à des fins pédagogiques. En tant que base de données, il se prête à plusieurs exploitations en linguistique, notamment en lexicologie et en lexicographie. Néanmoins, le modèle d'organisation lexicale qu'il propose, puisqu'il repose sur les principes de la LEC, à travers l'encodage de liens de fonctions lexicales, peut s'avérer fort utile pour élaborer des fiches destinées à

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<sup>4</sup> Depuis septembre 2017 le RL-fr est disponible à libre accès à partir du site <https://hdl.handle.net/11403/lexical-system-fr/v1>.



l'enseignement structuré du vocabulaire et, notamment, à ce sous-ensemble du vocabulaire représenté par les unités phraséologiques.

En effet, les unités lexicales recherchées – qu'il s'agisse d'une locution (une seule unité lexicale) ou d'une collocation (deux unités lexicales distinctes) – s'affichent avec leur entourage lexical – à savoir l'ensemble des lexies, plus ou moins proches, qui nouent avec l'unité phraséologique de liens syntagmatiques et paradigmatiques.

Dans les paragraphes qui suivent nous présentons quelques exemples qui illustrent les avantages d'un affichage par graphe lexical comme celui du RL-fr.

## 6.2 Quelques exemples

Quelques exemples vont nous aider à mieux illustrer le fonctionnement du RL-fr ainsi que ses avantages : nous avons choisi de présenter une locution (SOUPE AU LAIT) et une collocation (*s'emporter comme une soupe au lait*).

### 6.2.1 La locution : SOUPE AU LAIT

Comme nous l'avons vu, SOUPE AU LAIT est une locution nominale qui n'a pas d'équivalent proche et immédiatement accessible en italien.

Voyons comment elle se présente dans le RL-fr :

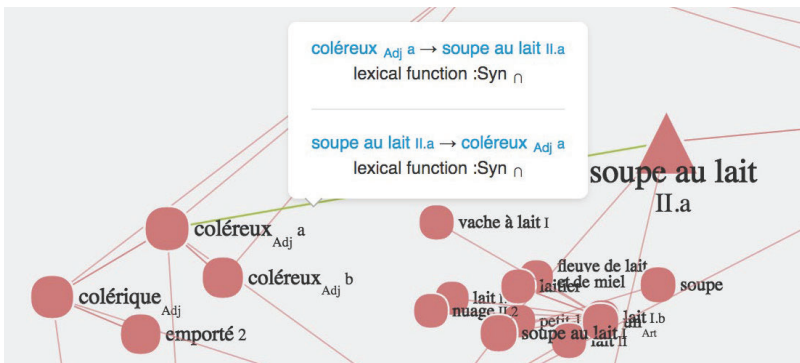


Image.1

Ainsi, SOUPE AU LAIT correspond à un seul nœud. Il est possible d'explorer son entourage pour essayer d'avoir accès à son signifié : un lien paradigmatique (synonymie) pointe vers le synonyme COLÉREUX, qui permet de saisir le sens de la locution.

Un affichage de ce type présente plusieurs avantages pour la locution :

- l'utilisateur, une fois qu'il a compris la nature de la locution – pour ce faire un passage préalable par des notions métalinguistiques comme *locution*, *lexie*, *lexème*, etc. est indispensable – ne se posera plus la question de l'enregistrement sous l'un des éléments de cette unité lexicale complexe (par exemple, pour SOUPE AU LAIT, le questionnement autour du positionnement sous l'article SOUPE ou sous l'article LAIT ne sera plus pertinent) et la recherche sera donc aisée ;
- l'accès au sens sera également plus direct et plus intuitif. La proximité d'une locution avec une autre lexie qui a un lien paradigmatique (synonymie) avec celle-ci pourra aider l'utilisateur à comprendre le sens de ce type de phrasème ;
- Pour valider son hypothèse, l'utilisateur pourra activer le lien qui relie la locution avec le lexème ou l'expression qu'il a intuitivement repérée comme synonyme : dans ce cas, le type de fonction lexicale s'affiche à l'écran ; par exemple, si on active le lien qui relie COLÉREUX à SOUPE AU LAIT, on aura l'affichage de la fonction lexicale **Syn.**

### 6.2.2 La collocation : *s'emporter comme une soupe au lait*

Cette collocation présente, pour un apprenant italophone, la même difficulté que la locution SOUPE AU LAIT : aucun équivalent n'est immédiatement repérable en italien. Voici son affichage dans le RL-fr :

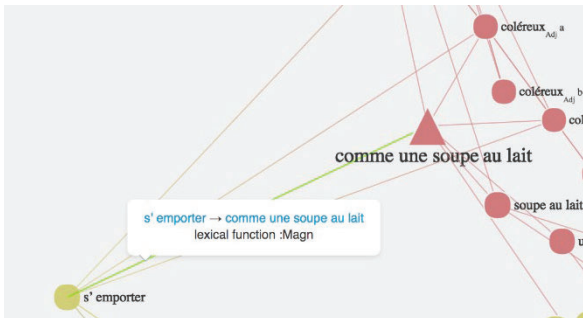


Image. 2

Dans l’affichage du réseau, la collocation ne reçoit pas une définition lexicographique à proprement parler ; son signifié est expliqué par l’entremise des fonctions lexicales. En plus des avantages en termes de recherche de l’unité phraséologique, qui sont les mêmes que pour la locution, plusieurs autres avantages peuvent être soulignés dans la représentation des collocations par le RL-fr :

- la collocation s’affiche comme un ensemble de deux composantes, une base et un collocatif, dont chacune constitue un nœud. Ces deux composantes sont distinctes, mais liées par un lien syntagmatique codé par une fonction lexicale ;
- la collocation est une affinité entre une base et un collocatif qui suit une orientation bien précise : elle va de la base (indépendante) au collocatif (qui dépend de la base). Cette propriété de la collocation est représentée par l’affichage au moyen de flèches orientées allant de la base au collocatif ;
- l’accès au sens de la partie opaque de la collocation – à savoir le collocatif – a lieu à travers le lien de fonction lexicale (dans ce cas il s’agit d’un **Magn**).

## Conclusion

Différentes approches d’enseignement (traduction/comparaison ; métaphore conceptuelle ; étymologique) peuvent être mises en œuvre en classe de langue pour travailler les unités phraséologiques, tel que nous l’avons mis en évidence en première partie de cet article. Si ces approches sont susceptibles de favoriser un meilleur apprentissage, leur point faible est qu’elles présentent rarement les propriétés formelles des unités phraséologiques qui font l’objet d’un apprentissage et qu’elles ne distinguent pas locution et collocation. Dans cet article, nous avons voulu illustrer l’importance de distinguer ces deux phénomènes lexicaux afin de mieux en comprendre la nature, de même que le traitement et la description qui leur sont réservés dans le dictionnaire, un outil indispensable dans le processus d’apprentissage d’une langue première ou seconde.

Cette mise en évidence des propriétés des locutions et des collocations répond également à l’objectif de didactiser ce sous-ensemble du vocabulaire représenté par les unités phraséologiques. Ainsi, l’enseignant qui veut constituer une banque d’expressions à enseigner (afin de pallier l’absence d’exercices sur les expressions dans les manuels), pourra distinguer les expressions qui correspondent à une seule unité lexicale (locution) et celles qui contiennent deux unités lexicales (collocations). Rappelons que les

critères de sélection des locutions ou collocations à enseigner devraient également s'appuyer sur la fréquence des unités en question, leur transparence, leur convenance et leur similarité avec la langue première de l'apprenant.

Ensuite, une consultation de ressources lexicales qui distinguent clairement locutions et collocations, telles le RL-fr, pourra compléter la démarche d'enseignement et soutenir l'apprentissage, comme nous l'avons illustré dans cette contribution. En effet, par l'encodage des informations lexicales sous forme de réseau, le RL-fr est susceptible de modéliser le fonctionnement même du lexique mental d'un apprenant et donc, de favoriser la rétention de nouveaux mots ou expressions. Cependant, une démarche systématique d'enseignement à partir du modèle du RL-fr demande encore à être développée.

Pour assurer ce développement, plusieurs éléments doivent être pris en compte. En tout premier lieu, l'enseignant doit maîtriser les notions métalinguistiques en jeu dans l'enseignement des unités phraséologiques, ce qui souligne les besoins de formation des enseignants de langue en matière d'enseignement du vocabulaire. De plus, l'enseignant doit consacrer un certain temps à la planification et à l'animation des activités visant l'apprentissage des locutions et des collocations. Il peut pour cela s'appuyer sur les critères de sélection des locutions et sur les approches d'enseignement présentées plus tôt, en y ajoutant la perspective proposée dans cet article, soit la mise en réseau des unités ciblées, à partir de la consultation d'ouvrages lexicographiques ou bien du RL-fr. La récente mise en ligne publique de cette ressource ouvre d'ailleurs la voie à de véritables travaux d'adaptation pédagogiques et de mises à l'essai en classe, pour favoriser un apprentissage structuré des unités phraséologiques.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE

INSEGNANDO FRASEOLOGISMI  
RUSSI AGLI ITALOFONI:  
APPLICAZIONI PRATICHE

ALINA MASLA

**Abstract**

L2 learners must be encouraged to integrate phraseological units into speech. As phraseology is acquired, language learners face the specificity of the language, thus getting closer to its speakers' culture.

This paper presents methodological techniques for teaching Russian phraseology to Italian speakers. The techniques were tried out on 16 fourth-year Italian-speaking (B1+/B2 level) University of Turin students, who were engaged in activities aimed at stimulating the formation and development of intercultural competence. The learners worked on interlanguage phraseological correspondences and usage with the help of the Russian National Corpus and different types of dictionaries. The RNC is useful because it supplies the extended meaning and context of use of phrasemes. It was observed that activities based on the use of images, including illustrations found on Instagram, and didactic games seems to facilitate learning and encourage the students to be creative.

**1 Introduzione**

L'utilizzo dei fraseologismi aiuta il parlante a dare una particolare carica espressiva all'enunciato (sdrammatizzare, offendere, divertire, fare complimenti ed enfatizzare). Il docente di russo L2/LS deve dunque prevedere di



includere le sequenze fraseologiche nel materiale curricolare in quanto si tratta una parte organica della competenza di un madrelingua.

Durante la mini-sperimentazione didattica, svolta presso l'Università di Torino, agli studenti con competenza linguistica corrispondente al livello B2 del CEFR sono state trasmesse conoscenze sulle peculiarità, sui criteri di classificazione e sull'etimologia delle unità fraseologiche. Una particolare attenzione è stata dedicata alla semantica. Inoltre, sono state affrontate le problematiche relative alla traduzione.

## 2 Fraseologismi: Studi e Classificazioni

Con il *Trattato* di Bally (1909) nasce una nuova disciplina linguistica, la *fraseologia*. La fraseologia è “tutto ciò che va al di là della parola singola e della parola composta, che presenta una certa fissità e a volte scarsa trasparenza semantica” (Marello 1996: 202). Le idee di Bally vengono sviluppate dai linguisti sovietici, Vinogradov in particolare. Vinogradov (1946, 1977) analizza le combinazioni fisse introducendo il termine *fraseologičeskaja edinica* (unità fraseologica).

Esiste un ampio numero di classificazioni dei fraseologismi; in particolare citiamo i linguisti sovietici (Vinogradov 1946, 1977; Šanskij 1964; Archangel'skij 1964, 1966; Šmelev 1977; Černyševa 1979, 1980; il linguista russo-canadese Mel'čuk 1995).

Nel presente contributo abbiamo adottato una classificazione aggiornata proposta da Baranov e Dobvol'skij (2016, 69):

- espressioni idiomatiche (*старость не радость* ‘la vecchiaia è una brutta bestia’);
- collocazioni (*проливной дождь* ‘pioggia torrenziale’);
- proverbi (*не говори “зон”, пока не перепрыгнешь* ‘non dire gatto se non ce l’hai nel sacco’);
- fraseologismi grammaticali (*во что бы то ни стало* ‘a tutti i costi’);
- fraseologismi – costruzioni (*не X, а X-ище(а): не красота, а красотуща* ‘non è bello, ma bellissimo’);
- cliché situazionali (*доброе утро* ‘buongiorno’).

Queste ultime due tipologie non sono state incluse nell’attività didattica.

### 3 Fraseologia contrastiva e didattica delle lingue straniere

La fraseologia contrastiva si pone come obiettivo l'individuazione delle somiglianze e diversità tra i fraseologismi appartenenti a due o più lingue (Baranov / Dobrovol'skij 2016, 36), il che permette di mostrare le variazioni nell'interpretazione di frammenti della realtà da parte di parlanti di culture diverse. Una parte dei lavori in questo campo sono concentrati sull'equivalenza dei fraseologismi in più lingue.

Lo studio contrastivo delle unità fraseologiche è la base linguistica della fraseodidattica di una lingua straniera (Lewis 2000; Meunier 2008), che permette di osservare le differenze, di pronosticare le interferenze e di interpretare correttamente il materiale linguistico. Secondo Velázquez (2012) le componenti culturali e storiche dei fraseologismi permettono all'apprendente di immergersi nella cultura della lingua seconda; inoltre le unità fraseologiche comportano "expressiveness and lexical enrichment". Concordiamo con Velázquez (2012, 2) quando afferma che "phraselogical units have a high frequency of use in the discourse and therefore they must be gradually learnt as a part of the lexicon of the foreign language".

L'apprendimento di espressioni idiomatiche e di collocazioni ristrette<sup>1</sup> rappresenta un ostacolo per gli allievi che porta alla produzione di enunciati solo parzialmente accettabili o completamente errati. Spesso gli apprendenti sono prigionieri della traduzione letterale sia dalla lingua madre che dalla lingua straniera oppure commettono errori dovuti all'interferenza. Tali errori nascono dal mancato riconoscimento delle costruzioni fraseologiche. Nonostante gli strumenti di consultazione (es. dizionari, corpora, Internet) a disposizione degli studenti, talora manca l'insegnamento mirato dei fraseologismi.

Saper usare i fraseologismi è una delle competenze chiave per apprendere qualsiasi L2/LS. Tramite l'uso delle unità fraseologiche si impara a riflettere sulla specificità del linguaggio, ci si avvicina alla cultura ed alla storia di un popolo.

### 4 Fraseologismi russi e apprendenti italofoeni

Lo studio del russo L2 non sarebbe completo senza il riferimento alla fraseologia: le sequenze fraseologiche occupano un posto importante nel vocabolario di un russofono e la loro scarsa conoscenza potrebbe comportare delle incomprensioni nel discorso sia scritto che parlato. Ne consegue che gli studenti stranieri vanno sensibilizzati all'uso adeguato dei

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<sup>1</sup> A proposito delle collocazioni ristrette, rimandiamo a Marelli (1996).

modi di dire e devono essere spinti a integrarli a livello pratico. Gli italiani amano esprimersi coloritamente e si sentono limitati nel modo di esprimersi, se non conoscono i modi di dire della lingua straniera.

La fraseologia richiede apprendimento consapevole e organizzazione strutturata del processo didattico. Per un uso corretto delle unità fraseologiche è necessario capire bene il contesto e le condizioni extralinguistiche, così come conoscere l'uso linguistico.

Nel *Minimo lessicale di lingua russa come lingua straniera* vengono introdotti 146 fraseologismi e frasi fatte al livello B2 (Andrjušina 2015, 159–160). Tuttavia i *cliché situazionali* (formule di augurio o di saluto) vengono insegnati sin dall'inizio. I manuali di lingua russa L2/LS generalmente sono carenti di fraseologismi.

Nella fase iniziale dello studio dei fraseologismi può essere utile selezionare fraseologismi brevi e con un *equivalente totale* nella lingua madre. L'insegnamento deve essere graduale, con la selezione delle unità fraseologiche che rientrano sia nella competenza attiva che nella competenza passiva. Ogni fraseologismo richiede un'analisi dell'aspetto semantico, pragmatico ed etimologico. Inoltre, non andrebbe trascurata l'identificazione del fraseologismo, cioè la capacità di sapere distinguere se la locuzione è un fraseologismo oppure no.

Per imparare i fraseologismi russi gli studenti possono fare ricorso ai dizionari: classici in formato cartaceo (bilingui, monolingui, fraseologici); digitali, che comprendono dizionari off-line e on-line, su CD-ROM oppure sotto forma di applicazione per tablet o smartphone<sup>2</sup>. Tuttavia i dizionari non sono sempre gli strumenti migliori nella decodifica dell'espressione idiomatica. Spesso nel formato cartaceo, per motivi di spazio, sono presenti un numero limitato di fraseologismi o l'unità fraseologica viene riportata soltanto sotto un lemma, limitazione che non dovrebbe valere per le versioni digitali ed a maggior ragione per quelle on-line. Kovalev (2014) riporta quasi sempre il fraseologismo nelle voci di ogni elemento. Per esempio troviamo *валять дурака* sotto la voce del verbo *валять* e del sostantivo *дурак*:

**валять** [val'át'] imperf. [...] *в дурака* battere la fiacca [...] <sup>3</sup>  
**дурак** [durák] m. [...] *валять дурака* battere la fiacca (*бездельничать*);  
 fare lo stupido <sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Riportiamo alcuni siti utili per la didattica del russo LS in un corso di fraseologia: [http://www.otrezal.ru/phrasological\\_dictionary/](http://www.otrezal.ru/phrasological_dictionary/), <https://phraseology.academic.ru>, <http://frazbook.ru>.

<sup>3</sup> Qui riportiamo frammenti delle voci.

<sup>4</sup> Il significato *fare lo stupido* non viene riportato sotto la voce del verbo *валять*.

Per l'apprendimento sistematico delle sequenze fraseologiche andrebbero usati manuali specifici sulla fraseologia russa<sup>5</sup>. La maggior parte di tali manuali vengono adottati per l'insegnamento nei paesi russofoni e richiedono un lavoro notevole da parte del docente di lingua per poter essere sfruttati in Italia.

Il manuale di Minakova (2008), *Sovremennaja russkaja idiomatika*, include le 125 espressioni idiomatiche più diffuse nella lingua russa suddivise per campi semantici. A nostro parere può essere parzialmente usato a partire dal livello B1. I fraseologismi vengono inseriti nei testi dialogici per spiegare meglio la situazione comunicativa d'uso. Tutti gli esercizi (matching, esercizi di completamento, di sostituzione e di produzione) sono basati sulla coppia domanda-risposta o sul dialogo, il che sicuramente aiuta la comprensione sia dell'espressione idiomatica che del contesto generale e favorisce lo sviluppo della competenza socio-pragmatica. Minakova dedica attenzione alla posizione sintattica del fraseologismo nell'enunciato e alle possibili limitazioni nell'uso. Ogni unità è dotata di un mini-dizionario monolingue dei fraseologismi usati e alla fine del manuale troviamo un mini-dizionario etimologico e le soluzioni agli esercizi. Nella unità supplementare sono presentati gli esercizi che implicano una riflessione linguistica più approfondita: *sostituire nel seguente contesto le unità fraseologiche evidenziate con sinonimi oppure dissentire con l'interlocutore usando nelle risposte unità fraseologiche contrarie a quelle evidenziate*. Troviamo particolarmente interessante l'esercizio a scelta multipla (i) che implica un'argomentazione della propria scelta (Minakova 2008, 88) e l'esercizio (ii) che propone di leggere i dialoghi tratti dai film e di capire i significati dei nuovi fraseologismi dal contesto (Minakova 2008, 94), v. Tabella 1.

Il manuale di Basko (2003), *Russkij jazyk kak inostrannyj. Russkie frazeologizmy – legko i interesno*, si concentra sull'assimilazione della parte teorica e sul riconoscimento dei fraseologismi. Per il considerevole apparato teorico potrebbe essere utilizzato a partire dal livello B2. Basko include nella sua opera 250 fraseologismi uniti in gruppi tematici. Ogni unità inizia con un testo teorico che spiega con numerosi esempi il significato e le particolarità d'uso dei fraseologismi. La parte teorica è seguita da domande sulla comprensione della teoria e da esercizi di complessità crescente (scelta multipla, matching, esercizi di sostituzione e di produzione), mirati al riconoscimento dei fraseologismi nei testi scritti. Il manuale di Basko è dotato di un mini-dizionario monolingue di fraseologismi russi.

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<sup>5</sup> *Lessico russo. Lessicografia e fraseologia russa. Teoria e pratica* di Poutsileva (2003) è un manuale specifico per italofoeni.

Какую из реплик-реакций в правой колонке вы выбрали бы в ответ на высказывание в левой колонке? Аргументируйте свой выбор.	
– Ну нет у него способностей к этой работе, ну скажите ему об этом, пусть сам уходит.	а) – Да я ему уже об этом <u>все уши прожужжал</u> . б) – Да у меня всё как-то <u>язык не поворачивается</u> , всё-таки у него семья, дети. в) – Да всё это <u>выеденного яйца не стоит</u> .

Tabella 1. Esercizio (i)

Прочитайте диалоги из фильмов. Постарайтесь понять значение новых фразеологизмов и устойчивых синтаксических структур из контекста. Укажите, с какими из данных ниже значений они соотносятся.
Диалог 1 (из к/ф «Маленькая Вера», реж. В. Пичул, 1988)
- [Мать Веры хочет обмануть милицию.] А я скажу, что твой Серёжа сам на отца с ножиком кинулся. - [Виктор] Mam, ну что ты говоришь, ты понимаешь, что срок тебе за это будет! - Да никакого срока мне не будет! Я их так запутаю, что они <b>концов не найдут!</b>

Tabella 2. Esercizio (ii)

Il manuale *Russkie frazeologizmy: Uznaëm i Učim* di Čepkova, Martynenko e Stepanjan (2015) comprende più di 250 fraseologismi divisi tematicamente in 11 unità, più un'unità teorica all'inizio del brano. Le unità iniziano con un testo su un tema specifico arricchito da fraseologismi in cui si spiega il loro significato e l'uso corretto. Il blocco di 11 esercizi, che seguono il testo, riguarda il riconoscimento di fraseologismi, la correzione di errori nella struttura e nell'uso, la scelta multipla, il matching, gli esercizi di completamento, di sostituzione e di produzione.

Un'ulteriore fonte per l'apprendimento dei fraseologismi, che occorre valorizzare per le opportunità che offre, è Internet: i siti social (es. Instagram) per le immagini accompagnate dal significato e da una breve etimologia del fraseologismo a loro associato (v. sotto), i siti dei corpora (es. Corpus Nazionale della Lingua Russa)<sup>6</sup> per una ricerca linguistica autonoma, i siti di video (es. Youtube) per le sitcom come database

<sup>6</sup> Il Corpus Nazionale della Lingua Russa (RNC) è consultabile sul sito <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/index.html>.

multimediale di fraseologismi. Utilizzando le fonti di Internet elencate, abbiamo pensato ad una mini-sperimentazione didattica.

## 5 Attività didattiche sperimentate

Padroneggiare i fraseologismi di una lingua straniera è come avere “una patente di cultura” (Marello 1996, 202).

L’uso corretto dei fraseologismi aumenta il corredo lessicale dell’allievo sia quantitativamente che qualitativamente. Nella selezione delle sequenze fraseologiche vanno considerati vari aspetti: l’importanza comunicativa del fraseologismo, la conoscenza da parte degli allievi del materiale lessico-grammaticale, il livello di padronanza di russo L2, etc. Inoltre i fraseologismi possono essere suddivisi in obbligatori e facoltativi, e venire raggruppati secondo campi tematici (Jarancev 1997, 6).

Non c’è un’unica metodologia per l’insegnamento della fraseologia. L’acquisizione delle collocazioni è sia attività ricettiva (riconoscere il fraseologismo nell’enunciato scritto o orale), che produttiva (utilizzare il fraseologismo nel contesto di espressione scritta o orale). Perciò abbiamo pensato ad una serie di esercizi che potrebbero favorire sia l’apprendimento che l’uso dei fraseologismi. Le principali motivazioni che portano alla scelta degli esercizi sono:

- la ricerca di un modo divertente di fare fraseologia;
- l’accento sull’apprendimento sia autonomo che in gruppo;
- la possibilità di riflettere sulla lingua;
- il focus sui bisogni comunicativi;
- lo sviluppo della competenza comunicativa.

L’obiettivo della ricerca è descrivere alcuni problemi riscontrati nell’insegnamento della fraseologia russa agli studenti universitari italofoeni. A tale proposito è stato fondamentale l’insegnamento all’uso dei dizionari e del RNC. Nei limiti della sperimentazione didattica abbiamo preparato esercizi orientati all’assimilazione dei concetti fraseologici e alla formazione delle abilità nell’uso di fraseologismi nel discorso.

Si è cercato di mettere sempre al centro lo studente, pianificando le azioni sulla base dei suoi bisogni, per aiutarlo a prendere consapevolezza delle sue necessità. Siamo partiti dalle esigenze linguistiche degli studenti, basandoci sui fraseologismi più usati da loro nella lingua italiana. A ogni studente è stato richiesto di scrivere 10 fraseologismi (espressioni idiomatiche, collocazioni e proverbi) italiani che utilizza spesso e di inviarli

al docente via mail. Dopo una selezione dei fraseologismi ricevuti, effettuata sulla base della frequenza, è stata creata una lista finale di 60 fraseologismi.

In classe agli allievi è stato chiesto di spiegare i fraseologismi della lista, immaginando di doverli presentare ad un amico straniero. Gli studenti, senza nessuna indicazione del docente, hanno usato il contesto per spiegare il significato dei fraseologismi e hanno poi lavorato a casa per trovare gli *equivalenti* russi. Gli studenti si sono confrontati per la prima volta con il problema delle somiglianze e delle differenze nei fraseologismi delle due lingue. La scoperta autonoma di questo problema porta all'apprendimento cosciente dei fraseologismi.

Le sequenze fraseologiche raramente rimangono invariate nella lingua d'arrivo, perciò deve essere trovato un equivalente funzionale. Di seguito, basandoci sulla classificazione degli equivalenti fraseologici di Korhonen (2007, 586), proponiamo un esercizio (1) da fare in classe sotto la guida del docente (v. Tabella 3).

Agli studenti viene chiesto di utilizzare il RNC per una ricerca dei fraseologismi russi già inseriti nel contesto. La ricerca nel corpus principale<sup>7</sup> ha portato ad esempi non sempre felici a causa della confusione dei sintagmi liberi (a) con le locuzioni fisse (b):

- (a) Психологический путь вполне понятен: свеча, горящая днём, вызывает образ похорон, покойника, смерти. [...] На первом карандашном эскизе (1878) эта свеча *горит в руках* рыжего стрельца, являющегося узлом всей композиции. [М. А. Волошин. Суриков (1916)]
- (b) Это был высокий статный молодец с типичным русским лицом, только что опущенной небольшою бородкой. [...] За что ни возьмется, всякая работа *горит в руках*. Он и механик, и мельник, и бухгалтер, и все, что хочешь. Никакое дело от рук не отобьется. [...] [Д. Н. Мамин-Сибиряк. Хлеб (1895)]

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<sup>7</sup> Il corpus principale del RNC comprende testi letterari moderni (dalla seconda metà del XX secolo all'inizio del XXI secolo) e testi letterari più antichi (dalla metà del XVIII secolo alla prima metà del XX secolo).

Trovate gli equivalenti nelle due lingue. Distribuite le coppie dei fraseologismi in quattro tipi di equivalenti come nell'esempio.			
быть не в своей тарелке ума не приложу умывать руки легко отделаться родиться в рубашке делить счет поровну крокодиловы слезы водить за нос кого-либо как кошка с собакой не разлей вода плясать под чужую дудку быть связанным по рукам и ногам		avere le mani legate lavarsene le mani essere culo e camicia cadere in piedi nascere con la camicia non sapere dove sbattere la testa essere come un pesce fuor d'acqua essere come cani e gatti essere una marionetta lacrime di coccodrillo prendere in giro qualcuno pagare alla romana	
<i>полный эквивалент</i> equivalente completo	<i>частичный эквивалент</i> equivalente parziale	<i>фразаологическая аналогия</i> equivalente funzionale	<i>безэквивалентный фразаологизм</i> fraseologismo senza equivalente
<i>золотые руки</i> mani d'oro	<i>играть с огнём</i> scherzare con il fuoco	<i>лезть из кожи вон</i> fare i salti mortali	<i>сладкое ничегонеделание</i> --

Tabella 3. Esercizio (1)

Facendo notare agli studenti questa problematica, li guidiamo a un uso più attento del RNC. Un miglioramento nel riconoscimento e nella decodifica dei fraseologismi si può ottenere con il *contextual guessing*, che stimola il ragionamento autonomo dello studente, e con le tecniche di discussione in classe. Si constata che quanto più gli apprendenti si allenano nella spiegazione tanto più coscientemente imparano.

Un modo appropriato per la presentazione del fraseologismo è osservarlo in un contesto già esistente. Una volta individuato il fraseologismo, il passo successivo consiste nell'inserirlo in un nuovo contesto. Si chiede agli studenti di costruire i propri esempi per iscritto e di inviare il compito via mail al docente, affinché questi possa tenere sotto controllo il processo di apprendimento e intervenire se necessario con esercizi *ad hoc* per colmare le lacune.

Se per il contesto d'uso ci si riferisce ad un corpus, per l'etimologia, oltre ai dizionari, si può sfruttare uno strumento attuale come Instagram. Su Instagram nel campo di ricerca, per esempio, è sufficiente scrivere l'hashtag *#фразаологизмы*. Per questo specifico hashtag compaiono almeno 688 occorrenze (in data 13.05.2017, <https://www.instagram.com/explore/tags/фразаологизмы/>).



