

**Research on Phraseology  
Across Continents**

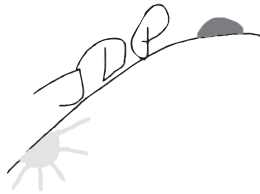
**VOLUME TWO**



INTERCONTINENTAL DIALOGUE ON PHRASEOLOGY  
University of Bialystok, Poland & Kwansai Gakuin University, Japan

# Research on Phraseology Across Continents

VOLUME TWO



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## Contents

Preface	9
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### Dialogue on Phraseology

<i>Irine Goshkheteliani</i> Idioms in Cross-cultural Communication	19
<i>Anita Naciscione</i> Creativity in Shakespeare's Use of Phraseological Units	36

#### 1.

### General and Corpus Linguistics & Phraseology

<i>Petra Fojtů</i> Idiomatic Expressions and Terminology	53
<i>Ai Inoue</i> A Phraseological Approach to Understanding the Function of a New Correlative Conjunction Observed in Contemporary English – <i>though A but B</i>	62
<i>Shin'ichiro Ishikawa</i> Phraseological Discourse Markers of Reliability: From a Viewpoint of World Englishes	80
<i>Makoto Sumiyoshi</i> Phrasal Connective Adverbials in English	98
<i>Haixia Wang</i> Functions and Development of <i>you know what</i>	117

## 2.

### Lexicography & Phraseology

- Mariarosaria Gianninoto*  
Chinese and Western Works on Chinese Phraseology:  
a Historical Perspective 137
- Ramón Martí Solano*  
From Idiom Variants to Open-Slot Idioms: Close-Ended and  
Open-Ended Variational Paradigms 149
- Iris Vogel*  
The Role of *mushi* in Japanese Idioms: Encoding Conceptual  
Information in an Electronic Dictionary 163
- Claudia Xatara*  
Diffusion de la sagesse proverbiale aux nouvelles générations 176

## 3.

### Contrastive Linguistics / Translation & Phraseology

- Paola Capponi*  
The Starry Sky in Proverbs and Sayings 189
- Anna Maria Aguirre Castañeda*  
Phraseologismen bei Autoteilen in der portugiesischen,  
englischen, französischen und deutschen Sprache 205
- Sabine Fiedler*  
Phraseological Units of Biblical Origin in English and German 228
- Julietta Lagodenko*  
Semantic Interpretation of Idioms: Cross-linguistic Approaches 248
- Fausto Pinheiro Pereira*  
The Good and Bad Animals in Japanese and Brazilian Proverbs 260
- Nana Stambolishvili*  
Einige Betrachtungen über die Entstehung der Phraseologismen 273

*Natalia Surguladze*  
L'étude comparée des unités phraséologiques animales  
du français et du géorgien 292

*Joanna Szerszunowicz*  
Phraseological Gaps as a Translation Problem 299

#### 4.

### Literature / Cultural Studies / Education & Phraseology

*Man Lai Amy, Chi*  
Cultural Impacts on Comprehension of Known Words  
at Phrase Level 319

*Liisa Granbom-Herranen*  
Some Theoretical Aspects of Processes Behind the Meanings  
of Proverbs and Phrases 338

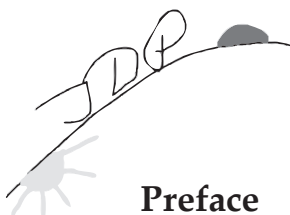
*Maria Jesús Leal Riol*  
“Between a rock and a hard place” or “Entre la espada y la pared”.  
Equivalence and Divergence across Continents. Contrastive  
Study of Spanish and English Phraseology 355

*Julia Miller*  
Phraseology Across Continents 370

*Irina V. Zykova*  
Phraseological Meaning as a Mechanism of Cultural Memory 388







## Preface

The present volume is the second of the “Intercontinental Dialogue on Phraseology” series started in 2009 at the University of Białystok in Poland with the cooperation of the Kwansai Gakuin University in Japan. The collection of papers is a result of a two-year cooperation of phraseologists from Europe, Asia, Australia and South America. It contains twenty-three papers whose authors discuss various problems from the field of phraseology. The contents of the volume shows the scope of scientific interests and methodological approaches across continents.

The volume is composed of three parts and the division reflects the relations of phraseology with linguistics lexicography (Part Two), contrastive linguistics and translation (Part Three), cultural studies and language acquisition/teaching (Part Four). They are preceded by the section *Dialogue on Phraseology*, composed of two papers by eminent scholars in the field of phraseology, whose contribution to the research on phraseology is exceptional. Irine Goshkheteliani in her paper titled *Idioms in Cross-cultural Communication* discusses idioms as original language signs, which convey cultural peculiarities and reflect creativeness of a given nation. She illustrates the analysis with many examples taken from English and Georgian, offering an insight into linguo-cultural specifics. Anita Naciscione’s paper, titled *Creativity in Shakespeare’s Use of Phraseological Units*, contains an analysis of Shakespeare’s use of fixed expressions in his plays, with a focal issue of the exploration of its novelty. Moreover, she draws attention to the fact that many units are attributed to the playwright without proper etymological research, stressing that what should be appreciated is his creativity shown in the implementation of idioms in his works.

Part One, titled *General and Corpus Linguistics & Phraseology*, is composed of five papers.

Paola Capponi in her paper *The Starry Sky in Popular Sayings* discusses some of the names used for the heavenly bodies in folk sayings. They are analysed by consulting an astronomer to verify their astronomical reference and through the study of the wider cultural references. The author proposes an analytical method of revealing the referent's characteristics, i.e. the basis of the appellation, a step-by-step reconstruction via the word and the tradition to which the referent belongs. Ai Inoue focuses on a new conjunction *though A but B*. Her paper *A phraseological approach to understanding the function of a new correlative conjunction observed in contemporary English – though A but B* contains the analysis of selected examples of its usage. It reveals that it has a new function as a copulative and it also functions as a correlative conjunction. The objective of the paper *Phrasal Connective Adverbials in English* by Makoto Sumiyoshi The objective of this paper is to prove, that the sequences of words such as *not only that but, alongside that, that apart* and *that instead*, have assumed a new function as phrasal connective adverbials, i.e. conjuncts, in modern English. Haixia Wang analyses function of the expressions *you know what*. Her paper *Functions and development of you know what* offers an insight into has both non-parenthetical and parenthetical uses.

Petra Fojtu's article *Idiomatic Expressions and Terminology* offers the reader the discussion of the tendencies in the use of Czech psychological terminology, built on the basis of phraseological units. She analyses selected problems connected with use. In the article there are going to be described various Czech psychological term, which are based on phraseological units.

In Part Two, *Lixicography & Phraseology* selected problems from the field of lexicography are presented in four papers. The focal issue of Mariarosaria Gianninoto's paper titled *The development of bilingual lexicography and the history of phraseological studies in China* is the development of Chinese phraseological studies. The author aims to discuss the relationship between these studies and traditional Chinese philology, lexicography and glossography in particular as well as to present the interplay between Western and Chinese linguistic traditions in this field. Moreover, she comments on some recent developments of contemporary phraseological studies and the links with other fields of linguistics in China. Iris Vogel in her paper *The role of mushi in Japanese idioms. Making Head or Tail of It* focuses on the complexity of semantic structure of idioms. The aim of the article is to show how the cognitive linguistic approach to the analysis of idioms can help to enhance a bilingual electronic dictionary using the example of

*mushi*-related (insect/bug-related) expressions in Japanese. Ramón Martí Solano in his paper *From idiom variants to open-slot idioms: close-ended and open-ended variational paradigms* discusses the lexicographic description of selected kind of phraseological units. The author present the problem, analysing seven dictionaries of English idioms. Claudia Xatara in her paper *Les proverbes à la portée de tous* focuses on proverbs. She discusses selected theoretical aspects and proposes a new model of lexicographic description of the proverb.

Part Three titled *Contrastive Linguistics, Translation & Phraseology* contains eight papers, some of which deal with a selected group of phraseological units in a cross-linguistic perspective. For example Capponi. Anna Aguirre Castañeda's paper *Phraseological units in motor vehicle part denominations in Portuguese, English, French and German* discusses the ABNT terms and their English, French and German equivalents. The aim of the author is to find a term-formation model in Brazilian Portuguese units. The article *Phraseological units of biblical origin in English and German* by Sabine Fiedler aims to prove that there are different biblical expressions in the vocabularies of English and German and that many of the so-called equivalents differ with regard to structure and meaning. Moreover, the author draws attention to the fact that the status of English as a global lingua franca influences the group of units chosen for the analysis. Faunal units take central stage in Fausto Pinheiro Pereira's paper *Good and bad animals in Japanese and Brazilian proverbs*. The objective of the author is discuss idioms and proverbs containing animal terms in Brazilian Portuguese and Japanese. The units are compared with the data concerning how animals are perceived in proverbs of each language. Natalia Surguladze's paper *Étude de la forme intérieure de l'unité phraséologique* discusses animal phraseology. The author focuses on imagery of the idioms analysed.

Four papers deal with national features and human universal thinking reflected in phraseology. Nana Stambolishivi in her paper *Einige Betrachtungen über die Entstehung der Phraselogismen* analyse some lexical units which can be easily changed into phraseologisms. The article contains a contrastive analysis of German, Georgian and Russian phraseological units, which shows both similarities and differences between the language chosen. Julietta Lagodenko's paper *Semantic Interpretation of Idioms: cross-linguistic approaches* deals with the interpretation of world-based phraseological units in a cross-linguistic perspective. Basing on language-culture correlation, the author discusses Russian and English idiomatic expressions, concentrating on their semantics.

Joanna Szerszunowicz aims to discuss problems connected with translation of non-equivalent phraseological units. Her paper titled *Phraseological gaps as a translation problem* contains theoretical information on the phenomenon of lacunary phraseological units. The author also presents selected techniques of translation, such as literal translation, substitution, innovation and omission, which are exemplified.

The fourth part of the volume, *Cultural Studies and Language Acquisition/Teaching*, contains six papers. In some of them the focal issues are linguo-cultural issues of phraseology. For instance, Liisa Granbom-Heranen focuses on the process which makes proverbial utterances meaning-carrying units. Her paper *Proverbs and phrases – more than just words* aims to discuss why proverbial utterances are used and understood in everyday speech on the example of Finnish units. The focal issue of the article is on their context-connected aspects. The examples of Finnish utterances included are taken from both the past and present. Julia Miller focuses on two very important factors influencing speakers' command of fixed expression, age and region. Her study *Phraseology across continents* discusses phraseme familiarity, interpretation and use by different age groups in the UK and Australia over a nine month period in 2008. The analysis shows that there was more similarity within age groups than within the same country. Irina V. Zykova aims to show that the phraseological meaning is a complex structure including semantic information and its conceptual basis. In her paper titled *The phraseological meaning as a means of the cultural memory* she states that thanks to its complex conceptual character the phraseological image is capable of retaining and accumulating cultural information in the course of time. The author also focuses on the elaboration of adequate methodology helping to model the formation and functioning of phraseological meaning, which is of great importance for phraseological studies.

Two papers discuss issues of great importance for language teaching. Amy Chi's article titled *Cultural distinction impacts on comprehension of known words at phrase level* presents the results of an empirical study aimed at investigating the impact of cultural characteristics of a particular linguistic group of non-native learners of English on their comprehension of multi-word units. The author conducted a test in a group of tertiary-level students of the same ethnic background in order to reveal the mental associations with selected animals. It was also researched if the associations influenced their understanding of the phrases containing the name of the animal.

Shin'ichiro Ishikawa discusses phraseological discourse markers of reliability, treating them as an example of changing facets in English pragmatics. His paper *Uniqueness and Commonality in the Use of Phraseology by Asian Learners of English: A Study Based on the ICNALE* contains the analysis of corpus material. Maria Jesús Leal presents an approach to teaching Spanish phraseology to all levels of learners of Spanish as a second language, whose native tongue is English. Her paper *"Between a rock and a hard place" or "Entre la espada y la pared". Equivalence and Divergence across Continents. Contrastive Study of Spanish and American English Phraseology* focuses on the following three aspects of the approach: equivalence, transparency, and communicative functions.

As the coordinator of the IDP project, I would like to thank all those involved in the project. My special thanks go to Professor Katsumasa Yagi, whose ideas inspired the project and who constantly supports intercontinental scientific cooperation in the field of phraseology. I would also like to thank the Dean of the University of Białystok, Bogusław Nowowiejski, who provided financial support, and the Dean of the Kwansai Gakuin University, Professor Takaaki Kanzaki for his willingness to cooperate within the framework of the project – I would like to express thanks to the three persons for agreeing to co-edit the volume.

I feel very grateful to Professor Anita Naciscione and Professor Irine Goshkheteliani who agreed to write contributions to the section *Dialogue on Phraseology*.

I would also like to thank the reviewers: Professor Wolfgang Mieder from the University of Vermont, Professor Priscilla Ishida from the University of Tsukuba, Professor Antonio Pamies-Bertrán from the University of Granada, Professor Krzysztof Hejwowski from the University of Warsaw, Doctor Elena Berthemet from the University of Bretagne and Doctor Agata Rozumko from the University of Białystok.

Special thanks go to my colleagues from EUROPHRAS, the Japan Association for Phraseology and the International Association of Paremiology for their cooperation and moral support.

Last but not least, I would like to thank all persons who showed their kind interest in the initiative, hoping that they will take part in the third edition of the project *Intercontinental Dialogue on Phraseology*.

June 2013

Joanna Szerszunowicz  
IDP Coordinator  
Białystok



## In honorem



### PROFESSOR DOCTOR KATSUMASA YAGI

an eminent phraseologist, lexicographer and corpus linguist. His main research interests are: lexicography, English linguistics, English phraseology, history of English education in Japan, English phonology and phonetics. He has been working on English and English-Japanese dictionaries for over 40 years. He is the editor-in-chief of the Youth's Progressive English-Japanese dictionary published by Shogakukan in 2004. He inspired the project *Intercontinental Dialogue on Phraseology*, which is continued thanks to his constant support and encouragement. Last but not least, he is a very special person to his colleagues and students who are very grateful to him for what he has done, he does and he will do.





# Dialogue on Phraseology



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## **Idioms in Cross-cultural Communication**

**ABSTRACT:** The idiom reflects the national specificity of the ethnos. It is a figurative interpretation of reality and an emotional model of communication. Idioms are highly interactive items. They are often metaphors, which reflect the collective knowledge of the nation, their social experience, historical development, culture, traditions and beliefs. They are considered to be the micro world of national culture. They bear deep information about the people, as they are fixed in the language and are transmitted from generation to generation. Idioms are the part of the existing language picture of the world which stimulates cross-cultural communication between nationalities. They are firmly assimilated in various languages and have become part and the whole of these cultures. Most of the idioms are of folk origin; however, there are huge numbers of biblical, mythological and idioms created by the writers. Knowing culture, literature and traditions of different nationalities will help the language learner to communicate with a native speaker adequately.

**KEY WORDS:** *idiom, language picture of the world, cross-cultural communication, idiomatic picture of the world*

### **1. Introduction**

Phraseology plays the special role in the formation of a language picture of the world. Idioms are the best examples of cross-cultural relations. The idiom is storage of a system of values, public morals; it expresses the relation to the world around. At the same time it serves as a „mirror“ in

which the society identifies the national consciousness, it reflects a special vision of the world.

There are many idioms in different languages that are specific only to these nationalities, such as non-equivalent, culture-specific idioms. Their usage in communication causes difficulties to the foreigners, as they do not have equivalents in their native languages. It is essential to elicit their national-cultural specifics by connotation and context. Some universality of the idiomatic picture of the world and the interpenetration of images of different cultures underline the existence of tight cultural ties between the nations. The religion, myths, beliefs, rituals, customs, historical events, art, translated literature serve as the sources of idioms defining national and cultural specifics of the people.

One of the main difficulties is correct usage of an idiom. A further difficulty is whether an idiom is appropriate in the given context or if a non-native speaker tries to translate an idiom from his native language into English. It confuses a listener due to the lack of common ground between their cultures. There is nothing that is obviously wrong, but somehow native speakers know that they wouldn't express themselves in quite that way. The problem is often one of collocation. "Another noteworthy feature of idioms in everyday talk is the way speakers use them creatively, by a process of 'unpacking' them into their literal elements and exploiting these" (Michael McCarthy 1998:137).

Idioms are often colloquial metaphors, which require some more fundamental knowledge, information, or experience, to use within a culture where parts must have a common reference. As cultures are typically localized, idioms are more often not useful for communication outside of that local context. However, some idioms can be more universally used than the others and they can be easily translated or their metaphorical meaning can be more easily deduced, e.g. idiom kill time is common not only in English, but in the Georgian language.

## **2. The language picture of the world**

A language has a communicative function. The success of this process much depends how the speaker uses his background knowledge. We should underline the importance of the speakers' cultural awareness, the factors that support the communication, how language and culture correspond among themselves, how language reflects the world through

consciousness of the person, how the individual and collective mentality, ideology and culture are reflected in the language, how language and culture create a world picture – primary, from the native language, and secondary, acquired when studying foreign languages.

The language picture of the world includes not only the reflected objects, but also a position of the reflecting subject, its relation to these objects, and a position of the subject in the same reality. We can assume that the system of the typical social relations and an estimation of the reality is reflected as a sign in the system of national language and constructs a language picture of the world.

The concept of “a language picture of the world” is connected with the concepts, the people, ethnos, the nation and understanding of the national character of the personality. National character is understood as a stereotypical set of qualities, attributed to the people. Each language reflects the world. The “speakers” of different languages see the world differently. The language picture of the world includes two ideas: 1) a picture is “drawn” by different languages and 2) each language „draws” the picture representing reality differently, then it may be shared by other languages. The system reflected in this language is reconstructed to maintain whether it is specific or universal. On the other hand, investigated linguistic characteristics for this language concepts are „key” (clear) concepts that are at the same time easily understood or translated from other languages.

The maintenance of a cultural and national connotation of idioms is interpretation of the figurative basis of idiomatic picture of the world in the sign of cultural and national „space” of this language community. From this point of view it is possible to deduce methodologically important consequences: the cultural knowledge can be „caught” from an internal form of the idiom: there are some „traces” of the cultures, customs and traditions, historical events and life elements and the culture can be understood as a way of orientation of the subject in empirical, cultural, spiritual life on the basis of norms, standards, stereotypes, symbols, myths, etc. signs of the national culture which has been traditionally established in certain national language society.

The code of culture is a macro-system of the language picture of the world united by the general property; it is a certain conceptual grid, used by a native speaker who categorizes structures and estimates the surrounding and internal worlds. The code of culture is taxonomy of elements of an idiomatic picture of the world in which bio-facts and artifacts, objects of the external and internal worlds (the physical and mental phe-

nomena) are naturally incorporated or created by the society. The basis of cultural codes for idioms is made by the mythological symbolism which transfers images of the concrete subjects on the abstract phenomena, including an inner world, establishing overlapping of objects of physical or real and virtual or illusory reality. The mythological consciousness is based on comparison and identification of the archetypes with the modern understanding of reality.

### **3. Idiom as a cultural concept**

Culture is a mediating activity between people and the world they inhabit and language is a mediating system between them, it allows us to reflect upon the reality and events giving us the means to exchange ideas with others.

The main objective of the lingua-cultural analysis of idioms is the identification of the ways and means of an embodiment of „language“ of culture in the contents of phraseology. An idiom is a lexical unit that is studied as a language unit by the phraseology; however I try to analyze it in the lingua-cultural aspect on the basis of anthropological paradigm, as it gives an opportunity to understand the originality of phraseology as a part of the people's culture.

The importance of this research is defined by its perspective, the need for promotion of new hypotheses for studying the specifics of phraseology of different languages as a significant part of the language picture of the world expressing cultural signs of various nationalities. The undertaken research shows the process of how special phraseology (phraseology of one language) correlates with other languages, to prove that the idiomatic image of these or those cultural senses are expressed and stored in phraseology.

An idiom, as an original language sign, reveals cultural peculiarities and creativeness of the nation. It has symbolic correlation with cultural signs; it sometimes functions not only as a metaphor but as a stereotype, benchmark (etalon) or a quasi-symbol of the culture. The idiom is initially saturated with cultural sense and is a culture-sign; it makes a peculiar circle – from the original meaning in the language and culture, it is updated in the speech idiomatically bearing cultural senses. It occurs in the course of cultural interpretation of the free phrase into idiom, or a reference to the subject domain of the culture. According to this model of cultural

interpretation, during the centuries the native speaker carried out the following stages: he awoke in his memory the most ancient senses relating to the remote past of culture, provoking the background knowledge and images to remember the origin of an idiom that were necessary for more exact and deep use, connecting an image of the idiom with its association with the traditions, beliefs, values, myths, symbols, etc.

We can admit that the idiom is a lexical unit of the language that has cultural connotation, it expresses the relation between the experiences of the mankind and the world events, and it is the perception of reality through the ethno-cultural mentality. Feature of this perception is that all components of the language semantics depend on how the native speakers understand various forms of their language through their culture. Thereby, the semantics of the phraseology is culturally marked and the speaker expresses his emotion and cultural attitude to the events that occur around him and in the world. An idiom has an emotive and evaluating function as it expresses outlook of the people, their figurative vision of the world.

The most universal feature for all languages is that the idioms, as cultural concepts, are developed and fixed in the vocabulary through communication. They are transmitted and interpreted in different languages via social interaction between the people of various nationalities in cross-cultural communication.

Functions of idioms in the language are defined by their peculiarity caused by the nature of an internal form of the phrase, or its figurativeness and specific sign-being replaceable to the word. In this case the idiom is under construction as a metaphor; thereby, it belongs to an area of analogical thinking, to the area of the creative consciousness of an approximate identity, i.e. modeling a new figurative language unit for communicative purposes. In compliance with the objective reality occurring in the society and a language sign, such as a fixed phrase with secondary nomination, the idiom as a trope is created. The image of this phrase becomes peculiar conductor of the culture thanks to the interpenetration of two semiotic systems – culture and language (Ковшова, Мария. 2009): the figurative and motivational component of the idiom in the course of its interpretation is carried out as a generated cultural connotation of the idiom, cultural senses are highlighted through language, and this language unit becomes a body of a new sign – a culture sign in which the senses and categories allocated in culture are incarnated. An idiom stores in itself and then broadcasts the cultural senses interwoven into its semantics

in cross-cultural communication; an idiom as a symbol, stereotype and benchmark, stores in its memory a certain stage of development of a given society, its values and beliefs, traditions and morality, etc.

Interpretation of an image is in correlation with the area of collective unconscious that belongs to a mythological picture of the world; on the other hand, informative interpretation of an image is in its correlation with the background knowledge about the origin of idioms, its role in the lexical stock of language, knowledge of beliefs and values reflected in the idiom, perceiving the cultural sense and connotation of the unit, thus making an idiomatic picture of the world.

#### **4. Universal and ethno-peculiar features of the idiomatic picture of the world**

The most important is the usage of the idiom in the communication. The native speaker puts in language his world vision, mentality, and the relation to other people in the cross-cultural dialogue. One of the main difficulties is a correct usage of an idiom. A further difficulty is whether an idiom is appropriate in the given context or if a non-native speaker tries to translate an idiom from his native language into English. Linguistic creativity much depends on how idiom is used by the speakers in relation to local contextual purposes and especially for interpersonal interaction. The usage of idioms in speech makes the communication creative. The idiom not only hands over information on the events, but by means of an image explains the national vision of the world. A recreation of an idiom and the maintenance of a cultural connotation of this unit prove creativity of its semantics. As the cultural connotation is created each time in a new idiom, cultural possibilities of the idiomaticity are always wider than its concrete realization as a language sign in the idiomatic picture of the world. Idioms display a national soul, though there are “universal” idioms that make communication between different nationalities easier. These types of idioms create a background for the universal consciousness that is affected by different factors: biological, social, religious, historic, geographical, common cultural space, etc. The biological factor is the most stable, but others are changeable. Biblical idioms are widespread in the Christian world; countries that are bordered by the sea or ocean have idioms connected with fishing, boating, tide, etc.



The analysis of the English and the Georgian idioms proves that their semantics is to some extent connected with the perception of the language semantics in the cultural prism. Most significant in the lingua-cultural approach is the answers identifying the traces of cultural interpretation of phraseology. Basic words or semantic centers (animalisms, somatisms, etc.) indicate this or that type of information taken from the idiom – denotative, figurative, metaphorical, emotive, estimative, etc.

Universal and ethno-peculiar features of the idiomatic picture of the world of various ethnos are caused both actually substantial characteristics of the figurative basis of the idioms, and the ways of their interpretation in national and cultural space of a certain language community. The human world – is the world of senses: the subject anyway treats life realities, giving them the positive or negative importance, taking a certain position in relation to them, reflecting these or those phenomena of reality, considering one reality as values, and others – as „anti-values“ in a context of the requirements, needs, interests and aspirations. It also means that the world around has a human sense of the subject. Archetypal images in the idiomatic picture of the world of various languages and their expansion in different languages often occurs on the basis of the emotional and behavioral universality of the society. These universal anthropomorphic features of idioms include: 1) physical and mental perception (sight – eyes, hearing – ears, taste – tongue, etc.); 2) physiological conditions (hunger, thirst, etc.); 3) physiological reactions (cold, heat, palpitation, etc.); 4) physical actions and activity (to work, have a rest, go, to stand etc.); 5) desires (to want, to be eager, to prefer etc.); 6) the intellectual activity (to imagine, know, consider, understand, remember etc.); 7) emotions (to be afraid, rejoice, become angry, to admire, regret, be jealous, to take offense etc.); 8) speech acts (to speak, to report, praise etc.), etc. These features are universal to people of the whole world, regardless to their culture, language or educational level.

The native speaker at a deep level of the consciousness carries out not only the understanding of the idiom which is expressing language value, also the perception of the figurative essence of the phraseology.

The new treatment of an idiomatic image is a conductor in cultural space, it is generally connected with the English and Georgian beliefs, ceremonies, rituals, ways of life, etc. and as the model of cultural interpretation is created and the structure of a cultural connotation of the phraseology is developed.

Maria Kovshova (2009) remarks that all existing in the world in the process of development and knowledge get a semiotic sense which arises from non-literal senses of things. The world in its symbolical perception is released from the physical and material nature in the course of understanding by the person of the world objects of a material world; having become symbols they acquire signs of the world ideal. We see the essence of a symbol not in designation, but in the symbolic relation to reality and, thereby, overcoming of semantic definiteness of a sign. We believe that the special role in this process belongs to the idiom as a sign of a secondary nomination.

## **5. English and Georgian idioms in the language picture of the world**

Communicative functions of idioms are formed in culture and in many respects are defined by a cultural connotation of this language sign. The choice in culture is always motivated and the choice of idiom in communication for the purpose of a fulfillment of the speech act is realized and motivated first of all by the cultural semantics of the idiom. Galina Antrushina (2000) figuratively describes idioms:

“And what a variety of odd and grotesque images, figures and personalities one finds in this amazing picture gallery: dark horses, white elephants, bulls in china shops and green-eyed monsters, cats escaping from bags or looking at kings, dogs barking up the wrong tree and men either wearing their hearts on their sleeves or having them in their mouths or even in their boots”.

(G. Antrushina 2000: 225)

Most idioms are of folk origin; however, there are huge numbers of biblical, mythological and idioms used by the different writers. Knowing culture, literature and traditions of different nationalities will help the language learner to communicate with a native speaker adequately. The most interesting feature of an idiom is that it bears abstract notions, concepts that reveal the cultural semantics of this language unit which are settled in the cultural layers of the idiom. The concept is a certain idea of a fragment of the world or a part of such fragment, having the abstract notion expressed by different groups of signs, realized in the language in various ways and means. The structure of a concept is a set of the general-

ized signs and groups of the signs necessary and sufficient for identification of a subject or the phenomenon as a fragment of a language picture of the world. National-cultural concepts may have a different basis. In the Georgian discourse we meet educational, emotional, individual, universal and other types of concepts that are reflected in idioms. The cultural connotation is a key concept of the idiom. Natural phenomena, like *wind, stars, the moon, the sun, water, fire*, etc. as well as *heart, foot, hand, ears, tongue* and other idioms with soma-centers are often used as concepts in the English and Georgian idioms. Natural phenomena are included in an image of the idioms not as the names of natural essences, but as the names of the elements which have always been symbols of the most important trials in the human life. On the basis of such symbolized ontological properties of the natural phenomena as *wind, water, fire*, etc. have laid down experiences learned by the person. In Georgian mentality wind is connected with something that is not stable, is considered as temporary event or it describes a frivolous person:

E.g.: ვარსვლავს ეთამაშება – *varskolavs eTamaSeba* – *She is very beautiful,*  
 ქარაფშუტა (*qarapSuta*) – *light-minded,*  
 თავში ქარი უქროს (*TavSi qari uqris-wind blows in his head*) – *giddy person,*  
 ქარით მოტანილი (*qariT motanili-brought with wind*) – *got easily, without any effort.*

Native speakers' unconscious knowledge of collocation is an essential component of their idiomatic and fluent language use and an important part of their communicative competence.