I fraseologismi sono tendenzialmente accompagnati da un'immagine, una spiegazione semantica e un'informazione etimologica. L'uso di Instagram è anche un modo innovativo per memorizzare i fraseologismi nuovi poco per volta: iscrivendosi ad una pagina Instagram sui fraseologismi di tanto in tanto appaiono le notifiche sui nuovi fraseologismi disponibili.<sup>8</sup> In modo naturale lo studente è coinvolto nella fraseologia russa. Riportiamo l'esempio di due profili Instagram e il modo nel quale sono presentati i fraseologismi:

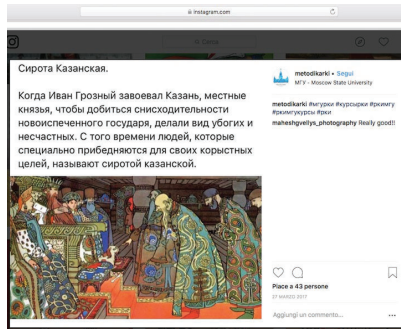


Figura 1. Profilo Instagram di @metodikarki,  
<https://www.instagram.com/metodikarki/>

L'immagine viene percepita in modo positivo e ludico dagli studenti e questo spesso aiuta a creare condizioni favorevoli per l'apprendimento linguistico. Proponiamo il seguente esercizio (2) sull'etimologia sfruttando i dati presi dalla pagina Instagram sulla didattica del Russo come lingua straniera del Centro di Lingua Russa dell'Università Statale di Mosca (v. figura 3).

<sup>8</sup> La pagina Instagram deve essere affidabile, cioè controllata e seguita anche dal docente o addirittura creata dallo stesso, in modo da non correre il rischio che lo studente venga a contatto con fraseologismi manipolati a scopi espressivi e non sia in grado di riconoscerli.

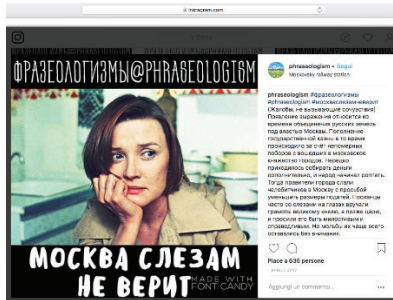


Figura 2. Profilo Instagram di @phraseologism, <https://www.instagram.com/phraseologism/>

<p>Leggete i testi sull'etimologia di alcuni fraseologismi. Associate a ciascuna immagine un fraseologismo con la sua etimologia. Scrivete una storia breve usando almeno 2 di questi fraseologismi.</p>	
<p><b>затрапезный вид</b>                  Во времена Петра I жил купец Затрапезников, который был известен тем, что производил на своей фабрике ткань плохого качества. Иметь затрапезный вид — значит безвкусно и неряшливо одеваться. Как видим, ничего общего с трапезой в этом выражении нет.</p>	
<p><b>как пить дать</b>                  Еще древние славяне считали, что если человек попросит воды, то ни в коем случае нельзя ему отказывать. Это грех. С того времени выражение значит «точно», «несомненно».</p>	



Figura 3. Esercizio (2)

In tal modo lo studente crea un ricordo visivo: associa i dettagli dell'immagine agli elementi del fraseologismo o al fraseologismo intero. L'immagine facilita la comprensione del lessico e innesca la curiosità da parte degli studenti di qualsiasi età. Le combinazioni visive create dall'immagine aiutano a ricordare meglio i fraseologismi.

Non dobbiamo dimenticare che gli allievi potrebbero interpretare l'immagine in modo differente rispetto al docente, per esempio a causa di una diversa prospettiva culturale o di un differente punto di vista.

Alcuni esercizi sono ispirati alla metodologia glottodidattica ludica che non è sempre accolta favorevolmente dagli insegnanti di lingue. Il gioco tuttavia può essere sia divertente che utile per gli allievi, creando un ambiente di apprendimento rilassante e motivante. Lo studente diventa protagonista del proprio processo formativo, in un contesto che gli permette di raggiungere gli obiettivi dell'educazione linguistica in maniera autonoma, consapevole e in un ambiente privo di negatività (Lombardo 2006).

Un'altra attività potrebbe essere quella di mostrare un'immagine<sup>9</sup> allo studente e lasciargli indovinare il fraseologismo, per esempio (3):

<sup>9</sup> Si ringrazia Yana H. per le immagini.

Associate a ciascuna immagine un fraseologismo: *гореть в руках*, *стоять горой*, *пуд соли съесть*, *скатертью дорога*, *ехать зайцем*, *цены кусаются*. Usate il fraseologismo nel contesto. Pensate all'equivalente in italiano.

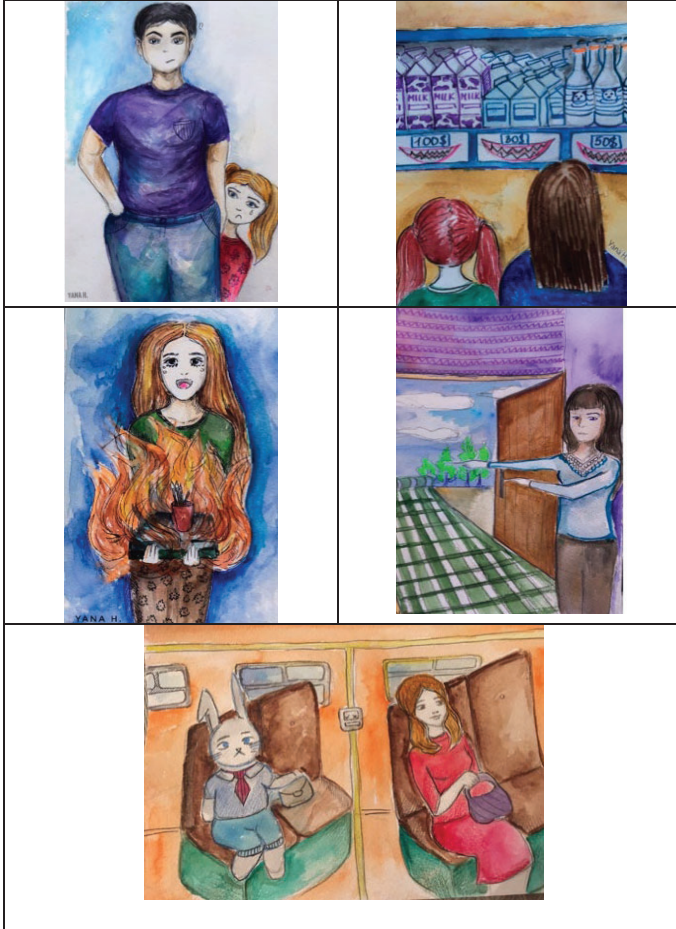


Figura 4. Esercizio (3)

Per valorizzare la funzione comunicativa della lingua proponiamo la creazione di dialoghi che mettano in primo piano i bisogni linguistico-comunicativi dell'apprendente, nonché il suo contesto sociolinguistico. Gli studenti vengono suddivisi in coppie o in gruppi di tre. A ciascuna coppia o gruppo viene assegnata un'immagine e viene chiesto di creare un mini-

dialogo (2-6 frasi) usando un fraseologismo che corrisponde all'immagine. Per consolidare le conoscenze apprese chiediamo agli studenti di scrivere, a casa, un racconto utilizzando almeno 5 fraseologismi imparati.

Ritenendo lo stimolo visivo molto importante nell'insegnamento/apprendimento dei fraseologismi e ispirandoci al dipinto *Proverbi fiamminghi* (1559)<sup>10</sup> di Pieter Bruegel il Vecchio, abbiamo contattato un disegnatore<sup>11</sup> per produrre immagini da utilizzare come stimoli. Si tratta di un'immagine complessa nella quale si intrecciano diverse vicende in un'unica cornice grafica.

Agli studenti italofofoni è stato chiesto di ricavare tutti i fraseologismi possibili dall'immagine. È un esercizio (4) che può essere svolto sia a coppie (o a gruppi) che individualmente; può essere assegnato un limite temporale di circa 10–15 minuti oppure essere svolto in tempo reale senza preparazione.



Figura 5. Esercizio (4)

Abbiamo proposto questo esercizio, sotto forma di gara, in una classe, suddividendo gli studenti in squadre ed assegnando 15 minuti di tempo per individuare tutti i potenziali fraseologismi nascosti. Al termine ciascuna squadra ha elencato un fraseologismo per volta fornendo la propria

<sup>10</sup> Nell'opera *Proverbi fiamminghi* Pieter Bruegel il Vecchio integra 118 proverbi, [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Proverbi\\_fiamminghi](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Proverbi_fiamminghi).

<sup>11</sup> Si ringrazia Victory M. per la disponibilità.

spiegazione e riportando l'eventuale equivalente in italiano. Dopo aver trovato tutti i fraseologismi gli studenti hanno continuato il lavoro in squadre. Successivamente, scegliendo due o tre fraseologismi dall'immagine, ogni squadra ha creato un dialogo. Gli studenti erano molto motivati dalla sfida e divertiti dalle immagini.<sup>12</sup>

La forte interazione con gli altri membri del gruppo permette allo studente di imparare dai compagni. Le attività proposte incoraggiano l'allievo a esprimere la propria creatività ed a sviluppare la fantasia. Il desiderio di superare la sfida, che l'attività comporta, rende più agevole ed entusiasmante anche l'apprendimento di quelle unità fraseologiche più complesse. Attraverso gli esercizi proposti gli studenti interagiscono in un clima lavorativo positivo e stimolante e l'apprendimento diventa così un'esperienza piacevole e significativa.

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<sup>12</sup> Riportiamo le soluzioni dell'esercizio (4): *ждать у моря погоды; два сапога пара; на обиженных воду возят; висеть на телефоне; вставлять палки в колеса; зайти в тупик; как в воду опущенный; кот в мешке; ломать голову; море по колено; ни рыба, ни мясо; палец в рот не клади; пальчики оближешь; потерять голову; собаку съест; сорить деньгами; убить двух зайцев; быть не в своей тарелке; играть с огнем; лезть из кожи вон; умывать руки; родиться в рубашке; водить за нос; плясать под чужую дудку; крокодиловы слёзы; лезть из кожи вон; быть связанным по рукам и ногам.*

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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

IN BILDERN SPRECHEN:  
WERBEKOMMUNIKATE IM UNTERRICHT  
DEUTSCH ALS FREMDSPRACHE

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**Abstract**

As we know, multi-word expressions, especially idiomatic phrasemes, represent a particularly difficult hurdle for foreign language students. Given that phraseological competence can be considered a key skill, in terms of both reception and production, students must be sensitized to and instructed on the acquisition of multi-word expressions from the outset. To achieve this purpose, foreign language teaching must develop appropriate methods and strategies. This is why the following contribution analyses the way in which the graphic quality (*Bildhaftigkeit*) of idiomatic phrasemes, which often contain metaphors, can be harnessed to favor foreign language acquisition. In particular, it will illustrate how advertisements can be used as authentic material in German language lessons with the objective of supporting phraseological competence.

**1 Einleitung**

Zweifellos stellen Phraseme im Allgemeinen und Idiome im Besonderen hochfrequente alltagssprachliche Redemittel dar, mit denen in der geschriebenen sowie in der gesprochenen Sprache unterschiedlichen Kommunikationsbedürfnissen Ausdruck verliehen wird. Insofern muss es ein zentrales Anliegen des Fremdsprachenunterrichts sein, Lernende durch den kontinuierlichen Aufbau phraseologischer Kompetenz auf authentische

Interaktionssituationen vorzubereiten und somit vor einem „Alltagsschock“<sup>1</sup> zu bewahren. Obwohl die phraseodidaktische Forschung hierzu in den letzten Jahrzehnten zahlreiche theoretische und praxisorientierte Impulse gegeben hat (vgl. exemplarisch Ettinger 2011; Hallsteinsdóttir 2011; Simon 2012; Konecny, Hallsteinsdóttir und Kacjan 2013), muss festgestellt werden, dass die Mehrzahl der DaF-Lehrwerke diesem Lernziel auch heute noch nicht gerecht wird (vgl. Valenčič Arh 2015). Diesen scheint oftmals noch die traditionelle Auffassung zu Grunde zu liegen, nach der Idiome für Fremdsprachenlernende nur schwer verständlich und kaum motivierbar sind, weshalb sie günstigstenfalls zum Erwerb passiver Kompetenz auf höherer Niveaustufe als feste Wortverbindung auswendig zu lernen seien. Dieser Haltung widersprechen jüngere Forschungsergebnisse aus der Kognitiven Linguistik, Wahrnehmungspsychologie und Psycholinguistik, nach denen auch idiomatische Phraseme als analysierbare und prinzipiell motivierbare Kombination von Wörtern zu behandeln sind (vgl. Hallsteinsdóttir 2001).

Vor diesem Hintergrund geht der vorliegende Beitrag der Frage nach, inwiefern vor allem die Bildhaftigkeit idiomatischer Phraseme für die Sprachverarbeitung nutzbar gemacht werden kann. Dabei bezieht sich der Begriff Bildhaftigkeit nicht nur auf das konkrete Bild im sprachlichen Ausdruck, sondern auch auf „eine Fähigkeit der Sprecher [...], die Bedeutung von Phraseologismen durch eine visuelle Vorstellung zu motivieren“ (Hallsteinsdóttir 2007, 217). Zu diesem Zweck setzt sich Kapitel 2 mit den für diesen Ansatz grundlegenden Aspekten wie beispielsweise der Bildhaftigkeit, Motiviertheit und der Bedeutung der Bildkomponente auseinander.

Da der anwendungsorientierte Teil dieses Beitrags in Kapitel 4 aufzeigen wird, inwiefern Werbung als authentisches Lehrmaterial zum Erwerb phraseologischer Kompetenz im Sprachunterricht eingesetzt werden kann, beschäftigt sich Kapitel 3 mit einigen dafür relevanten

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<sup>1</sup> Dieser Begriff wurde in Analogie zu dem von Weinreich (zitiert in Koch 2010, 44–45) erwähnten „Literaturschock“ gewählt, der leicht durch die Diskrepanz zwischen didaktisierten Lehrwerktexten und literarischen Texten ausgelöst werde, und sich entsprechend negativ auf die Motivation der Lernenden auswirke. Deshalb plädiert der Autor für eine Behandlung von Metaphern im Sprachunterricht. Dementsprechend wirbt dieser Beitrag für eine integrative Auseinandersetzung mit Phrasemen im DaF-Unterricht, auch mit dem Ziel möglichen Missverständnissen und Deutungsproblemen in interkulturellen Kontaktsituationen vorzubeugen (vgl. dazu Simon 2014).

Eigenschaften der Werbesprache, der Gestaltung von Werbekommunikaten sowie des mutmaßlichen Rezeptionsverhaltens der Konsument/inn/en.

## 2 Idiomatische Phraseme

Idiomatische Phraseme bilden den engeren Bereich der Phraseologie, in dem auf ein bestimmtes Merkmal fokussiert wird, die Idiomatizität. Ähnlich wie der Begriff Phraseologie weit oder eng definiert werden kann, unterscheidet man auch in Bezug auf die Idiomatizität unterschiedlich weit oder eng gefasste Begriffsbestimmungen (vgl. Burger 2015<sup>5</sup>, 26ff.). Zumeist werden jedoch strukturelle Anomalien, die bei einer weiten Konzeption mitangesprochen sind, ausgeklammert und der Begriff Idiomatizität wird im engeren Sinne zur Bezeichnung von semantischen Besonderheiten phraseologischer Ausdrücke verwendet. Diese semantischen Besonderheiten implizieren, dass zwischen der wörtlichen Bedeutung einer festen Wortverbindung und ihrer übertragenen bzw. phraseologischen Bedeutung unterschieden werden muss. Demnach ist ein Ausdruck idiomatisch, wenn „eine Diskrepanz zwischen der phraseologischen Bedeutung und der wörtlichen Bedeutung des ganzen Ausdrucks besteht“ (ebd., 27). Diese Abweichung kann unterschiedlich groß sein, so dass Idiomatizität als „gradueller Eigenschaft“ von Phrasemen zu bestimmen ist: „Je stärker die Diskrepanz zwischen diesen beiden Bedeutungsebenen ist, umso stärker idiomatisch ist das Phrasem.“ (ebd.)

Unumstritten rufen nicht- und teil-idiomatische Phraseme geringere Verständnisschwierigkeiten bei Fremdsprachenlernenden hervor. Andererseits konnte jedoch auch nachgewiesen werden, dass selbst bei voll-idiomatischen Phrasemen, neben möglichen muttersprachlichen Äquivalenzen und Kontextinformationen, auch die (freie) Bedeutung einzelner Komponenten bei der Bedeutungserschließung des Gesamtausdruckes eine Rolle spielt (vgl. Hallsteinsdóttir 2001, 303–304).

Eng verknüpft mit der Idiomatizität von Phrasemen ist deren Bildhaftigkeit und Bildlichkeit.

### 2.1 Bildhaftigkeit, Bildlichkeit und idiomatisches Bild

Mit Bezug auf die ältere Stilistik können die Begriffe *bildhaft* und *bildlich* wie folgt definiert werden (Riesel zitiert in Burger 2010<sup>4</sup>, 96):

*Bildhaft* (synonym zu *anschaulich*, *sinnfällig*) sind Wörter und Wendungen, die zwangsläufig mit einer konkreten, klaren Situation, mit einem leicht erfassbaren Wirklichkeitszusammenhang assoziiert werden.

*Bildlich* nennen wir Wörter und Wendungen aufgrund von Vergleich, Tropen, metaphorischen und metonymischen Periphrasen, metaphorischen Beiwörtern sowie expressiver Phraseologie.<sup>2</sup>

Dieses Begriffspaar kann anhand des viel zitierten Idioms *Öl ins Feuer gießen* erläutert werden, dessen wörtliche Bedeutung bildhaft ist, weil der ganze Vorgang (wie auch die einzelnen Komponenten ‚Öl‘ und ‚Feuer‘) „als visuell-konkreter vorstellbar ist.“ Seine phraseologische Bedeutung ist dagegen bildlich, da es sich dabei um die „metaphorische Konzeptualisierung eines abstrakten Vorgangs durch einen konkreten“ handelt (ebd., 97).

Kritisch setzte sich Burger in der Vergangenheit (vgl. ebd., 97–100) mit einer Forschungstradition auseinander, die davon ausgeht, dass mit zunehmender Bildlichkeit auch die „Erklärungsbedürftigkeit“ des Idioms steige, da der „Zusammenhang von wörtlicher und phraseologischer Lesart nicht oder nicht mehr voll einsehbar“ sei. Demnach entspreche auch der höchste Grad an Bildlichkeit „dem höchsten Grad an Idiomatizität und zugleich dem höchsten Grad an Bildhaftigkeit“. Um den dieser Forschungstradition anhaftenden „immanenten Widerspruch im Begriff des Bildes“ zu umgehen und begriffliche Klarheit zu schaffen, schlägt Burger vor, zwischen *bildhaften Idiomem* und Phrasemen zu unterscheiden, die ein *idiomatisches Bild* enthalten (vgl. ebd., 99; Burger 2015<sup>5</sup>, 92). Dabei nennt er drei Bedingungen, die ein idiomatisches Bild erfüllen müsse: Die erste bezieht sich auf die Bildhaftigkeit des Idioms, da es über eine wörtliche Lesart verfügen müsse, die als konkrete vorstellbar sei. Zweitens müsse der Zusammenhang zwischen wörtlicher und phraseologischer Lesart für Muttersprachler/innen nachvollziehbar sein, d.h. er/sie müsse das Idiom als „motiviert“ empfinden. Drittens müsse die metaphorische Übertragung durch Lexikalisierung auf *eine* Interpretation festgelegt sein. Da oftmals die erste Bedingung, nicht aber unbedingt die zwei weiteren erfüllt sind, kommt Burger zu dem Schluss, dass zahlreiche Idiome bildhaft sind, aber kein idiomatisches Bild enthalten, da ihre Motiviertheit weder sprachgeschichtlich nachvollziehbar, noch synchron wahrnehmbar ist.

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<sup>2</sup> In der 2015 erschienen, neu bearbeiteten fünften Auflage der Einführung in die Phraseologie von Burger verzichtet dieser gänzlich auf eine Unterscheidung zwischen Bildhaftigkeit und Bildlichkeit von Phrasemen. Dahingegen soll sie im Rahmen der vorliegenden Untersuchung mitberücksichtigt bleiben, wodurch sich der doppelte Bezug auf die zwei letzten Ausgaben dieses Grundlagenwerks begründet.

## 2.2 Motiviertheit, Motivierbarkeit und Remotivierung

Der Begriff Motiviertheit bezieht sich bekanntermaßen in der Phraseologieforschung im Allgemeinen darauf, dass „die Bedeutung eines Phrasems aus der freien Bedeutung der Wortverbindung oder aus den Bedeutungen der Komponenten verstehbar ist.“ (Burger 2015<sup>5</sup>, 67) Als problematisch erweist sich jedoch bei dieser Definition der Begriff Verstehbarkeit, denn für diese können völlig unterschiedliche Aspekte eine Rolle spielen (vgl. ebd.):

- Psycholinguistischer Aspekt: Die Bildlichkeit des Phrasems kann dem/der Sprecher/in „einleuchten“.
- Textlinguistischer Aspekt: Kontextarrangements können das Phrasem verstehbar machen.
- Historischer Aspekt: Das Phrasem kann für bestimmte Sprecher/innen aufgrund ihres etymologischen Wissens verstehbar sein.
- Semantischer Aspekt: Die wörtliche Bedeutung der Wortverbindung oder einer Komponente macht das Phrasem verstehbar, bei Burger als „semantische Basis“ bezeichnet.

Als motiviert gelten in Anlehnung an dieses Modell nur Phraseme mit semantischer Basis. Phraseme, die dagegen aufgrund der ersten drei Aspekte verstehbar sind, können als *motivierbar* bezeichnet werden, da die Verstehbarkeit hier auf „individuellen situativen oder kontextuellen Bedingungen“ beruht (ebd., 68). Motiviert sind demnach nicht-idiomatische Phraseme, aber auch metaphorische Idiome, selbst wenn deren phraseologische Bedeutung nicht zwingend aus der wörtlichen ableitbar ist und der Zusammenhang zwischen den beiden Lesarten oft nur einsichtig wird, wenn man die phraseologische Bedeutung kennt. Dies stellt sich für Deutschlernende vor allem dann als problematisch heraus, wenn sie aus ihrer L1 oder anderen zuvor erworbenen Fremdsprachen kein Phrasem kennen, das in Bezug auf die semantische Basis und die phraseologische Bedeutung als äquivalent gelten kann.<sup>3</sup> Als teil-motiviert werden die teil-idiomatischen Phraseme betrachtet, wobei die partielle Motiviertheit des nicht-umgedeuteten Teils häufig den ganzen Ausdruck verstehbar macht. Nicht motiviert sind dagegen Idiome, die über zwei Lesarten mit homonymen Bedeutungen verfügen.

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<sup>3</sup> Aus diesem Grund beschäftigt sich das folgende Teilkapitel (2.3) mit metaphorischer Motiviertheit, um auch hier Wege zur Bedeutungserschließung anzudeuten.

Motiviertheit kann folglich als ein dem sprachlichen Ausdruck eingeschriebenes, „immanentes, dauerhaftes Merkmal“ definiert werden, während Motivierbarkeit als „dynamisches, virtuell in konkreter Sprachverwendung mögliches Merkmal“ betrachtet werden muss (Labno-Falecka zitiert in Hallsteinsdóttir 2001, 203–204). Da die Motivierbarkeit idiomatischer Phraseme von zahlreichen kontextbedingten, aber auch individuellen Faktoren abhängt, erscheint der Ansatz von Hallsteinsdóttir (2007, 217) sinnvoll, die Begriffe Bildhaftigkeit und Bildlichkeit nicht nur als Merkmal sprachlicher Ausdrücke zu betrachten, sondern sie auch rezipientenorientiert auf die Fähigkeit von Sprecher/inne/n zu beziehen, Phraseme durch visuelle Vorstellungskraft motivierbar zu machen:

Wenn man die Bildhaftigkeit/Bildlichkeit hingegen als die Fähigkeit der Sprecher betrachtet, die Bedeutung von Phraseologismen durch eine visuelle Vorstellung zu motivieren, dann kann man bei Phraseologismen nicht von Motiviertheit im traditionellen Sinne sprechen. Es handelt sich vielmehr um eine möglicherweise intersubjektive Motivierbarkeit der phraseologischen Bedeutung nach bestimmten, beschreibbaren Strategien der Sprachverarbeitung.

Wie bereits erwähnt, impliziert die Bildhaftigkeit idiomatischer Phraseme das Vorhandensein zweier Lesarten der Wortverbindung. In der Alltagssprache wird diese Eigenschaft häufig zu kreativen Zwecken genutzt, indem beispielsweise in journalistischen Texten oder in Werbekommunikaten die wörtliche Ebene durch Modifikation oder das Zusammenspiel von Bild und Text aktiviert wird. In diesem Fall spricht man von Remotivierung, Reliteralisierung oder auch einfach nur von Aktualisierung der wörtlichen Lesart.

### **2.3 Bildkomponente, metaphorische und symbolische Motivation**

Lange wurde vermutet, dass die wörtliche und die phraseologische Bedeutung eines Idioms nicht miteinander verknüpft seien. Dem widersprechen u.a. jüngere Ansätze aus dem Bereich der kognitiven Semantik, die von einer klaren Verbindung zwischen den beiden Bedeutungsebenen ausgehen:

Traditionell wurde angenommen, dass die literale Interpretation mit der lexikalisierten Bedeutung nichts zu tun habe. Im Rahmen der modernen kognitiven Semantik setzt sich immer mehr die Ansicht durch, dass die „primäre Lesart“ der bildlichen Lexikoneinheiten, d.h. das mentale Bild, das durch die wörtliche Interpretation des Konstituentenbestandes, durch die lexikalische Struktur in der nichtmetaphorischen Lesart evoziert wird, nicht nur psychologisch real ist, sondern auch einen Bestandteil der kognitiven

Struktur darstellt, die der lexikalisierten Bedeutung zugrunde liegt. (Dobrovol'skij und Piirainen 2009, 12)

Diesem Ansatz zufolge evoziert die lexikalische Struktur von Idiomen also ein mentales Bild, „das gleichzeitig der Ausgangspunkt und die konzeptuelle Grundlage der semantischen Reinterpretation ist“, wodurch der bildlichen Bedeutungskomponente eine zentrale Rolle der Vermittlung zugeschrieben wird (ebd., 13).

Im Rahmen ihres kognitiven und kulturorientierten Ansatzes verzichten Dobrovol'skij und Piirainen (2009) auf die oben besprochene Unterscheidung zwischen Motiviertheit und (subjektiver) Motivierbarkeit von Idiomen und verwenden den Begriff Motivation zur Beschreibung des Verhältnisses der beiden konzeptuellen Ebenen, „der lexikalisierten, d.h. figurativen Bedeutung und des zugrunde liegenden Bildes, das durch die lexikalische Struktur dieser Einheit evoziert wird.“ (ebd., 17) Dabei betonen sie im Einklang mit der traditionellen Phraseologieforschung, dass Idiome zum größten Teil semantisch motiviert sind, wobei unter semantischer Motivation die „intuitiv nachvollziehbare Zuordnung der Form (der lexikalischen Struktur) eines Idioms zu seiner lexikalisierten Bedeutung (seiner konzeptuellen Repräsentation im Lexikon) verstanden“ wird (ebd.). Auch wenn diese Verbindungen nicht immer vorhersehbar und nur retrospektiv zu erklären sind, können viele Idiome als „synchronisch eindeutig motiviert“ gelten, da „die konzeptuellen Links zwischen der lexikalisierten Bedeutung und dem zugrunde liegenden Bild unmittelbar erkennbar sind.“ (ebd., 18)

Im Allgemeinen werden zwei Haupttypen der semantischen Motivation von Idiomen unterschieden: die auf einem konzeptuellen Mapping beruhende *metaphorische Motivation* und die auf semiotischen Konventionen basierende *symbolische Motivation*. Metaphorische Motivation beruht auf einer Ähnlichkeitsbeziehung „zwischen dem durch die lexikalisierte Bedeutung Bezeichneten und dem der inneren Form enthaltenen Konzept“ (ebd., 19–20) und umfasst den großen Bereich der konventionalisierten Metaphern. Mit Bezug auf die kognitive Metapherntheorie von Lakoff und Johnson (vgl. Lakoff und Johnson 2014<sup>8</sup>) sowie auf die auf Fillmore zurückgehende Frametheorie werden konzeptuelle Metaphern von framebasierten Metaphern unterschieden. Anhand der kognitiven Metapherntheorie können gemeinsame Merkmale von metaphorischen Ausdrücken mit teilweise sehr unterschiedlichen Bildern verdeutlicht und Mechanismen aufgezeigt werden, die „an der Entstehung und Verbreitung mehrerer semantisch unterschiedlicher Ausdrücke mit der gleichen oder ähnlichen metaphorischen Grundlage beteiligt sind“ (Dobrovol'skij und Piirainen



2009, 23). Insofern kann sie die Motivation bildlicher Ausdrücke veranschaulichen.<sup>4</sup> Allerdings kann mittels der kognitiven Metaphertheorie nicht die Spezifik einzelsprachlicher Konventionen beschrieben werden, auf denen die Verbindung zwischen dem Bild und der lexikalisierten Bedeutung basiert. Dazu ist oft kulturgebundenen Wissen notwendig, das innerhalb der Frametheorie miteinbezogen wird. Dies exemplifizieren Dobrovól'skij und Piirainen (2009, 25) anhand des idiomatischen Phrasems *ein rotes Tuch für jmdn. sein*, dessen sinngebende, für die Motivation der lexikalisierten Bedeutung wesentliche Elemente (‚jmd. provozieren‘, ‚Wut auslösen und verstärken‘) als Bestandteile des Frames ‚Stierkampf‘ zu erkennen sind. Das Einbeziehen des damit verbundenen außersprachlichen Wissens ermöglicht folglich, ausgehend vom metaphorischen Bild, das Inferieren der lexikalisierten figurativen Bedeutung (‚der Anlass dazu sein, jmdn. ständig zu reizen, jmdn. äußerst wütend zu machen‘).