The idioms with soma-center in the Georgian and the English languages prove that many idioms are universal in meaning and have equivalents in other languages, in our case, in the Georgian and English languages. Here are examples of somatic idioms that have the same meaning in both languages. E.g.:

Be up to one's ears – ეელამდე ვარ საქმეში ჩაფლული (*yelamde var saqmeSi Cafuli*)

Behind the ears – *yuris ZirSi; yursukan* (*yuris ZirSi*)

Prick up one's ears – ყურების დაცვეტა (*yuris dacqveta*)

In one ear and out at the other – ერთ ყურში შეუშვა და მეორეში გამოუშვა (*erT yurSi SeuSva, meoreSi gamouSva*)

- Give me your ear – ყურისთხოვება (ყური მათხოვე) (yurisTxoveba (yuri maTxove)
- Burn one's ears – ყურებამდე გაწითლდა (yurebamdegawiTlda) one's ear deceive – ყური მატყუებს (yuri matyuebs)
- Walls have ears – კედლებსაც აქვს ყურები (kedlebsac aqvs yurebi)
- Turn a deaf ear to smth. – ყური არ დაუგდო, მოყრება (yuri ar daugdo, moyrueba)
- Pull smb. by the ear – ყურები აუწია (დატუქსა) (yurebi auwia (datuqsa)
- To be in debt up to the arm – ყელამდე ვარ ვალებში ჩაფლული (yelamde var valebSi Cafluli)
- To throw oneself into smb's arm – ვინმეს ხელში ჩააგდო (სხვის ხელში ჩააგდო) (vinmes xelSi Caagdo (sxvis xelSi Caagdo)
- To rescue smb. from arms of death – სიკვდილს ხელიდან გამოსტაცო (sikvdils xelidan gamostaco)
- To fold in arms – გულში ჩაკვრა (gulSi Cakvra)
- With arms folds – გულხელდაკრეფილი ჯდომა (gulxeldakrefili jdoma)
- Turn one's back on smb. – ზურგი შეაქციო ვინმეს (zurgi Seaqcio vinmes)
- Behind smb's back – ზურგსუკან (zurgsukan)
- Stand behind smb's back – ვინმეს ზურგსუკან დგომა (ჩრდილში დგომა) (vinmes zurgsukan dogma)
- Be a backbone of smth. – რაღაცის ხერხემალია, მნიშვნელოვანია (raRacis xerxemalia)
- Get smb's blood up – სისხლის ტვინში ავარდნა (sisxlis tvinSi avardna)
- New blood – ახალი სისხლი (axali sisxli)
- It makes one's blood boil – სისხლის ადუღება (sisxliaduReba) One's blood runs cold / freezes – სისხლი გაეყინა (sisxligaeyina)
- Flesh and blood – სისხლი და ხორცი (sisxli da xorci)
- Stain one's hands in blood – სისხლში ხელის გასვრა (sisxliSi xelis gasvra)
- The call of the blood – სისხლის ყვირილი (sisxlis yivili)
- Rush blood into one's head – სისხლის თავში ავარდნა (sisxlis TavSi avardna)
- Blood sucker – სისხლისმსმელი (sisxlismsmeli)
- Have blue blood in one's veins – წმინდა, ცისფერი სისხლი ჩქევს მის მარღვეებში (wminda, cisferi sisxli Cqefs mis ZarRvebSi)
- Have no blood in veins – სისხლის გამრობა (sisxlis gaSroba) Blood will tell – სისხლი თავისას იზამს (sisxli Tavisas izams) to Make smb's blood turn – სისხლის აჩქროლება (sisxliSaCqroleba)
- To spill blood – სისხლის დაღვრა (sisxlis daRvra)
- Brain a person with smth. – ტვინი გამოულაყო ვინმეს (tvini gamoulayo vinmes)
- Beat (puzzle) one's brains about smth. – თავის მტკრევა რამეზე (Tavis mtvrevva rameze)

- Use your brains – გაანძრიე ტვინი (gaanZrie tvini)
- Have one's brains on ice – ტვინი გაეყინა (tvini gaeyina) Rack one's brains about smth. – ტვინის ჭყლეტა (tvinisWyleta)
- Blow out one's brains – ტვინის წაღება (tvinis waReba) Be up to the elbow's in work – ყელამდე ვარ საქმეში ჩაფლული (yelamde var saqmeSi Cafluli)
- Keep an eye on smth. or smb. – თვალი გეჭიროს ვინმეზე ან რამეზე (Tvali geWiros vinmeze an rameze)
- Pull the wool over someone's eyes – თვალიდან ბეწვის გამოცლა (Tvalidan bewvis gamocla)
- Have got one's eye on smb. or smth. – თვალი დაადგა ვინმეს ან რამეს (Tvali daadga vinmes an rames)
- Do smth. with one's eyes closed – საქმის თვალდახუჭული კეთება (saqmis TvaldaxuWuli keTeba)
- Throw dust in a person's eyes – თვალეზში ნაცრის / მტვერის შეყრა (TvalebSi nacris / mtveris Seyra)
- One's eyes deceive – თვალი მატყუებს (Tvali matyuebs)
- Can't believe one's eyes – თვალეზს ვერ ვუჯერებ (Tvalebs ver vujereb)
- The evil eye – ბოროტი / ეშმაკის თვალი (boroti / eSmakis Tvali)
- An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth – თვალი თვალისწილ და კბილი კბილისწილ (Tvali Tvaliswil da kbili kbiliswil)
- See eye to eye – თვალის თვალში გაყრა (Tvalis TvalSi gayra)
- Can hardly take one's eyes off smb: smth. – თვალს ვერ მოწყვეტ (Tvalis ver moSoreba)
- With half an eye – ცალი თვალითაც ჩანს (cali TvaliTac Cans)
- Be all eyes – ოთხი თვალის გამოზმა, ყურადღებით ყოფნა (oTxi Tvalis gamobma, yuradRebiT yofna)
- Turn a blind eye to smth. – თვალეზის დახუჭვა რაიმეზე (Tvalebis daxuWva raimeze)
- A jaundiced eye – შურიანი თვალი (Suriani Tvali)
- Not know where to turn one's eyes – არ იცოდა თვალეზი სად წაეღო (ar icoda Tvalebi sad waeRo)
- Out of my sight – თვალიდან დამეკარგა (Tvalidandamekarga)
- Catch smb's eye – თვალის მოკვრა (Tvalis mokvra)
- In a twinkling of an eye – თვალის დახამხამებაში (Tvalis daxamxamebaში)  
Give smb. a glad eye – კარგი თვალით უყურებს (kargi TvaliT uyurebs)
- Go purple in the face – saxeze almuri asdis (saxeze almuri asdis)
- Laugh on the other side of one's face – ზურგს უკან სიცილი (zurgs ukan sicili)
- To make faces – სახის მანჭვა (saxis manWva)

- One's face falls – saxe Camostris (saxe Camostris)
- Lay a finger on smb. or smth. – თითის დადება ვინმეზე ან რამეზე (TiTis dadeba vinmeze an rameze)
- Slip through one's fingers – თითებსშუა გასხლტომა (TiTebSua gasxltoma)
- To have a finger in the pie – თაფლში თითს ურევსო (anu raime saqmeSi gareva) (TafSi TiTs urevso)
- His fingers are all thumbs – თითსაც არ ანძრევს (მოუქნელია) (TiTsac ar anZrevs mouqnelia)
- Crook one's finger – თითის მოკაკვა (TiTis mokakva)
- Not lift a finger – თითსაც არ გავანძრევ (TiTsac ar gavanZrev)
- Be on one's feet – ფეხზე დადგომა (mokeTeba) (fexze dadgoma (mokeTeba)
- Have got one foot in the grave – ცალი ფეხი სამარეში აქვს (cali fexi samareSi aqvs)
- Drag one's feet – ფეხის ათრევა (fexis aTreva)
- Have got both feet on the ground – ფეხი მოიკიდა (fexi moikida)
- Step off on the wrong foot – მარცხნა ფეხზე ადგომა (marcxna fexze adgoma)
- Get back on one's feet – ფეხზე წამოდგა,საქმეების გამოკეთება (fexze wamodga,saqmeebis gamokeTeba)
- Stand on one's own (two) feet – ორივე ფეხით მყარად დგას (orive fexiT myarad dgas)
- Fall on one's feet – ფეხებში ჩავარდნა (fexebSi Cavardna)
- Under feet – ფეხქვეშ გაგება (fexqveS gageba)
- Not set one's foot in / on somewhere – ჩემი ფეხი არ იქნება იქ (Cemi fexi ar iqneba iq)
- Walk smb. off his feet – ფეხებს ძლივს მიათრევს, დაათრევს (fexebS Zlivs miaTrevs, daaTrevs)
- Make smb's hair stand on end – თმების ყალყზე დადგომა (Tmebis yalyze dadgoma)
- Not harm a hair of smb's head – თმის ღერიც კი არ ჩამოუვარდეს (Tmis Reric ki ar Camouvardes)
- Tear one's hair – თმის გლეჯა (Tmisgleja)
- To get out of hand – ხელიდან წასვლა (ხელიდან წასვლა) (xelidan wasvla (xelidan wasvla)
- To change hands –ხელიდან ხელში გადასვლა (xelidan xelSi gadasvla)
- To get one's hand in – ხელის გაწაფვა; ხელის გაჩევევა (xelis gawafva; xelis gaCveva)
- To lay violent hands on – ძალით ხელში ჩაგდება (ZaliT xelSi Cagdeba)
- At first hand – პირველწყაროდან (pirvelwyarodan)
- Bound / tied hand and foot – ხელ-ფეხშეკრული (xel-fexSekruli) Smb's right hand – ვინმეს მარჯვენა ხელი (vinmes marjvena xeli)

- Give / lend smb. a hand – daxmarebis xeli gamouwoda (daxmarebisxeli gamouwoda)
- Hands off – ხელები შორს (რაიმესგან! ვინმესგან) (xelebiSors (raimesgan! vinmesgan)
- Hand to hand fighting – ხელჩართული ბრძოლა (xelCarTuli brZola)
- Have clean hands –სუფთა ხელები (მართალი) (sufTa xelebi (marTali)
- Throw in one's hand – ხელში ჩავარდნა; ხელში ჩაუვარდა (xelSi Cavardna; xelSi Cauvarda)
- Strengthen one's hand – ხელის გამართვა (დახმარება) (xelisgamarTva (daxmareba))
- Show / reveal one's hands – ხელები გაეხსნათ (xelebi gaexsnaT)
- Be hand in glove with smb. – ერთსაქმეზე უკიდათ ხელი (erTsaqmeze ukidiaT xeli)
- Hand in hand – ხელი-ხელ (xeli-xel)
- Have / take / want no hand in smth. – ამ საქმეში ხელი არ მაქვს (am saqmeSi xeli ar maqvs)
- It's time to take someone in hand – დროა, მაგრად მოკიდო ხელი (droa, magrad mokido xeli)
- Hang down one's head – თავის ჩაქინდვრა; გულის გატეხა (Tavis Caqindvra; gulis gatexa)
- Run one's head against a stone wall – თავი ქვას ახალოს; Tavi kedels axalos;
- Have got a good head on one's shoulders – კარგი თავი აბია, ჭკვიანია (kargi Tavi abia, Wkviania)
- Have got one's head in the clouds – (თავით) ღრუბლებში დაფრინავს ((TaviT) RrublebSi dafrinavs)
- Keep one's head / a cool head – თავის მოთოკვა (Tavis moTokva)
- Lose one's head – თავის დაკარგვა (Tavis dakargva)
- Cannot make head or tail of smth. – თავს და ბოლოს ვერ ვართმევ (Tavs da bolos ver varTmev)
- Put smth (e.g. an idea) into smb's head – თავის გამოტენა (იდეებით) (Tavis gamotena (ideebiT)
- Put / lay one's head on the block – თავს დავდებ შენთვის (Tavs davdeb SenTvis)
- Talk one's head off – ლაპარაკით ტვინის წაღება (laparakiT tvinis waReba)
- Use one's head – თავი / ტვინი გაანძრე (Tavi / tvini gaanZrie)
- Head over heels – თავდაყირა, ყირამალა (Tavdayira, yiramala)
- To turn one's head – თავბრუს დახვევა (Tavbrus daxveva)
- Put out of one's head – თავიდან ამოგდება (დავიწყება) (Tavidan amogdeba (daviwyeba)
- Head over heels in love with – თავდავიწყებით შეყვარება (TavdaviwyebiT Seyvareba)



- Have one's heart set on smth. – თვალი დაადგა რაიმეს ან ვინმეს (Tvali daadga raimes an vinmes)
- Have the heart – გული შეუგორდა (ვინმეზე) (guli Seugorda (vinmeze)
- To cry one's heart out – ტირილით გულის მოხება (tiriliT gulis mooxeba)
- It breaks my heart – გული მიკვდება (guli mikvdeba)
- To take smth to heart – გულთან ახლოს მიტანა (gulTan axlos mitana)
- With a heavy heart – დამძიმებული გულით (damZimebuli guliT) with all one's heart – სულით და გულით (suliT da guliT)
- His heart failed him – გულმა უღალატა (gulma uRalata)
- Win one's heart – ვისიმე გულის მოგება (visime gulis mogeba)
- Have one's heart in one's boots – გული წინდებში ჩამივარდა (guli windebSi Camivarda)
- Have one's heart in one's mouth – ენის ჩავარდნა (enis Cavardna)
- Break smb's heart – გულისგატეხა (gulisgatexa)
- Have a heart of gold – ოქროს გული აქვს (oqros guli aqvs)
- Have the heart to do smth. – გული მიუწევს რაიმეს გასაკეთებლად (guli miuwevs raimes gasakeTeblad)
- A heart to heart talk – გულითადი საუბარი (guliTadi saubari)
- One's heart isn't in it – გული არ მიუწევს (guli ar miuwevs)
- Have a heart of stone – ქვის გული აქვს, გულქვაა (qvis guli aqvs, gulqva)
- Open one's heart – გულის კარების გაღება, გულის გადაშლა (gulis karebis gaReba, gulis gadaSla)
- Lose one's heart to smb. – გული მისდის ვინმეზე (guli misdis vinmeze)
- Move smb's heart – გულის აძგერება (gulis aZgereba)
- Touch smb's heart – გული აუტოკა, გული აუჩუყა (guli autoka, guli auCuya)
- Give one's heart to smb. – გულის მიცემა (gulis micema)
- Stir smb's heart – გულის ამღვრევა (gulis amRvreva)
- Gain smb's heart – ვინმეს გულის მოგება (vinmes gulis mogeba)
- Lie at smb's heart – გულზე დაწოლა (gulze dawola)
- Dear to smb's heart – ვინმეს გულის ვარდი (vinmes gulis vardi)
- One's Achilles heel – აქილევსის ქუსლი (aqilevsis qusli)
- To show a clean pair of heels – მოქუსვლა; გაქუსვლა (moqusvla; gاقusvla)
- Bring someone to heel – ვინმეს ჭკუაზე მოყვანა (vinmes Wkuaze moyvana)
- It's time he was brought to heel – დროა ჭკუა ვასწავლოთ (droa Wkua vas-wavl0T)
- Drag one's heels – ფეხები უკან რჩებათ (fexebi ukan rCebaT)
- Up to one's knees – მუხლამდე (muxlamde)
- At one's mother's knees – დედის კალთაზე გამობმა (dedikos kalTaze gamobma)



- To bend the knees to smb. – მუხლის მოდრეკა (muxlis modreka)
- Weak at the knees – მუხლის მოკვეთა; მუხლები აღარ მერჩის (muxlis mokveTa; muxlebi aRar merCis)
- Put / set / get smb. on his legs – ვინმეს ფეხზედაყენება ანუ საკმეების გამოკეთება (vinmes fezxedayeneba anu saqmeebis gamokeTeba)
- Stretch one's legs – ფეხების გამართა (გავარჯიშება) (fexebis gamarTa (gavar-jisEba)
- To stand on one's own legs – ფეხზე დადგომა (დამოუკიდებლად ყოფნა) (fexze dadgoma (damoukideblad yofna)
- To leg after smb. – ფეხ-დაფეხ მიყოლა; ფეხდაფეხ დევნა (fex-dafex miyola; fexdafex devna)
- To fall on one's legs – ვინმეს ფეხქვეშ გართხმა (vinmes fexqveS garTxma) To be / run off one's legs – ფეხის შეშლა (fexis SeSla)
- To lose one's legs – ფეხების წართმევა (fexebis warTmeva)
- Bring / call smb. to mind – გონს მოგება, გონს მოსვლა (gons mogeba, gons mosvla)
- Lose one's own mind on smb. smth. – ჭკუას ვკარგავ (Wkuas vkargav) have a mind of one's own – საკუთარი აზრის ქონა (sakuTari azrisqona)
- Mind yourself – ჭკუას მოუხმე (Wkuas mouxme)
- Come / spring to mind – აზრად მოსვლა, ჭკუაში დამიჯდა (azrad mosvla, WkuaSi damijda)
- Hold your mouth – ხმა ჩაიწყვიტე! (xma Caiwyvite!)
- Shut one's mouth – ენას კბილი დააჭირე (enas kbili daaWire)
- Out of the mouth of babies and sucklings – ტუჩებზე / პირზე დედის რძე არ შემრობია (tuCebze / pirze dedis rZe ar SeSrobia)
- Take the words out of smb's mouth – სიტყვების ამოგლეჯა პირიდან, ძალით ათქმევინო (sityvebis amogleja piridan, ZaliT aTqmevino)
- Have a mouth to feed – პირის გემო ჰქონია (piris gemo hqonia)
- Open one's big mouth – პირი მოაღო (piri moaRo)
- Break one's neck – კისრის მოტეხა (kisris motexa)
- Get it in the neck – კინწისკვრით გაგდება (kinwiskvriT gagdeba)

These and other types of idioms make easier cross-cultural communication as they express the familiar notions. Idioms evaluate the whole narrative summarizing the main events or opinion.

The way native speakers use English in the real world is largely idiomatic and it assumes that a fluent non-native speaker should be similarly idiomatic.

We must stress the interpersonal and evaluative functions of idioms, so underlining their common ground with metaphors. Metaphoric idioms

are often created in discourse among small groups or those with shared interests, where intimacy is reinforced by private sets of euphemistic and humorous expressions.

## 6. Conclusion

1. Idioms are the best examples of cross-cultural relations.
2. The usage of idioms in speech makes communication creative.
3. An idiom is a lexical unit of the language that has cultural connotation, it expresses the relation between the experiences of the mankind and the world events, and it is the perception of reality through the ethno-cultural mentality. It is storage of a system of values, public morals;
4. An idiom, as an original language sign, reveals cultural peculiarities and creativeness of the nation.
6. An idiom sometimes functions not only as a metaphor but as a stereotype, benchmark (etalon) or a quasi-symbol of the culture.
7. Idioms comment figuratively on the world, rather than simply describe it.
8. Idioms are communal collocations that enable speakers to express cultural and social solidarity and they occur in a wide variety of humorous forms in creative discourse.

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## Idiomy w komunikacji międzykulturowej

### STRESZCZENIE

Idiom, oryginalny znak językowy, ujawnia specyfikę kulturową i kreatywność narodu. Ma on symboliczną korelację ze znakami kulturowymi; czasami funkcjonuje nie tylko jako metafora, ale również jako stereotyp, etalon lub quasi-symbol w danej kulturze. Idiom jest nasycony sensami kulturowymi i jest znakiem kulturowym; zatacza swoisty krąg – oryginalne znaczenie w języku i kulturze jest uaktualniane w mowie poprzez nasycenie sensami kulturowymi. Zachodzi to w toku kulturowej interpretacji luźnego połączenia wyrazowego jako idiomu lub odniesienia do domeny kulturowej. Według tego modelu interpretacji kulturowej, od wieków rodzimy użytkownik mowy realizował następujące etapy: przywoływał w pamięci najdawniejsze sensory odwołujące się do zamierzchłej przeszłości kulturowej, wiedzy i wyobrażeń dotyczących pochodzenia idiomu, które są konieczne do dokładnego i głębokiego użycia, łączenia obrazowości idiomu z asocjacjami dotyczącymi tradycji, poglądów, wartości, mitów, symboli itd. Utrzymanie kulturowych i narodowych konotacji idiomów wiąże się z interpretacją figuratywnej podstawy idiomatycznego obrazu świata w znaku kulturowej i narodowej „przestrzeni” społeczności językowej. Z tego punktu widzenia jest możliwe, aby wyciągnąć następujące wnioski ważne z metodologicznego punktu widzenia: wiedza kulturowa może być „wychwycona” z wewnętrznej formy idiomu: są pewne „ślady” kultur, zwyczajów i tradycji, historycznych wydarzeń życia i kultury, które mogą być rozumiane jako sposób orientacji podmiotu w empirycznym, kulturalnym, duchowym życiu w oparciu o normy, standardy, stereotypy, symbole, mity itd. znaki kultury narodowej przyjętej w danej wspólnocie językowej. Komunikatywne funkcje idiomów powstają w kulturze i w wielu aspektach są definiowane przez konotację kulturową danego znaku językowego. Wybór w kulturze jest zawsze motywowany i decyzja użycia idiomu w komunikacji w celu zrealizowania aktu mowy jest podjęta i uzasadniona przede wszystkim przez kulturową semantykę danego idiomu.

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## **Creativity in Shakespeare's Use of Phraseological Units**

**ABSTRACT:** Creativity in Shakespeare's writing is beyond doubt. My aim is to explore novelty in the stylistic use of phraseological units. How grounded are statements in research and dictionaries that affirm that a good many phraseological units were created by Shakespeare? Dictionary attestations, development trends of English phraseology and a cognitive insight enable me to conclude that many of these allegations of authorship are hasty. They require etymological proof and call for exploration. These assertions are frequently due to faulty attribution. The alleged origin of *to make someone's hair stand on end* is *Hamlet*, though it goes back to the Bible. *To wear one's heart on one's sleeve* (*Othello*) comes from an old custom. *Rhyme or reason* (*As You Like It*) is used by Chaucer. My findings reveal that the true source of Shakespeare's greatness lies in his sophisticated stylistic use of phraseological units (extended metaphors, puns, allusions): this is the manifestation of his talent and creativity.

**KEY WORDS:** *figurative language, phraseological unit, stylistic use, faulty attribution, diachronic evidence*

### **1. Introduction**

Shakespeare's talent and creativity are undisputed. My aim is to have a closer look at the originality of phraseological units<sup>1</sup> (PUs) and their use in Shakespeare's plays. Researching Shakespeare's creativity in use of

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<sup>1</sup> By a phraseological unit I understand a stable, cohesive combination of words with a fully or partially figurative meaning (Naciscione 2010: 32).

PU in general and in stylistic use in particular is a challenging theme. It is like treading on delicate ground. A number of issues arise.

- 1) How substantiated are affirmations in dictionaries, research, and various internet sources that affirm that Shakespeare created a whole list of PUs or that indicate one of his plays as their origin?
- 2) Where does Shakespeare's greatness lie in the area of phraseology?
- 3) What determines Shakespeare's creativity and the novelty factor in the use of PUs in his plays?

This ties in with the question of authorship. Did Shakespeare really invent any PUs, as many sources, including dissertations, assert? If so, can we prove it? Is sufficient diachronic evidence available to support the claim? Is it really a first occurrence? All these are challenges to be addressed. I fully agree with Whiting that "too much writing has disappeared, too little speech was ever put into writing, for us to suppose a first recording to be necessarily a first occurrence" (Whiting 1968: xii), let alone to assert that Shakespeare "invented" or "coined" new PUs, or to say that the "origin" of the PU goes back to a play by Shakespeare, as a number of sources, including dictionaries and pieces of research, allege. I would argue that these terms have been used inadvertently and irresponsibly. A generally accepted term has a very concrete meaning and should not be used in a different sense, unless so indicated.

A study of records in dictionaries, development trends of earlier periods of English phraseology, and a cognitive approach to its stylistic use has brought me to the conclusion that many of these assertions are ungrounded. In order to make such allegations we need thorough exploration and diachronic evidence.

## 2. Phraseological units in core use<sup>2</sup> in Shakespeare's plays

Inaccurate etymology of PUs may be one of the causes of lexicographical errors even in serious editions and very good dictionaries. A number of PUs have been recorded as created by Shakespeare. For instance, the

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<sup>2</sup> I use the term *core use* to denote use of the PU in its most common form and meaning. A PU in core use does not acquire additional stylistic features in discourse and does not exceed the boundaries of one sentence, the same as the base form of the PU that we find in dictionary entries as a head phrase.

PU **to the world's end**<sup>3</sup> is given by Kunin's *English-Russian Dictionary of Phraseology*<sup>4</sup> as a Shakespearian phrase (Kunin 1967: 286). The same claim is also voiced by Sviridova in her dissertation *Enrichment of English Phraseology by Shakespearianisms* (Sviridova 1968). Sviridova uses the term *Shakespearianism*. Indeed, this PU is used by Shakespeare in *Much Ado about Nothing*:

BENEDICK: Will your grace command me any service **to the world's end**?

(W. Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act II, Sc. i)

However, Chaucer used it five times in core use in his Complete Works<sup>5</sup>: *un-to the worldes ende*, which was 200 years before Shakespeare. Moreover, this PU existed in the Old English (OE) period as dictionary attestations reveal. The *Oxford English Dictionary* in XII Volumes ([1933] 1961: 300 of Vol. XII) proves that it was already used in OE with the preposition *op*: *op sē woruldes ende*. It is crucial to distinguish between a free metaphorical combination of words created by an individual writer (in this case Shakespeare) and a PU – a stable word combination with a figurative meaning and a well established form in the language tradition.

There are many cases of faulty attribution of phraseological units to Shakespeare that can be found on the Internet. One of the sources is a list of *135 Phrases Coined*<sup>6</sup> by William Shakespeare (Martin [1996] 2012). Martin has published it as part of *The Phrase Finder* and signed it “Copyright © Gary Martin, 1996–2012”, which he developed during his post-graduate research. Moreover, we are led to believe that “every effort has been made to include here only information that is verifiable as correct. The content is researched to published book standards” (ibid.).

For instance, Martin considers that **all's well that ends well** originated from Shakespeare's play because it is used as a title. This is simply not true. Apart from the title, the PU is used twice in two successive acts of the play: Act IV, Sc. iv and Act V, Sc. i. Actually, in this play the PU *all's*

<sup>3</sup> PUs are marked bold when they first appear in the article. In examples, forms of PUs have been highlighted for emphasis: base forms are marked bold and underlined; instancial elements are spaced and underlined.

<sup>4</sup> I would like to indicate that, to my knowledge, Kunin's dictionary of phraseological units is the best dictionary of its kind.

<sup>5</sup> *The Canterbury Tales*, B, 3828; D, 1455; *Troilus and Criseyde*, IV, 1580; V, 894; V, 1058.

<sup>6</sup> The underlining is mine.

*well that ends well* has a special role: it performs a sustainable cohesive text-embracing function. It serves to convey the message of the play. But this does not prove that it was coined by Shakespeare. Importantly, this PU was well known in the Middle English (MiE) period:

**Wel is him that wel ende mai.**

(c1250 *Proverbs of Hending in Anglia* (1881) IV. 182)

**If the ende be wele, than is alle wele.**

(1381 J. R. Lumby, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton* II. 139)

Shakespeare makes use of existing PUs of the Early Modern English (EMoE) period that are located in the collective long-term memory of language users, and are part of their mental lexicon. Moreover, the proverb *all's well that ends well* conveys a piece of general truth. I completely agree that proverbs by their nature "must be *old*<sup>7</sup> expressions, somehow encapsulating the venerable wisdom of long-ago times" (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: ix).