Wie oben angedeutet, zählt neben der metaphorischen Motivation die symbolische Motivation zu den Haupttypen der semantischen Motivation. Der Motivation symbolisch motivierter Idiome liegt die „Kohärenz zwischen symbolischen Konzepten, die in der Sprache existieren, und entsprechenden symbolischen Phänomenen in kulturellen Codes“ zugrunde (ebd., 30). Für das Erschließen der lexikalisierten Bedeutung eines bildlichen Ausdrucks ist in diesem Fall folglich semiotisches Wissen über die Bedeutung des Symbols außerhalb der Sprache notwendig. Im Gegensatz zur metaphorischen Motivation basiert die Verbindung zwischen den beiden Bedeutungsebenen des Idioms hier nicht auf einer Ähnlichkeitsbeziehung, sondern auf bestimmten kulturgebundenen Konventionen. So zeigt beispielsweise die Komponente ‚Brot‘ in dem bildlichen Ausdruck *ein hartes/schweres Brot sein* keinerlei Ähnlichkeitsbeziehung zu dem für die lexikalisierte Bedeutung (‚ein mühevoller Gelderwerb sein‘) wesentlichen Konzept ‚Geld‘ auf, und seine Symbolisierung ist auf den christlich-abendländischen Kulturraum eingeschränkt (vgl. ebd.).

### 3 Idiomatic Phraseme in Werbetexten

Im Hinblick auf einige wesentliche Merkmale von Phrasemen im Allgemeinen und idiomatischen Phrasemen im Besonderen ist es nicht verwunderlich, dass diese mit relativ hoher Dichte und Frequenz in

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<sup>4</sup> Inwiefern die metaphorische Motivation von bildlichen Ausdrücken für den Fremdspracherwerb nutzbar gemacht werden kann, hat u.a. Kispál (2011) aufgezeigt. Vgl. zur Bedeutung lexikalisierter, Alltagssprachlicher Metaphern im Fremdsprachenunterricht Koch (2010) und Weininger (2013).

Werbetexten Verwendung finden. Dank der Formelhaftigkeit von festen Wortverbindungen, die an Vertrautes anknüpft, werden Rezipient/inn/en kognitiv entlastet, so dass ein schnelleres Verständnis des Werbetextes vorausgesetzt werden kann (vgl. Janich 2005, 51). Aus psycholinguistischer Sicht trägt auch die Bildhaftigkeit von Idiomen zur Verständlichkeit und Eingängigkeit der Werbebotschaft bei. Denn bildhafte Ausdrücke aktivieren die visuelle Vorstellungskraft der Rezipient/inn/en, wodurch „neben dem lexikalischen ein zweites visuelles Kodierungssystem aktiviert [wird], durch das die Speichermöglichkeiten, die Behaltensleistung und die Verarbeitungsflexibilität verbessert werden“ (Balsliemke 2001, 28, in Anlehnung an Häcki-Buhofer). Dass sich die durch die Bildhaftigkeit der Idiome evozierten konkreten Vorstellungen positiv auf die Behaltensleistungen von Rezipient/inn/en auswirken, wird auch durch wahrnehmungspsychologische Studien der Werbeforschung bestätigt (vgl. ebd., 29).

Darüber hinaus impliziert die Bildhaftigkeit von Idiomen ein unermessliches kreatives Potential für Werbetexter, die dieses auf vielfache Art und Weise ausschöpfen. Wie oben bereits angedeutet, wird hier sehr häufig die lexikalisierte Wortverbindung modifiziert und/oder deren wörtliche Bedeutung aktiviert.<sup>5</sup> Dabei spielen sowohl der Kontext als auch die Text-Bild-Beziehung<sup>6</sup> eine wesentliche Rolle, indem etwa die wörtliche Bedeutung des Idioms im materiellen Bild des Werbekommunikats visualisiert wird oder ihre verbalen und visuellen Komponenten durch vielfältige Anspielungen miteinander verknüpft werden (vgl. ebd., 33).

Die gleichzeitige Aktivierung beider Lesarten eines Idioms fordert den Rezipient/inn/en beim Dekodieren der Werbebotschaft eine wechselseitige Korrektur zwischen phraseologischer und wörtlicher Bedeutung ab (vgl. ebd., 27). Da Rezipient/inn/en Text-Bild-Kombinationen jedoch als Sinn-Einheit wahrnehmen (vgl. Burger 2008, 91), erschließen sie in der Regel problemlos den Gesamtsinn der Werbebotschaft aus dieser Kombination und sind darüber hinaus in der Lage, die wörtliche als auch die phraseologische Bedeutung des Ausdrucks aus dem Kontext abzuleiten, selbst wenn ihnen das Phrasem unbekannt ist (vgl. Balsliemke 2001, 29). All dies macht es

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<sup>5</sup> Vgl. zu den wichtigsten Modifikationsverfahren im Bereich der Werbung Burger (2008).

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. dazu die wissenschaftstheoretische Auseinandersetzung mit der Text-Bild-Beziehung in massenmedialen Texten von Stöckl (2004).

besonders reizvoll, Werbekommunikate im Fremdsprachenunterricht zum Aufbau phraseologischer Kompetenz einzusetzen.<sup>7</sup>

## 4 Werbekommunikate im DaF-Unterricht

Zum Schluss stehen nun zwei Beispiele für Werbekommunikate im Zentrum, die für DaF-Lernende mit L1 Italienisch ausgewählt wurden, sich aber generell im Bereich DaF/DaZ verwenden lassen.<sup>8</sup> Da die L1 beim Erkennen und Entschlüsseln von Phrasemen eine wesentliche Rolle spielen kann, wurden diese gezielt nach dem bildspendenden Bereich<sup>9</sup> ausgewählt: Bei Beispiel 1 handelt es sich um ein idiomatisches Phrasem, für das es im Italienischen (auch) hinsichtlich des bildspendenden Bereichs ein äquivalentes Idiom gibt. Beispiel 2 enthält ein Phrasem, für das im Italienischen eine idiomatische Wortverbindung mit einem verwandten bildspendenden Bereich vorliegt. In diesem Fall soll aufgezeigt werden, wie zusätzliche Visualisierungen die Bildhaftigkeit des Ausdrucks verdeutlichen und damit die Vorstellungskraft der Lernenden verstärken kann.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Rentel (2011) nennt als zentrales Argument für den Einsatz von Werbeanzeigen im Fremdsprachenunterricht deren semiotische Komplexität, die eine „visuell-verbale Doppelkodierung“ impliziere, dank der sowohl die Verständlichkeit als auch die Merkbarkeit des zu erwerbenden Wortschatzes erhöht werden.

<sup>8</sup> Bei der folgenden Beschreibung sollen mögliche Wege zum Erkennen und Verstehen der dort verwendeten Idiome angedeutet und damit ein Anreiz geschaffen werden, Werbekommunikate im Fremdsprachenunterricht zum Aufbau phraseologischer Kompetenz einzusetzen. Aus Platzgründen werden lediglich zwei Beispiele exemplarisch vorgeführt.

Darüber hinaus muss betont werden, dass die Dekodifizierung von nicht linearen Text-Bild-Gefügen unbestritten ein individueller Vorgang ist, über den jedoch Vermutungen angestellt und der im Fremdsprachenunterricht gegebenenfalls entsprechend gesteuert werden kann. Idealerweise werden Lernende vor der Arbeit mit solchen Materialien in die Phraseologie im Allgemeinen eingeführt und mit den oben besprochenen spezifischen Aspekten vertraut gemacht (vgl. dazu auch Kap. 4.3). Die damit verbundene metalinguistische Reflexion und sprachpraktische Arbeit ist für Lernende ab der Niveaustufe B1 geeignet.

<sup>9</sup> Der Begriff *bildspendend* wurde von Jost Trier bereits in den 1930er Jahren eingeführt (vgl. Liebert 2002, 771).

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. dazu grundlegende Aspekte der Visualisierung von Phrasemen in Simon (2016).

## 4.1 Phraseme mit dem gleichen bildspendenden Bereich

Im Folgenden werden zwei von zahlreichen Werbeanzeigen der Firma Sixt besprochen, die einen phraseologischen Ausdruck enthalten und sich aufgrund ihres komplexen Text-Bild-Gefüges für eine Analyse im Fremdsprachenunterricht besonders gut eignen.



Abb. 1: *schlaflose Nächte*<sup>11</sup>

In dieser Werbeanzeige springt dem/der Rezipienten/in das in der Schlagzeile verwendete idiomatische Phrasem *schlaflose Nächte*, it. *notti insonni* ins Auge, mit dem üblicherweise auf Probleme verwiesen wird, die große Sorgen bzw. Unruhe auslösen. Da im Italienischen ein äquivalentes Phrasem mit dem gleichen bildspendenden Bereich vorliegt, stellt es für Lernende mit L1 Italienisch kein Problem dar, das Phrasem zu erkennen. Die allgemeine und kontextspezifische Bedeutung kann dann über die zwei Bildkomponenten der Anzeige bestätigt bzw. erschlossen werden. Denn selbst wenn Lernende nicht den unmittelbaren Kontext präsent haben, in dem diese Werbung geschaltet wurde,<sup>12</sup> so ist doch davon auszugehen, dass sie den ehemaligen Präsidenten der Europäischen Zentralbank Mario Draghi erkennen und mit ihm die äußerst schwierige finanzielle Lage einiger europäischer Mitgliedstaaten in Verbindung bringen.

Auf der Suche nach Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen Mario Draghi und der zweiten Bildkomponente des Werbekommunikats, einem Maserati, in Verbindung mit der Redewendung *schlaflose Nächte*, kann dann festgestellt werden, dass beide eine gewisse Unruhe auslösen. Im Falle des EZB-Präsidenten durch Sorgen, im Falle des Luxusautos durch die Sehnsucht

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.horizont.net/news/media/13/Sixt-veralbert-Mario-Draghi-125473.jpeg> [02.05.2017]

<sup>12</sup> Diese Anzeige wurde im Januar 2015 als Reaktion auf die Finanzpolitik Draghis veröffentlicht, in deren Rahmen für mindestens eine Billion Euro Staatsanleihen gekauft werden sollten, um den Euro zu retten.

nach einem Wunschobjekt. Ist dies erkannt, so ist der Weg nicht weit zum Inferieren der zweiten, hier elliptisch präsenten Wortverbindung *der Traum meiner schlaflosen Nächte*, it. *qc. è il mio/suo... sogno; qc. è il sogno della mia/sua...vita*, mit der im Deutschen wie im Italienischen auf einen sehnlichen Wunsch verwiesen wird. Ein Wunsch, der hier auf Text- und Bildebene durch den Maserati verkörpert wird, den man bei Sixt günstig mieten kann.

Da das Sprachenpaar Deutsch–Italienisch für beide Phraseme über Idiome mit dem gleichen bildspendenden Bereich verfügt und die Bildhaftigkeit sowie Bildlichkeit der Wortverbindungen einen hohen Grad an Motivierbarkeit aufweisen, sind beide Phraseme anhand der vorliegenden Werbeanzeige leicht zu verstehen und gut einpräglich.

## 4.2 Phraseme mit verwandtem bildspendendem Bereich

Auch im folgenden Beispiel sind Text- und Bildebene durch das verwendete Phrasem miteinander verknüpft. Wie bei vielen Werbekommunikaten wird hier mit den Lesarten des phraseologischen Ausdrucks gespielt, indem die (wörtliche) Bedeutung einer zentralen Komponente visualisiert wird.



Abb. 2: *so einen Hals kriegen*<sup>13</sup>

Auf diesem Werbeplakat ist in der Schlagzeile das Idiom *so einen Hals [auf jmdn.] haben/bekommen/kriegen* zu lesen, für das im Italienischen zwei idiomatische Phraseme mit einem verwandten bildspendenden Bereich vorliegen: *a qu. ribolle il sangue; avere le vene gonfie*.

Anhand des Kontextes ‚hohe Mieten‘ wird auf Textebene verständlich, dass es sich um eine ärgerliche, Wut erregende Situation handelt. Dank der Visualisierung der Wortkomponente ‚Hals‘, durch den langen Hals der Giraffe, wird deren Bildhaftigkeit verdeutlicht, die aber m.E. in diesem Fall nicht zwingend die Motivierbarkeit und damit Verständlichkeit der

<sup>13</sup> Foto von Ulrike Simon

Wortverbindung erhöht. Mit Bezug auf die synonyme Redewendung *einen dicken Hals haben/bekommen/kriegen* kann hier die Bildlichkeit und folglich die Motiviertheit des Ausdrucks durch ergänzendes Bildmaterial unterstützt werden:

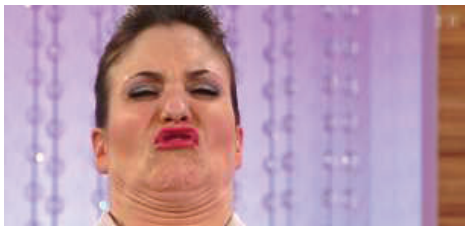


Abb. 3: Visualisierung von *einen dicken Hals kriegen*<sup>14</sup>

Dieses materielle Bild veranschaulicht gut die Bildhaftigkeit der Wortkomponenten ‚dick‘ und ‚Hals‘ sowie die Bildlichkeit der Wortverbindung. Insofern hilft das zusätzliche Bildmaterial dabei, die phraseologische Bedeutung ‚wütend sein; große Wut [auf jmdn.] haben/bekommen‘ zu erschließen und im Gedächtnis abzuspeichern.

### 4.3 Lehr-/Lernschritte

Phraseologie stellt einen der sprachlichen Bereiche par excellence dar, bei denen sich eine Verzahnung sprachwissenschaftlicher Lehrveranstaltungen mit auf den Spracherwerb ausgerichteten, anwendungsorientierten Lehrangeboten in besonderem Maße anbietet (vgl. Ehrhardt 2012).<sup>15</sup> Insofern liegt es nahe, Studierende zunächst im Rahmen einer theoretischen Einführung in die Phraseologie für die Bedeutung fester Wortverbindungen zu sensibilisieren, sie mit den zentralen Eigenschaften und Funktionen von Phrasemen vertraut zu machen sowie in grundlegende Klassifikationsmöglichkeiten einzuführen. Bei einem darauf aufbauenden Einsatz von Werbekommunikaten im DaF-Unterricht, ist es methodisch sinnvoll, sich an dem in der Phraseodidaktik bekannten, von Peter Kühn entwickelten und Heinz-Helmut Lüger erweiterten Drei- bzw. Vierschritt zu orientieren (vgl.

<sup>14</sup> <https://f1.blick.ch/img/incoming/crop2756787/1642816852-horizontal-w308/Frey.jpg> [02.05.2017]

<sup>15</sup> Konkrete Unterrichtseinheiten für den Einsatz von Werbekommunikaten im DaF-Unterricht müssen lerngruppenspezifisch und lernzielorientiert für den jeweiligen Lehr-/Lernkontext ausgearbeitet werden. Die Ausführungen in diesem Beitrag können als Bezugsrahmen dafür verstanden werden.

Ettinger 2007): Phraseme erkennen, entschlüsseln, festigen und verwenden. Studierende werden also zunächst dazu aufgefordert, die in dem Werbekommunikat verwendete Wortverbindung ausfindig zu machen und dann ihre Bedeutung – wie oben beschrieben – aus dem Kontext zu erschließen. In weiterführenden Übungsphasen wird dann der erworbene Wortschatz, etwa mittels kreativer Schreibübungen gefestigt und zum Einsatz gebracht.

## 5 Schluss

Abschließend muss betont werden, dass es bei dem oben angedeuteten Einsatz von Werbekommunikaten im Fremdsprachenunterricht nicht (nur) darum gehen soll, einzelne Phraseme zu erarbeiten. Dies würde den erforderlichen didaktischen Aufwand nicht in jedem Fall rechtfertigen. Primäres Anliegen dieses Ansatzes ist es, den (kreativen) Gebrauch von Idiomen in der Alltagskommunikation vor Augen zu führen und vermittlungsmethodische Schritte für den DaF-Unterricht aufzuzeigen. Dabei wird vor allem auch dank der vielfältigen Visualisierungsmöglichkeiten die phraseologische Kompetenz der Lernenden besonders nachhaltig gefördert. Im Einzelnen betrifft dies das metasprachliche Reflexionsvermögen, das routinierte Erkennen und Entschlüsseln von Phrasemen sowie die kontinuierliche Erweiterung des Wortschatzes. Lernende werden so zum sukzessiven, entdeckenden und autonomen Lernen angeregt, da ihnen sinnvolle Wege zur Entschlüsselung von idiomatischem Wortmaterial verdeutlicht werden. All dies wirkt sich positiv auf ihre Sprachbewusstheit und Sprachidentität im Sinne einer immer überzeugenderen Identifizierung mit der Fremdsprache Deutsch aus. Denn die Erkenntnis, dass fremdsprachliche Idiome häufig dank der Bildhaftigkeit des Ausdrucks, des muttersprachlichen Wissens und der Kontextinformationen verstanden werden können sowie die Aussicht, diese auch – unter Berücksichtigung der an sie gebundenen Gebrauchsbedingungen – situationsadäquat verwenden zu können, steigert erheblich die Selbstsicherheit der Lernenden in der Fremdsprache.

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# CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

## VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF IDIOMS IN PHRASEODIDACTICS: AN UNEXPLOITED POTENTIAL

LUISA GIACOMA

### **Abstract**

To ensure successful learning of idioms, it is not sufficient to offer semantic and syntactic information or the L2 equivalent: it is also necessary to have some information about pragmatics. Bilingual and monolingual dictionaries are not usually much help for this purpose. What can didactics do to fulfil this knowledge gap? Pictures are rarely if ever used. Even though they must be interpreted, they are perfect for teaching purposes. If they are accepted by the scientific community, we can not only create a new didactic instrument but also a new study area.

### **1 Introduction**

An L2 equivalent for a phraseological unit might be enough if the learner has to understand or translate an idiom, but to use it properly he/she also needs further information. Semantic or syntactic information is sometimes included in bilingual and monolingual dictionaries, but pragmatic information is hard to find (Giacoma / Mollica 2015; Giacoma 2012)<sup>1</sup>.

How can didactics fill this knowledge gap? Despite the importance of phraseology in language learning, there is a lack of materials for phraseo-didactics (Bergerová 2008): the representation of prototype situations of use

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<sup>1</sup> My special thanks to David Brown for his translation into English, to Claire Archibald for her careful revision of the text and to the Slub Library of the Technische Universität of Dresden, where I was able to write this article undisturbed.

by means of pictures is almost unknown. Pictures, however, can be very useful in understanding and learning how to use idioms properly (Konecny / Autelli 2013). Furthermore, some learners have a preference for graphic presentation of information, in pictures, drawings, and photographs.

This contribution provides a definition of idiom, followed by some pertinent concepts from phraseodidactics, the area of linguistics dealing with the teaching of phrasemes. After this, a proposal for the use of pictures for teaching idioms is discussed, and the project *Emergenza italiano: frasi fatte e ... disfatte* is described. This project aimed to set up a database of drawings representing individual idioms, for use in language teaching.

## 2 Idioms: a subclass of phrasemes

There is ample consensus in current phraseological research in Europe over the use of the term *phraseme* (Dobrovolskij / Piirainen 2009, 11) to refer to linguistic units formed of at least two elements and with the characteristics of *stability*<sup>2</sup>, *lexicalization*<sup>3</sup>, *reproducibility*<sup>4</sup>, and *idiomaticity*<sup>5</sup> (Fleischer 1982, 67). Itoh observed that these characteristics of phrasemes vary in degree (Itoh 2005, 17). He further states that while phrasemes are semantic units and so have a global meaning, they behave as a group of words from a morphological and syntactic point of view. Phrasemes are polylexical units which are registered in the mental lexis of the speaker as a single unit. Idioms such as *dover ingoiare il rospo*, are phrasemes which in contrast to proverbs and *geflügelte Worte*, often leave blank spaces to be filled (for example the verb subject or the direct object)<sup>6</sup> and may appear in various forms even if within certain limitations: *io devo ingoiare il rospo* or *lui ha dovuto ingoiare il rospo*, etc. (I must swallow a bitter pill, he had to swallow a bitter pill).

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<sup>2</sup> I.e., the resistance phrasemes offer to lexical substitutions. We can offer the example of the role of stability enabling differentiation between *fare festa* ‘to have fun’, *fare una festa* ‘to have a party’, *fare la festa* ‘to bump off’ and *fare le feste* ‘to welcome warmly’.

<sup>3</sup> I.e., phrasemes become memorized as units and consequently are ready to be used as if they were individual words.

<sup>4</sup> I.e., phrasemes, being lexicalized units, are not generated anew every time: as they are already available within the lexis, they are simply reproduced.

<sup>5</sup> I. e., the presence of a global meaning of the phrasemes which differentiates it from the sum of meanings of the individual components.

<sup>6</sup> See Itoh (2005).

### 3 Idioms and didactics

Although idioms form a major part of the communicative competence of a speaker, they have not so far been taken into sufficient consideration, either in lexicography or in language teaching.

Whether lexis can be taught is the topic of two antithetic positions: on the one hand some state that lexis cannot be taught and so its learning must be left to the individual, while others hold that this important activity cannot be left exclusively to accidental acquisition<sup>7</sup>.

Recalling idioms has also been seen to be very effective in certain types of cognitive training to slow the loss of cognitive capacity in ageing (i.e., by strengthening the use of memory).

Phraseodidactics deals with the teaching of phrasemes, in both L1 and L2 (Ettinger 2001, 87). German phraseodidactics has developed over the last 20 years thanks to work done by Wotjak (1996), Lorenz-Bourjot and Lüger (2001), Jesenšek (2006), Hallsteinsdóttir et al. (2011) and numerous others (see also Lüger 1997). In *Phraseologie, Phraseology* (Burger et al. 2007), Kuhn and Häcki Buhofer offer a panorama of the didactics of phrasemes with reference to L1, while Ettinger and Wray refer to L2. Reference to Italian has only been made recently in various contributions (Konecny / Autelli 2013; Konecny / Hallsteinsdóttir / Kacjan 2013; Nied Curcio 2012; Erhardt 2012; Hepp 2012). Hallsteinsdóttir (2011, 4) refers to the role of phraseology in foreign language didactics to state that phrasemes were long considered as marginal or relevant only at a higher level of language competence. More recently, it has been realized that a knowledge of phrasemes is fundamental from the very beginning of language learning because even the most basic communication cannot take place without a minimal knowledge of phrasemes (Daniels / Pommerin 1979, 575; Fleischer 1997, 32; Gülich / Krafft 1992, 82; Kühnert 1985, 223). This naturally also applies to phraseology in the wider sense, which also includes collocations and courtesy forms. Aguado and Ulbricht agree with Hallsteinsdóttir. The former states that phraseological competence plays a central role in social interaction and in acceptance of the learner by L2 speakers (Aguado 2002, 43), while the latter stresses that it is an important benchmark in evaluating L2 competence (Ulbricht 1989, 98).

The following equation may therefore be proposed: more phraseologisms = better linguistic competence (inter alia Hessky 1997, 139; Glaap 1985).

Phrasemes have a greater role in language than has been previously

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<sup>7</sup> See Corda / Marengo (2004).

recognized. Empirical studies and practice demonstrate daily that phrasemes often pose problems for learners producing a sentence in L2 (Reder 2011, 48). In this case, interference from the mother tongue is very likely and inversely proportional to the phraseological knowledge of the learner. A language learner knows few phrasemes compared with a native speaker, but it is important to get to know complex expressions in foreign languages too.

Little is known about the didactics of phrasemes. Anyone who has merely glanced through foreign language course books and text books can see that phrasemes are hardly ever the focus of lessons and appear sporadically. This means that teachers too consider them marginal (Kralj/Kacjan 2011), leading to the paradox of, on the one hand, treating them as fundamental in foreign language learning, while on the other hand ignoring them almost totally in didactics, despite the great need for material, as indicated by Rentel (2011, 57). Ettinger (2007, 894) states that those involved in phraseodidactics must aim to combine theory and practice by publishing teaching material on phrasemes and plan courses which enable the learning of phraseology.

### 3.1 Pictures and didactics

The German verb *illustrieren* and the Italian equivalent *illustrare* mean both 'to provide pictures' and 'to explain'. This suggests the importance of providing a picture to explain something. Pictures in didactics originally had a purely illustrative value, while now they are increasingly becoming an instrument for transmitting knowledge and an integral part of the language learning process. Initially static pictures were used, like those introduced in 1658 by Comenius to help in learning foreign languages. The success of his *Orbis Sensalium Pictis* was such that many others followed his example and also included pictures in foreign language teaching. Since then there has been a continuous evolution, determined in part by developments in technology (black and white drawings, use of colour, photographs, video, DVD and internet).

### 3.2 Different types of learning

A person's preferred approach to learning is his/her typical and established mode of perceiving, elaborating and storing information (Mariani 2010). These main types of learning can be distinguished: analytical *vs.* global, systematic *vs.* intuitive, reflexive *vs.* impulsive. Learners usually prefer one sensorial channel: the visual, the hearing or the kinaesthetic. People differ

in the way they learn according to modality and strategy through which they elaborate information, starting with the sensory channels which allow us to perceive stimuli coming from the outside. This basis allows us to distinguish four main learning styles:

the *visual-verbal* channel is the main channel used in the school context, which relies preferentially on reading/writing. In practice, learning is through reading;

the *visual-iconographic* channel, which involves a preference for images, drawings, photographs, symbols, mind maps, graphics and diagrams. In practice, everything concerning visual learning;

the *auditory* channel, which involves a preference for hearing. In practice, learning is enhanced mainly through listening to lessons, taking part in discussions and in pair or group work;

the *kinaesthetic* channel, involving a preference for concrete activities. In practice: learning by doing.

Teaching that takes into account the style of student learning enables the achievement of educational and didactic objectives through the use of the strategies most easily accepted by the student. The visual-verbal channel is not the best one in many cases, e.g. for DSA students, who have greater difficulties in reading and writing. In contrast, strategies in the visual non-verbal style create mental images of what is heard or read using drawings and pictures and using colour. This was the starting point for the project *Emergenza italiano: frasi fatte e ... disfatte*, which takes into account all these learning styles with priority given to the visual-iconographic channel, which seems to be the best suited for developing deep-rooted learning of idioms (see § 4).

### 3.3 The power of pictures in comprehension

Pictures help intuitive understanding as we can show in the following example. If we want to make a lemon battery, we can read the instructions (visual-verbal channel):

A piece of zinc metal (such as a galvanised nail) and a piece of copper (such as a penny) are inserted into a lemon and connected by wires. Power generated by the reaction of the metals with the citric acid in the lemon is used to power a small device such as a light emitting diode (LED).

However, if we have never made such a battery before, we might have some doubts: how do we position the pieces? And wires? In this case a picture makes our task much easier:





Figure 1: a lemon battery

#### 4 The *Emergenza Italiano* project for idioms and teaching

The project *Emergenza italiano: Frasi fatte e ... disfatte*<sup>8</sup> of the Istituto Comprensivo di Fiano (Torino - Italy) and of the Technische Universität of Dresden (Germany)<sup>9</sup> sought to offer a concrete response to the growing difficulty of young people in using their mother tongue to its full expressive—including idiomatic—range. It aimed to enhance pupils' capability to express themselves by means of work on idioms; and to collect material for a linguistic-situational database.

Visual representation of a phraseological image is of cognitive interest (Naciscione 2010) but can also be applied to didactics. In 2015 and 2016, Italian pupils involved in the project<sup>10</sup> selected idioms and worked on them (drawing, storytelling, etc.). Over the two years of the project they did about 100 drawings representing the idiomatic and the non-idiomatic meaning of idioms such as *rompere il ghiaccio* 'to break the ice'.

The drawings were then analysed at the Technische Universität of Dresden by the *Phraseologisches Forschungskolloquium* group (2015) and by the seminar *Digitalianità* (2016) group.

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<sup>8</sup> *Frasi fatte* is one of the popular names of idioms. We have, then, a play on words because *disfatte* can be interpreted as an adjective ('undone') or as a substantive ('defeats').

<sup>9</sup> My special thanks to Prof. Dr. Maria Lieber, who invited me to Dresden in 2015 and 2016 as visiting professor. She offered me the best opportunity to work well. Thank you very much also to her team, Josephine Klingebeil-Schieke, Rebecca Schreiber, Chiara Maria Pedron and to Almuth Kahl and Karin Schmidt.

<sup>10</sup> 85 fifth year primary school children in Fiano, Robassomero, Vallo, La Cassa and 23 second year secondary school children at Robassomero.

#### 4.1 The stages in the project of *Emergenza Italiano*

The *Phraseologisches Forschungskolloquium* group, with the active participation of Simona Brunetti<sup>11</sup> and Antonella Ruggieri<sup>12</sup>, provided the schools taking part with a list of idioms that have both a real and a figurative meaning, for example *essere nato con la camicia* (lit. born with the shirt on) ‘born with a silver spoon in his/her mouth’. The students were then asked to select an idiom and to write a story or draw a picture for each of the two meanings. The pictures often had to provide a contextualization of the meaning, including the linguistic one. In the case of the idiom given above, for example, a pupil in the fifth year of a primary school drew a river running through the desert with a group of girls commenting: “Abbiamo trovato l’acqua, siamo nate con la camicia!” ‘We have found water, we were born with a silver spoon in our mouths!’ (see Figure 2). This linguistic-situational contextualization seems a suitable way to help the learner to use the idioms adequately in a real situation. In the drawing, the idiom does not appear as the abstract form found in the title, but instead is shown with the verb inflected (*siamo nate* – ‘we [girls] were born’) in agreement with the plural feminine subject (*state*) with an adverbial extension (*proprio*).

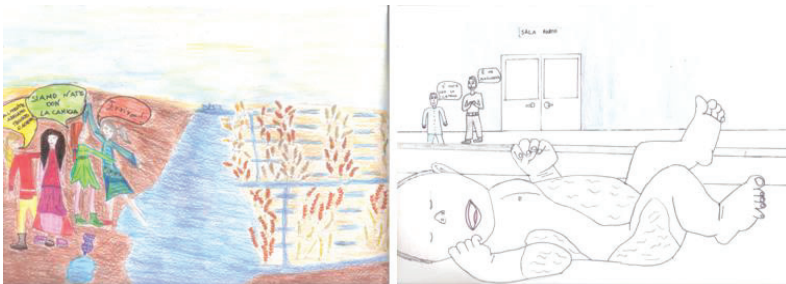


Figure 2: the contextual-situational drawing of the idiom *essere nato con la camicia* (lit. born with the shirt on) ‘born with a silver spoon in his/her mouth’ at left and the situation used as model at right

<sup>11</sup> She was awarded her Ph.D. by the Technische Universität in Dresden in June 2014 for a thesis entitled *Idiome, Wissen und Metaphern aus dem Begriffsfeld VERRÜCKTSEIN im Deutschen und im Italienischen. Eine kognitive Studie*, published in 2015 by the Dr. Kovač publishing house.

<sup>12</sup> She was awarded her Ph.D. by the Technische Universität in Dresden in June 2014 for a thesis entitled *Die phraseologische Bedeutung und Wissensstrukturen. Eine kognitiv-semiotische Untersuchung deutscher und italienischer Zornphraseologismen*, published in 2016 by the Dr. Kovač publishing house.

A drawing of the compositional meaning complements this information: in this case of a newborn child covered with a particularly thick layer of vernix. It is important to deal with both meanings because the real meaning leaves its trace in the idiomatic meaning and because this double layer of meaning presents difficulty for the learner (Dobrovol'skij / Piirainen 2009, 12–15):

Zentral für die Theorie des bildlichen Lexikons (*Conventional Figurative Language Theory*) ist der Gedanke, dass sich die bildlichen Lexikoneinheiten [...] von den nichtbildlichen [...] dadurch unterscheiden, dass die ersteren eine zweischichtige Semantik haben [...] Im Rahmen der modernen kognitiven Semantik setzt sich immer mehr die Ansicht durch, dass die „primäre Lesart“ der bildlichen Lexikoneinheiten, d.h. das mentale Bild, das durch die wörtliche Interpretation des Konstituentenbestandes, durch die lexikalische Struktur in der nichtmetaphorischen Lesart evoziert wird, nicht nur psychologisch real ist, sondern auch einen Bestandteil der kognitiven Struktur darstellt, die der lexikalisierten Bedeutung zugrunde liegt.

See also Mollica (2015: 18):

Das Idiom ermöglicht also zwei Lesarten, die – so Dobrovol'skij und Piirainen – konzeptuell miteinander verbunden sind, da die phraseologische Bedeutung und das daraus entstandene Bild anscheinend von der wörtlichen Bedeutung evoziert werden. Als Form-Bedeutungspaare stünden die Idiome den figurativen lexikalischen Einheiten sehr nah und sie könnten – wie diese – über eine bildliche Bedeutungskomponente verfügen, d.h. über eine Art „kognitive Spur“ des mentalen Bildes, das der idiomatischen Wendung zugrunde liege und zu deren Bedeutung beitragen könne (Dobrovol'skij / Piirainen 2009, 12–15). Nach Dobrovol'skij / Piirainen (2009, 17) ergibt sich also die Motivation von Idiomen synchron „aus dem Verhältnis der beiden konzeptuellen Ebenen: der lexikalisierten, d.h. figurativen Bedeutung und des zugrunde liegenden Bildes, das durch die lexikalische Struktur dieser Einheit evoziert wird“, denn bei vielen idiomatischen Wendungen wurden von den Sprechern Verbindungen (*links*) zwischen der lexikalisierten Bedeutung und dem zugrunde liegenden Bild wahrgenommen.

## 4.2 Aim of the project

Figurative language is an integral part of daily life, but very often idioms are so deeply rooted within a culture that the speaker, especially the young speaker, uses them without a clear understanding of their peculiarity. In confronting the rather limited phraseological competence of young generations, the *Emergenza Italiano: frasi fatte e disfatte* project primarily aimed at getting children and young people to reflect on idioms in the

spoken and written language, and to adopt and develop the use of idioms in order to improve their level of language comprehension and competence, and to expand their lexis.

### 4.3 Organizational structure and final users

The project involved pupils in their last year in primary school and pupils in their second year in middle school, and was concluded during combined Italian-Art lessons<sup>13</sup>. It was structured around activity related to idioms that are meaningful and motivating and so gave rise to curiosity and questions, stimulating and underpinning word acquisition in a cognitive approach to language.

### 4.4 Learning goals

The didactic pathway deployed was aimed at the expansion of phraseological competence meant as “the knowledge of the meaning [...] of an expression [...] the capacity to reproduce it in a specific context and to recognize the relationships of meaning between words in the text”<sup>14</sup>.

The “Indicazioni Nazionali” (‘National Guidelines’) propose language learning which starts from the natural predisposition of the pupil to reflect on linguistic phenomena; and which slowly develops hand in hand with his/her cognitive maturation in an increasingly broad and conscious manner.

### 4.5 Teaching work

The concepts of figurative language, metaphor and idiom were introduced to the pupils at the outset.

At a later stage, through the use of a wide range of sources (dictionaries, various kinds of text, newspapers, the pupils’ own material produced at home or in class), a small collection of idioms drawn from different semantic domains, such as parts of the body, natural elements or historical

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<sup>13</sup> The activities took place in 2015 and 2016 and involved:

- 85 fifth year primary school children in Fiano, Robassomero, Vallo, La Cassa
- 23 second year secondary school children at Robassomero.

<sup>14</sup> Quadro di riferimento della prova di italiano 2013, 7.

[https://invalsiareaprove.cineca.it/docs/file/QdR\\_Italiano\\_Obligo\\_Istruzione.pdf](https://invalsiareaprove.cineca.it/docs/file/QdR_Italiano_Obligo_Istruzione.pdf). (20.9.2018).

facts, was assembled in cooperation with the *Phraseologisches Forschungskolloquium* of Dresden.



Figure 3: introduction to figurative language

Pupil then analyzed, drew and contextualized the idioms and provided them with definitions and usage. They also thought about the origin of various idioms and made up stories like those of Pitzorno (1989) in order to propose a possible etymology.

The La Cassa primary school chose idioms lexically linked to food, such as *lasciare cuocere nel suo brodo* (let somebody cook in his own broth) ‘let them stew in their own juice’, *avere le mani di pasta frolla* (to have hands of shortcrust) ‘to have butter fingers’, *tutto fa brodo* (anything makes broth) ‘anything goes’, *essere un salame* (to be a sausage) ‘to be a silly sausage’. The children drew their inspiration from *Parlare a vanvera* by Bianca Pitzorno in order to invent a tale to explain the origin of idioms and made a drawing.

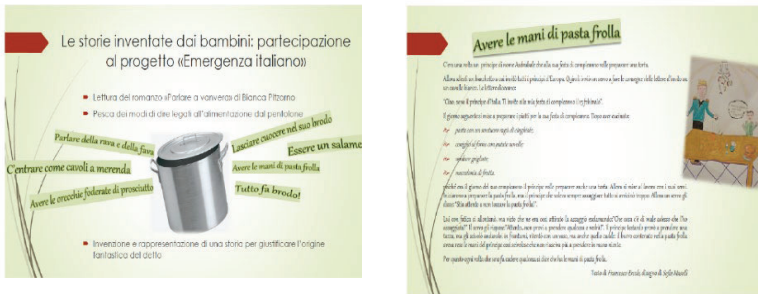


Figure 4: classwork

The Fiano Primary School (with the teachers Mara Papurello and Teresa Tulipano), used the project to make up for the time lost by families and schools in passing on the Italian language. The widespread use of the new media has caused a crisis in the construction of knowledge, including language knowledge, among children who are often immersed in a continuous one-way flow of information, and lack any possibility to discuss, recast or contextualize such information.

#### 4.6 The Database of Italian idioms

The drawings and stories of the children from the various classes were presented to the students attending the Seminar on Italian Phraseology I held at the *Sommersemester* 2015 in Dresden. The student group, including some Italian Erasmus students, analyzed and discussed the material which was then submitted again to analysis by the *Phraseologisches Forschungskolloquium* group and the *Digitalianità* seminar. Some problems which emerged in the first phase of the project were useful in outlining the characteristics of a didactically useful drawing. The second phase of the project and the discussion with students from the Technische Universität and others contributed to clarifying this issue through metalinguistic reflection. The resulting material is being used to form the basis of the linguistic-situational corpus of idioms in Italian, whose development is presently underway at the Università della Valle d'Aosta. The main objective is to present the idiom as a prototype both from a strictly linguistic point of view and from that of the situation in which it can be employed. This information is exactly what is vital for correct use, but also the least “mapped out” by dictionaries. Below, some examples of the drawings.

In the drawing on the right (Fig. 5), representing the compositional meaning, a person is in bed with two hens. In the drawing on the left, representing the idiomatic meaning, there is a girl going to sleep very early. The time on the clock caused discussion, because 8 p.m. is not very early in Germany, where children often go to bed at 7 p.m.

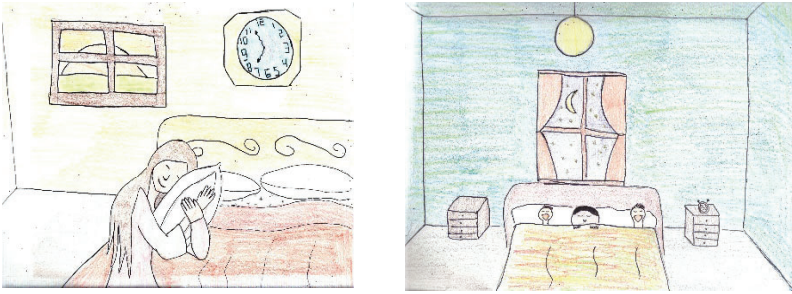


Figure 5: contextual-situational drawing of the idiom *andare a letto con le galline* (lit. to go to bed with hens) ‘to go to bed very early’ at left and the situation used as model at right

In the drawing on the right (Fig. 6), representing the compositional meaning, a girl is jumping from the frying pan into the coals. In the drawing on the left, representing the idiomatic meaning, a man is trying to escape from a prison through a tunnel that will lead him into the sewers.

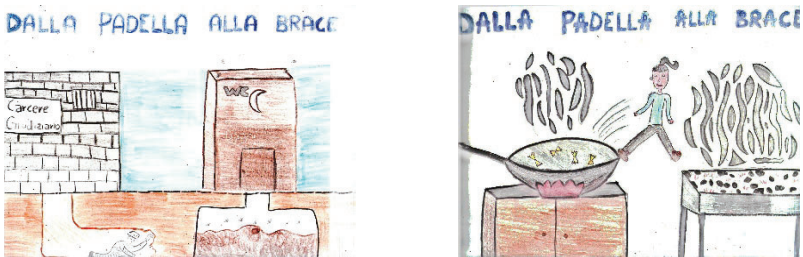


Figure 6: contextual-situational drawing of the idiom *cadere dalla padella alla brace* (lit. to fall from the frying pan into the coals) ‘out of the frying pan into the fire’ at left and the situation used as model at right

In the drawing on the right (Fig. 7), representing the compositional meaning, a girl has devils in her hair. In the drawing on the left, representing the idiomatic meaning, there is a very expensive electricity bill with the notice: “Mamma mia... ho un diavolo per capello. Ma che costi elevati... dovrò chiedere un prestito alla banca” (Mammamia ... I’m losing my rag. But that’s high ... I’ll have to ask for a bank loan”).





Figure 7: Contextual-situational drawing of the idiom *avere un diavolo per capello* (lit. to have a devil for each hair) ‘to lose your rag’ at left and the situation used as model at right

In the drawing on the right (Fig. 8), representing the compositional meaning, a boy is swallowing a toad. In the drawing on the left, representing the idiomatic meaning, there is an angry boy who must accept an unwelcome situation without saying a word.



Figure 8: Contextual-situational drawing of the idiom *ingoiare il rospo* (lit. to swallow the toad) ‘swallow a bitter pill’ at left and the situation used as model at right

A picture makes it easier to learn and memorize the idiom as it links different learning styles. In a society like ours in which we are continuously bombarded by images we cannot think of removing them from teaching, if it is to be really effective. Language can no longer be analyzed in a laboratory, as if it were an insect, because the thrill of learning a new language, which must also attract our emotional side, would be lost.



## 5 Swot Analysis of the use of pictures in phraseodidactics

SWOT<sup>15</sup> analysis is a very useful technique for planning projects. It is principally used in business, but can be equally well applied *mutatis mutandis* in all types of project. The strengths of the use of drawings as in our study are that they allow better understanding, learning and memorizing better (see also Konecny / Autelli 2013) and also contribute to getting to know the facts that arise and the overall content. They permit empathetic instead of conceptual learning. The combination of language + picture reinforces and clarifies, defines and completes what has to be communicated (see for example advertising). Furthermore, pictures can also be used in transmitting the cultural reality of a country (Winkler Pegoraro 2012) which often has an essential role in idioms. Drawings help to shine light on the dark side of the idiomatic moon: the compositional meaning. The weakness of our approach is that drawings need to be interpreted, leading to a potential risk of misunderstanding. In order to avoid this problem they must be planned in detail and be of good quality. Introducing pictures into phraseodidactics offers a great opportunity to create a new study area in linguistics at the intersection between phraseology and didactics. This could provide, as a consequence, new didactic instruments to improve the phraseological knowledge of learners. Whether the scientific community will accept this experiential but well-founded approach is hard to say now, but more systematic research with valid results presented to the international community of linguists and pedagogues would be the first step in a previously unexplored direction. Time will tell if this is the beginning of a new path or not.

## 6 Conclusions

Idioms require a didactic approach that allows learners to adopt a cognitive approach to learning, based on the iconic character of idioms. They have to focus their attention on the iconic-compositional meaning of the idiom, establishing a motivated connection with the figurative meaning. Some of the activities undertaken showed how pictures not only help to collocate idioms more correctly in various linguistic and situational contexts, but also to memorize them better through the figurative-associative processes they are based on.

Although drawings must be interpreted, meaning a potential risk of misunderstanding, a good drawing is an opportunity we cannot miss.

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<sup>15</sup> SWOT is an acronym for Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats.

Drawings are perfect for didactic purposes and to transmit the cultural reality which lies behind a language. Pictures may not only represent a new didactic instrument, but also open a new research field in phraseology.

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## CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

# ÜBERSETZUNG UND PHRASEOLOGIE MIT BESONDEREM BEZUG AUF DAS VERSTEHEN VON PHRASEMEN

LORENZA REGA

### Abstract

The article deals with several issues: variation in the meaning of phrasemes in different contexts, shown by means of the phraseme *in Anspruch nehmen* in a German *Patentgesetz* (Patents Act); the difficulty non-mother-tongue readers have in perceiving that a syntagm is a phraseme, particularly in cases where the phraseme could be interpreted literally because it interacts in some way with the frames-and-scenes in which it is used; difficulty in translating a phraseme not recorded in the dictionaries (in cases where the phraseme might also be a metaphor); difficulty in translating puns containing phrasemes. Examples from Max Weber, Eva Menasse and Kurt Lanthaler are presented to illustrate and discuss the issues presented.

### 1 Einführung

In den letzten Jahrzehnten haben übersetzungswissenschaftliche Forschungsarbeiten sehr stark zugenommen. In den Anfängen in den Sechziger / Siebziger Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts ging es vor allem darum, die Übersetzung als akademisches Fach zu etablieren: Dabei standen die Ausarbeitung von übersetzungswissenschaftlichen, allgemeinen, sprachenpaarübergreifenden Theorien und die Überlegungen zum Begriff Äquivalenz im Vordergrund; gut repräsentiert waren aber auch die Arbeiten über kontrastive sprachenpaarbezogene Aspekte der Morphosyntax, der

Lexikologie und Terminologie, sowie auch der Textologie. Infolge des zunehmenden Interesses an den Fachsprachen nahm exponentiell auch das Interesse an der Fachübersetzung zu - nicht zuletzt auch wegen der höheren Systematisierungsmöglichkeit dank der ausgeprägten Standardisierung der Fachtexte sowie wegen des zunehmenden Bedarfs an Fachübersetzungen und in den letzten Jahren auch infolge des zunehmenden Interesses für das Fachübersetzen seitens der EU-Institutionen (man denke an die Schaffung des European Master's in Translation (EMT)).

Nicht zuletzt wegen der stärkeren Hervorhebung der Forderung, dass die Übersetzer bilingual und bikulturell sein müssen, orientiert sich heute die übersetzungswissenschaftliche Forschungsarbeit immer mehr an sprachenpaarübergreifenden Themen wie Qualität, neue Instrumente für die vollautomatische bzw. computergestützte Übersetzung, Pre- und Post-editing, Lokalisierung usw. Dabei rücken die Forschungen zu sprachenpaarbezogenen kontrastiven Themen etwas in den Hintergrund – auch weil man argumentiert, dass sie eher in die kontrastive Linguistik als in die Translatologie gehören. Sie bleiben aber zentral für das Übersetzen, denn in der Praxis kämpft der Übersetzer tagtäglich mit sprachenpaarbezogenen Problemen in seiner hochkomplexen Tätigkeit, die eben auch von der Reflexion über linguistische Strukturen und über deren Vergleich stark abhängt – selbstverständlich immer die Funktion des jeweiligen linguistischen Elements im Ko- und Kontext vor Augen haltend.

## **2 Übersetzung und Phraseologie**

### **2.1 Klassifikation und Charakteristika von Phrasemen in übersetzungsbezogener Hinsicht**

Die Phraseologie ist ein Feld, das für das Übersetzen insoweit eine wichtige Rolle spielt, als sie es hinsichtlich des Verstehens im Allgemeinen, des Stils<sup>1</sup> insbesondere (aber nicht nur) in der literarischen Übersetzung, der Erwartungen des zielsprachlichen Lesers und somit der jeweiligen Übersetzungsentscheidungen besonders beeinflussen kann.

Wenn man ferner den Begriff von Phrasem (Wortverbindung oder syntaktische Fügung, deren Gesamtbedeutung sich nicht aus den Einzelbedeutungen der Wörter ableiten lässt) berücksichtigt, liegt der Schluss nahe, dass ein sehr hoher Anteil unserer Sprachen phraseologisch ist, was

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<sup>1</sup> Vgl. hierzu insbesondere Dietz (1999), der auf die rhetorischen Stilelemente in der Phraseologie eingegangen ist.

zur Folge hat, dass sich die Übersetzer mit der Phraseologie ständig konfrontieren müssen.

Die folgende auf Wotjak / Heine (2007, 42) basierende Klassifikation zeigt eindeutig, wie hoch der Anteil der Phraseme in den Sprachen ist:

*Phraseme unterhalb der Satzebene*

1. Wortidiome / Phraseolexeme; referieren als Benennungseinheiten auf Objekte, Vorgänge, Sachverhalte und sind vollidiomatisch<sup>2</sup> (*jdn durch den Kakao ziehen*) oder teilidiomatisch (*einen Streit vom Zaun brechen*); lexikalisiert und in zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern meistens vorhanden;
2. Kollokationen; nichtidiomatisch; meistens lexikalisiert, nicht immer in zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern vorhanden; dazu gehören auch die Fachkollokationen (*eine Rechnung ausstellen, ein Urteil fällen*);
3. Funktionsverbgefüge (*Verwendung finden, in Kontakt treten, in Anspruch nehmen*); nichtidiomatisch;
4. Konjunktionale und präpositionale grammatische Relatoren; nichtidiomatisch (*weder ... noch*);
5. Gesprächsspezifische Formeln; nichtidiomatisch, dienen der Gesprächssteuerung, der Verständnissicherung, dem Kommunikationsmanagement; situationsgebunden.

*Phraseme als satz- und satzwertige Einheiten*

1. Routineformeln; voll-, teil-, nichtidiomatisch (*Hals- und Beinbruch*);
2. Sprichwörter; voll-, teil-, nichtidiomatisch;

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<sup>2</sup> Idiomatisierung ist „der Prozeß der semantischen Veränderung eines komplexen sprachlichen Ausdrucks, so dass seine Bedeutung nicht mehr allein auf der Basis der Bedeutung der einzelnen Teile bestimmt werden kann. Idiomatizität ist der „Grad der Idiomatisierung einer Wortbildung oder eines Phraseologismus“ (Glück 2000, 285-286). Man vergleiche hierzu auch die Begriffe „semantische Idiomatizität als graduelle Eigenschaft von Phraseologismen“ sowie „vollidiomatisch, teilidiomatisch und nicht-idiomatisch“ bei Burger (2007a, 31-32), wobei v.a. vollidiomatisch und teil-idiomatisch für den Übersetzer besonders wichtig sind.



### 3. Formelhafte Texte; (Todesanzeigen, Danksagungen, Glückwunschtex-te, juristische Texte usw.).

Dabei ist zu betonen, dass jedes Phrasem nicht nur einen semantischen, sondern auch einen pragmatischen Wert hat, wie Burger (2007b, 107) klar unterstrichen hat: “It is well known that semantic and pragmatic aspects cannot be clearly separated, and this is especially true for phraseology.”

Die Klassifikation sowie die Erkenntnis, dass Phraseme einen pragmatischen Wert haben und dass ihre Bedeutung je nach Funktion im jeweiligen Text variieren kann<sup>3</sup>, d.h. also auch, dass sie sehr oft Disambiguierungsschwierigkeiten bereits bei den Muttersprachlern bereiten können, zeigen, dass sich die Übersetzungstätigkeit qualitativ und quantitativ intensiv mit der Phraseologie konfrontieren muss. Es ist vielleicht kein Zufall, dass Koller, der einer der wichtigsten Translationswissenschaftler ist, 1977 einen Funktionen-katalog der Phraseologismen erstellte. Pragmatik und Funktion sind fundamental auch für die Translatologie. Es ist auch kein Zufall, dass der Begriff Äquivalenz, die in der traditionellen kontrastiven Phraseologieforschung überwiegend nach den klassischen Parametern Semantik und Syntax ermittelt wurde, eine Erweiterung zu weiteren Parametern gefunden hat, die mit der Reflexion über den umstrittenen Begriff Äquivalenz in der Translatologie Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen. Die Vergleichsversuche in der kontrastiven Phraseologieforschung betreffen: Unterschiede in der stilistischen Schattierung der L1- und L2-Phraseologismen; Unterschiede im Bekanntheits- und Geläufigkeitsgrad; Unterschiede in der inneren Form und v.a. in den kulturell basierten Komponenten; Unterschiede in der illokutionären Kraft (Koller 2007, 605-610).

## 2.2 Das Problem des Verstehens von Phrasemen

Auch wenn die Phraseme in den Wörterbüchern als feste, lexikalisierte Einheiten erscheinen, kann ihre Bedeutung – wie eben gesagt - je nach Textsorte, Situation, neuer Funktion des Textes in der Zielsprache variieren. Aufgabe des Übersetzers ist es, bei seiner Tätigkeit all diesen Faktoren im Allgemeinen Rechnung zu tragen.

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<sup>3</sup> Insbesondere für die Übersetzung ist die Entwicklung in der Phraseologieforschung erfreulich, sich – anstatt auf eine Typologisierung der Funktionen von Phraseologismen – auf Forschungen zu Erscheinungsweise und Funktion der Phraseologismen in Bezug auf konkrete Texte bzw. Textmuster und Textsorten zu konzentrieren (Burger 2007a: 156).

Wenn man z. B. auch nur ein Funktionsverbgefüge wie „in Anspruch nehmen“ berücksichtigt, fällt sofort ins Auge, wie die Übersetzung sogar in der gleichen Textsorte bzw. im gleichen Text variieren kann, insbesondere in juristischen Texten: z. B. tritt es im deutschen Patentgesetz fast ausschließlich in Verbindung mit dem Wort *Priorität* auf, manchmal aber auch mit einer Person, und die Bedeutung muss im Ko- und Kontext eruiert werden, wie man anhand der folgenden Beispiele sehen kann<sup>4</sup>.

- (1) a. Wird ein Patent auf Grund eines auf widerrechtliche Entnahme (§ 21 Abs. 1 Nr. 3) gestützten Einspruchs widerrufen oder führt der Einspruch zum Verzicht auf das Patent, so kann der Einsprechende innerhalb eines Monats nach der amtlichen Mitteilung hierüber die Erfindung selbst anmelden und *die Priorität des früheren Patents in Anspruch nehmen*.
- b. Se un brevetto viene revocato sulla base di una denuncia per usurpazione (§21 c. 1 n.3) o se l'opposizione comporta la rinuncia al brevetto, entro un mese dalla comunicazione ufficiale al riguardo, lo stesso opponente può depositare l'invenzione e *rivendicare la priorità del brevetto antecedente*.
- (2) a. § 9a Abs. 1 bis 3 gilt nicht für biologisches Material, das im Bereich der Landwirtschaft zufällig oder technisch nicht vermeidbar gewonnen wurde. Daher kann *ein Landwirt* im Regelfall *nicht in Anspruch genommen werden*, wenn er nicht diesem Patentschutz unterliegendes Saat- oder Pflanzgut angebaut hat.
- b. Il § 9a comma 1-3 non si applica per materiali biologici ottenuti accidentalmente o in maniera tecnicamente inevitabile nel settore dell'agricoltura. Perciò, di norma, *non è possibile avviare un'azione contro un agricoltore che ha piantato sementi e postime che non rientrano nella tutela del brevetto*.

Vor der korrekten Interpretation und Umformulierung eines Phrasems in der Zielsprache stellt sich aber die Frage – besonders für einen Nichtmuttersprachler –, zu begreifen, dass es sich eben um ein Phrasem handelt, das als ein Ganzes rezipiert werden muss.

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<sup>4</sup> § 7 (2) und § 9c (3) des deutschen Patentgesetzes (<https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/patg/BJNR201170936.html>)

Die Übersetzung ins Italienische ist von der Autorin des Beitrags erstellt worden.

Mit anderen Worten, besonders im Falle einer Redewendung muss nämlich der Übersetzer zuerst verstehen, dass es sich eben um eine idiomatische Redewendung handelt – und nicht um eine kreative Metapher oder sogar um einen Ausdruck, der wörtlich zu verstehen ist. Manchmal deutet der Übersetzer eine idiomatische Redewendung (bzw. eine feste und lexikalisierte Metapher) wörtlich aus, weil er sie nicht als solche erkennt – vor allem wenn sie in einen besonderen Ko- und Kontext eingebettet ist.

Man berücksichtige folgende Beispiele:

- (3) „Das nicht“, sagte sie und beugte sich, soweit es Schwerkraft, Tresen und Überbau zuließen, zu mir herüber, „das nicht. Aber ein bißchen herwärts schauen sollte man.“ Ich schaute herwärts. Und dann schaute ich wieder weg. *Holz vor der Hütten. Möpse.* In diesem Fall traf das Wort die Sache. Und die Alkoholfahne der Dame traf mich (Lanthaler 1993, 94)
- (4) Jetzt kam der anstrengendste Teil. Das Netz mußte von Hand an den Dämpfer herangezogen werden. Zu zwölf standen wir gedrängt nebeneinander, griffen auf Kommando in die Maschen und zogen, *was das Zeug hielt.* „Hiev up! Hiev up!“ Zentimeterweise zerrten wir das Netz über das Schanzkleid, rissen ihn aus der See (Lanthaler 1998, 25)

Im Beispiel (3) ist die idiomatische Redewendung *Holz vor der Hütte* ‘große Brüste haben’ (in der Variante *Holz vor der Hütten*) durch die *scenes-and-frames-Interaktion*<sup>5</sup> einer Berglandschaft evoziert, in der man an Holz, (Berg)hütten, Hunde usw. denkt. Das ist eine Situation, in der verschiedene Studierende von MA-Übersetzungskursen die Textpassage wörtlich, d.h. als Holz und Hunde vor der Hütte, und nicht als einen üppigen Busen gedeutet und übersetzt haben. Das gleiche Problem hat sich bei dem Verstehen der Redewendung *was das Zeug hielt* ergeben, die viele Studierende wörtlich verstanden und übersetzt haben, d. h. das Zeug als das Netz, das eine Fischmenge enthielt (die *scenes-and-frames* betraf in diesem Fall einen Fischfang). Freilich, man hätte über den besonderen Dativ (*vor der Hütten*) sowie im Allgemeinen intensiver über den Kontext reflektieren müssen und man kann einwenden, dass die Studierenden die Sprache nicht so gut

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<sup>5</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang ist der Begriff der *scenes-and-frames*-Semantik besonders wichtig, den Vannerem und Snell-Hornby an die Translationstheorie angewendet haben. Dabei wird die Interaktion zwischen dem *frame*, nämlich dem Text und seinen linguistischen Komponenten, und den kognitiven *scenes*, die vom Gesamt-*frame* des Textes in der Vorstellung des Lesers gelöst werden, betont (Vannerem / Snell-Hornby 1986, 189-192). Vgl. auch Švejc 2004, 238).

beherrschen – was ohne weiteres nicht zu bestreiten ist. Dabei handelt es sich aber anscheinend um ein Problem, das nicht nur Studierende, sondern auch Berufsübersetzer betrifft, wenn einige Übersetzungsagenturen auf der Suche nach Revisoren sind, deren Muttersprache die Ausgangssprache der übersetzten Texte sein muss, weil sehr viele semantische Fehler eben auf das Nichterkennen und folglich auf das Missverstehen von ausgangssprachlichen idiomatischen Redewendungen zurückzuführen sind.

Die beiden Fälle beweisen u. a., wie stark sich der Übersetzer von Frame und Skript beeinflussen lassen kann.

In der Phraseologieforschung ist allgemein anerkannt, dass idiomatische Redewendungen (und generell Phraseme) auch in der Muttersprache semantisch komplexer und schwerer handzuhaben sind als Wörter, eben weil eine idiomatische Redewendung als ein Ganzes (phraseologische Bedeutung – *overall meaning* im Sinne Burgers 2007b, 90) verstanden werden muss.