The belief that Shakespeare must have created some PUs is deeply rooted; it is manifest in many sources. Unsubstantiated assertions occur in dictionaries, scholarly research (not only in articles but also dissertations) and hence in teaching materials, even in qualitative and reliable teaching materials, e.g., in the case of an excellent video of the Open University in the UK *The History of English in 10 Minutes* (2011a) and its transcript *The History of English in 10 Minutes* (2011b). In Chapter 3, this video tells us that Shakespeare invented over 2000 new words and phrases. Among them is **(as) dead as a doornail** – a common comparative PU (or a simile, to use a term of general stylistics). It is used in *King Henry VI*, Part 2:

JACK CADE: Brave thee! ay, by the best blood that ever was broached,  
and beard thee too. Look on me well: I have eat no meat these five  
days; yet, come thou and thy five men, and if I do not leave you all  
**as dead as a doornail**, I pray God I may never eat grass more.

(W. Shakespeare, *King Henry VI*, Part 2, Act IV, Sc. x)

This PU is an old saying. Diachronic evidence attests that the PU predates Shakespeare's use by more than 240 years:

For but ich haue bote of mi bale I am **ded as dorenail**

<sup>7</sup> Italicised by Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro.



(a1350 William [a poet])

I am ded as a dore-nail,

(a1375 *The Romance of William Palerne* 29.628)

And ded as a dore-nayl

(a1376 W. Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman* A i 161)

Faulty assumptions are widespread. Only a detailed diachronic analysis and a cognitive perspective of the semantic and stylistic aspects will reveal the true origin of the PU. I would suggest that the case should be left open to discussion in case there is insufficient diachronic evidence.

### 3. Instantial stylistic use<sup>8</sup> of phraseological units and creativity

Establishing the origin of PUs may be a dangerous exercise even for experienced scholars. For instance, Paul Simpson writes that “many of our common sayings and figures of speech originated from creative metaphors in literature”<sup>9</sup> and that they “saw their first use in the plays of William Shakespeare” (Simpson 2004: 94). Among the examples given by Simpson, we find *in one’s mind’s eye*, which he believes originated in Shakespeare’s plays (Simpson 2004: 94). This has also been affirmed by Sviridova (1968).

The PU in one’s mind’s eye is used in *Hamlet* as a pun, which is a stylistic pattern that brings out both the literal and the figurative meaning of the phrase. The dual perception is to be enacted on the stage. The stylistic effect of the instantiation depends on the juxtaposition and the interaction between the two meanings:

HAMLET: Thrift, thrift, Horatio! the funeral baked meats

Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.

Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven

Or ever I had seen that day, Horatio!

My father! – methinks I see my father.

<sup>8</sup> By instantial stylistic use I understand a particular instance of a unique stylistic application of a phraseological unit in discourse, resulting in significant changes in its form and meaning, determined by the thought and the context. See more on instantial stylistic use as a boundless resource for writer or speaker creativity in Naciscione (2010: 57–120).

<sup>9</sup> The underlining is mine.



HORATIO: Where, my lord?

HAMLET: **In my mind's eye**, Horatio.

(W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Sc. ii)

Did this PU really originate in Hamlet and was Shakespeare the first to use it? When researching dictionary attestations I have discovered that lexicographical sources date it to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (*Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary* 2009). A closer study of texts of the MiE period proves that the PU was already used by Chaucer. Moreover, this is a case of instantial stylistic use, which means that the PU was well-known in Chaucer's day:

That oon of hem was blind, and mighte nat see

But it were with thilke **yèn of his mynde**,

With whiche men seen, after that they been blynde.

(c1390 G. Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, B, 551–553)

Actually, I would tend to think that people must have used this PU long before the first recorded case, as cognitively it reflects a mental experience and a way people think.

Another PU that has allegedly been invented by Shakespeare is **to wear one's heart upon one's sleeve** (Sviridova 1968). The PU is used in *Othello* as an extended metaphor<sup>10</sup>:

IAGO: For when my outward action doth demonstrate

The native act and figure of my heart

In compliment extern, 'tis not long after

But I **will wear my heart upon my sleeve**

For daws to peck at: I am not what I am.

(W. Shakespeare, *Othello*, Act I, Sc. i)

The metaphorical image of the PU has been extended, creating metaphorical and metonymic ties with the help of the sub-image of pecking daws as part of the extension.

The meaning of the PU *to wear one's heart on one's sleeve* is to be very open in showing one's feelings. Ethnographic research shows that the image of this PU comes from an old custom in which a young man tied

<sup>10</sup> Extended metaphor is one of the most widespread patterns of stylistic use of PUs in discourse. Extended metaphor is a cognitive process that reflects extended metaphorical thought; it sustains the base metaphor that is part of the image of the PU.

a favour<sup>11</sup> to his *sleeve* – perhaps a ribbon or handkerchief – given to him by a lady as a sign of her affection (i.e., of her *heart*). (*Expressions and Sayings* [2002] 2011). Thus, ethnographic knowledge helps us to identify the true origin. Cognitively, figurative language reflects people's experiences and customs (see Gibbs [1994] 1999: 13–17).

Many sources make sweeping statements without providing any proof. An allegation that the PU *to make someone's hair stand on end* was invented by Shakespeare can be found in a number of the Internet entries, e.g., Martin ([1996] 2012) alleges that it originated from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*:

**to make someone's hair stand on end**

I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word  
 Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,  
**Make** thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,  
**Thy knotted and combined locks to part**  
**And each particular hair to stand on end,**  
**Like quills upon the fretful porpentine.**

(W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Sc. v)

Each attempt to establish the origin of a word or a PU calls for meticulous exploration. The given example presents a striking case of instantial stylistic use: the base metaphor of the PU has been extended over four lines. Extended metaphor does not lead to the thought of a first use of a phrase. Creative use of this type cannot possibly be the source of a new PU. The reasons are cognitive. Extended metaphor is a characteristic of a figurative mind. It provides for the development and sustainability of figurative thought and language in discourse. A unique instantiation is the result of creative use of a stable PU and an existing stylistic pattern<sup>12</sup>, which is also stable in the system of language: that of extended metaphor.

<sup>11</sup> A favour is a historical term, denoting a badge or ribbon worn or given to indicate loyalty, often bestowed on a knight by a lady (*The Free Dictionary* 2012).

<sup>12</sup> Stylistic pattern is a mental technique which is applicable in new figurative thought representations. Patterns of stylistic use are reproducible elements that help to form new creative instantiations in use. For more on stylistic pattern as a mental stylistic technique (see Naciscione 2010: 65–73).

Importantly, Shakespeare also uses the PU *to make someone's hair stand on end* in *Macbeth*, replacing<sup>13</sup> the initial constituents of the PU to convey the horror of the murder Macbeth is contemplating:

If good, why do I yield to that suggestion  
Whose horrid image doth unfix my hair  
And make my seated heart knock at my ribs,  
Against the use of nature? Present fears  
Are less than horrible imaginings:  
My thought, whose murder yet is but fantastical,  
Shakes so my single state of man...

(W. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act I, Sc. iii)

If we go back to earlier writings, we discover that this PU has been recorded in *The Old Testament*. The origin is The Bible:

14 ...fear and trembling seized me  
and made all my bones shake.  
15 A spirit glided past my face,  
and the hair on my body stood on end.

(*The Book of Job*, 4: 14–15)

The existence of a PU in several languages in parallel is a serious factor that needs to be considered before making a conclusion about authorship. These are the examples that I have taken from languages that I am familiar with. Cf.:

IT	<i>far rizzare I capelli in testa</i>
ES	<i>poner los pelos de punta</i>
DE	<i>mir stehen die Haare zu Berge</i>
SE	<i>håren reser sig på mig</i>
PL	<i>włosy stają dęba</i>
RU	<i>волосы встают дыбом</i>
LV	<i>mati ceļas stāvus</i>

The PU *to make someone's hair stand on end* is one of those that Piirainen calls a "widespread idiom in Europe and beyond". Her phenomenal book

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<sup>13</sup> Replacement is an instantial pattern involving substitution of a base constituent by one or several instantial constituents.

gives many examples, citing numerous languages from Europe and Asia (Piirainen 2012: 296–299).

The creation and existence of this PU roots in the physical reality and everyday experiences of the people. In many cases, including this one, the explanation is cognitive, not merely conceptualisation of human experiences, but specifically embodiment of figurative thought. Cognitive linguistics argues that figurative thought arises from embodied experience: “People’s subjective, felt experiences of their bodies in action provide part of the fundamental grounding for language and thought” (Gibbs 2006: 9). Many abstract concepts are partly embodied, because they arise from embodied experience and continue to remain rooted in systematic patterns of body action (op. cit.: 12).

Another PU that is ascribed to Shakespeare is *without rhyme or reason/ neither rhyme nor reason* in a number of sources, including Kunin’s dictionary that qualifies it as a Shakespearianism (Kunin 1967: 758–759). Shakespeare uses this PU in *As You Like It* as a phraseological pun. One of the meanings of the word *rhyme* is a poem or a short piece of verse, which is the meaning here. Thus the word *rhyme* is used in two meanings in this poetic discourse – literal and figurative:

**without rhyme or reason/neither rhyme nor reason**

ROSALIND: But, in good sooth, are you he that hangs the verses on the trees, wherein Rosalind is so admired?

ORLANDO: I swear to thee, youth, by the white hand of Rosalind, I am that he, that unfortunate he.

ROSALIND: But are you so much in love as your rhymes speak?

ORLANDO: **Neither rhyme nor reason** can express how much.

(W. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act III, Sc. ii)

The authorship of this PU can be easily disputed. Diachronic evidence proves that Shakespeare did not invent this PU: it already existed in the MiE period at least 300 years before Shakespeare:

For foule englyssh, and feble **ryme**

Seyde oute of resun many tyme.

(c1303 Mannyng *Handlyng* 272.8625–6)

His **resons**, as I may my **rymes** holde.

(1385 G. Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, III, 90)

As for **ryme or reason**, the forewryter was not to blame.

(a1475 Russell *Boke* 199.1243)

In all three examples the PU has undergone stylistic changes. The first two are cases of phraseological allusion<sup>14</sup>. Interestingly, the PU was already used in Latin: *nec quid nec quare*. Petronius Arbiter (c22 – 66 AD) uses the PU in his work *Satyricon*, published in the late 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD: “*ignoscet mihi genius tuus, noluisse de manu illius panem accipere. nunc, **nec quid nec quare**, in caelum abiit et Trimalchionis topanta est*” (Petronius Arbiter 374–5).

In one article, it is impossible to discuss all cases of faulty attribution of the origin of PUs to Shakespeare. However, let me have a closer look at use of the PU *to bite one's thumb at someone* by Shakespeare, as it has interesting additional features: extended dialogical context and persistent reiteration of the PU. Moreover, the PU represents a gesture, which is a semiotic element.

#### 4. *To bite one's thumb at someone: A case study*

The PU *to bite one's thumb at someone* is used in *Romeo and Juliet*, covering seven utterances and acquiring a discourse dimension. The dialogue below discloses the ancient grudge and strife between the two warring houses of Verona:

##### **to bite one's thumb at someone**

SAMPSON: Nay, as they dare. I **will bite my thumb at them**, which is a disgrace to them if they bear it.

*Enter Abraham and Balthasar.*

ABRAHAM: **Do you bite your thumb at us**, sir?

SAMPSON: I **do bite my thumb**, sir.

ABRAHAM: **Do you bite your thumb at us**, sir?

SAMPSON: (*aside to Gregory*) Is the law on our side if I say “Ay”?

GREGORY: No.

SAMPSON: No, sir. I **do not bite my thumb at you**, sir, but I **bite my thumb**, sir.

(W. Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I, Sc. i)

This short saturated stretch of text is based on punning, which reflects development of the thought in discourse. The result is a new figurative conceptualisation. Comprehension and interpretation of this text is made

<sup>14</sup> By phraseological allusion I understand a mental implicit verbal reference to the image of a phraseological unit represented in discourse by one or more explicit image-bearing constituents, hinting at the image.

possible only if the gesture of biting one's thumb goes together with the meaning of the PU *to bite one's thumb at someone*: to make a sign threatening revenge (*Chambers 20<sup>th</sup> Century Dictionary* [1983] 1987: 1349). The reiteration goes hand in hand with visual punning, which is to be perceived by sight. The image of the PU is recreated by acting. The visual effect works together with the verbal in creation of a visual pun. Let us keep it in mind that Shakespeare wrote his plays to be watched, not to be read. Alternating reiteration of both the PU and its literal meaning produces a network of punning, supported by visual representation of the gesture.

*To bite one's thumb at someone*<sup>15</sup> is a Shakespearian expression according to Kunin's dictionary of phraseology (1967). The same is claimed by Sviridova in her dissertation (1968: 217). When discussing PUs in Shakespeare's plays, she comes to the conclusion that *to bite one's thumb at someone* is created by Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet*. How can we prove that the PU *to bite one's thumb at someone* was not created by Shakespeare? Extended instantial stylistic use suggests that the PU must have existed in the system of language at the time. However, this observation may be largely based on the intuition of the researcher. A diachronic study is essential in order to establish the origin of a PU recorded in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Historical material shows that this PU was used before Shakespeare wrote this play, for instance:

I see Contempt marching forth, giving mee the fico **with his thombe in his mouth.**

(1596 T. Lodge, *Wits Miserie*)

However, Shakespeare wrote his play in 1597, after *Wits Miserie*. Moreover, Shakespeare's stylistic use reflects non-linguistic information: Sampson bites his thumb at the Montagues (*Romeo and Juliet*, Act 1, Sc. i). The gesture of biting one's thumb at someone is a strong insult. Anthropological research shows that the gesture of biting one's thumb existed in England at the time as a way of expressing defiance and contempt; it was an old rude British gesture (*Communication Through Gestures* 2010). Importantly, Shakespeare did not invent popular gestures. An equivalent gesture still persists in Italy. The gesture of biting one's thumb is a traditional Sicilian insult meaning "to hell with you", as White reveals (White 1940: 451–463).

<sup>15</sup> The PU *to bite one's thumb at someone* is obsolete in Modern English.