Wenn dies bereits in der Muttersprache der Fall ist, wird die Situation selbstverständlich beim Übersetzen noch schwieriger. Der Übersetzer besitzt zwar sehr hohe Kenntnisse in der/n Fremdsprache/n, nicht immer allerdings Sprachkompetenz, Sprachgefühl und Sprachsinn eines Muttersprachlers des gleichen Bildungsniveaus. Wie „[...] die Common sense-Kompetenz eine wichtige Grundlage für die menschliche Fähigkeit [liefert], gemeinsame Kontexte für Meinen und Verstehen zu erzeugen [...] [und] somit eine ‚Kontextualisierungs‘-Kompetenz [ist]“ (Filatkina 2007, 138), „ein auf die ökologischen Bedingungen menschlichen Handelns bezogenes und durch diese Bedingungen pragmatisch konstituiertes und stabilisiertes intuitives Wissen [ist]“ (Feilke 1994, 363, in Filatkina 2007, 138), so ist das Sprachgefühl „ein durch praktischen Umgang durch Erfahrung erworbenes gefühlsmäßiges Wissen hinsichtlich dessen, was richtig ist im Sinne der Norm innerhalb des regional und soziokulturell differenzierten Gebrauchs einer Sprache; es ist ein Sediment im Bewusstsein solch normsensiblen, aktiven und passiven Umgangs mit ihr. Sodann gibt es ein höheres, umfassenderes, nicht auf die bloße Richtigkeit zielendes, in Richtung mit Sprache gehendes Sprachgefühl, das wir, um es deutlicher abzusetzen, „Sprachsinn“ nennen: ein stark individuell geprägtes, ebenfalls intuitives, nicht wissenschaftliches, sondern noch immer naives Bewusstsein dessen, was mit Sprache „gemacht“ werden kann.“ (Gauger / Oesterreicher 1982, 63-64).

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die Fähigkeit wichtig, zwischen (möglicher) Wörtlichkeit und (absoluter) Nichtwörtlichkeit in den verschiedenen Ko- und Kontexten zu unterscheiden, wobei bereits ein Muttersprachler

Schwierigkeiten haben kann<sup>6</sup>. Im ersten Fall kann die phraseologische Bedeutung, d.h. die *overall meaning*, zumindest vom Muttersprachler aufgrund seines Sprachgefühls rekonstruiert werden. Die Feststellung / Identifizierung der vollständigen Nichtwörtlichkeit gestaltet sich im Einzelfall schwierig, und zwar schon rein technisch-praktisch, wenn die idiomatische Redewendung selbst in einsprachigen Wörterbüchern nicht eingetragen ist, und / oder unter phraseologisch-theoretischem Aspekt, wenn sie einen metaphorischen Charakter hat<sup>7</sup>.

Es wird argumentiert, dass *jdm einen Korb geben* idiomatischer ist als *die Katze aus dem Sack lassen*, weil mit „Korb“ „Ablehnung“ nicht in Verbindung gesetzt werden kann, während die Katze, die befreit wird, auf ein Geheimnis, das verraten wird, anspielen kann<sup>8</sup>.

Für den Übersetzer in die Muttersprache kann aber der zweite Idiomtyp besonders problematisch sein, weil er manchmal die Idiomatizität nicht begreift und ferner – auch wenn er sie begreift – eine wörtliche Reproduktion des Phrasems riskiert, weil er keine zufriedenstellende Entsprechung in der Zielsprache gefunden hat. Dies bedeutet, dass das Idiom nicht phraseologisch, sondern metaphorisch kreativ interpretiert wird. Wenn *die Katze aus dem Sack lassen* auch einen Nichtmuttersprachler hinsichtlich einer möglichen Wörtlichkeit misstrauisch macht, gibt es andere v.a. stärker oder schwächer modifizierte Redewendungen, die Zweifel in dieser Hinsicht entstehen lassen. Dietz führt einige sehr

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<sup>6</sup> Vgl. hierzu die Analyse der Semantik von Phraseologismen und insbesondere den Begriff der Lesart des Phraseologismus in Burger (2007a: 59-85) und die Auseinandersetzung von Dietz mit dem Themenkreis Phraseologie und Tropen (insbesondere Metapher und Metonymie, Dietz 1999, 24).

<sup>7</sup> Ein interessantes Beispiel ist *mit der Kirche ums Dorf fahren*. Dabei handelt es sich um eine idiomatische Wendung, die keinen eindeutigen metaphorischen Charakter hat, weil kein eindeutiges Bild dieser idiomatischen Wendung zu Grunde liegt. Wenn man nicht weiß, dass man unter Kirche die Kirchengemeinde versteht, ist es v.a. für einen Nichtmuttersprachler besonders schwierig, das Bild einer Kirche, mit der man um/durch ein Dorf fährt, mit der Bedeutung von „eine Sache kompliziert angehen; unnötige Umwege machen“ in Verbindung zu setzen. *Die Katze aus dem Sack lassen* hat dagegen einen metaphorischen Charakter, weil ein Bild hier klar vor Augen präsentiert wird.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. zum Thema auch Dobrovol'skij / Piirainen (2009, 60), die eben die idiomatische Redewendung “die Katze aus dem Sack lassen” gründlich diskutieren, um darauf hinzuweisen, dass “bei der Bestimmung des Status eines Idioms auf seine Dekompositionalität [...] nicht Syntax, sondern primär Semantik [ist]” und dass “die Teilbarkeit der semantischen Struktur des Idioms [...] von der Struktur der zugrunde liegenden Metapher [abhängt]. Die Metapher bewirkt also sowohl die Motivation des gesamten Idioms als auch seine Teilbarkeit.”

überzeugende Beispiele von Redewendungen an, deren wörtlicher Wahrheitsgehalt sich nicht a priori widerlegen lässt<sup>9</sup>.

In Webers *Politik als Beruf* und *Wissenschaft als Beruf* findet man sehr interessante Beispiele von (modifizierten) Redewendungen, die von den Übersetzern unterschiedlich wiedergegeben worden sind, je nachdem ob sie die Textpassage als eine teil-idiomatische Redewendung oder als eine kreative Metapher interpretiert haben.

- (5) a. „Die Politik bedeutet ein *starkes langsames Bohren von harten Brettern* mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß zugleich.“ (Weber 1994, 88).
- b. „La politica consiste in un *lento e tenace superamento di dure difficoltà*, da compiersi con passione e discernimento al tempo stesso.“ (Giolitti 1976, 120, aber auch Tuccari 2001, 113).
- c. „Politica significa *forare con forza e a lungo dure tavole*, con passione e precisione insieme.“ (Donolo 1994, 86).
- d. „La politica è un *forte e lento trapanare di tavole dure* con passione e misura nello stesso tempo.“ (Coccia 1997, 116).

Das Beispiel ist in vieler Hinsicht interessant. Im Internet ist *ein dickes Brett bohren* als idiomatische Wendung eingetragen:

*Dicke Bretter bohren* ist eine deutsche Redewendung für die Arbeit an schwierigen Problemen, die man nur mit viel Geduld lösen kann. Ein gutes Beispiel ist der Umweltschutz. Zwar haben schon im 19. Jahrhundert einige Menschen sehr sensibel auf die Industrialisierung und den rücksichtslosen Umgang mit der Natur reagiert. Doch erst in den vergangenen 30 bis 40 Jahren entwickelte sich bei uns eine starke und bunte „Umweltbewegung“. Wollen Sie ein paar „dicke Bretter“ kennen lernen, an denen die Umweltschützer seither gebohrt haben<sup>10</sup>?

*Ein dickes Brett bohren* bedeutet „mit einem langwierigen Problem beschäftigt sein; eine komplizierte Aufgabe zu lösen haben, die Geduld erfordert“<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> *Ich fahre für mein Leben gern Ski*, wobei theoretisch gemeint sein kann, dass die Person tödliche Gefahren auf sich nehmen oder in einer bestimmten Situation sogar sein Leben opfern würde, wenn ihr dadurch ein besonderes Skierlebnis ermöglicht würde (Dietz 1999, 224); das Gleiche gilt für *ich werde Dir helfen* (Dietz 1999, 252-256) und für *ins Wasser gehen* (270).

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.hueber.de/media/36/tga3L06-landeskunde.pdf>, [8.06.2017].

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.phraseo.de/phrase/ein-dickes-brett-bohren>, [8.06.2017].

Im *Phraseo* (<http://www.phraseo.de/>) wird festgestellt, dass es zwei Varianten gibt:

- Ein dickes Brett bohren
- Dicke Bretter bohren

Als konkrete Verwendungsbeispiele werden einige Zitate von Schröder und Merkel geliefert:

Europa ist ein sehr dickes Brett, das man bohren muss. Das weiß jeder, der das einmal gemacht hat. (Schröder)

Ich fürchte, dass ich da noch ein dickes Brett bohren muss und dieses Mal noch nicht das gewünschte Ergebnis erzielen werde. (Merkel).

Im Internet<sup>12</sup> wird Folgendes angeführt:

*Dicke Bretter bohren (müssen)* – große Anstrengungen unternehmen, bis man ein Ziel erreicht. Als *Dünnbrettbohrer* wird hingegen bezeichnet, wer schnell aufgibt oder kurzatmig-oberflächlich denkt.

Beim Surfen findet man sogar ein Blog: „Vom Bohren dicker Bretter – unser neues Blog“, in dem folgende Aussagen zu finden sind:

Max Weber hat in seinem kurzen Leben viele schlaue Dinge gesagt und geschrieben - so zum Beispiel folgende Weisheit: „Die Politik bedeutet ein starkes langsames Bohren von harten Brettern mit Leidenschaft und Augenmaß zugleich“ (Weber 1919, 66).

Ziemlich richtig! Aber: Nicht nur die Politik, sondern auch die Politikwissenschaft ist ein weites Feld, das durch unzählige harte Bretter und viele Bohrer charakterisiert ist. (Update: wir haben den offiziellen Namen auf “Bretterblog” verkürzt.) Im “Bretterblog” wollen wir uns mit Augenmaß und Leidenschaft mit einigen Brettern der globalen Politik auseinandersetzen.“

Und sogar ein Buch von Alexander Kluge führt diesen Titel: *Das Bohren harter Bretter - 133 politische Geschichten*. Die Redewendung wird aber im Duden Wörterbuch nicht aufgeführt, in dem man nur „*das Brett bohren, wo es am dünnsten ist* - sich eine Sache leichtmachen“ findet. Das Gleiche gilt auch für zweisprachige Wörterbücher.

Es stellt sich nun die Frage, ob die Redewendung als solche bereits zur Zeit Webers existierte oder ob er die Redewendung *das Brett bohren, wo es*

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<sup>12</sup> <http://www.redewendungen-sprichwoerter.de/redewendungen-sprichwoerter/Dicke-Bretter-bohren-muessen.html>, [08.06.2017].

*am dünnsten ist* so erfolgreich modifizierte, dass sie zu einer selbstständigen (antonymischen) idiomatischen Wendung v.a. im politischen Diskurs geworden ist<sup>13</sup>.

Recherchiert man im DeReKo<sup>14</sup>, so sieht man, dass diese Wortverbindung absolut gesehen ziemlich häufig vorkommt und auf jeden Fall sehr viel häufiger als *das Brett bohren, wo es am dünnsten ist* (u. zw. mit 1581 vs. 50 Okkurrenzen), so dass man sie als eine echte idiomatische Redewendung ansehen kann. Dabei ist es unbestreitbar, dass diese Redewendung v.a., wenn nicht ausschließlich, im politischen Diskurs verwendet wird. Dies wirft u.a. auch das Problem des exklusiven Gebrauchs gewisser idiomatischer Redewendungen in bestimmten Bereichen (in diesem Fall im politischen) auf.

Berücksichtigt man nun die verschiedenen Übersetzungen dieser Textpassage, kann Folgendes festgestellt werden: Der Übersetzer in (5b) hat die Textstelle als eine echte idiomatische Redewendung interpretiert, die keine Entsprechung im Italienischen hat und sie mit einer Paraphrase wiedergegeben: der Hinweis auf die damals wahrscheinlich modifizierte Redewendung, die den raffinierten essayistischen Stil Webers kennzeichnet, wird nicht beibehalten, scheint aber die einzige mögliche Lösung. Zwei andere Übersetzer in (5c) u. (5d) haben sie dagegen wörtlich als eine Metapher interpretiert und auch im Italienischen beibehalten, aber der im Original erzielte Effekt geht verloren – eben weil das Italienische keine nahe Redewendung mit „Brett“ kennt – und die Metapher klingt im Italienischen letzten Endes plump, auch wenn es nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann, dass eine ähnliche idiomatische Redewendung in Zukunft auch im Italienischen verwendet wird, wenn sie in den politischen Diskurs Eingang fände.

Nachstehend wird ein anderes Beispiel aus Weber angeführt, das das gleiche Problem idiomatische Redewendung / Metapher präsentiert, auch wenn die Lösung in diesem Fall viel einfacher ist, weil das Bild vom Ende der/s Tage/s als Ende des Lebens in beiden Sprachen / Kulturen vorkommt.

- (6) a. «Abraham oder irgendein Bauer der alten Zeiten starb ‘alt und lebensgesättigt’, weil er im organischen Kreislauf des Lebens stand, weil sein Leben auch seinem Sinn nach ihm *am Abend seiner Tage* gebracht hatte, was ...» (Weber 1994, 10).
- b. «Abramo o un qualsiasi contadino dei tempi antichi moriva ‘vecchio e sazio’ della vita perché si trovava nell’ambito della

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. die Thematisierung von Metaphorisierung und Antonymisierbarkeit in Dietz (1999: 184-192).

<sup>14</sup> Dabei bedanke ich mich bei dem Kollegen Elmar Schafroth, der mir das Material im Cosmas 2 zur Verfügung gestellt hat.



vita organica, perché la sua vita, anche per il suo significato, *alla sera della sua giornata* gli aveva portato ...» (Giolitti 1976, 20).

- c. «Abramo o un qualsiasi contadino dei tempi antichi moriva ‘vecchio e sazio’ della vita perché si trovava nel ciclo organico della vita, poiché la sua vita, anche per quanto riguarda il suo senso, gli aveva portato *alla sera del suo giorno* ciò che poteva offrirgli, [...]» (Rossi 2001, 18).
- d. Abramo, come qualsiasi contadino dei tempi antichi, poteva morire “vecchio e sazio di giorni”, perché apparteneva al ciclo della vita organica, perché anche in relazione al proprio senso la vita gli aveva ormai dato, *sul finire dei suoi giorni*, quanto poteva offrirgli, [...] (Volontè 2008, 89).

Auch in diesem Fall gibt es einen direkten Bezug zu der lexikalisierten Redewendung *im Abend seines Lebens*, die eine Entsprechung auch im Italienischen hat (*al crepuscolo della vita, alla fine dell'esistenza*). Auch hier modifiziert Weber die Redewendung, diesmal um nicht zweimal das Wort „Leben“ zu nah im Kontext zu gebrauchen.

In zwei Fällen (6b) und (6c) ist die Übersetzung falsch, weil die modifizierte Redewendung als eine Metapher interpretiert wurde, die aber sehr unklar ist und auf den Tod nicht hinweist, wie Weber meinte. In (6d.) wird die Redewendung mit der entsprechenden italienischen Redewendung wiedergegeben, die auch auf die biblische Redewendung *sazio di giorni*<sup>15</sup> (‘lebensgesättigt’) hinweist und somit dem Satz einen zirkulären Verlauf verleiht.

Auch das folgende Beispiel, auch aus dem Krimi von Kurt Lanthaler *Grobes Foul* ist in übersetzungsbezogener Hinsicht interessant, weil es für den Übersetzer kaum möglich ist, die getarnte Verbindung zwischen *auf dem Bock sitzen* ‘auf dem Sitz der Zugmaschine’ und *keinen Bock haben* ‘keine Lust haben, nicht mehr wollen’ wiederzugeben, die im Text irgendwie mitschwingt.

- (7) Ich sprang von der Zugmaschine. Und schlug mit dem Knie auf. Es tat höllisch weh. [...] Ich *wollte nicht mehr. Wollte nicht mehr auf den Bock*. Nicht mehr über die Autobahnen fahren. Nicht mehr die Hänger quer durch die Lande ziehen. *Nicht mehr brauchbar sein*. Nicht mehr nichts mehr. (Lanthaler 1993, 5).

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<sup>15</sup> Auch mit der Anmerkung des Übersetzers, *Genesi*, 25,8 (*sazio di giorni*) versehen.

Die Situation wird besonders komplex, wenn die Phraseologismen, die eine textbildende Potenz haben, absichtlich modifiziert werden, um besondere Effekte zu erzielen – wie in der folgenden Textstelle aus *Vienna* von Eva Menasse.

8. a. Dolly Königsbee war in den Anekdotenschatz meiner Familie eingegangen, weil es kaum eine Redewendung und kein Fremdwort gab, das er nicht verdreht und verunstaltet hatte. [...] Die ältere Generation, die den früh verstorbenen Bankdirektor noch persönlich gekannt hatte, versuchte sogar seine rührend zufriedenen Mundwinkel aufzusetzen, wenn sie einen Satz mit der Wendung „wie der Königsbee gesagt hätte“ begann; die jüngere Generation hatte damit zu kämpfen, dass dieser Einleitungssatz irgendwann wegfiel, weil die Urheberschaft allen hinreichend bekannt schien. So unterlief es meiner Schwester in ihrer Kindheit immer wieder, dass sie Formulierungen wie „*um den Preis fleischen*“ oder „*mit der Kirche ins Dorf fallen*“ verwendete [...] *In diese Suppe mußt dir selbst hineinspucken*“, erwiderte prompt meine Mutter. „*Das ist doch seine Dämonen*“, setzte mein Onkel fort. „Ja, ja, aber immer *in der Maske des Biedermeiers*“, fügte seine Frau, die Tante Ka, hinzu. „*Ihr seid in allen Satteln ungerecht*“, klagte schauspielernd mein Bruder. „*Und Schlangen im Wolfspelz*“ [...] (Menasse 2007, 33-34).
- b. Dolly Königsbee era entrato a pieno titolo nel patrimonio aneddotico della famiglia perché non c'era quasi modo di dire o parola straniera che non riuscisse a distorcere o a deformare. [...] I rappresentanti della generazione più vecchia, che avevano conosciuto di persona il direttore di banca prematuramente scomparso, cercavano persino di imitarne la commovente soddisfazione con gli angoli della bocca, nel momento in cui iniziavano una frase con la formula «come avrebbe detto il Königsbee.» La generazione più giovane dovette lottare perché questa frase introduttiva venisse tralasciata, dato che la paternità dell'opera era sufficientemente nota a tutti (sic). Così, durante l'infanzia a mia sorella sfuggivano spesso espressioni come «*stirare sul prezzo*» oppure «*cadere dalla frittella alla brace*» [...] «*Perché non rompi le uova del piviere?*» replicava pronta la mamma. «*Questa poi sarebbe proprio la sua sfera di conferenza.*», continuava lo zio «*Sì, sì, ma sempre con la sua aria da saltarello*», aggiungeva sua moglie, zia Ka. «*Siete cattivi*

*come arpe*», accusava teatralmente mio fratello. «E *serpi travestite da lupi*». (Scarpa 2005, 24-25).

In diesem Fall gibt es mehrere eingesetzte idiomatische Redewendungen: *um den Preis feilschen*, *mit der Kirche ums Dorf fahren* (ugs selten), *unter der Maske*, *das ist jds ureigenste Domäne* (path od iron), *in die Suppe spucken* (sal selten) zusammen mit *die Suppe auslöffeln müssen* (sal), *ein Wolf im Schafspelz*, *in allen Sätteln gerecht sein* (form selten)<sup>16</sup>. Das Problem ist hier nicht so sehr die Wiedergabe von verzerrten, vom Ko- und Kontext losgelösten, nur zum Zweck des ironischen Textsinnes eingesetzten Redewendungen mit entsprechenden italienischen Redewendungen: Die Übersetzerin verwendet korrekt Redewendungen, die auch im Italienischen verzerrt sind und somit einen ironischen Charakter produzieren. Das Problem ist hier eher die Auffindung von italienischen idiomatischen Wendungen, die ebenso selten wie im Deutschen sind und zur Schaffung eines Mehrwerts insoweit beitragen, weil die Karikatur der sprachlichen Verfeinerungsversuche von Dolly Königsbee sogar potenziert wird.

### 3 Fazit

Der Gebrauch von korrekten, auch (eventuell spielerisch) modifizierten idiomatischen Redewendungen ist ein eindeutiges Zeichen einer sehr guten Beherrschung einer Sprache. Für den Übersetzer, der das Phrasem (und insbesondere die idiomatische Redewendung) als solches erkannt hat, ist die Auffindung der Bedeutung prinzipiell nicht besonders problematisch, weil idiomatische Redewendungen auf jeden Fall eine gewisse semantische Stabilität besitzen und lexikographische Werke immer besser werden. Problematisch bleiben aber sowohl ihr Erkennen als auch ihr entsprechendes Verstehen seitens eines Nichtmuttersprachlers, der sie wörtlich deuten kann, z. B. wenn sie mehr oder weniger modifiziert auftreten, so dass er dazu geführt wird, sie als echte Metaphern zu verstehen und zu übersetzen. Es handelt sich u.a. um eine heutzutage besonders interessante Situation, weil die Kommunikation immer schneller geworden ist und eine einst undenkbare Zahl von Sprachen, Kulturen und Personen betrifft, was auf längere Sicht zu einer noch ausgeprägteren Osmose zwischen den idiomatischen Redewendungen und den kreativen Metaphern führen könnte – ein Prozess, der keineswegs als ein Schlampigwerden bzw. eine Verbarbarisierung der Sprachen zu verstehen ist, sondern sogar als eine

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<sup>16</sup> Für die stilistischen Bewertungen vgl. Schemann (1993).

kontinuierliche Bereicherung, Hybridisierung der Sprachen und Kulturen verstanden werden soll.

Phraseme (und insbesondere idiomatische Redewendungen) sind Freud und Leid des Übersetzers, sie stellen allerdings auch jenen Teil der Übersetzungstätigkeit dar, der Kreativität, Flexibilität, Neugier, Kultur, Sprachgefühl und Sprachsinn verlangt und dank dem der Übersetzer sein ganzes meisterhaftes, manchmal aber nicht anerkanntes Können endlich mal nicht unter den Scheffel stellt.

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## CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

# HEINZ RIEDT UND THOMAS KOLBERGER ALS KOMPLIZEN ITALO CALVINOS? DIE DEUTSCHEN ÜBERSETZUNGEN DER PHRASEOLOGISMEN IM ROMAN *IL SENTIERO DEI NIDI DI RAGNO* (1947)

SABINE E. KOESTERS GENSINI

### Abstract

This paper focuses on the way the idioms in Italo Calvino's first novel (*Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno*, 1947) were translated in the two extant German editions of the book: Heinz Riedt's (1965) and the one published in 1992 under the pen name of Thomas Kolberger. To this end, 122 differently translated phraseological units (including idioms, collocations and formulas) were singled out for comparison, resulting in 9 distinct typologies (i.e., phraseological types supported with examples). Typology includes criteria such as style switching, faithfulness to the original, choice of translation devices of wider (or narrower) meaning and so on. Finally, I discuss the extent to which Kolberger's translation (as far as idioms are concerned) actually proved to be more faithful to the original than its 1965 predecessor.

### 1 Einleitung

„Der Übersetzer muss das Spiel des Autors komplizenhaft mit- und weiterspielen“ (<http://literaturuebersetzer.de/pages/uebersetzer-archiv/-kroe--ber.htm>).

Mit diesen Worten beschreibt Burkhart Kroeber, heute wohl der bedeutendste Sprachmittler aus dem Italienischen und einer der Übersetzer Italo Calvino, seine Tätigkeit als Translator Umberto Eco auf der Homepage des Verbandes deutscher Literaturübersetzer. Alles andere, so beendet er seine Ausführungen, führe „bestenfalls zu einer korrekten Wiedergabe des Inhalts“. Diese Aussage, eine von vielen, die besonders die stilistische Komplexität der Literaturübersetzung veranschaulicht, schließt auch die Problematik der vorliegenden Studie ein: die Übersetzungen der Phraseologismen, welche hier in Italo Calvino's Frühwerk „Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno“ (1947) und dessen deutschen Übertragungen von Heinz Riedt (1965) und Thomas Kolberger (1992) untersucht worden sind. Mit dieser Abhandlung soll nicht nur ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen Übersetzungen geliefert, sondern auch überprüft werden, inwiefern die Neuübersetzung von 1992 tatsächlich dem Anspruch gerecht wird, der nach Volker Kapp darin bestand, „die Konstruktionen Calvino's so stark nachzuahmen, wie es die deutsche Sprache zulässt, um so dem Werk zu einer besseren Aufnahme zu verhelfen“ (1996, 360). Aus diesem Grunde ist der folgende Aufsatz in vier Teile gegliedert: (1) Nach kurzen Ausführungen zum Werk Calvino's und zur Methodik dieser Untersuchung werden (2) die unterschiedlichen Übersetzungen der Phraseologismen mit dem Original und miteinander verglichen und (3) die Strategien aufgezeigt, die der Überarbeitung der Ersttranslation zu Grunde liegen, um dann abschließend (4) auf die oben angerissene Thematik des „komplizierten Mit- und Weiterspielens“ zwischen Autor und Übersetzer(n) zurückzukommen<sup>1</sup>.

## **2 Der Hintergrund der Untersuchung: Informationen zu Italo Calvino und methodisches Vorgehen**

Italo Calvino, der am 15.10.1923 in Kuba als Sohn italienischer Eltern geboren und am 19.9.1985 unerwartet in Siena verstorben ist, gehört ohne Zweifel zu den bedeutendsten italienischen Schriftstellern der Nachkriegszeit. Sein intellektuelles Werk, welches erheblich von seiner aktiven Teilnahme am italienischen Widerstand gegen den Faschismus geprägt ist, umfasst neben zahlreichen Schriften im politischen und kulturellen Bereich

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<sup>1</sup> Aus Platzgründen ist es in diesem Rahmen nicht möglich, den theoretischen Hintergrund dieser Untersuchung zu erläutern. Einen umfassenden Überblick über die Translationswissenschaft, die verschiedenen Übersetzungsarten und Übersetzungsstrategien und auch die Problematik der Übersetzung von Phraseologismen bieten Kittel et al. (2004) an.

besonders seine literarische Tätigkeit und wurde in viele verschiedene Sprachen übersetzt. Die größte Bedeutung kam hierbei Romanen, wie *Der Baron auf den Bäumen* (1957), *Der Ritter, den es nicht gab* (1959), *Der geteilte Visconte* (1952), *Die unsichtbaren Städte* (1972), *Wenn ein Reisender in einer Winternacht* (1979) oder auch dem hier untersuchten *Wo Spinnen ihre Nester bauen* (1947) zu.

Die Aufmerksamkeit, die Italo Calvino im Ausland erfahren hat, kann heute anhand des sogenannten *Fondo Calvino*s rekonstruiert werden, ein Archiv, welches in den Räumen des Fachbereiches *Letterature e culture moderne* der römischen Universität 'La Sapienza' öffentlich zugänglich ist. Mittlerweile besteht es aus über 1150 Übersetzungen Calvino's in 46 Sprachen und über 66 Ländern und umfasst einen Zeitraum von 1955 (Erscheinungsjahr der 1. Übersetzung) bis heute. Es handelt sich hierbei um eine Sammlung, die zu kontrastiven Sprach- und Übersetzungsstudien anregt und das Korpus für bedeutende, auch interdisziplinäre Forschungsprojekte an der Universität Rom ist<sup>2</sup>. Im linguistischen Bereich geht es dabei darum, anhand der Übersetzungen Calvino's auf verschiedenen Gebieten, so etwa der Prosodie, dem Rhythmus, der Syntax, der Variationslinguistik und- wie auch im vorliegenden Fall- der Phraseologismen kontrastiv zu arbeiten. In diesem Sinne verstehen sich die genannten Studien als Teil der linguistisch orientierten Übersetzungsforschung sowie der kontrastiven Linguistik und haben das Ziel, anhand von Übersetzungen die idiosynkratischen Merkmale der involvierten Sprachen aufzuzeigen, die unter anderem auch die Grundlage der Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten bilden (vgl. House 2004).

In diesem Rahmen soll es also um die deutschen Übersetzungen des Frühwerks Calvino's *Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno* (1947) gehen, welches zu den wenigen Schriften gehört, die mehrfach übersetzt worden sind. So ist die erste und 1965 erschienene Übersetzung von Heinz Riedt 1992 überarbeitet worden und unter dem Namen Thomas Kolberger im Carl Hanser Verlag erschienen. In der Tat handelt es sich bei dem neuen deutschen Translator um ein Pseudonym für das Lektorat des Verlages, welches die Übersetzung Riedt's überarbeitet hat, ohne vom diesem ein *Placet* für die neue Version zu erhalten (Hausmann / Kapp 2005). Wie bereits angedeutet, will die neue Übersetzung Calvino's Stil so weit nachahmen, wie es in der deutschen Sprache möglich ist und dem Autor auf diese Art zu einer

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<sup>2</sup> Es handelt sich hierbei in erster Linie um das Forschungsprojekt *Calvino, qui e altrove* (*Dipartimento di Lettere e culture moderne* der Universität 'La Sapienza'), welches von Laura Di Nicola koordiniert wird, eine von ihr selbst angeführte literarische Ausprägung und eine von der Autorin dieses Aufsatzes geleitete linguistische Ausrichtung aufweist. Erste Forschungsergebnisse werden in Koesters Gensini (2017a) und (2017b) vorgestellt.



besseren Aufnahme in deutschsprachigen Ländern verhelfen (Kapp 1996, 360).

Es kann hier detailliert weder auf die Sprache Italo Calvinos im Allgemeinen noch auf die des *Sentieros* im Speziellen eingegangen werden (vgl. hierzu besonders die Studien Mengaldos 1988, 1991, 1994, Koesters Gensini im Druck). Doch konnte in vorhergehenden Studien (Koesters Gensini 2017b) gezeigt werden, dass besonders der Gebrauch der Syntax, der Lexik und hier speziell der Phraseologismen die Sprache dieses Romans kennzeichnet (vgl. besonders Koesters Gensini im Druck). Hier soll diese Thematik erneut aufgegriffen werden, doch geht es nun darum zu untersuchen, inwiefern sich die beiden Übersetzungen von 1965 und 1992 im phraseologischen Bereich unterscheiden. Diese Problematik ist sowohl übersetzungsgeschichtlich als auch inter- und intralinguistisch interessant, da sie auch einen aufschlussreichen Zugang zur Rezeption von Phraseologismen eröffnet<sup>3</sup>.

Bevor die Ergebnisse der empirischen Studie zu den unterschiedlichen Übersetzungen erläutert werden, soll noch kurz die hier gewählte Untersuchungsmethodik vorgestellt werden: In einer ersten Phase wurden die beiden Übersetzungen des *Sentieros* komplett miteinander verglichen und alle Unterschiede im phraseologischen Bereich erfasst. Danach ist ermittelt worden, welchen italienischen Wortverbindungen die unterschiedlichen deutschen Phraseologismen entsprechen, um sie letztendlich sowohl untereinander als auch hinsichtlich des italienischen Originals zu vergleichen. Die Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung sollen im Folgenden vorgestellt werden.

### 3 Die unterschiedlichen Übersetzungen der Phraseologismen im Roman *Il sentiero dei nidi di ragno*

Es ist nicht möglich in diesem Rahmen die komplexe Fragestellung der Terminologie im Bereich der Phraseologieforschung zu diskutieren. So sei allein vermerkt, dass in der hier vorgenommenen Untersuchung zwischen drei unterschiedlichen Arten der Wortverbindung unterschieden worden ist und zwar zwischen „Idiomen“, „Kollokationen“ und „Formeln“. Unter „Idiom“ soll im Folgenden ein vollständig idiomatischer Ausdruck verstanden

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<sup>3</sup> Die Problematik der Rezeption von Phraseologismen stellt nach wie vor ein bedeutendes Forschungsdesiderat dar. Die Verstehensmodalitäten von nicht muttersprachlichen Sprechern besonders im Bereich der idiosynkratischen, nicht standardgemäßen Sprache können hier interessante Aufschlüsse bieten. Erste Untersuchungen in dieser Richtung werden in Koesters Gensini (im Druck) besprochen.

werden, das heißt ein Ausdruck, dessen Gesamtbedeutung nicht (mehr) aus den Einzelbedeutungen seiner Konstituenten hergeleitet werden kann (frei auf deutsch formuliert nach De Mauro 2005), unter „Kollokation“ eine feste Wortverbindung, die nicht oder nur schwach idiomatisch ist (vgl. Burger 2010, 52) und unter „Routineformel“ (hier kurz „Formel“) ein Ausdruck, mit Hilfe dessen immer wiederkehrende kommunikative Handlungen bewältigt werden, die auch als „kommunikative Routine“ bezeichnet werden können (vgl. Burger 2010, 55).

Zunächst ein Überblick über das gesamte Inventar der hier untersuchten italienischen Wortverbindungen und deren Äquivalente im Deutschen.

Phraseologische Kategorie/Texte	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
<b>Idiom</b>	68 (55%)	50 (41%)	31 (25%)
<b>Kollokation</b>	35 (29%)	8 (7%)	12 (10%)
<b>Formel</b>	19 (16%)	15 (12%)	15 (12%)
<b>Freie Wortverbindung</b>	--	49 (40%)	64 (53%)
<b>Total</b>	122	122	122

Tabelle 1. Italienische Wortverbindungen und phraseologische deutsche Äquivalente

Aus der zweiten Spalte der Tabelle geht zunächst hervor, dass im gesamten Text 122 Phraseologismen verschiedenartig übersetzt worden sind. Davon gehen 68 (55 %) auf italienische Idiome, 35 (29 %) auf italienische Kollokationen und 19 (16 %) auf italienische Formeln zurück. Als Beispiele für die phraseologische Kategorie der Idiome mögen folgende Wortverbindungen dienen, welche gemeinsam mit ihren deutschen Übersetzungen angeführt werden.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(1)	arricciare la pelle	den Schlund zusammenziehen	den Hals zusammenziehen
(2)	smaltire la carica	Herr werden	loswerden

Tabelle 2. Beispiele für italienische Idiome und deren deutsche Übersetzungen

Auf die gleiche Weise werden im Folgenden auch die Kategorien der Kollokationen und die der Formeln an Hand einiger Beispiele illustriert.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(3)	fare festa (alla moglie)	flach legen	alle Zärtlichkeiten erweisen
(4)	avere ragione	Recht geben	zustimmen

Tabelle 3. Beispiele für italienische Kollokationen und deren deutsche Übersetzungen

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(5)	vacca	gottserbärmliche Kuh	Kuh
(6)	in gamba	Hals- und Beinbruch	mach's gut

Tabelle 4. Beispiele für italienische Formeln und deren deutsche Übersetzungen

Den letzten beiden Spalten der oben angeführten Tabelle (Tab. 1) kann entnommen werden, dass beide Übersetzungen grundsätzlich dazu neigen, das Ausmaß an idiomatischen Lexemen aller drei Kategorien der Phraseologismen zu verringern. Wenn diese Tendenz auch bereits in der ersten Übersetzung von Heinz Riedt deutlich zum Ausdruck kommt, so wird sie in der zweiten, der von Thomas Kolberger, noch verstärkt. Dies wird besonders in der letzten Zeile der ersten Tabelle (Tab. 1) deutlich, aus der hervorgeht, dass in der Übersetzung Kolbergers über die Hälfte, genau 53 % der Phraseologismen mit freien Wortverbindungen übersetzt wurden, während dies in der Übersetzung Riedts für 40 % galt. Interessant erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang auch eine Differenzierung zwischen den einzelnen phraseologischen Kategorien. Im Gegensatz zu den Übersetzungen der Idiome, welche die eben genannte Gesamttendenz widerspiegeln, bleibt die Anzahl der Formeln in der Überarbeitung der Erstübersetzung konstant und die Kollokationen nehmen sogar zu. Rein zahlenmäßig legt diese Tatsache die Hypothese nahe, dass im Bereich der Übersetzung der Kollokationen tatsächlich eine Annäherung an den Stil Calvinos erreicht worden ist, welche allerdings insofern keine große Auswirkung auf die Gesamttendenz hat, als das quantitative Ausmaß der Kollokationen recht beschränkt ist. Auf die Hypothese einer Annäherung an den Stil Calvinos hinsichtlich der Überarbeitung der Erstübersetzung werden wir im Folgenden zurückkommen. Schon jetzt wird allerdings deutlich, dass die oben kommentierten Daten auf eine recht komplexe Situation hinweisen. Dies lässt es sinnvoll erscheinen, der quantitativen Analyse eine qualitative Untersuchung der Überarbeitungsstrategien folgen zu lassen. Diese wird im Folgenden vorgestellt.

## 4 Übersetzungsstrategien in der Überarbeitung des Textes Heinz Riedts

Als Erstes soll ein Überblick über die qualitativen Veränderungen in der Überarbeitung der phraseologischen Übersetzungen Riedts vermittelt werden. Hierbei wird auf Kategorien zurückgegriffen, die eigens für diese Untersuchung ermittelt worden sind und im Folgenden anhand von Beispielen erläutert werden sollen.

Überarbeitungsstrategie	Anzahl der Phraseologismen
3.1. Veränderung eines veralteten Sprachgebrauchs	40 (33%)
3.2. Wahl einer dem Originaltext lexikalisch näheren Übersetzung	30 (25%)
3.3. Korrektur einer Fehlübersetzung	15 (12%)
3.4. Wahl eines angemesseneren Sprachregisters	9 (7,5%)
3.5. Semantisch spezifischere Übersetzung	9 (7,5%)
3.6. Semantisch allgemeinere Übersetzung	6 (5%)
3.7. Wahl eines Phraseologismus	5 (4%)
3.8. Wahl eines gebräuchlicheren Synonyms	4 (3%)
3.9. (Mir) nicht nachvollziehbare Überarbeitung	4 (3%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>122 (100%)</b>

Tabelle 5. Typologie der Übersetzungsüberarbeitungsstrategien im Phraseologismusbereich

### 4.1 Veränderung eines veralteten Sprachgebrauchs

Aus der auf der folgenden Seite angeführten Tabelle 6 wird ersichtlich, dass ein Drittel der Veränderungen in der Überarbeitung der Erstübersetzung hinsichtlich der Phraseologismen in den Bereich der diachronen Sprachvariation fällt.

Auch wenn sich der diachrone Wert (im Sinne von Saussures *valeur*) einer bestimmten Sprachform nur sehr langsam verändert, so gilt hier zu bedenken, dass zwischen der Veröffentlichung des Originaltextes und der

Erstübersetzung 18 und zwischen der italienischen Erstveröffentlichung und der überarbeiteten Übersetzung Kolbergers 45 Jahre liegen.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(7)	smaltire la carica (S.7)	der Wärme Herr zu werden	die Wärme los zu werden
(8)	tenere nel caldo di sé (S.14)	in seiner tröstenden Obhut halten	in seiner Wärme aufnehmen
(9)	rigare dritti (S.102)	ins Lot bringen	sich anständig aufführen
(10)	trovarsi nel suo (S.134)	in seinem Fahr- wasser sein	in seinem Ele- ment sein

Tabelle 6. Beispiele für die Veränderung eines veralteten Sprachgebrauchs

Um zu beurteilen, welche der Übersetzungen dem Stil Calvino näher kommt, gilt es deshalb die variationslinguistischen Werte der einzelnen Formen zur Zeit ihrer Veröffentlichung zu bestimmen und miteinander zu vergleichen. In diesem Sinne kann sicherlich generell behauptet werden, dass die Phraseologismen, die Calvino in diesem Roman benutzt, sowohl zum Zeitpunkt seiner Veröffentlichung wie auch heutzutage einem durchaus zeitgenössischen Sprachregister entstammen, was für die von Heinz Riedt ausgewählten Äquivalente nicht in gleicher Weise behauptet werden kann. Aus diesem Grunde scheint die modernisierende Überarbeitung einer mittlerweile als veraltet empfundenen Sprachwahl tatsächlich Calvino's Stil besser zu entsprechen.<sup>4</sup>

## 4.2 Wahl einer dem Originaltext lexikalisch näheren Übersetzung

Ähnliches gilt auch für die 30 Phraseologismen, die in der Erstübersetzung zwar nicht sinnentfremdend übersetzt worden sind, für die aber in der Überarbeitung eine lexikalisch dem Original näherstehende Übersetzung gewählt worden ist. In der Regel scheint hier eine Wortverbindung bevorzugt worden zu sein, in der wenigstens ein Bestandteil in seiner autonomen Bedeutung der autonomen Bedeutung eines Bestandteiles der italienischen Wortverbindung entspricht. Dies wird im ersten (11) und im dritten Beispiel (13) der unten angeführten Tabelle (Tab. 7) ersichtlich. So wird der von

<sup>4</sup> Für einen Überblick über die Sprachvariation des Italienischen vgl. besonders Berruto 1987, auch Koesters Gensini 1999.

Riedt gewählte Phraseologismus für die Kollokation *montare una storia* durch eine freie Wortverbindung ersetzt, in der das Wort „Geschichte“ (it. *storia*) enthalten ist.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(11)	montare una storia (S.25)	einen ordentlichen Bären aufbinden	eine lange Geschichte erzählen
(12)	farci la pelle (S.57) <sup>5</sup>	uns ausrächen	uns kalt machen
(13)	faccia di porcospino (S.75)	Igelschnauze	Stachelschwein

Tabelle 7. Beispiele für die Wahl einer dem Originaltext lexikalisch näheren Übersetzung

Ebenso verhält es sich auch hinsichtlich des italienischen Phraseologismus *faccia di porcospino* (wörtl. ‚Gesicht vom Stachelschwein‘, Beispiel 13), für dessen Neuübersetzung eben das Wort „Stachelschwein“ bevorzugt worden ist. Hierbei erscheint auch interessant, dass zunächst der erste Bestandteil des italienischen Phraseologismus *faccia* (‚Gesicht‘) mittels des deutschen Meronyms „Schnauze“ zu Gunsten einer wörtlichen Übersetzung des zweiten lexikalischen Konstituenten „Stachelschwein“ entfallen ist, da offensichtlich eine Wortverbindung wie „Stachelschwein-Gesicht“ den Überarbeitern der Übersetzung unangemessen erschien.

Ähnlich verhält es sich auch mit dem zweiten oben angeführten Beispiel (16) *farci la pelle* (wörtl. ‚uns die Haut machen‘), in dem das heute als veraltet geltende „uns ausrächen“ durch „uns kalt machen“ ersetzt wurde. Auf diese Weise wurde die Übersetzung so einerseits modernisiert und andererseits auch in formaler Hinsicht dem italienischen Original, das heißt hier speziell der italienischen Kollokation, angeglichen. Dies ist möglich, da auch die deutsche Kollokation „uns kalt machen“ transitiv ist und das Funktionsverb „machen“ enthält.

<sup>5</sup> Hier erscheint besonders interessant, dass der gleiche Phraseologismus einige Seiten später (S. 26) erneut verwendet und auch hier verschiedenartig übersetzt wird und zwar in der Erstübersetzung mit „umlegen“ und in der Überarbeitung mit dem Phraseologismus „das Fell über die Ohren ziehen“, was dem Original sicherlich noch näher kommt.

### 4.3 Korrektur einer Fehlübersetzung

Relativ einfach nachvollziehbar erscheint die Überarbeitungsstrategie in den 15 Fällen, in denen der italienische Phraseologismus in der Erstübersetzung entweder nicht als solcher erkannt oder aber anderweitig falsch verstanden worden ist. Den ersten Fall findet man im Beispiel (14) vor, während für die anderen beiden Formen (15 und 16) die Hypothese naheliegt, dass der Erstübersetzer in der Rekonstruktion der spezifischen Bedeutung des Phraseologismus von der autonomen Bedeutung der italienischen Bestandteile *mattina* („Morgen“), *sera* („Abend“, im Beispiel 14) und *pancia* („Bauch“ im Beispiel 16) ausgegangen ist.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(14)	<i>mattina e sera</i> (S.4)	jeden Morgen und jeden Abend	von früh bis spät
(15)	<i>rimanere male</i> (S.30)	einen Schock versetzen	enttäuscht sein
(16)	<i>pancia all'aria</i> (S.92)	bäuchlings	auf dem Rücken

Tabelle 8. Beispiele für die Korrektur einer Fehlübersetzung

### 4.4 Wahl eines angemesseneren Sprachregisters

In den unten angeführten Fällen wird in der überarbeiteten Version zweifelsohne eine stilistisch weniger grobe Wortverbindung als in der Erstübersetzung gebraucht. Wenn auch die Beschreibung des Partisanendaseins im Originaltext grundsätzlich durchaus nicht beschönigend, sondern eher derb ist, so weist der hier diskutierte italienische Phraseologismus keine grobe Konnotation auf.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(17)	<i>morire a uno a uno</i> (S.90)	einer nach dem anderen ins Gras beißen	einer nach dem anderen sterben
(18)	<i>avere nulla da dire</i> (S.115)	einen Dreck angehen	gar nichts zu sagen haben

Tabelle 9. Beispiele für die Wahl eines angemesseneren Sprachregisters

Ähnliches gilt auch für das zweite oben aufgeführte Beispiel (18), in dem das italienische *avere nulla da dire* („nichts zu sagen haben“) durchaus keine

derbe, abwertende Konnotation hat, was dazu führt, dass die Übersetzung Kolbergers treffender scheint.

#### 4.5 Semantisch spezifischere Übersetzung

Offensichtlich sollte auch in der deutschen Fassung bezüglich des Beispiels (19) die Idee einer zunehmenden Spannung zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, deren (ersehnter) Höhepunkt durch den italienischen emphatischen Superlativ (*più*) geschildert wird. Zu diesem Zweck musste das Übersetzerkollektiv notgedrungen auf den in der Erstübersetzung gewählten Phraseologismus „auf Kohlen sitzen“ verzichten und hat stattdessen den Superlativ des metaphorisch benutzten Adjektivs in prädikativer Verwendung („gespanntesten“) benutzt. In diesem Sinne scheint die überarbeitete Fassung weniger stilistisch als semantisch dem Original näher zu stehen.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(19)	essere più sulle spine (S.18)	auf Kohlen sitzen	am gespanntesten sein
(20)	darsi alla macchia (S.96)	zum Untertauchen gezwungen sein	zum Partisanen werden

Tabelle 10. Beispiele für eine semantisch spezifischere Übersetzung

Ähnlich verhält es sich auch im zweiten oben angeführten Beispiel (20). In der Erstübersetzung wird für den italienischen Phraseologismus *darsi alla macchia* der historisch unspezifische Ausdruck „zum Untertauchen gezwungen sein“ verwendet, der im Deutschen vorwiegend an die diachronisch erste und auf das Brigantendasein bezogene Bedeutung verweist. Dieser wurde dann in der Überarbeitung durch die Wortkombination „zum Partisanen werden“ ersetzt, welche zweifelsohne der spezifischen, sich anlässlich des antifaschistischen Widerstandes eingebürgerten Bedeutung des italienischen Phraseologismus näher kommt. Auch hier ist also auf einen Phraseologismus verzichtet worden, um eine inhaltlich spezifischere Bedeutung zu vermitteln.

#### 4.6 Semantisch allgemeinere Übersetzungen

Im ersten der in Tabelle 11 aufgeführten Beispiele haben sich die Überarbeiter der Erstübersetzung zweifelsohne vom Original entfernt. Die



wohl eher idiosynkratisch gebrauchte Wortverbindung *muso di macacco* ist bereits in Heinz Riedts Übersetzung anhand des Kompositums „Affenschnauze“ in seiner Bedeutung verallgemeinert worden, indem das Lexem *macacco* (heute eher *macaco*) durch das Hyperonym „Affe“ ersetzt worden ist.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(21)	muso di macacco (S.3)	Affenschnauze	Trottel
(22)	capelli da negra (S.8)	Negerhaar	schwarzes, krauses Haar

Tabelle 11. Beispiele für eine semantisch allgemeinere Übersetzung

Dennoch handelt es sich hier aber um eine Übersetzung, die dem italienischen Original näher steht als deren Neuübersetzung, in welcher das Translat „Trottel“ gewählt wurde. Offensichtlich wurde hier ein Ausdruck bevorzugt, der dem Deutsch lesenden Publikum vertrauter ist, obwohl dieser dem Stil Calvinos nicht gerecht wird.

Auch im Beispiel (22) wurde eine Übersetzung gewählt, die ein breiteres Bedeutungsspektrum aufweist. In diesem Fall könnte der Grund der Überarbeitung der gewesen sein, dass das deutsche Kompositum „Negerhaar“ heute als politisch nicht korrekt empfunden wird und die Paraphrase „schwarzes, krauses Haar“ in diesem Sinne angemessener erschien. Ganz besonders in Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass Deutsch Lesende aber bei „schwarzem, krausem Haar“ mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit eher an das durchaus nicht ungewöhnliche krause Haar von Südländern denken werden, kann sicher nicht behauptet werden, dass diese Überarbeitung dem Ausdruck Calvinos gerechter wird als die Erstübersetzung.

#### 4.7 Wahl eines Phraseologismus

Wie bereits in der Tabelle 5 aufgezeigt worden ist, sind in der Neuübersetzung fünf relativ freie Wortverbindungen, die auf einen italienischen Phraseologismus zurückgehen, auch im Deutschen anhand von Phraseologismen übersetzt worden. Dies gilt auch für das Beispiel (23), in dem sich der deutsche Ausdruck dem italienischen inhaltlich und strukturell stark annähert, mit der einzigen Einschränkung, dass man im Italienischen die Wurzeln nicht „schlägt“, sondern *mette*, also setzt, stellt oder legt.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(23)	aver messo radici (S.18)	angewachsen sein	Wurzeln geschlagen haben

Tabelle 12. Beispiel für die Wahl eines Phraseologismus in der Neuübersetzung

#### 4.8 Wahl eines gebräuchlicheren Synonyms

Im unten aufgeführten Beispiel (24) kommt die überarbeitete Übersetzung dem italienischen Original insofern näher, als der Phraseologismus „ein grimmiges Gesicht schneiden“ durch die Kollokation „ein grimmiges Gesicht machen“ ersetzt worden ist, welche nicht nur die phraseologische Kategorie des Originals wiedergibt, sondern auch eine höhere Frequenz aufweist.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(24)	fare la faccia feroce (S.17)	ein grimmiges Gesicht schneiden	ein grimmiges Gesicht machen

Tabelle 13. Beispiel für die Wahl eines gebräuchlicheren Synonyms

#### 4.9 Persönlich nicht nachvollziehbare Überarbeitung

Das letzte hier zitierte Beispiel (25) soll die vier lexikalischen Formen veranschaulichen, in denen keine präzise Überarbeitungsstrategie ermittelt werden konnte. Sicherlich sind hier einige Erklärungshypothesen denkbar, von denen allerdings keine wirklich überzeugend erscheint. Fest steht hingegen, dass die überarbeitete Fassung dem Stil Calvinos nicht näherkommt als deren Erstübersetzung.

Beispiel Nr.	Calvino (1947)	Riedt (1965)	Kolberger (1992)
(25)	grigio-unto (S. 93)	speckiges Grau	einheitliches Grau

Tabelle 14. Beispiel für eine persönlich nicht nachvollziehbare Überarbeitung

## 5 Auswertung und Ausblick: Das „komplizenhafte Mit- und Weiterspielen“ zwischen Autor und Übersetzer(n)

Der begrenzte Umfang dieses Aufsatzes lässt es nicht zu, weitere Übersetzungsbeispiele im Detail zu diskutieren, und so sei abschließend allein auf die beiden am Anfang angeschnittenen Fragen eingegangen, inwiefern die Übersetzer tatsächlich das „sprachliche Spiel des Autors komplizenhaft mit- oder weiterspielen“ und inwiefern die Überarbeitung der Version Riedts tatsächlich den Anspruch erheben kann, im lexikalischen und hier speziell im phraseologischen Bereich die Konstruktionen Calvinos soweit nachzuahmen, wie es die deutsche Sprache zulässt (Kapp 1996, 360).

Kommen wir zunächst zur ersten Frage, der Problematik der sprachlichen Komplizität zwischen Autor und Übersetzer(n). Wie zuvor erwähnt, konnte in vorhergehenden Studien gezeigt werden, dass der phraseologische Sprachgebrauch Calvinos durchaus ein charakteristisches Merkmal der Sprache dieses Autors ist (Mengaldo 1991, Koesters Gensini, im Druck). In der vorliegenden Untersuchung hingegen wird deutlich, dass diese Eigenart in den hier analysierten Übersetzungen nur unwesentlich zum Ausdruck kommt. So wurden bereits in Riedts Übersetzung 40 % der Phraseologismen durch freie Wortverbindungen ersetzt, und dasselbe gilt in der Überarbeitung Kolbergers sogar für 53 % der Konstruktionen. Aus diesem Grunde muss abschließend festgestellt werden, dass hinsichtlich des *Sentieros* im Bereich der Phraseologismen durchaus nicht von einem „komplizenhaften Mit-oder Weiterspiel der Übersetzer Calvino gegenüber gesprochen werden kann.

In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass in der Überarbeitung der Erstübersetzung die Anzahl der Phraseologismen weiter beschränkt worden ist, könnte sogar der Verdacht entstehen, dass sich das Übersetzerkollektiv noch mehr von der Sprache Calvinos entfernt habe, als dies schon in der Ausgabe Riedts geschehen war. Diese Thematik leitet zur Frage über, inwiefern die Aufnahmekapazitäten der deutschen Sprache bezüglich der Nachahmung der Konstruktionen Calvinos in der Neuübersetzung tatsächlich erschöpft wurden. Diesbezüglich konnte gezeigt werden, dass in 44,5 % der Konstruktionen ein veralteter Sprachgebrauch modernisiert, ein treffenderes Sprachregister gewählt oder eine freie Wortverbindung durch einen inhaltlich entsprechenden Phraseologismus ersetzt wurde und dies den Lesenden sicherlich den nach wie vor modernen, zum Teil sogar zukunftsweisenden Stil Calvinos näher bringt. Weitere 44,5 % der Überarbeitungen im phraseologischen Bereich hingegen haben eine semantische Veränderung des deutschen Textes bewirkt: Hier handelt es sich um die Fälle, in denen ein ursprüngliches Fehlverständnis des Textes berichtigt,

eine Bedeutungsgeneralisierung eingeschränkt oder aber ein weniger äquivalentes Translat durch eine präzisere Übersetzung ersetzt wurde. Diese Veränderungen versetzen die Deutsch Lesenden in die Lage, Calvinos Gedanken inhaltlich besser aufzunehmen, doch ermöglichen sie es ihnen damit noch nicht (unbedingt), das stilistische Spiel Calvinos nachzuempfinden. In den verbleibenden 11 % der hier untersuchten Konstruktionen ist schließlich der Eindruck entstanden, dass sich das Übersetzerkollektiv im Vergleich zu Heinz Riedt tatsächlich noch weiter vom Original entfernt hat, und hier bestätigen besonders die nicht gelungenen Überarbeitungen im Bereich der diaphasischen Sprachvariation einige Ergebnisse, die in vorherigen Untersuchungen aufgezeigt worden sind (Koesters Gensini 2016).

Insgesamt kann die Überarbeitung der Erstübersetzung somit schon den Anspruch erheben, den deutschen Text dem italienischen Original ein Stück näher gebracht zu haben. Ob allerdings bereits in der hier vorliegenden Übersetzung von 1992 Calvinos Konstruktionen soweit nachgeahmt wurden, wie es die deutsche Sprache zulässt, das mag hier abschließend bezweifelt werden. Unter Beweis stellen können diese These allerdings – hoffentlich bald – allein die neue Spielkomplizen Italo Calvinos.

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## CHAPTER THIRTY-SIX

# CÓMIC Y TRADUCCIÓN DE UNIDADES FRASEOLÓGICAS (ANÁLISIS CONTRASTIVO ESPAÑOL-ITALIANO)

ROSA MARÍA RODRÍGUEZ ABELLA

### Abstract

Sebastiani (2003, 336) argues that idioms, verbal phrases and collocations—in other words, phraseological units—are what characterise the lexicon of the comic; indeed, in the comic genre, phraseologisms are commonly used as a linguistic mechanism to create, reinforce or complement the humoristic message. In this paper we analyse how the phraseological units in the comic *Memorias de un hombre en pijama* (Roca 2011) are dealt with in Stefano Travagli's 2012 translation (*Memorie di un uomo in pigiama*). The analysis shows that humour in the source text (ST) is frequently constructed through a combination of visual and verbal humour, that is, the iconic and the linguistic codes.

### 1 Introducción

Fresnault-Deruelle (1982, 192) sostiene que el cómic “es un mundo en el que la gente necesariamente es charlatana”. El semiólogo francés otorga por tanto a las locuciones de los globos, esto es, a las transcripciones de las palabras o pensamientos pronunciados por los personajes, un peso determinante en la construcción de la narratividad.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> De todos modos, como afirma Gubern (1987, 217), no cabe duda de que en el género cómic “la imagen desempeña una función hegemónica, ya que son posibles los cómics sin palabras, pero no sin dibujos”, este autor subraya también que “hay

De todas maneras, el código lingüístico en el cómic abarca una amplia gama de manifestaciones. Una primera distinción se puede establecer teniendo en cuenta si los textos están integrados en la imagen o bien fuera de ella. El primer grupo comprende los segmentos textuales encapsulados en los globos, las onomatopeyas y palabras expresivas (situadas tanto dentro de los bocadillos como fuera de ellos), u otras palabras dibujadas en las viñetas (portadas de libros, rótulos de tiendas y locales, etc.).

El segundo grupo, donde lo verbal se sitúa fuera de la imagen, está constituido por las secuencias textuales que se localizan en los cartuchos (capsulas colocadas en la parte superior o inferior de la viñetas).<sup>2</sup> Es decir, los segmentos textuales que desde un punto de vista lingüístico se caracterizan principalmente por el uso del estilo “no directo”.

En cambio, la primera característica de la lengua de los bocadillos es “el empleo sistemático del estilo directo” (Fresnault-Deruelle 1982, 191). De hecho, gracias al apéndice o delta del *balloon* podemos identificar quién está emitiendo una determinada locución. Por tanto, en los globos “todos los personajes hablan en su propio nombre” (Fresnault-Deruelle 1982, 191) y, como era de esperar, en sus intervenciones dan cabida a un amplio repertorio de expresiones idiomáticas, fórmulas de rutina, locuciones verbales, etc., en suma, de fraseologismos que permiten crear una auténtica ilusión de oralidad.<sup>3</sup> Es más, como apunta Morgana (2003, 183), a propósito del plano léxico en el cómic, “la base lessicale comune della lingua del fumetto è però costituita da *colloquialismi*, in cui rientra anche un largo repertorio di frasi fatte e idiomatismi”.<sup>4</sup>

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que admitir que la supresión de textos dificulta considerablemente la vertebración narrativa con imágenes fijas” (Gubern 1987, 219).

<sup>2</sup> El texto inscrito en los cartuchos, como ponen de relieve Gasca y Gubern (2011, 273), “cumple las funciones de aclarar o explicar el contenido de la imagen o de la acción, facilitar o completar su continuidad narrativa, o reproducir el comentario del narrador virtual”.

<sup>3</sup> En este estudio partimos de la ya clásica definición que nos proporciona Corpas Pastor (1997) de las ‘unidades fraseológicas’. En concreto, según esta autora, los fraseologismos son: “unidades léxicas formadas por más de dos palabras gráficas en su límite inferior, cuyo límite superior se sitúa en el nivel de la oración compuesta. Dichas unidades se caracterizan por su alta frecuencia de uso, y de coaparición de sus elementos integrantes; por su institucionalización, entendida en términos de fijación y especialización semántica; por su idiomatización y variación potenciales; así como por el grado en el que se dan todos estos aspectos en los distintos tipos” (Corpas Pastor 1997, 20).

<sup>4</sup> También Sebastiani (2003, 336) considera que “il vero elemento fondante del lessico dei fumetti [...] sembra essere però costituito dalle ESPRESSIONI IDIOMATICHE, le metafore d’uso, o invecchiate e scadute nella retorica in senso

Así pues, objetivo principal del presente trabajo es analizar la traducción al italiano de las unidades fraseológicas (UFS) presentes en la obra humorística multimodal *Memorias de un hombre en pijama* (TO).<sup>5</sup> Por tanto, utilizando como corpus de referencia la traducción realizada por Stefano Travagli (Roca 2012), nos proponemos ilustrar los problemas concretos que plantea la traslación de las UFS.