In summing up the case study of the use of *to bite one's thumb at someone* in Shakespeare's play *Romeo and Juliet*, I may conclude that establishing the origin of a word or a phraseological unit calls for a diachronic approach and meticulous research. To ascertain whether a PU has been or has not been created by Shakespeare, we need:

- 1) diachronic proof from the period prior to Shakespeare:
  - a) dictionary attestations;
  - b) proof of use of the PU or its absence in texts before Shakespeare;
- 2) theoretical knowledge of phraseology, especially stylistic use of PUs in discourse;
- 3) a cognitive insight into the formation of figurative meaning.

## 5. Conclusion

Etymological studies of the origin of words and PUs enhance our cognitive understanding of the sources and development of figurative language, phraseology included, across decades and centuries. Making allegations that Shakespeare created new PUs without etymological proof is like skating on thin ice.

I would argue that the true source of stylistic originality in Shakespeare's plays is revealed in his stylistic use. Shakespeare has made creative use of:

- 1) the existing phraseological stock of EMoE (part of the collective long-term memory of language users);
- 2) the existing stylistic patterns at the time.

Both are characterised by diachronic stability, which is a distinguishing, categorical property of PUs. The instantial character of the discourse form is created by language means: new unique instantial forms of phraseological units are constantly being created, exploiting the existing phraseological stock and stylistic patterns.

My research leads me to conclude that Shakespeare's greatness in the area of phraseology lies in his sophisticated instantial stylistic use of PUs. Novel and inimitable stylistic instantiations emerge in discourse as a reflection of the development of figurative thought. It is one aspect of his talent and proof of his creativity in language use.



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## Kreatywne użycia związków frazeologicznych u Szekspira

### STRESZCZENIE

Kreatywność w dziełach Szekspira jest niepodważalna. Celem pracy jest zbadanie nowatorskości użycia jednostek frazeologicznych w jego sztukach. Nasuwa się pytanie o naukowe uzasadnienie przypisywania utworzenia jednostek frazeologicznych Szekspirowi i wskazywania jego sztuk jako ich źródła.

Dokładna analiza materiału leksykograficznego, tendencji rozwojowych frazeologii angielskiej i podejścia kognitywnego do jej zastosowania jako środka stylistycznego prowadzi do wniosku, że stwierdzenia takie bywają nieuzasadnione, ponieważ wymagają one dowodów etymologicznych. Przeprowadzone badanie ujawnia, że prawdziwym źródłem stylistycznej maestrii sztuk Szekspira is kreatywne użycie 1) istniejącego zasobu frazeologii w okresie Early Modern English (część zbiorowej długoterminowej pamięci narodu) i 2) wzorców stylistycznych tego okresu. Oba użycia cechuje diachroniczna stabilność.

Badanie pozwoliło ustalić, że wiele jednostek frazeologicznych, których autorstwo przypisuje się Szekspirowi, to związki niesłusznie postrzegane jako takie, na przykład: *to the world's end, in one's mind's eye, to bite one's thumb at someone, all's well that ends well*. Duża liczba innych połączeń wymaga dalszych badań. Związek *to make someone's hair stand on end* nie pochodzi ze sztuki *Hamlet* (Akt I), ale z *Biblii* (Hiob, 4: 14–15). Idiom *to wear one's heart on one's sleeve* (*Otello*, Akt I) nawiązuje do dawnego zwyczaju. Jednostka *rhyme or reason* (*Jak wam się podoba*, Akt III) jest używana przez Chaucera. W sztukach Szekspira znajdujemy ciekawe użycia stylistyczne (rozbudowane metafory, kalambury, aluzje).

Wielkości Szekspira w wykorzystaniu frazeologii dowodzi jego wyrafinowanie posługiwanie się jednostkami stylistycznymi w kontekście. W ujęciu kognitywnym nowatorskie i trudne do naśladowania zastosowania jednostek frazeologicznych jako środków stylistycznych powstają w dyskursie jako odzwierciedlenie rozwoju myślenia metaforycznego, które jest jednym z elementów talentu Szekspira i dowodem jego kreatywności w używaniu języka.



**1.**

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## **Idiomatic Expressions and Terminology**

**ABSTRACT:** The aim of this article is to demonstrate some tendencies in the use of Czech terms from the field of psychological terminology which are built on the basis of phraseological units and to demonstrate some problems which are connected with this use. In the article there are going to be described various Czech psychological term, which are based on phraseological units.

**KEY WORDS:** *phraseological units, psychological terms, metaphor, biblical phraseology*

### **1. Introduction**

The close relationship between phraseology on the one hand and terminology on the other hand is described very often in the literature. The first reason for this description is that terms and phraseological units are very similar in their structure. Because of this there was a big problem in describing the difference between phraseological units and terms. Many works of the first period of phraseological research, when the aim of phraseological' theory was to outline the difference between phraseology and terminology, were searching for differences between them (see for example Mlacek 2007). Just in this early period of phraseological research two groups of phraseological researchers were established. The first group described phraseological units as a multiple word expression which is defined by their reproducibility. This tendency can be seen both in Slavic theory of phraseology, as well as in the west European phraseology (see, for example, the works of Telia (Телия 1979: 10); Fomina and

Bakina (ФОМИНА, БАКИНА 1985: 3); W. Chlebda (Хлебда 2007), F. Čermák (Čermák 2007) and others.

The other group of researchers defines the phraseological units by their expressivity and because of these they do not include the terms to the group of phraseological units. Despite this difference there are many units in every language which are difficult to classify into one of these two groups – either terms or phraseology or where we can find (according to O. G. Lapshina – Лапшина 2011: 96) some intermediate phenomena.

## 2. The influence between phraseology and terminology

### 2.1. Intellectualization of the language

The reason for this problem is that the relationship between phraseology and terminology is, as mentioned above, very close. Above all, in the current period of development of various languages the influence between these two groups of languages unit is very frequent (for examples see Skladaná 2007: 290). There are many reasons for this influence and many manifestations, therefore only the most important of them can be mentioned.

The first reason why the spheres of terminology and phraseology are so close and why there are so many units permeated between these two spheres is the intellectualization of the languages. This appearance which is typical for most of languages in the current period of their development (see Gregor 2008: 5) results in the use of many terminologies in a wide sphere of language. Many terms being used in the press are comprehensible for a wide audience which is an important condition for their use in phraseology.

Naturally, some phraseological units which originated from the terminology existed in the past period of language development as well. In the Russian dictionary of M. I. Michelson phraseological units such as *центр жесткого баланс удержать* can be found. This dictionary includes some phraseological units originated from the field of sport as well – for example the unit *шах и мат* (examples from Михельсон 1994) as well. All the above mentioned units belong to the wide – spread idioms that exist across various European languages and have done for a long time.

In the current phase of language development the number of those units is increasing. In Russian language, according of L. S. Golovina

(Головина 2011: 74), 5,4% of Russian phraseological units have homonyms in terminology (about the homonymy between phraseological units and terms see also Янковичова 2002: 57). Typical for current phraseology is, above all, the terms used in various fields of sport (Барболова 2008: 75; Jankovičová 2010: 51) and phraseological units which stand from political and economical terms.

## 2.2. Liberalization of the language

Another case where a close relationship between phraseology and terminology can be seen is the liberalization and democratization of languages. This process is visible in the terminology where many metaphors are used to build new terms. As an example we can consider the term *big bang* which is a term of metaphorical origin. As we can see in the works of T. S. Borshchevskaja, the building of metaphorical terminology is typical, above all, for the English language and for the terminology of management (Борщевская 2011: 381).

This is the reason why there are so many homonyms between phraseological and terminological units: aside from the units which are built with the metaphorization of various terms, there are many cases when in phraseology and in terminology the same language picture is used to build the units of both these language fields. A good example of this process is the phraseological unit *milk cow*. This phraseological unit originated from breeding of cows for milking. This exemplifies was typical for the whole of Europe. This phraseological unit is a typological internationalism and it is to be found in every European language: Compare, for example, *дойная корова* in Russian, *dojná kráva* in Czech, *dojná krava* in Slovak. Languages, which have a strong tendency to build composites, have this expression in this form (for example in German language as *Melkkuh*). The picture of a cow which is giving the milk to their owner was also used in terminology of economics. In this sphere, the expression *milk cow* is used as a signification of a product which brings to the company the main part of its income (sometimes more than 80%) (example from Янковичова 2002).

In some cases it is difficult to determine whether the expression is the phraseological or terminological unit in nature. This problem is also found in the older periods of language development. For example, we can describe the phraseological unit *Adam's apple*. This unit is defined in the dictionary of V. M. Mokienko and H. Walter as «о твёрдом возвышении на горле людей, особенно выдающееся у мужчин, верхняя часть кадыка»

(Walter, Mokienko 2011: 42). Because of the meaning of this unit is not clear whether it should be defined as a phraseological unit or as a term. The reason, why this unit can be found in many dictionaries of phraseological units is, explained by H. Walter and V. M. Mokienko, thus: “Несколько спорен фразеологический статус и немецкого оборота и его европейских соответствий: чаще он употребляется в функции анатомического термина, т. е. в неидиоматическом статусе. Тем не менее определённая прозрачность образа и шутильная стилистика, с ним связанная, порождает некоторые контексты его употребления в средствах массовой информации, которые уже отражают движение к фразеологизации” (Walter, Mokienko 2011: 42). In anatomic works also is this unit a term without any connotation.

### 3. Psychological terms based on phraseological units

The aim of this article is to demonstrate some tendencies in the use of Czech terms from the field of psychological terminology which are built on the basis of phraseological units and to demonstrate some problems which are connected with their use.

The number of terms which are built on the basis of phraseological units is relatively low. In P. Hartl and H. Hartlová's new dictionary of psychological terminology we can find more than 30 expressions which are based on phraseology or which have some homonym in the field of phraseology.

At the beginning it should be mentioned that in the field of psychology there exists a strong tendency to use terms which are metaphorical and which have some historical or cultural background. Another field where this tendency can be seen is economics, the terminology of which and its connection with phraseology have been already researched in a number of phraseological articles (see, for example, the above mentioned article of M. Jankovičová).

#### 3.1. Terms with biblical or ancient background

The most popular part of phraseological units which are the base of creations psychological terms are the biblical in nature or raised from ancient mythology, above all the ancient legends. An example is *metodadelfská*, *hrozny kyselé*; *efekt vavříny* which stands from ancient mythology or the term *black sheep* which can be linked to the Bible, and others.



Most of these terms do not copy the structure of the phraseological units – the relationship between the term and the phraseological unit is more likely indexal – the phraseological unit is used as a basis for the term and the meaning of the phraseological term is built from the meaning of the phraseological units. This process can be demonstrated, for example, by the phraseological unit *usnoutnavavřínech* when compare to the term *efekt vavříny*. The phraseological unit is one of international use: *usnoutnavavřínech* (почивать на лаврах in the Russian language, *rest on the laures* in English, *sich auf seinen Lorbeeren ausruhen* in German and, for example *dormre en sobre los laures* in Spain or *addorm antarsi sugli allori* in Italian), meaning of which is to be satisfied with the results of something and not try to do anything more. This definition is the base for the meaning of the term *efektvavříny*, which is used to describe the statement when somebody does not try to improve his results but is satisfied with them (Hartl, Hartlová 2010). The expression *hrozny kyselé* comes from the legends from Aesop.

In this case, the terms and the phraseological unit are identical and as are their meanings. An example of this is the term *black sheep*, which refers to a member of a family who typically causes problems for it.

In many psychological terms names of biblical or ancient characters are often used which is also widely reflected in phraseology. One of such one-word terms is, for example, the term *Eros* or the term *luciferův komplex*, which is biblical origin.

Very popular in this sphere are also terms based on the European literature, above all those ones which include a name of a literary hero (such as *complex Dona Juana* or *Faust* as an example of a one-word term).

### 3.2. Terms based on animal or somatic phraseological units

Terms linked with animals and somatic phraseological units are also very popular. These terms are either directly motivated with the phraseological unit or with some element of nature or the body which was used both in phraseological units and in psychological terms.

As an example of such psychological terms is *mládě kukačí* or some term used in English form like *face-to-face* or *cold turkey* with animal component.

### 3.3. Terms from foreign languages

In this connection we can mention another group of phraseological units which are also used as a motivation for terms in the field of psy-

chology – terms in foreign languages, which is the largest group. Most common are terms of English origin, for example *brainstorming*, *brainwashing*, *do-it-yourself* and *knowhow* among others. Another language from which the terms of psychology originate in connection with phraseological units is Latin. Terms such as *persona grata*, *persona non grata* are Latin in origin. There are some terms which are connected with phraseological units used in Czech which have a Latin equivalent like *začarováný kruh*. The Latin prototype of this phraseological unit is *circulus vitiosus*. According to the dictionary of Russian phraseology this phraseological unit is connected with some old superstitions: “Оборот связан со старинными и суеверными представлениями о том, что волшебники и колдуны способны создавать при помощи заклинаний пространство, недоступное для враждебных им сил. Предметы, находящиеся в этом кругу, становились несидимыми для постороннего глаза. Человек, попавший в такое заколдованное место запутывался в нём, блуждал, не находя выхода: калька с лат. *circulus vitiosus*” (БМС 2005: 361). This origin is good to be used as a motivation in psychological terminology.

We can also find some terms from other foreign languages, like the term *mal the ojo*.

Problematically are terms arisen from English phraseological units. As mentioned above, most of the phraseological units which are the basis for motivation of psychological terms, are international, examples of which are units like *začarováný kruh*, *lež mílostrdná* (phraseological unit with biblical origin), and unit *usnout na vavřínech* as the basis of the psychological term *efekt vavříny*. Some of these phraseological units, which form the basis of psychological terms, are also used in English. The phraseological unit *face-to-face* is currently used in Czech language both in Czech (*tváří v tvář*) as in English form. In its English form is it used in others field as well such as in the theory of communication and in business terminology to name but a few.

### 3.3.1. Problems with terms based on English phraseological units

In psychology, the majority of terminology used in current time is of English origin. These terms are than translated into another language. This is not a problem when the term, motivated with phraseological unit, is translated and the same phraseological units exist in Czech. As an example we can mention the term *jev “mám to na jazyku”*. This term is from the English phraseological unit *have something on the tip of the tongue*. As we can find in the dictionary of Hartl and Hartlová, in Czech language this

term is a word-for-word translation of the English term *tip of the tongue*. Despite its literal translation, it proves no problems in understanding the motivation as the same phraseological unit exist in Czech.

The problem arises when some of psychological terms are taken from phraseological units used only in English. The motivation of these terms is lost when translating the term from English into Czech language. A good example of this is the Czech psychological term *technika nohy ved veřích*. We can find in this dictionary that this term has its origin in the English term *foot in the door technique*. This term is also motivated with the phraseological unit *to have one foot in the door*, which exists in English but does not exist in Czech. This term does not lose its motivation only why the motivation of this phraseological unit is understandable.

The term *efektrybíhooka* proves problematic, too. This term is also motivated by a phraseological unit of the English language which does not exist in other languages. This term lost its motivation in Czech.

Another example for this problem is the term *cold turkey*, which is used only in this English form and the meaning of which is the same as the meaning of the original phraseological unit.

Some psychological terms are used in both English and Czech forms, such as *black box* or *černá skříňka* in its Czech form.

#### 4. Conclusion

However, the majority of phraseological units, which are the basis for psychological terms, are international. The basis for building them is not only the cultural phraseological units of ancient or biblical origin, but also phraseological units from the group typological internationalisms (the difference see Stěpanova 2004: 109–110). In this group we can find not only phraseological units with somatic or animal components, but also others based on metaphors, typical of many, at least European, languages. As an example we can consider the terms: *cestaživotní; koulesněhová; metodasněhovékoule* and others.

Paremiological units like *přání otcem myšlenky* and others are used, however, rarely, too.

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## Wyrażenia idiomatyczne a terminologia

### STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu było przedstawienie tendencji w zastosowaniu czeskich terminów psychologicznych, które zostały utworzone na podstawie jednostek frazeologicznych, oraz omówienie problemów związanych z ich zastosowaniem. W artykule jest pokazane, że większość jednostek frazeologicznych, które są podstawą terminów psychologicznych, to internacjonalizmy. Problematiczny charakter mają terminy pochodzące od związków frazeologicznych w języku angielskim, które nie mają żadnego ekwiwalentu w języku czeskim.

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## **A Phraseological Approach to Understanding the Function of a New Correlative Conjunction Observed in Contemporary English – *though A but B***

**ABSTRACT:** This study adopts a phraseological approach to describe in detail the function of “*though A but B*”, a new correlative conjunction used in contemporary English. Previous research on *though* and *but*, provides no conclusive explanation of “*though A but B*”. Looking at the examples, the phrase has a surprising, copulative function, blending the functions of *though* and *but*. Further, “*though A but B*” functions as a correlative conjunction, similar to correlative conjunctions as “*not only A but also B*” and “*neither A nor B*”. I can conclude that “concept categorization” can explain the establishment of the new phrase “*though A but B*”. With regard to this phrase, semantically similar words *though* and *but* affect each other’s functions when both of them are put together in the “*though A but B*” phrase.

**KEY WORDS:** *though A but B*, a correlative conjunction, phraseological approach, concept categorization

### **1. Introduction**

This paper introduces a new phraseological unit (PU) – defined as repeatedly used word-strings consisting of at least two words – “*though A but B*” and reports from a synchronic perspective on “*though A but B*” functioning as a new correlative conjunction.

Below are some examples of the “*though A but B*” phrase, which show how commonplace the usage is in contemporary English (underlined by the author):

- (1) The County Council, if we're talking about Mr's erm strategy, the County Council would have severe reservations about going down towards thirty one thousand dwellings, we've got twenty nine thousand dwellings erm already committed er I think it would create difficulties over the period that the the structure plan er would run, would create undue tension certainly in er er in settlements across North Yorkshire, on the basis of seeing an absence of land being allocated. Er I don't think thirty one thousand is a practical proposition for North Yorkshire. Though I have no instruction on that, but almost certainly that would be the view of my council.

(BNC)

- (2) OSMOND: .... Something's wrong. So we just did tests, tests, tests. It took a couple of years, maybe three years. They didn't know what it was. I was grateful they had a name for it. I thought I might have a brain tumor. But it's something I can live with. I always say too though that I may have MS but MS does not have me and I think that is the key for my success in whatever I've got. Mental positive and family support, prayer, it works.

(Larry King Live, Apr., 2002)

*"Though A but B"* is observed in both written and spoken registers. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that this construction is not a minor error in printed documents and is used to imply, "A might happen, but actually B happens". Thus, it functions to connect the presupposition of an event denoted before *though* (I refer to it as the presupposition) and the essence of an event mentioned after *but*. Furthermore, the contents denoted in A work to lessen the assertion of the presupposition and supplementarily add information or a minor alternation to the presupposition. Then, the essence of a presupposition is clearly stated in B. To put it differently, the information provided in A and B of *"though A but B"* is not dealt paratactically; A and B are closely related, and *"though A but B"* functions as a copulative additive. In the research, I will concern myself with not only the actual behaviour of *"though A but B"* but also the reason why *though* and *but* are put together into a PU.

Section 2 summarises the function of *though* while referring to the previous research on *though*. Section 3 reviews the definition and function of correlative conjunctions and introduces new correlative conjunctions observed in contemporary English. Section 4 descriptively discusses the meaning and function of *"though A but B"* while referring to the examples obtained from corpora. In Section 5, I present results of two surveys and analyse the results on the basis of those obtained in Section 4. Sec-

tion 6 explains how “*though A but B*” is formed. In Section 7, I conclude by drawing together the analyses and pointing to areas delineated for future phraseological research.

## 2. Previous research on *though*

*Though* commonly functions as a conjunction and an adverb. As a conjunction, *though* is a subordinate conjunction and specifically follows adverbial phrases. In addition, it has been widely acknowledged that there is no semantic difference between *though* and *although*, and that (*even*) *if* and *even though* behave in almost the same manner as does *though*.

### 2.1. *Though* as a conjunction

English dictionaries explain that *though* has two usages: a concession and an addition. An example of *though* being used as a concession is as follows: “*Though she’s almost 40, she still plans to compete*” (LDCE<sup>5</sup>). It is used for introducing a statement that makes the speaker’s statement seem surprising. On the one hand, *though* as an addition is used when adding a statement or question that seems surprising after the previous statement or that makes the previous statement seem less true: “*The test was difficult, though fair*” (Longman). *Though* functions as an addition and is synonymously used with *although* and *but*, as LAAD<sup>2</sup> explains.

Moreover, *though* is defined as a word mainly used in spoken language and more informal than *although* in both English and English-Japanese dictionaries. It is “used like ‘but’ to add a fact or opinion that makes what you have just said seem less definite, less important etc.” (LDCE<sup>5</sup>). The examples of *though* in English and English-Japanese dictionaries are as follows:

- (3) a. I thought he’s been drinking, though I wasn’t completely sure. (LDCE<sup>5</sup>)  
 b. I enjoyed the movie, though I thought it was too long. (LAAD<sup>2</sup>)  
 c. They’re coming next week, though I don’t know which day. (CALD<sup>3</sup>)  
 d. The test was difficult, though fair. (Longman)  
 e. I think she’s American, though I’m not sure. (Youth)



*Though* clauses in (3) are used to soften the statement made in the main clauses and to add supplementary information, thus making evident the speaker's subjective opinion.

A question still needs to be addressed concerning the explanation of *though* in the dictionaries. The dictionaries describe that *though* and *but* can be used synonymously; however, it is difficult to substitute *though* for *but* and vice versa because *but* is a coordinate conjunction and *though* is a subordinate conjunction. *Youth* answers the question in detail.

*Though* has a function in common with *but* in that both of them connect two clauses. *Though* is a subordinate conjunction and is used to avoid a clear affirmation and to add a minor alternation to the main clause in a sentence. For example, *I think she's American, though I'm not sure.* (When *though* is used in place of *but*, the subordinate clause functions as connecting the main clause and it means "I don't know".) *But* is a coordinate conjunction and is used for introducing a different idea or expressing surprise used for joining two ideas or surprises when the second one is different from the first one, or seems surprising after the first one. *She tried to finish the paper, but [xthough] she couldn't.* (Youth)

This description clarifies that *though* is not always used as an alternative to *but* or vice versa, and that "A *though* B" cannot be interpreted as "B *though* A" while "A *but* B" is equal to "B *but* A".

The explanations about *though* given in the dictionaries is also offered in grammar books such as those by Quirk et al. (1985), Huddleston and Pullum (2002), Leech and Svartvik (2002), Swan (2005), Carter and McCarthy (2006), Ando (2005), Konishi (ed.) (2006) and Yasui (1996). They refer to *though* as a subordinate conjunction mainly following adverbial phrases.

Konishi (ed.) (2006: 1098) admits that as a coordinate conjunction, though has a usage similar to that of *but* (e.g. "He'll probably say no, though it's worth asking"). In this case, a comma is placed between two clauses and *though* is pronounced with a rising-falling tone.

Quirk et al. (1985: 644) explain that *though* as a concession is used with conjunctions such as *yet*, *still*, *however*, *nevertheless*, *nonetheless*, *notwithstanding*, *anyway* and *anyhow* and behaves like a correlative conjunction in that case as is shown in (4).

- (4) John doesn't look very happy, – but Mary seems all right, though.  
– but Mary, though, seems all right. (Quirk et al. 1985: 646)

## 2.2. *Though* as an adverb

Most dictionaries do not distinguish the difference between *though* functioning as a conjunction and as an adverb. Only *LAAD*<sup>2</sup> describes *though* as a sentence adverb and defines it as “used after a fact, opinion, or question that seems surprising after what you have just said, or that makes what you have just said seem less true or important”. The following examples are quoted from *LAAD*<sup>2</sup>.

- (5) a. I’m busy today. We could meet tomorrow, though.  
 b. It sounds like fun. Isn’t it dangerous, though?

English-Japanese dictionaries (*Youth* and *Longman*) treat *though* as an adverb under an entry word and explain that *though* is a sentence adverb used either in parentheses or at the end of a sentence. *Though* as a sentence adverb means “however”, and *although* does not have such usage according to *Youth*.

Swan (2005: 50) says that *though* is used to say “however” located at the end of a sentence when it works as an adverb. This is exemplified in (6).

- (6) a. Nice day. ~ Yes. Bit cold, though.  
 b. The strongest argument, though, is economic and not political. (ibid.)

Biber et al. (1999) focus on the difference between *though* and *although* in terms of the registers in which *though* and *although* appear. From the data obtained from the corpora, they establish that *though* and *although* are used synonymously, but *though* is used more repeatedly than *although* in registers such as conversation and fiction. On the other hand, *although* is observed almost three times as frequently as *though* in formal registers. When *though* is used in conversation, it functions as a linking adverbial, e.g. “Jeez. Oh, maybe I won’t go. I should though, I feel that I should”. In addition, its usage is not observed in three registers: news, fiction, and academic prose. Yet, when *though* appears in written language, it is used as a subordinate conjunction to a large extent, e.g. “It was one year she could’ve done without the invitation though isn’t it?” (p. 850). As mentioned above, Biber et al. (1999) decide the function of *though* depending on the register in which *though* is observed and not on its meaning and use.

The following is an example of *though* used as a linking adverb. It shows the contrastive relationship between two sentences in a discourse.

- (7) a. So it should have everything, I still think that it's a bit expensive though.  
 b. They've got loads of dressy things for girls, not for boys though.  
 c. A: That one's a nuisance.  
 B: That one's alright though. (Biber et al. 1999: 888)

*Though* in (7a, b) is used to tell the difference between the two clauses spoken by a speaker. In the case of (7c), *though* reveals the relationship between the two speakers. Speaker B has a different opinion from speaker A but must take care that his/her opinion does not oppose that of A. *Though* in the role of a linking adverb is put most often at the end or middle of a sentence. Located at the beginning of a sentence, *though* acts not as a linking adverb but as a subordinate conjunction.

The above explanation concerning *though* as an adverb and the classification of adverbs in Quirk et al. (1985)<sup>1</sup> leads us to conclude that it fits into an adjunct (which implies behaviour, reason, place or time and modifies a sentence or a phrase).

All things considered, *though* works as either a subordinate conjunction following an adverbial clause or a sentence adverb. To put it differently, *though* is in a state in which its function and part of speech are not clearly distinguished. This research focuses on *though* when it functions as an adverb, which, from a syntactic perspective, adds copulatively new information to the presupposition in a sentence but has the functional quality of sentence adverbs.

### 3. What is a correlative conjunction?

A correlative conjunction functions as a conjunction on the whole consisting of a conjunction and an adverb, such as “*not only A but also B*”, “*both A and B*”, “*either A or B*” and “*neither A nor B*” (Yasui 1996: 201). Quirk et al. (1985: 936) refer to a correlative conjunction as “correlatives” and define them as “composed of an endorsing item and a coordinator”. Correlatives include “*both A and B*” functioning as an additive, “*either A or B*” working as an exclusive, “*neither A nor B*” meaning negative and “*not (only) A but*

<sup>1</sup> Quirk et al. (1985: 438ff.) divide adverbs into adjuncts, subjuncts, disjuncts and conjuncts according to their functions.

(also) B" acting as an additive. This research adopts the term "correlative conjunction" (CC).

Yagi (2006) introduces *but also* in "*not only A but also B*" as an established independent PU and shows its polysemy<sup>2</sup>. In addition, Yagi (2011) touches on a new CC, "*both A or B*", which can be accounted for by the analogy of "*either A or B*"<sup>3</sup>. Similar with the two phrases, this research examines whether "*though A but B*" is one of new, interesting CCs observed in present-day English.

#### 4. Working of "*though A but B*" in contemporary English

The focus of this section is to reveal the working of "*though A but B*" through examples in the corpora. What follows are the examples of "*though A but B*", and (1) and (2) are recorded again as (8) and (9), respectively.