## 2 Fraseología y traducción

En el presente estudio afrontaremos las UFS desde una perspectiva traductológica, esto es, desde una óptica interlingüística y contrastiva español/italiano.<sup>6</sup> Efectivamente, a nadie se le escapa que las UFS desempeñan un papel relevante en la teoría y práctica de la traducción. De hecho, como pone de relieve Santamaría (1998, 301), un rasgo distintivo de estas unidades es el de la dificultad en su traslación, puesto que “muchas de estas expresiones no se pueden traducir porque se originan a partir de un hecho histórico o situación concreta” (Santamaría 1998, 301). Sobre la compleja relación fraseología-traducción, por ejemplo, Mel’čuk (1993, citado en Richart Maset 2009, 68) subraya que:

una expresión es idiomática cuando al traducirla comprobemos que contiene al menos un componente al que haya que señalarle un equivalente peculiar y característico que le corresponda únicamente dentro de esa expresión.<sup>7</sup>

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spregiativo”. Este estudioso subraya asimismo que “le proposizioni inscrite nei balloon [...] sono ricche di metafore spente e di modi di dire” (Sebastiani 2003, 339).

<sup>5</sup> Si retomamos la definición de UFS de Corpas Pastor (1997), parece claro que la fijación, la convencionalidad y la repetición son las principales propiedades que determinan la pertenencia de una determinada expresión a la fraseología. Con todo, hoy en día se tiende a privilegiar una concepción ancha de estas fórmulas, pues se considera que no existe un criterio único de ordenación de las mismas, es decir, “no hay compartimentos estancos, fronteras rígidas, sino más bien categorías *difusas*” (Richart Maset 2009, 73). En consecuencia, en este trabajo utilizamos el término ‘unidades fraseológicas’ como vocablo genérico que incluye tanto los modismos, como las expresiones fijas, las colocaciones, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Para un estudio detallado de la compleja naturaleza de la traducción, véase Rabadán (1991).

<sup>7</sup> Como apunta Richart Maset (2009, 68), Mel’čuk al utilizar los términos ‘peculiar y característico’ está aludiendo claramente a “una significación figurada o desviada”. Ciertamente, dependiendo de los casos, no cabe duda de que “la traducción ‘peculiar’ [...] se aplicará sólo a uno de sus componentes o a la totalidad de la expresión”.



En realidad, en ámbito traductológico, existe un consenso generalizado (Nida (1975); Newmark (1992); Hurtado Albir (2001); Molina (2006)) en reconocer una estrecha relación de interdependencia entre lengua y cultura.<sup>8</sup> Efectivamente, numerosos estudios han puesto de relieve cómo las unidades fraseológicas, en cuanto elementos característicos de una determinada lengua-cultura, son elementos muy propensos a provocar problemas de traducción, porque su “contenido muestra potencialmente cierta resistencia a la transferencia” (Herrero 2000, 311).<sup>9</sup> Algunos estudiosos (Nida (1975); Molina (2006)) han propuesto incluso diferentes modelos de análisis y catalogación de los referentes culturales. Aunque, con todo, la mayoría de ellos coinciden en incluir los fraseologismos en el ámbito de la cultura lingüística.<sup>10</sup> Molina (2006, 82), por ejemplo, engloba en esta categoría los problemas de traducción ocasionados por las dificultades culturales que entrañan los refranes, las frases hechas, las metáforas generalizadas, etc.

En cuanto a la traslación de las UFS, Baker (1992) y Corpas Pastor (2003), entre otros, han propuesto, por ejemplo, una serie de estrategias o técnicas para encontrar más fácilmente equivalentes adecuados en la LM.

En cambio, otros autores opinan que a la hora de afrontar la traducción de los referentes culturales propios de una determinada lengua-cultura, en realidad, no existen “soluciones unívocas, ni técnicas características [...] sino más bien una multiplicidad de soluciones y de técnicas en función del contacto entre las dos culturas, del género textual en que se inserta, de la finalidad de la traducción, etc.” (Hurtado Albir 2004, 615).<sup>11</sup>

### 3 Análisis contrastivo español-italiano de la traslación de las UFS en *Memorias de un hombre en pijama*

En la serie *Memorias de un hombre en pijama* (2011), peculiar diario personal de Paco Roca, se narra la vida cotidiana de:

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<sup>8</sup> De hecho, el acto traslativo se concibe como un proceso que no solo se produce entre dos lenguas diferentes, sino también entre dos culturas distintas.

<sup>9</sup> Lógicamente, como subraya Herrero (2000, 311), esa potencialidad puede desaparecer en el proceso de traducción concreto.

<sup>10</sup> Para una revisión exhaustiva de las diferentes clasificaciones sobre los ámbitos susceptibles de crear problemas de traducción, véase Molina (2006, 61–66).

<sup>11</sup> Según Hurtado Albir (2004, 642) la técnica de traducción es un procedimiento, “visible en el resultado de la traducción, que se utiliza para conseguir la equivalencia traductora a microunidades textuales; las técnicas se catalogan en comparación con el original. La pertinencia del uso de una técnica u otra es siempre funcional, según el *tipo textual*, la *modalidad de traducción*, la *finalidad de la traducción* y el *método elegido*”.

un “cuarentaypocos” (sic.) que trabaja en casa (de ahí “en pijama”), vive una vida tranquila en pareja, y tiene que lidiar con su propio carácter, sus inseguridades, su personalidad, eso que a una edad ya asumes perfectamente pero, para lo bueno y para lo malo, ya no te abandonará nunca. Ahí, en esa tensión entre el quiero y el no puedo, radica la comicidad descacharrante de este cómic (Beares 2011).

De lo expuesto, se infiere que en esta obra la autorreferencia se erige en el elemento vertebrador en la historia narrada. De hecho, el hombre en pijama del título es el propio dibujante-guionista que en las diferentes tiras de la obra, normalmente organizadas de forma temática, va desglosando viñeta tras viñeta su día a día. Así pues, el relato avanza a través de las vivencias personales del protagonista: su trabajo, sus amigos, su novia, sus angustias, etc. En definitiva, una historia muy real, contada siempre con ligereza y mucho humor.

Dejamos ahora a un lado la trama de la serie para pasar a focalizarnos en algunos aspectos que conviene tener en cuenta al afrontar la traducción de textos humorísticos multimodales. En este sentido, en líneas generales, coincidimos con Scatasta (2002, 102) cuando afirma que en la traslación de cómics:

è indubbiamente vero che il disegno aiuta in molti casi a risolvere ambiguità testuali, fornendo la chiave interpretativa più adeguata, ma d'altra parte le libertà che il traduttore può concedersi sono limitate in questo caso specifico dall'illustrazione che accompagna il testo, oltre che da un pubblico di lettori particolarmente esigente e pronto a sottolineare la minima deviazione dell'originale.

Evidentemente, no cabe duda de que a la hora de trasladar una obra humorística multimodal, como es el caso de *Memorias de un hombre en pijama* (TO), las particularidades propias de este género textual, tanto lingüísticas como culturales, pueden condicionar enormemente la labor del traductor. Sin ir más lejos, está claro que el uso de expresiones coloquiales e idiomáticas, dichos, etc., suele ser uno de los mecanismos lingüísticos más utilizados para crear o reforzar el mensaje humorístico.

Así pues, en la líneas que siguen, mediante una serie de ejemplos extraídos del TO y de *Memorie di un uomo in pigiama* (TM), ilustraremos algunas de las dificultades que comporta la traslación de las UFS.

Por ejemplo, en la viñeta que presentamos a continuación (Fig. 1), el narrador rememora una de las profesiones que cuando era pequeño ansiaba poder realizar de mayor<sup>12</sup>. Efectivamente, el sueño infantil de llegar a ser un

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<sup>12</sup> El Copyright de las diferentes imágenes corresponde al autor y editoriales pertinentes. Su uso es meramente informativo, con fines docentes y de investigación.

gran matematico aparece reflejado en el texto escrito del cartucho. En cambio, en la imagen de la viñeta (la profesora de matemáticas con el trabajo del autor en la mano) y, sobre todo, en la información verbal contenida en el globo (principalmente mediante la estructura enfática: “un cero como un piano”)<sup>13</sup> se nos muestra cómo ese sueño infantil se estrella contra la cruda realidad. En este caso, como se puede apreciar, la construcción comparativa estereotipada, “un cero como un piano”, se erige en el mecanismo utilizado por el autor para provocar la sonrisa de los lectores.

El recurso de la comparación, como apunta Cascón Martín (2006, 34), “es constante en el habla diaria, dado que por un lado sirve como elemento hiperbolizante, y por otro proporciona al hablante un punto de referencia para hacer más visible o tangible aquello a lo que se está refiriendo”<sup>14</sup>.

Sin embargo, en el texto meta (TM) se omite la comparativa hiperbólica y se traslada únicamente el primer término de la comparación. Desde nuestro punto de vista, para mantener la iconicidad de la expresión original, en el TM se hubiera podido emplear también una comparativa como, por ejemplo, *ma uno zero grande come una casa per il lavoro*<sup>15</sup>; o bien, siempre con el objetivo de mantener también en la lengua meta (LM) ese valor intensificativo propio del TO<sup>16</sup>, se podría recurrir a cualquier otro mecanismo de intensificación como: *ma zero assoluto per il lavoro, ma uno zero grande grande per il lavoro, ma assolutamente insufficiente il lavoro*, etc. Nótese también que en el primer globo del TM se ha condensado el

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<sup>13</sup> En cuanto al estatuto fraseológico de la comparativa estereotipada, García-Page (2008, 172) señala que “aunque la tradición viene tratando las comparativas estereotipadas como locuciones, existe una tendencia reciente a analizarlas como colocaciones, especialmente en virtud de su alto grado de composicionalidad”. Esta comparativa hiperbólica muestra una cierta flexibilidad con respecto al prototipo o comparante, de hecho, son comunes también las expresiones: “un cero como una casa” o “un cero como una catedral”.

<sup>14</sup> También García-Page (2008, 144) apunta las mismas características, en particular, afirma que “la comparativa estereotipada es, probablemente, el tipo de frase elativa más característico del español (y también de otras lenguas, como el inglés); la intensificación es, justamente, su función primaria, prevalente sobre la meramente comunicativa o referencial”.

<sup>15</sup> Como apunta Briz Gómez (1993, 167), “*pero*, colocado entre dos actos, indica que el primero lleva una intención comunicativa opuesta a la del segundo, englobándose en una estrategia única de oposición o restricción de lo dicho”. En italiano, el conector prototípico utilizado para marcar la oposición limitativa es *ma*. Sobre el uso de *ma* y *però*, remitimos a Bordonaba Zabalza (2014, 193–211).

<sup>16</sup> Sobre los principales mecanismos de intensificación, véase García-Page (2008, 143–144).

enunciado presente en el TO, literalmente, la traslación al italiano sería:  
*...molto bene la copertina del lavoro.*

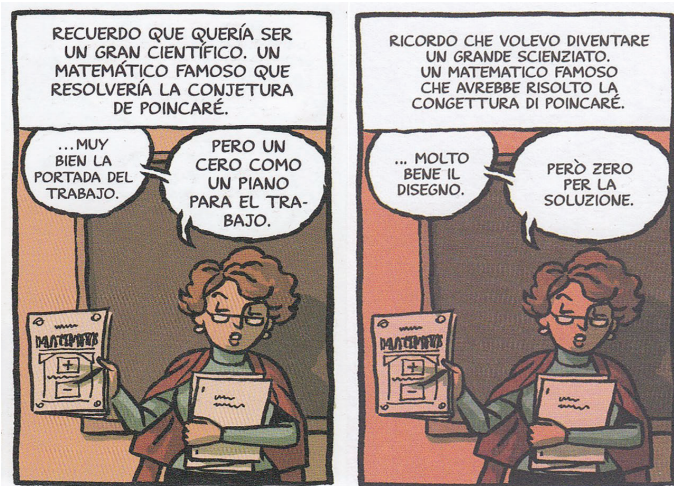


Figura 1: Paco Roca, *Memorias de un hombre en pijama*, p. 130 /TM, p. 66.

En cuanto a las siguientes viñetas (Fig. 2 y Fig. 3), las dos pertenecen a la misma tira y en ellas Roca contruye un gag reflexionando sobre la rivalidad que puede desencadenar en una pareja realizar una salida nocturna por separado, esto es, cada uno con sus respectivos amigos.

En cuanto a las UFS, comprobamos que en la primera viñeta (Fig. 2) para trasladar la fórmula “correrse una juerga”, es decir, divertirse (Seco *et al.* 2004, 562), el traductor recurre a la técnica de la paráfrasis: *abbiamo fatto delle cose pazzesche*<sup>17</sup>. Ciertamente, mediante esta combinación libre de palabras se logra reproducir, *grosso modo*, el significado fraseológico original. Con todo, como es notorio, con “correrse una juerga” nos estamos refiriendo a una actividad que se realiza de noche y en la que a menudo se cometen excesos, por lo tanto, desde nuestro punto de vista, en el TM se podría reflejar también este matiz de la UF original recurriendo, por ejemplo, a expresiones como: *e sappi che con [...] ci siamo fatti delle serate mitiche, ci siamo fatti delle nottate pazzesche*, etc.

<sup>17</sup> En realidad, el italiano dispone de una expresión parecida: *fare baldoria*, que presenta una equivalencia parcial con la fórmula española. Así, por ejemplo, *Ieri sera abbiamo fatto baldoria* correspondería a: “Anoche nos hemos corrido una juerga”. No obstante, en esta secuencia, la construcción de la frase impide el uso de esta fórmula en la LM.



Figura 2: Paco Roca, *Memorias de un hombre en pijama*, p. 80 /TM, p. 41.

Por lo que se refiere al término “garito”, el contexto de uso nos indica que el protagonista se está refiriendo genéricamente a locales o establecimientos de diversión. Así pues, consideramos que en el TM sería más adecuado utilizar el vocablo *locale*, palabra que permite alcanzar al menos una equivalencia parcial. Aún así, en la LM se pierde el matiz de local de mala fama o mala reputación que el vocablo “garito” posee en español.

En cambio, en la próxima imagen (Fig. 3), perteneciente siempre a la misma tira, el traductor opta por elidir completamente la oración “nos lo hemos pasado en grande”. Como es sabido, con la construcción “pasár(se)lo en grande” se indica que alguien se lo ha pasado magníficamente o muy bien (Seco *et al.* 2004, 504). En nuestra opinión, se trata de una reducción innecesaria, fácilmente recuperable en la LM mediante la construcción: *ci siamo divertiti un sacco/ un mondo, ci siamo divertiti tantissimo/moltissimo*, etc.



Figura 3: Paco Roca, *Memorias de un hombre en pijama*, p. 81 / TM, p. 41.

Nótese también que en el TM se omite el alargamiento vocálico inicial del protagonista: “A-acabo de llegar”. En este caso, el alargamiento es utilizado, como sugiere Briz Gómez (2004, 155), como “pausa oralizada, retardataria, para pensar lo que se va a decir a continuación”. Efectivamente, en las viñetas precedentes hemos contemplado como Roca, que regresa a casa mucho antes que su novia, se queda dormido en el sofá y al oír el ruido de la puerta se levanta a toda pastilla, se pone a beber y a fumar e improvisa una explicación que no le haga quedar mal con su pareja. Por consiguiente, consideramos que conviene mantener también en la LM este fenómeno pragmaprosódico.

Comprobamos asimismo que en el segundo globo del TM se mantiene inalterada la interjección “uff” utilizada en el TO para indicar repugnancia. Efectivamente, esta exclamación es pronunciada por la novia de Roca a causa del mal aliento (alcohol) y el mal olor (tabaco) que emana el protagonista. De hecho, para plasmar gráficamente el olor que irradia el personaje se utilizan, como se puede apreciar en la imagen, dos tipos de líneas cinéticas, donde los signos de irradiación parten respectivamente de la boca y del cuerpo del dibujante, esto es, de las dos fuentes olorosas. Ahora bien, en italiano la interjección *uff*, *uf* o *uffa* (Devoto / Oli 1987, 3350) se



emplea solo para denotar cansancio, fastidio o sofocación<sup>18</sup>. En cambio, para indicar repugnancia en italiano se emplea *bleah* o *blah*<sup>19</sup>.

En cuanto a la imagen que presentamos a continuación (Fig. 4), esta forma parte de una tira donde Roca, a través de las vivencias de un amigo, “acuario”, ilustra la crisis de los cuarenta.



Figura 4: Paco Roca, *Memorias de un hombre en pijama*, p. 30 /TM, p. 16.

El relato empieza justamente con esta viñeta (Fig. 4): el dibujante se ha citado con “acuario” porque este desea estrenar con él su regalo de cumpleaños.

Por lo que se refiere a las UFS, en el cartucho encontramos la locución verbal de uso habitual: “quedar (alguien) con (alguien)”, locución que dispone en italiano de un equivalente acuñado: *darsi un appuntamento con qualcuno*. Sin embargo, en el TM se altera injustificadamente el contenido semántico con respecto al segmento textual original. Desde nuestro punto de vista, podría trasladarse como sigue: *Questa sera mi sono dato*

<sup>18</sup> También en el *Nuovo De Mauro*, bajo el lema *uff* se recoge el mismo sentido: “inter. 1891; voce onom. CO esprime noia, fastidio, impazienza e sim.: *uff*; *non lo sopporto più!*; *uff, ma quando si parte?*; anche s.m.inv”.

<sup>19</sup> De acuerdo con el *Vocabolario Treccani*: “**bleah** <bleàa> (o **blah**) interieuz. [voce di origine onomatopeica]. – Voce, o, nel linguaggio dei fumetti, forma grafica, che manifesta disgusto o avversione per qualcuno o qualcosa”.

*appuntamento con il mio amico “acquario”. Vuole che inauguriamo/proviamo il suo nuovo regalo di compleanno*<sup>20</sup>.

En cuanto al globo, constatamos que en el TM se han elidido los puntos suspensivos iniciales. Como es notorio, en el cómic la colocación de los signos de puntuación muestra una serie de peculiaridades que conviene tener en cuenta<sup>21</sup>. De hecho, los puntos suspensivos antepuestos al enunciado se utilizan normalmente para aludir a un discurso ya iniciado anteriormente y permiten, por tanto, introducir su continuación (Pietrini 2009, 61). Este es, en concreto, el caso de este signo de puntuación en el globo de la imagen, pues, efectivamente, permite retomar el discurso iniciado en el recuadro superior. Por consiguiente, lo más adecuado en esta viñeta es mantener también este signo en el TM.

También en la siguiente viñeta (Fig. 5), primera de una tira donde varios amigos del dibujante reflexionan sobre la difícil tarea de ser padres en las diferentes etapas de crecimiento de los propios hijos, constatamos que el traductor sacrifica la locución verbal original, “tener (alguien) mala cara”, expresión muy utilizada para indicar que alguien muestra un aspecto enfermizo. Como es sabido, la LM dispone de una expresión equivalente para esta UF coloquial, nos referimos a la metáfora lexicalizada: *avere una brutta cera*<sup>22</sup>.

Comprobamos asimismo que se eliden los puntos suspensivos al inicio del globo. Ahora bien, en esta específica situación comunicativa reflejan, por un lado, la existencia de un enunciado previo que los lectores, teniendo en cuenta la situación contextual y la información que se les proporciona, inferirán fácilmente. Por otro lado, evidencian también la continuación de ese proceso comunicativo. De hecho, en este globo los puntos suspensivos asumen uno de los valores convencionales que los caracteriza en el género cómic, es decir, el de romper gráficamente un flujo verbal. Ciertamente, en el lenguaje oral el flujo es continuo pero en este medio, dados los límites espaciales, es necesario romperlo visualmente.

<sup>20</sup> Nótense los errores de traducción en el TM: “esta noche” ≠ *ieri sera*; “quiere que estrenemos” ≠ *voleva rinnovare*.

<sup>21</sup> Sobre los usos normativos establecidos para este signo, véase la *Ortografía de la lengua española* (2010, 394–400).

<sup>22</sup> Como se recoge en la segunda entrada del *Vocabolario Treccani*: “**céra2** (o **cèra**; ant. **cièra**) s. f. [dal fr. ant. *chiere* (mod. *chère*), che è dal gr. *κάρα* «testa»]. – **1. a.** Aspetto del volto, come manifestazione di buono o cattivo stato di salute: *avere buona, cattiva, bella, brutta, ottima, pessima cera*”. Para un análisis panorámico sobre la metáfora y su traducción, véase Samaniego (1996), donde la autora hace una recopilación exhaustiva de las definiciones de la metáfora en diversos campos como la lingüística, la semántica, la retórica y la traducción.





Figura 5: Paco Roca, *Memorias de un hombre en pijama*, p. 90 /TM, p. 46.

No compartimos tampoco la decisión de alterar en el TM el contenido y punto de vista de la última oración del globo, “todas las noche estamos en urgencias con la niña”. En nuestra opinión, una manera de mantener el mismo sentido del TO podría ser: *tutte le sere siamo al pronto soccorso con la bambina*.

Con todo, en algunas ocasiones, como la que presentamos a continuación (Fig. 6), comprobamos que la UF de la LO muestra una equivalencia total con la seleccionada por el traductor en la LM, es decir, ambas presentan el mismo significado denotativo y connotativo.

De hecho, en el globo de la imagen (Fig. 6), Roca insta a un amigo soltero y vividor a “sentar la cabeza”, esto es, a volverse formal y juicioso. En el TM para trasladar esta locución verbal se opta por la fórmula *mettere la testa a posto*, expresión que comparte con la UF española la misma base metafórica, el mismo significado fraseológico y una casi idéntica composición léxica<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Conviene aquí recordar las ideas de Lakoff y Johnson sobre la omnipresencia de las metáforas en el vida cotidiana: “Nosotros hemos llegado a la conclusión de que la metáfora (...) impregna la vida cotidiana, no solamente el lenguaje, sino también el pensamiento y la acción. Nuestro sistema conceptual ordinario, en términos del cual pensamos y actuamos, es fundamentalmente de naturaleza metafórica” (1991, 39).

En cambio, por lo que se refiere al término “emparejados”, vocablo con el que se indica simplemente que el protagonista vive en pareja, consideramos que para mantener el mismo matiz en el TM sería más pertinente utilizar *noi accoppiati* que en italiano indica también que dos personas forman una pareja.



Figura 6: Paco Roca, *Memorias de un hombre en pijama*, p. 42 /TM, p. 22.

Sin embargo, al seleccionar el vocablo *ammogliati* se introduce una precisión no formulada en el TO, pues, como se recoge en el *Vocabolario Treccani* bajo el lema *ammogliare*, el participio pasivo *ammogliato*, se utiliza para señalar “che o chi ha moglie: *uomo ammogliato; partita di calcio fra scapoli e ammogliati*”, es decir, se utiliza este vocablo cuando se quiere poner de relieve que dos personas están casadas.

En general, hemos constatado que el traductor modifica a menudo el contenido, punto de vista o estilo de los enunciados presentes en el TO y, a veces, elide incluso oraciones enteras en la LM.

#### 4 A modo de conclusión

Como ya hemos señalado precedentemente, en el género cómic el uso de expresiones coloquiales e idiomáticas, dichos, etc., suele ser uno de los mecanismos lingüísticos más utilizados para crear, reforzar o complementar el mensaje humorístico.

En cuanto a *Memorias de un hombre en pijama*, hemos podido comprobar a través de los diferentes ejemplos extraídos de la serie que el humor se configura a menudo combinando el humor visual y el verbal, es decir, ambos códigos, el icónico y el lingüístico, contribuyen por igual a crear el efecto humorístico (Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3, Fig. 5 y Fig. 6).

Ahora bien, en el TM a veces se subvierte esa armónica combinación entre rasgos textuales y visuales característica del TO. De hecho, en (Fig. 1) se omite en la LM la comparativa hiperbólica presente en el TO (“un cero como un piano”) y en (Fig. 3) se elide completamente en la LM la oración que incluye la locución adverbial “en grande”. En cambio, en (Fig. 4) se cambia en el TM el punto de vista y no se recupera la locución verbal original (“quedar con alguien”), fórmula, como ya hemos señalado, que dispone de un equivalente acuñado en la LM (*darsi un appuntamento con qualcuno*). En (Fig. 5) se elide también la locución verbal original (“tener mala cara”), no obstante la LM disponga, al igual que en (Fig. 4), de una UF equivalente (*avere una brutta cera*). Por último, en (Fig. 6) el traductor traslada de forma adecuada la UF original por otra UF de la LM que presenta el mismo significado denotativo y connotativo que la de la LO<sup>24</sup>.

Por lo expuesto hasta aquí, queda claro que es esencial que el traductor sea consciente de los elementos multimodales que intervienen en la conformación del humor, de manera que entre el TO y el TM se establezca una adecuada equivalencia humorística o “effet semblable” (Vandaele 2001, 32). Sin duda, esta toma de conciencia contribuirá a salvaguardar también en el TM la conjunción entre humor visual y verbal presente en el TO.

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<sup>24</sup> En este último ejemplo, la solución adoptada por el traductor coincide con la propuesta por Delisle (2003, 482) para afrontar la traducción de los fraseologismos: “il faut interpréter le sens en fonction du contexte et leur faire correspondre une équivalence ayant le même poids dénotatif e connotatif”.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVEN

FACHPHRASEOLOGISMEN  
UND KOLLOKATIONEN  
IN DEN ÜBEREINKOMMEN ÜBER BIOETHIK  
DES EUROPÄISCHEN RATES UND DER UNO  
(AM BEISPIEL DES ENGLISCHEN,  
DEUTSCHEN UND GEORGISCHEN)

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**Abstract**

This paper reports a study on phrasal units and collocations related to bioethics in English, German and Georgian parallel texts of the CoE and UN conventions using the corpus-driven method. Employing the approaches of Burger (2007), Lüger (2007), Kühtz (2007) and Kjaer (2007), attention was focused on referential and communicative phrasal units, a part of which are considered as collocations due to their non-idiomatic character. The result of this effort was the creation of the English-German-Georgian phrasal dictionary of Bioethics, which laid the groundwork for building parallel tree banks.

**1 Einleitung**

Der vorliegende Beitrag stellt die Ergebnisse eines Experiments vor, in dem die Fachphraseologismen aus der Textsorten- und thematischen Perspektive betrachtet werden.

Als Fachphraseologismen werden in dieser Arbeit Verbindungen von zwei oder mehr Wörtern bezeichnet, die in:



Fachtexten der Gegenwartssprache in der gleichen festen Form auftreten und die eine fachsprachlich spezialisierte Bedeutung bzw. eine fachlich bedingte Funktion haben (Kjær 1991, 115)

Bei der Kategorisierung der Analyseergebnisse stützen wir uns auf das phraseologische Klassifizierungsmodell von Burger (2007, 36-37) und seine fachsprachenbezogene Differenzierung und Erweiterung nach Kühtz (2007, 100-18). In Anlehnung an diese Klassen kategorisieren wir das phraseologische Inventar in die folgenden Klassen:

1. Referentielle Phraseologismen: Die Gruppe der propositionalen (d. h. satzwertigen) und der nominativen (d. h. satzgliedwertigen) Phraseologismen. Die nominativen (auch: "referentiellnominativen") Phraseologismen werden ihrerseits nach dem Kriterium ihrer syntaktischen Funktion in substantivische, verbale, adjektivische und adverbiale Phraseologismen unterteilt.

2. Strukturelle Phraseologismen: In dieser Klasse werden konjunktionale Phraseologismen (mehrgliedrige Konjunktionen) und präpositionale Phraseologismen (mehrgliedrige Präpositionen) zusammengefasst.

3. Kommunikative Phraseologismen ("Routineformeln"): Die Klasse umfasst syntaktisch sehr heterogene, teilweise satzwertige Formeln, die der Bewältigung kommunikativer Routinen dienen und durch ihre spezifischen Funktionen innerhalb der Kommunikation charakterisiert werden (vgl. Burger 2007, 36-37, 56-58). So Lüger:

Sie stehen den Sprachteilnehmern gleichsam als fertige Wortverbindungen in der Kommunikation zur Verfügung und müssen nicht jeweils neu konstruiert werden. Charakteristisch für sie ist ferner der Bezug zu (Typen von) Interaktionssituationen, in denen es auf die Ausführung bestimmter Handlungen ankommt (Lüger 2007, 444).

In Fachtexten übernehmen sie als Kommentar- und Verweisformeln insbesondere kommunikationssteuernde oder textgliedernde Funktion (vgl. Kühtz 2007, 118; 200-206).

Weiterhin wird zwischen idiomatischen und nichtidiomatischen Phraseologismen unterschieden. Die Ersteren nennt Burger Idiome, die Letzteren gelten bei ihm gänzlich als Kollokationen (Burger 2003, 38): ein festgeprägtes Miteinanderkommen von Wörtern, ohne dass diese Wörter semantische Umdeutungen erfahren. Im Vordergrund steht dabei nicht der Aspekt der semantischen Verträglichkeit/Kompatibilität (Gläser 1986, 38f), sondern der der Gebräuchlichkeit bestimmter Wortverbindungen:

Manche Kombinationen sind üblich, andere nicht üblich, ohne syntaktisch oder semantisch inkompatibel zu sein. Charakteristisch ist, dass die Wahl eines Lexems die Wahl eines Partnerlexems festlegt (Rothkegel 1994,

500).

Referentielle Phraseologismen werden weiter in fachbezogene und nicht-fachbezogene Phraseologismen differenziert, aber im Rahmen unseres Beitrags konzentrieren wir uns nur auf fachbezogene Phraseologismen, d. h. referentielle und kommunikative Phraseologismen (Routineformeln).

Ausgehend von diesen Überlegungen und den Fachtextsortenkonventionen (internationale multilaterale Verträge), sowie von der Textthematik (Bioethik) werden neben den referentiellen Phraseologismen bei der Korpusuntersuchung auch sog. Formulierungsmuster berücksichtigt, nach Kühtz (2007, 235-238) sind sie situations- bzw. textsortengebundene musterhafte Formulierungen, sie können der Bewältigung wiederkehrender Formulierungsaufgaben dienen und dieselben kommunikativen Funktionen erfüllen wie Routineformeln.

Da in unserem Experiment Fachausdrücke aus der kontrastiven Sicht betrachtet werden, werden die Komposita in Anlehnung an Kjær (1992), Cedillo (2004), Lüger (2007) in die Fachphraseologie einbezogen. Dafür spricht für uns neben den kontrastiven Untersuchungen zwischen Deutsch und romanischen Sprachen auch die typologische Eigenartigkeit der georgischen Sprache, in der wegen der reichen Flexionsformen Komposition sowohl in der Gemeinsprache als auch in den Fachsprachen eine geringere Rolle spielt.

Als Korpus benutzen wir Paralleltexte der völkerrechtlichen Übereinkommen des Europarates und der UNO aus dem Bereich der Bioethik. Das Korpus umfasst nur eine Textsorte *Übereinkommen*:

Diese sind mehrseitige Übereinkünfte, heißen in der englischen Vertragssprache *Convention* oder *Agreement*, mitunter auch Vertrag, Vereinbarung, Protokoll (Standardformulierungen 2004, 12).

Die Textsorte wird durch eine standardisierte makrostrukturelle Gliederung und Formelhaftigkeit *Stereotypie* charakterisiert, die sich daraus resultiert, dass sie "immer wieder in der gleichen oder fast gleichen Form auftreten" (Stein 1995, 46). Entsprechend bedingt die strukturelle Standardisierung auch die Anwendung formelhafter Formulierungen oder Musterformulierungen.

## 2 Textsortengebundene Routineformeln und Formulierungsmuster

Routineformeln gelten als habitualisierte Muster (Lüger 2007, 445), die sich als Resultat wiederholt auftretender Formulierungsprobleme in bestimmten



Zusammenhängen etabliert haben, aber sie zeigen ein breitgefächertes Spektrum in syntaktischer Hinsicht (von Satzgefügen über vollständige Satzstrukturen bis hin zu elliptischen Formen).

Der Übergang insbesondere zu den festgeprägten Sätzen und den phraseologischen Teilsätzen wird hier fließend. Weiterhin zeigt sich die Uneinheitlichkeit von Routineformeln in den unterschiedlichen Idiomaticitätsgraden: es finden sich sowohl vollidiomatische wie auch teildiomatische oder nichtidiomatische Ausdrücke (Lüger 2007, 452f).

Ausgehend von der kommunikativen Funktion der Textsorte und dem Adressatenkreis wird die Textsorte *Übereinkommen* durch eine verhältnismäßig niedrigere Abstraktionsebene oder einen niedrigeren Fachlichkeitsgrad charakterisiert. Dies findet ihren Niederschlag sowohl in der Textgliederung, als auch in vereinfachten Formulierungsmustern des Sachverhalts. Die Formelhaftigkeit spiegelt sich am besten an der Mehrheit von Routineformeln und Formulierungsmustern wider.

## 2.1 Satzwertige stereotype Formulierungen bzw. Routineformeln

Das wesentlichste Kennzeichen satzwertiger Stereotype ist, einerseits, ein enger Zusammenhang mit dem Textzusammenhang, und andererseits, sie dienen der makrostrukturellen Textorganisation. Auf der strukturellen Beschreibungsebene konnte aufgrund des analysierten Materials neben der Stereotypie eine überschaubare Zahl der Varianten festgestellt werden, obwohl diese Variation die lexikalische Ebene betrifft, indem eine stabile Reihenfolge der Bestandteile zu bezeichnen ist. In diesem Sinn wäre berechtigt von „komplexen Routineformeln“ (Gülich 1997, 146) zu reden, die eine „weitgehend stabile Formelhaftigkeit“ (Kühtz 2007, 237) aufweisen.

Satzwertige Routineformeln verfügen über metakommunikative Funktion, indem sie als textsortengebundene und textsortenspezifische Phraseologismen die makrostrukturelle Gliederung veranschaulichen.

Der Inhalt völkerrechtlicher Übereinkünfte wird im Allgemeinen in folgende Reihenfolge angeordnet: Präambel, Begriffsbestimmungen, allgemeine Bestimmungen, besondere Bestimmungen (Verfahren), Schiedsklausel, Verhältnis zu anderen Übereinkünften, Geltungsbereichsklausel, Schlussbestimmungen (Standardformulierungen 2004, 66).

Nach Lüger üben sie eine wichtige Funktion vornehmlich an exponierten Stellen der Kommunikation aus, insbesondere in sog. Übergangsphasen, wo es um die Bewältigung verschiedener Standardaufgaben geht (Lüger 2007, 445).

a) Beispielsweise re- und kookkurieren in einer makrostrukturellen Einheit, in der die Voraussetzungen der Unterzeichnung, der Ratifikation und des Inkrafttretens von Übereinkommen dargestellt sind, Formulierungsstereotype. Diese satzwertigen Formulierungstereotype bestehen ihrerseits aus referentiellen Phraseologismen, die neben den Übereinstimmungen auch Divergenzen aufweisen:

(1)

eng. This Convention is subject to ratification, acceptance or approval. Instruments of ratification, acceptance or approval shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the Council of Europe.

dt. Dieses Übereinkommen bedarf der Ratifikation, Annahme oder Genehmigung. Die Ratifikations-, Annahme- oder Genehmigungsurkunden werden beim Generalsekretär des Europarats hinterlegt.

geor. k'onventsia ekvemdebareba rat'ipitsirebas, mighebas an damt'k'itsebas. Rat'ipik'atsiis, mighebis an damt'k'itsebis sigelebi shesanakhad unda gadaetses evrop'is sabch'os generalur mdivans.

Bestandteile von satzwertigen Formulierungsmustern:

(2)

eng. to be subject to ratification, acceptance or approval	V. Phr.
Instruments of ratification, acceptance or approval	N. Phr.
to deposit with the Secretary General	V. Phr.
Council of Europe	N. Phr.
dt. der Ratifikation, Annahme oder Genehmigung	V. Phr.
bedürfen	
Ratifikations-, Annahme- oder	Term. Komp.
Genehmigungsurkunden	
etw. beim Generalsekretär des Europarats	V. Phr.
hinterlegen	
Europarat	Term. Komp.

geor. rat'ipitsirebas, mighebas an damt'k'itsebas ekvemdebareba	V. Phr.
Rat'ipik'atsiis, mighebis an damt'k'itsebis sigelebi	N. Phr.
shesanakhad gadaetsema generalur mdivans	V. Phr.
evrop'is sabch'o	N. Phr.

Ähnlich können alle satzwertigen stereotypen Formulierungen in Kollokationen gegliedert werden, deren Gebrauchsfrequenz als Voraussetzung dazu fungiert, dass sie im Ganzen stereotype kommunikative satzwertige Kollokationen bilden.

(3)

eng. Such denunciation shall become effective on the first day of the month following the expiration of a period of three months after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary General.

dt. Die Kündigung wird am ersten Tag des Monats wirksam, der auf einen Zeitabschnitt von drei Monaten nach Eingang der Notifikation beim Generalsekretär folgt.

geor. aseti denonsatsia dzalashi sheva momdevno tvis p'irvel dghes.  
Romelits mosdevs generaluri mdivnis mier shet'q'obinebis  
mighebidan sami tvis amots'urvas.

b) Neben den standardisierten Formulierungen konnten fest gefügte Propositionen nachgewiesen werden, die allgemeingültige Grundsätze und Sachverhalte enthalten. Ihr stabiler und standardisierter Gebrauch in diesem Korpus führte uns dazu, sie als Fachphraseologie zu betrachten:

(4)

eng. No one shall be subjected to discrimination.

dt. Niemand darf einer Diskriminierung ausgesetzt werden.

geor. aravin unda daek'vemdebaros diskriminac'ias.

(5)

eng. Human dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms are to be fully respected.

dt. Die Menschenwürde, die Menschenrechte und die Grundfreiheiten sind in vollem Umfang zu achten.

geor. adamianis ghirsebas, adaminis uplebebs da dziritad tavisup-  
lebebs srulad unda stsen p'at'ivi.

c) Satzwertige Formulierungstereotype als metakommunikative Sätze (Baumann 1992, 91) markieren den Beginn, die Fortsetzung oder das Ende von Gliederungsabschnitten innerhalb eines Textblocks, z. B. der Textblock *Schlussbestimmungen*. Was den Grad der formalen und inhaltlichen Ähnlichkeit innerhalb der jeweiligen Kategorie betrifft, so handelt es sich bei den nachgewiesenen Formeln teils um identische Formulierungstereotype (Identität der Zeichenkette) und teils um Expansionen bzw. Reduktionen konkurrierender Varianten in Form von Paraphrasen mit oder ohne Informationsverlagerung.

(6)

eng. Such denunciation shall become effective on the first day of the month following the expiration of a period of three months after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary General.

dt. Die Kündigung wird am ersten Tag des Monats wirksam, der auf einen Zeitabschnitt von drei Monaten nach Eingang der Notifikation beim Generalsekretär folgt.

geor. aseti denonsatsia dzalashi sheva momdevno tvis p'irvel dghes, romelits mosdevs generaluri mdivnis mier shet'q'obinebis mighebidan sami tvis amots'urvas.

Die pragmatische Festigkeit der nachgewiesenen Varianten wird durch eine stabile, rekurierte nichtidiomatische Anwendung von Wortkomplexen verursacht, gerade das bildet die Grundlage, weshalb sie den Kollokationen zugeordnet werden.

## 2.2 Formulierungsmuster

In der Textsorte *völkerrechtliches Übereinkommen* sind textsortenspezifische bzw. -typische Formulierungsmuster unterhalb der Satzebene nachweisbar. Diese werden von Göpferich als "syntaktische Fertigstücke" bezeichnet (Göpferich 1995, 218). Ähnlich wie satzwertige Formulierungstereotype (Stein 1995, 301) weisen Formulierungsmuster unterhalb der Satzgrenze eine feste Gebundenheit an spezifische Gliederungssegmente innerhalb der einzelnen Textblöcke, auf der anderen Seite erfüllen sie eine klar umschriebene kommunikative Funktion als metakommunikative Elemente und/oder Gliederungssignale für funktional definierte Textblocksegmente.

Als Beispiel können wir die Präambel von völkerrechtlichen Übereinkommen anführen, die eine im Wesentlichen feststehende feierliche Form aufweisen. Präambel und Aufzählung von Beweggründen werden im fremdsprachigen Wortlaut meist mit bestimmten herkömmlich verwendeten Partizipien, Gerundien und ähnlichen Formulierungen eingeleitet (Standardformulierungen 2004, 48).

Im Deutschen werden oft ähnliche Formen durch präpositionale Nominalisierungen mit Rechtserweiterung (Genitivattribute) ausgedrückt. Vergleichbare Phraseme sind nichtidiomatisierte adverbiale Phraseologismen und insofern Kollokationen, während im Georgischen diese Inhalte meistens durch Modalsätze oder durch verbale Phraseologismen ausgedrückt werden. Im Deutschen werden für die Manifestation von feststehenden feierlichen Formulierungen auch einfache Genitivpräpositionen mit Rechtserweiterung (eingedenk ...), oder Modalsätze verwendet.

(7)

- eng. a. expressing the intention
- b. taking into consideration
- c. taking note
- d. inspired by a common will
- e. moved by the desire
- f. bearing in mind
  
- dt. a. unter Bekundung der Absicht
- b. in Würdigung
- c. in Anbetracht; unter Berücksichtigung
- d. von dem gemeinsamen Willen beseelt
- e. von dem Wunsch geleitet
- f. eingedenk G
  
- geor. a. gamokhat'aven ra ganzrakhvas;
- b. miighes ra gadats'q'vet'ileba, gadats'q'vit'es ra;
- c. itvalists'ineben ra;
- d. arian ra saerto nebit shtagonebulni;
- e. khelmdzghvaneloben ra survilit;
- f. itvalists'ineben ra;

Auch satzsegmentale Formulierungsmuster rekurren fast unverändert in dieser Textsorte, die hier beispielsweise einen Übergang von der Präambel auf den Texthauptteil markieren:

(8)

eng. Recommends that the governments of member states:

dt. Empfiehlt den Regierungen der Mitgliedstaaten:

geor. urchevs ts'evri sakhelmts'ipoebis mtavrobebs:

(9)

eng. Proclaims the principles that follow and adopts the present Declaration.

dt. verkündet die folgenden Grundsätze und nimmt die vorliegende Erklärung an.

geor. atskhadrebs shemdeg p'rintsip'ebis da ighebs ts'inamdebare dek'laratsias.

Diese Formulierungsmuster, die im Präambel stehen, sind Initiatoren, die einen Übergang auf den Hauptteil des Textes signalisieren, andere makrostrukturelle Einheiten (Präambel, Begriffsbestimmungen, allgemeine Bestimmungen, besondere Bestimmungen (Verfahren), Schiedsklausel, Verhältnis zu anderen Übereinkünften, Geltungsbereichsklausel, Schlussbestimmungen) sind durch andere stereotype Formulierungsmuster markiert.

Mit den textsortenspezifischen strukturellen Einheiten hängen auch pragmatische Dimensionen dieser Formulierungen zusammen. Von der Funktion eines Textblocks hängt die Anwendung von textsortengebundenen Phraseologismen ab:

1. *Funktion: Formulierung der Beweggründe durch die Unterzeichneten von Übereinkommen oder Erklärungen:*

(10)

eng. The member States of the Council of Europe, the other States and the European Community, signatories hereto

dt. Die Mitgliedstaaten des Europarats, die anderen Staaten und die Europäische Gemeinschaft, die dieses Übereinkommen unterzeichnen

geor. kvemore khelismomts'eri evrop'is sabch'os ts'evri sakhelmts'ipoebi, skhva sakhelmts'ipoebi da evrop'is gaertianeba

*2. Funktion: Ziele und Geltungsbereich:*

(11)

eng. This Declaration addresses

dt. Diese Erklärung betrifft/richtet sich an

geor. es dek'laratsia ekheba /mimartulia

(12)

eng. Within the scope of this Declaration

dt. Innerhalb des Geltungsbereichs dieser Erklärung

geor. am dek'laratsiis mokmedebis speroshi

*3. Funktion: Erklärung der Prinzipien:*

(13)

eng. Everyone has a right to

dt. Jeder hat das Recht

geor. q'velas akvs upleba

*4. Funktion: Förderung der Prinzipien:*

(14)

eng. States should make every effort to;

States should take appropriate measures to

dt. Die Staaten sollen alle Anstrengungen unternehmen

Die Staaten sollen geeignete Maßnahmen ergreifen

geor. sakhelmts'ipoebma unda miighon q'velanairi zomebi

sakhelmts'ipoebma unda miighon shesabamisi zomebi

*5. Funktion: Implementierung der Erklärung:*

(15)

eng. a. This Declaration is to be understood as

b. Each principle is to be considered in

dt. a. Diese Erklärung ist in .... zu verstehen

b. Jeder Grundsatz ist ..... zu betrachten

geor. a. es dek'laratsia gagebul unda iknes rogorts

b. q'oveli p'rintsip'i gankhilul unda iknas.

6. Funktion: *Auslegungsrahmen der Erklärung:*

(16)

- eng. a. Any such law needs to be consistent with...  
 b. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as
- dt. a. Jedes derartige Gesetz muss mit .... vereinbar sein.  
 b. Diese Erklärung darf nicht so ausgelegt werden, als ...
- geor. a. q'oveli aseti k'anoni unda esadagebodes  
 b. daushvebelia am dek'laratsiashi raime ganimart'os ise,

Auch dieses nicht umfangreiche Material veranschaulicht, wie nützlich der Einsatz der extrahierten Standardformulierungen für die Textverarbeitung werden kann, etwa Rationalisierung verschiedener Teilaufgaben des Translationsprozesses durch Anwendung der Softwarewerkzeuge im Rahmen der maschinenunterstützten (Human-)Übersetzung mit Bezug auf die georgische Sprache. Insbesondere bei der Bearbeitung von stark repetitiven Texten ermöglichen Translation-Memory-Systeme durch das automatisierte Wiederauffinden früher übersetzter Textsegmente und den gleichzeitigen Zugriff auf Terminologiedatenbanken und Kontextinformationen mitunter eine erhebliche Produktivitätssteigerung und eine Erhöhung der Übersetzungsqualität.

### 3 Thematische und textsortenspezifische referentielle Phraseologismen

In diesem Abschnitt werden Fachphraseologismen behandelt, die ausgehend von der Interdisziplinarität des Korpus vorkommen: textsorten- und fachspezifische (Bioethik, Völkerrecht, Menschenrechte) referentielle Phraseologismen. Aus Gründen der Übersichtlichkeit sind in Beispielen die Fachphraseologismen fachlich nicht getrennt (Bioethik/Recht) angeführt.

Burger gliedert referentielle Phraseologismen in nominative, verbale, adjektivische und adverbiale Phraseologismen (Burger 2007, 33–57). Dieser Gruppe werden terminologische Komposita zugeordnet.

1. Substantivische Phraseologismen haben mindestens eine obligatorische nominale Komponente, sie „können als Satzglieder die Rolle des Subjekts, von Objekten und Prädikativen erfüllen sowie als Teil von Satzgliedern diejenige des Attributs“ (Burger 2001, 34). Die Phraseologismen können sowohl idiomatisch, als auch nicht idiomatisch sein.



## 1.1. eng. Adjektiv+substantivische Basis

dt. Adjektiv+substantivische Basis

geor. Adjektiv+substantivische Basis; Subst. im Gen.+Subst.

(17)

a. eng. genetic predisposition/susceptibility

dt. genetische Prädisposition/Anfälligkeit

geor. genet'ik'uri ts'inasts'argants'q'oba/midrek'ileba

b. eng. production of the source animals

dt. Spendertieraufzucht

geor. donori tskhovelebis mosheneba

c. eng. embryonic/foetal organs and tissues

dt. embryonale /fetale Organe und Gewebe

geor. (Subst. im Gen.+Substantiv) embrionis/ naq'opis organoebi da ksovilebi

## 1.2. Substantivische Basis+Rechtserweiterung mit Genitivattribut

eng. substantivische Basis+Rechtserweiterung mit *of*+Sub.dt. substantivische Basis+Rechtserweiterung mit Genitivattribut/  
von D; phraseologische Kompositageor. Adjektiv+substantivische Basis; Subst. im Gen.+ substanti-  
vische Basis;

(18)

a. eng. instrument of ratification

dt. Ratifikationsurkunde

geor. sarat'ipik'atsio sigeli

b. eng. xenotransplantation of cell lines

dt. Xenotransplantation von Zelllinien

geor. ujredis khazebis ksenot'ransp'lant'atsia

c. eng. removal of regenerative tissue

dt. Entnahme regenerierbaren Gewebes  
 geor. regeneratsiis unariani ksovivilis agheba

1.3. eng. substantivische Basis+Rechtserweiterung mit Präp. Attr.

dt. substantivische Basis+Rechtserweiterung mit Präp. Attr.

geor. substantivische Basis+Linkserweiterung mit S. im Gen.  
 substantivische Basis+Linkserweiterung mit Prä/Postposi-  
 tionalattribut;

(19)

a. eng. compensation for loss (of earnings)

dt. Entschädigung für Verdienstaussfall

geor. (shemosavalis) danak'argis k'omp'ensatsia

b. eng. consent to Transplantation

dt. Einwilligung zur Implantation/Übertragung

geor. tankhmoba t'ranspl'ant'atsiaze

In diese Gruppe gehören auch Akronyme, wenn die Vollform die phraseologische Wortgruppe ist: z. B., World Health Organisation (WHO)–Weltgesundheitsorganisation, International Bioethics Committee (IBC)–Internationaler Ausschuss für Bioethik (IBC), Intergovernmental Bioethics Committee (IGBC)–zwischenstaatlicher Ausschuss für Bioethik (IGBC).

2. Verbale Phraseologismen: Ein entscheidendes Kriterium für die Zugehörigkeit zu den verbalen Phraseologismen ist das Vorhandensein einer oder mehrerer verbaler Komponenten. Obwohl verbale Phraseologismen eine recht heterogene Struktur aufweisen können, stehen sie syntaktisch in Prädikatsfunktion. Sie können zu satzgliedübergreifenden Syntagmen erweitert werden, doch die obligatorische Verbkomponente bleibt das morphologische Merkmal:

eng. Substantiv+verbale Basis; Adjektiv+verbale Basis

dt. Substantiv+verbale Basis; Adjektiv+verbale Basis

geor. Substantiv+verbale Basis; Adjektiv+verbale Basis

(20)

- a. eng. to remove organs or tissues  
 dt. j-m Organe oder Gewebe entnehmen  
 geor. organoeb̄s an ksovilebs aigheben
- b. eng. to withdraw the consent  
 dt. Einwilligung widerrufen  
 geor. tankhmobas uk'an gaikhmob̄s

Den verbalen Phraseologismen werden auch die Funktionsverbgefüge zugezählt (vgl. Kütz 2007; Gautier 1997). Burger ordnet FVG den Kollokationen zu:

[...] diese enthalten ein Substantiv, das aus einem Verb nominalisiert wurde, und semantisch "leere" Verben, mit denen die Aktionsart differenziert werden kann (Burger 2007, 55).

Die FVG sind ausgesprochen für die deutsche Sprache charakteristisch (sie kommen im Englischen und auch im Georgischen vor, doch werden FVG ins Englische oder ins Georgische meistens durch Einwortverben übertragen):

(21)

- a. eng. to enter into force  
 dt. in Kraft treten  
 geor. dzalashi sheva
- b. eng. to make a decision  
 dt. eine Entscheidung treffen  
 geor. gadats'q'vet'ilebas miighebs
- c. eng. to take into account  
 dt. in Rücksicht nehmen  
 geor. gaitvalists'inebs

3. Adjektivische Phraseologismen: Mehrgliedrige Wortverbindungen, die syntaktisch wie Adjektive fungieren. Als klassenbildendes Merkmal betrachtet Fleischer (1997, 147) sowohl prädikative als auch attributive

Verwendung. Adjektivische Phraseologismen sind in unserem Fall am wenigsten vertreten. Strukturell dominiert im Deutschen Adjektiv+ Partizip, dieser Bildungstyp hat im Englischen und im Georgischen semantische Entsprechungen in überwiegender Mehrzahl Adverb+ Partizip. Dominierende Bildungsmuster im Deutschen: Adjektiv+Partizip:

eng. (semantische Entsprechungen): Adverb+Partizip

dt. Adjektiv+Partizip;

geor. (semantische Entsprechungen): Adverb+Partizip, Nom. in Instrumentalis/Adverbialis+Partizip

(22)

a. eng. hereditary sex-related

dt. erblich geschlechtsgebunden

geor. memk'vidreobit skestan dak'avshirebuli

b. eng. genetically based

dt. genetisch bedingt

geor. genet'ik'urad ganp'irobepuli

Am zweithäufigsten findet sich im deutschen Korpus der Strukturtyp Adjektiv+Adjektiv: *genetisch identisch*, *ethisch vertretbar*, *klinisch anwendbar*. Auch diesem Strukturtyp entspricht im Englischen und im Georgischen Adverb+Adjektiv, Nom. in Adverbialis/Instrumentalis + Partizip, im Englischen kommt noch eine Entsprechung vor: Adverb + Adverb:

(23)

a. eng. genetically identical

dt. genetisch identisch

geor. genet'ik'urad ident'uri

b. eng. clinically applicable

dt. klinisch anwendbar

geor. k'linik'urad gamoq'enebadi

Für den Bildungstyp Adjektiv+Partizip sind im Korpus auch verschiedene semantische Entsprechungen im Englischen festgelegt worden, z. B., Partizip+Präposition+Substantiv, während im Georgischen

die Struktur Adverb+Partizip, Nom. in Instrumentalis/Adverbialis+Partizip steht:

(24)

- a. eng. set by law  
     dt. gesetzlich vorgeschrieben  
     geor. k'anonit dadgenil
- b. eng. prescribed by law  
     dt. gesetzlich vorgesehen  
     geor. k'anonit gatvalisits'inebuli

4. Adverbiale Phraseologismen: Verfestigte Wortverbindungen, die, als ganze, syntaktische Funktion von Adverbialen übernehmen und unflektiert bleiben. So unterschiedlich wie ihre Funktion (lokale, temporale, modale usw. Bestimmungen) ist auch ihr morphostrukturelles Erscheinungsbild (Fleischer 1997, 149ff). Die größte Zahl der adverbialen Phraseologismen werden im Englischen und im Deutschen durch Präpositionen eingeleitet, im Georgischen bilden Nomen in Instrumentalis/Adverbialis, Adverbien, manchmal auch mit einer nichtabtrennbaren Postposition, ein Derivat. Im Englischen kommen oft Gerundien oder syntaktische Konstruktionen vor, auch im Georgischen erscheinen syntaktische Konstruktionen, die links attributiv erweitert werden:

(25)

- a. eng. in witness whereof  
     dt. zu Urkund dessen  
     geor. dast'urad amisa
- b. eng. according to law  
     dt. von Rechts wegen  
     geor. k'anonis shesabamisad.

Als adverbiale Komposita betrachten wir Kollokationen, die in allen Übereinkommen als eine einheitliche Temporalangabe stehen und das Inkrafttreten der Übereinkommen mit verschiedenen Vorbehalten festlegen:

(26)

a. eng. no later than five years

dt. spätestens fünf Jahre

geor. ara ugvia nes khuti ts'lisha

b. eng. from its entry into force

dt. nach seinem Inkrafttreten

geor. misi dzalashi shesvlidan

#### 4 Phraseologische Komposita

In der Fachterminologie von bestimmten Sprachen, auch im gemeinsprachlichen Wortschatz, ist die Wortbildung, oder die Komposition ein ausgesprochen aktuelles Phänomen. So Gréciano:

Aus der Fachperspektive ist die Miteinbeziehung von Wortbildung und Mehrworttermini in die Phraseologie umso zwingender, als sich interlinguale sachliche Konvergenzen über die formalen, durch die analytische und synthetische Natur der Einzelsprachen bedingten Divergenzen hinwegsetzen. Die Umformulierung von Mehrgliedrigkeit in Teilbarkeit ist eine harmonisierende Lösung für die einzelsprachlichen Unterschiede in der Oberflächenmarkierung (graphische Kontinuität vs Diskontinuität) der Phraseotermini (Gréciano 2007, 518).

Deswegen erscheint es aus der Sicht der kontrastiven Fachphraseologie und interlingualen Vergleichs die Ausdehnung des Gegenstandsbereichs der Phraseologie und die Miteinbeziehung der Komposita in die Fachphraseologie erlaubt und angebracht (vgl. Lüger 1999, 8). Zugunsten dieser Herangehensweise spricht die Tatsache, dass viele Komposita einfach in feste Mehrwortkomplexe verwandelt werden: Rechtsschutz-Schutz der Rechte, Tierschutz-Schutz der Tiere, Umweltschutz-Schutz der Umwelt.

Terminologische Komposita/Mehrworttermini werden aus den oben dargestellten Gründen als Kollokationen behandelt (vgl. Cedillo 2004, 47; Kühtz 2007, 115). Kühtz nennt sie phraseologische Komposita und ordnet sie referentiellen Phraseologismen zu.

Dass diese Betrachtungsweise auch aufgrund der kontrastiv-phraseologischen Fragestellungen gerechtfertigt ist, wird aus den Beispielen ersichtlich: den deutschen phraseologischen Komposita entsprechen im Englischen und im Georgischen graphisch diskontinuierliche Wortkomplexe:

(27)

a. eng. Human Rights

dt. Menschenrechte

geor. adamianis uplebebi

b. eng. tissue transplantation

dt. Gewebetransplantation

geor. ksovilebis t'ranspl'ant'atsia

c. eng. not able to consent

dt. einwilligungsunfähig

geor. t'anxmobilis unaris armk'one

Ähnliche Beispiele sind in überwiegender Mehrzahl sowohl in der juristischen Fachsprache, als auch in der Fachphraseologie der Bioethik. Aus diesem Grund sind ähnliche phraseologische Komposita/ terminologische Komposita/Mehrworttermini im Phrasikon aufgenommen worden.

## 5 Schlussfolgerungen

Aufgrund des analysierten Materials sind folgende Gegebenheiten ersichtlich: Das Korpus zeigt fast gleiche Tendenzen für alle drei Sprachen, ungeachtet der typologischen Unterschiedlichkeit der georgischen Sprache, obwohl natürlicherweise auch Differenzen anzutreffen sind. Die nominativen Phraseologismen bilden die Mehrzahl, dann folgen verbale und adverbiale Phraseologismen, indem den deutschen mit Präpositionen eingeleiteten adverbialen Phraseologismen neben den ähnlichen Formen auch Gerundien und syntaktische Konstruktionen entsprechen. Morphostrukturelle und syntaktische Unterschiede zeigen adverbiale Phraseologismen im Georgischen.

Am niedrigsten ist die Zahl der adjektivischen Phraseologismen. Dabei ist die Bildungsmuster des Deutschen Adjektiv+Partizip im Englischen und im Georgischen durch semantische Entsprechung vertreten.

Als Ergebnis dieses Experiments ist ein dreisprachiges Phrasikon aus dem Fachbereich Völkerrecht und Bioethik erstellt worden.

Als eine Fortsetzung unseres Vorhabens sehen wir die Annotierung von formelhaften Formulierungsmustern und stark repetitiven Fachphraseologismen in Sätzen mit linguistischer Information, d. h. mit Part-of-speech-

Tags, auf der nächsten Stufe wird jeder Satz mit syntaktischer Struktur annotiert und eine Baumbank erstellt. Diese entwickelten sich zu nützlichen Ressourcen als Quelle für die linguistische Forschung. Sie können Anwendung finden in Bereichen wie Übersetzungslehre, Korpuslinguistik zur Untersuchung von syntaktischen Phänomenen, Computerlinguistik als Evaluierungskorpora für unterschiedliche NLT-Systeme.

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