- (8) The County Council, if we're talking about Mr's erm strategy, the County Council would have severe reservations about going down towards thirty one thousand dwellings, we've got twenty nine thousand dwellings erm already committed er I think it would create difficulties over the period that the the structure plan er would run, would create undue tension certainly in er er in settlements across North Yorkshire, on the basis of seeing an absence of land being allocated. Er I don't think thirty one thousand is a practical proposition for North Yorkshire. Though I have no instruction on that, but almost certainly that would be the view of my council. (BNC)

<sup>2</sup> Yagi (2006: 223ff.) brings to light "*but also*" in "*not only A but also B*" as an established independent PU and shows its polysemy. Two uses of "*but also*" as PU are recognized in Yagi (2006): One use is a case in which "*but also*" agrees with expressions similar to "*not only*". The other is a case in which expressions such as "*not only*" cannot be found anywhere in the preceding context. In both cases, "*but also*" has two functions of "in addition to that" and "on the other hand". Yagi (2006) accounts for the reason "*but also*" functions as "on the other hand" as follows (original in Japanese): "The basic structure of "*not only A but also B*" is a parallel combination of the events of A and B and the events of A and B are generally carried out in this order. However, "*but also*" can break away from the restriction of "*not only A but also B*" and come to be used as "on the other hand" by omitting "*not only*" and changing it into other expressions" (Inoue 2007: 92f.).

<sup>3</sup> According to Yagi (2011: 164ff.), "*both A and B*" is normatively used and no previous research has explained "*both A or B*" in detail. Yagi (2011) states that the CC "*either A or B*", which is semantically similar with "*both A and B*", influences the establishment of "*both A or B*" by the working of the analogy of "*either A or B*". Similar with "*either A or B*", "*both A or B*" is used for showing two or more possibilities or choices.

- (9) OSMOND: ....Something's wrong. So we just did tests, tests, tests. It took a couple of years, maybe three years. They didn't know what it was. I was grateful they had a name for it. I thought I might have a brain tumor. But it's something I can live with. I always say too though that I may have MS but **MS does not have me and I think that is the key for my success in whatever I've got**. Mental positive and family support, prayer, it works. (Larry King Live, Apr., 2002)
- (10) An incredible 83 per cent of voters quizzed in the Republic said they would say Yes to the deal. And, of the rest, three in four had not made up their minds on which way to cast their vote. There is some opposition to the deal though – but it is tiny. Just over three per cent of people said they would definitely say No. (WB)
- (11) KING: One other thing, Ted, was Debbie Rowe, the mother of the kids, there?  
ROWLANDS: No. Her attorney was there, though, but she did not make an appearance.  
KING: Thanks. That's Ted Rowlands, our CNN correspondent, who has been atop this story since it's – since it all happened... (Larry King Live, Aug., 2008)
- (12) Her eyes were drawn back to the set, where Dane was still holding court. Somehow he was able to dwarf everyone else around him, not just by his size, though that was considerable, but by sheer presence, so that, even though he was surrounded by half a dozen or more people, the casual onlooker would be aware only of him. (BNC)
- (13) KING: Because you expect to see stripes and a number – that doesn't exist?  
BERKOWITZ: No. Not anymore. It's just green clothing, though, drab green, but this is part of the prison uniform. (Larry King Live, Aug., 1998)
- (14) Perhaps the easiest house plants to care for are cacti. They like water during the summer though not too much but need hardly any attention during the winter, their dormant season. (WB)
- (15) But in the 1950s, with the first wave of postwar affluence, young people in transition began to have money and the adman found them a place in the consumer society. This was the period which saw a revolution in popular music and the beginning of rock'n'roll. With it came not only new though ephemeral music, but new clothes, magazines, books and films. (BNC)

The data suggests that three PUs are found in contemporary English: “*though A but B*”, “*not A though A' but B*”, which seems to be established by blending “*not A but B*” and “*though A but B*”, and “*not only A though A' but B*”, which can be constituted by blending “*not only A but also B*” and

“*though A but B*”. All PUs can be classified into two types: the first type is when *though* is used as an adverb modifying clauses and the second one is when *though* behaves like an adverb modifying phrases. Examples (8)–(12) are applicable to the first type, and examples (13)–(15) come under the second type.

I will consider the examples in which *though* plays the role of an adverb modifying clauses. As example (8) shows, the prototypical syntactic pattern is the case in which *though* is used at the beginning of a sentence. Despite that, it can be seen from examples (9)–(12) that *though* moves freely to the middle or the end of a sentence.

Next, when *though* is an adverb modifying clauses, “*though A but B*” is used to copulatively add new information to the presupposition in a sentence in “*though A*” and then to convey the message that a speaker would like to tell most in “*but B*”. Put another way, B plays more crucial role than does A when it comes to the importance of the information. The contents coming after *but* are shown in bold to clarify which (A or B) part contains the more important information. Examples (8)–(12) are explained in detail, as follows.

In (8), the syntactic pattern of *though* as an adverb-modifying clause is a prototypical one. The speaker conjunctively adds his/her opinion (*though I have no instruction on that*) to the presupposition (*thirty one thousand is a practical proposition for North Yorkshire*), and then the essence of the presupposition is discussed in *but B* shown in bold. The two elements A and B are closely connected to the presupposition, and thus they are correlated.

In (9), *though* appears in the middle of the sentence. The speaker Osmond makes an addition *I may have MS* by using *though*, but what he would like to mention most is that *MS does not have me and I think that is the key for my success in whatever I've got* following *but*.

In (10), it is unclear from the clause (*There is some opposition to the deal though*) how many oppose the deal, and therefore detailed information concerning opposition is mentioned in the clause following *but* (*it is tiny*).

Example (11) is from a scene in which Rowlands answers *No* to the question posed by King. In addition, Rowlands adds new information about an attorney: *Her attorney was there, though*. Then, Rowlands corrects his answer *No* and King's question (*the mother of the kids, there?*) clearly and succinctly by saying *but she did not make an appearance*.

As I have mentioned above, “*not A though A' but B*”, which is established as an independent PU by blending “*not A but B*” with “*though A but*



B", is used in (13). In the case of "*not A though A' but B*", *not A* (*just by his size*) is used to tell how the presupposition (*somehow he was able to dwarf everyone else around him*) is negated and *but B* (*by sheer presence*) is used to mention how the presupposition is emphasised. The part of "*though A*" (*that was considerable*) is used to supplement "*not A*", and it strongly connects with "*not A*". Hence, I used the code "*though A*".

An examination of (8)–(11) reveals that *though* can be positioned at the beginning, middle or end of a sentence in the case when *though* functions as an adverb modifying clauses. In regard to the degree of importance of the information provided in A in "*though A but B*" is less important than B. The information given in A serves to copulatively add new information to the presupposition in a sentence, and the content provided in B is used to assert the essence of the presupposition. Additionally, the information provided in A and B is closely connected to the presupposition in a sentence, and therefore it is reasonable to say that there is a correlation between A and B. The same thing holds true in A, A' and B in "*not A though A' but B*". The information provided in A, A' and B is associated with the presupposition in the sentence, hence a correlation is found between A, A' and B. Further, "*though A but B*" in (8)–(11) connects two clauses, but "*not A though A' but B*" in (12) connects a clause with a phrase.

Let us move on to *though* when it is used as an adverb modifying phrases in (13)–(15). *Though* in (13) and (14) connects phrases with clauses, while in (15) it brings phrases together.

In (14), Berkowitz first answers No to King's question and explains the colour of green by saying *though drab green*. Then, he mentions *but this is part of the prison uniform* to explain in detail what drab green signifies.

In the case of (15), *though not too much* is used to explain how much water is required for cacti during the summer, however, the clause following *but* serves to inform that not so much attention is paid to them during the winter. The clause followed by *but* is more important than the one following *though* in regard to how to care after cacti.

"*Not only A though A' but B*", established by blending "*not only A but B*" with "*though A but B*", appears in (16). The part "*though A*" (*though ephemeral music*) is closely related with "*not A*" (i.e. *new*) and is used to complementary add *ephemeral* to *new*. Hence, I used the code "*though A*". As in "*though A but B*", B shown in bold in "*not only A though A' but B*" is the most important information that the writer in (16) would like to convey.

A careful scrutiny of all instances above would lead to the observations as follows:

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- (i) “*Though A but B*” functions as a copulative additive, which is used to mean “incidentally A is added to the presupposition in a sentence, but actually B is the essence that a speaker or writer would like to convey most”.
- (ii) *Though* in “*though A but B*” has two functions. In the first case, *though* is an adverb modifying clauses, and in the other case, *though* behaves as an adverb modifying phrases. In the former, *though* is positioned at the beginning of a sentence in its prototypical syntactic pattern, but it can freely move to the middle or end of a sentence. In the latter, *though* can be placed at either the middle or the end of a sentence. No matter how *though* functions, it connects clauses with phrases, phrases with phrases or clauses with clauses.
- (iii) Whether *though* works as an adverb modifying phrases or clauses, B of “*though A but B*” is more important than A in relation to the larger meaning of the sentence. A and B are closely linked with the presupposition of a sentence, and “*though A but B*” does not make sense when only either of the constituent, A or B, appears. For this reason, A and B of “*though A but B*” are mutually related. Referring to the definition of CCs given in Yasui (1996) and Quirk et al. (1985), “*though A but B*” consists of a conjunction and an adverb, which fits into the definition of CCs. Furthermore, it connects clauses with clauses, phrases with phrases or clauses with phrases, although the last feature (connecting clauses with phrases) is significantly different from the features of CCs. Yet, from a semantic perspective, “*though A but B*” as a whole behaves like a CC because it is semantically poorly balanced when only A or B is used. According to Quirk et al. (1985), “*A but B*” can be paraphrased as “*B but A*”, but this does not correspond to “*though A but B*”.
- (iv) In the case of “*not A though A' but B*” and “*not only A though A' but B*”, as in “*though A but B*”, B is the most important part of the message that a speaker or a writer would like to convey. To put it simply, the formula  $B > A' > A$  applies in this case. Furthermore, the contents in A, A' and B are semantically and syntactically connected to each other and do not function when only one constituent is used. Of course, the three constituents cannot be freely replaced. Therefore, it is reasonably safe to assume that “*not A though A' but B*” and “*not only A though A' but B*” function as new CCs.

## 5. Survey results about “*though A but B*”

I asked native English speakers (two British, two Canadians and three Americans) to answer the following questionnaires in order to investigate whether the results obtained in the research are supported or not. Example



(16) was used in the first questionnaire to inquire whether the sentences were coherent without the “*though A*” part because A is a supplementary element. Example (17) was used in the second questionnaire to find out whether the sentences were coherent without the “*but B*” part. In addition, the respondents were asked to answer (16) first and (17) next because they would easily understand the meanings in (16) if they replied to (17) first.

- (16) a. OSMOND: ....Something’s wrong. So we just did tests, tests, tests. It took a couple of years, maybe three years. They didn’t know what it was. I was grateful they had a name for it. I thought I might have a brain tumor. But it’s something I can live with. I always say too but MS does not have me and I think that is the key for my success in whatever I’ve got. Mental positive and family support, prayer, it works.
- b. KING: Because you expect to see stripes and a number – that doesn’t exist?  
BERKOWITZ: No. Not anymore. It’s just green clothing, but this is part of the prison uniform.
- c. Perhaps the easiest house plants to care for are cacti. They like water during the summer but need hardly any attention during the winter, their dormant season.
- d. An incredible 83 per cent of voters quizzed in the Republic said they would say Yes to the deal. And, of the rest, three in four had not made up their minds on which way to cast their vote. There is some opposition to the deal – but it is tiny. Just over three per cent of people said they would definitely say No.
- e. Her eyes were drawn back to the set, where Dane was still holding court. Somehow he was able to dwarf everyone else around him, not just by his size, but by sheer presence, so that, even though he was surrounded by half a dozen or more people, the casual onlooker would be aware only of him.
- f. But in the 1950s, with the first wave of postwar affluence, young people in transition began to have money and the adman found them a place in the consumer society. This was the period which saw a revolution in popular music and the beginning of rock’n’roll. With it came not only new music, but new clothes, magazines, books and films.
- (17) a. OSMOND: .... Something’s wrong. So we just did tests, tests, tests. It took a couple of years, maybe three years. They didn’t know what it was. I was grateful they had a name for it. I thought I might have a brain tumor. But it’s something I can live with. I always say too though that I may have MS. Mental positive and family support, prayer, it works.

- b. KING: Because you expect to see stripes and a number – that doesn't exist?  
BERKOWITZ: No. Not anymore. It's just green clothing, though drab green.
- c. Perhaps the easiest house plants to care for are cacti. They like water during the summer though not too much.
- d. An incredible 83 per cent of voters quizzed in the Republic said they would say Yes to the deal. And, of the rest, three in four had not made up their minds on which way to cast their vote. There is some opposition to the deal though. Just over three per cent of people said they would definitely say No.
- e. Her eyes were drawn back to the set, where Dane was still holding court. Somehow he was able to dwarf everyone else around him, not just by his size, though that was considerable, so that, even though he was surrounded by half a dozen or more people, the casual onlooker would be aware only of him.
- f. But in the 1950s, with the first wave of postwar affluence, young people in transition began to have money and the adman found them a place in the consumer society. This was the period which saw a revolution in popular music and the beginning of rock'n'roll. With it came not only new though ephemeral music.

Table 1 presents the responses to (16) and Table 2 lists the answers to (17).

**Table 1. Responses of native English speakers to (16)**

	Coherent	Not coherent	Others	Total
(16a)	0	5	no answer 2	7
(16b)	7	0		7
(16c)	7	0		7
(16d)	6	1		7
(16e)	7	0		7
(16f)	7	0		7

Five native English speakers answered that (16a), which was lacking the “*though A*” part, was not coherent. We assume that they must have thought that only “*but B*” appeared syntactically and semantically awkward. This reflects the basic concept of an interrelation that the other changes when one alters. Most respondents stated that the “*but B*” part was intelligible without the part “*though A*” in (16b)–(16f). Put another way, “*though A*” was understood as complementary information to the presup-

position in the sentence. To sum up, the results obtained in (16) support the findings of the research.

**Table 2. Responses of native English speakers (17)**

	Coherent	Not Coherent	Others	Total
(17a)	1	4	no answer 2	7
(17b)	4	3		7
(17c)	7	0		7
(17d)	6	1		7
(17e)	6	1		7
(17f)	2	5		7

Compared to the results of (17), sentences without the part “*but B*” were less understood as whole. This shows that “*but B*” is the most significant part of the message and therefore the sentences without “*but B*” appear strange to the respondents. In addition, the results reveal that A and B are closely related. Furthermore, (17f) is a noticeable example, which lacks “*but B*” of “*not only A though A’ but B*”, subsequently most informants answered that (17f) was not intelligible. In the case of (17c), the sentence became acceptable because *though* functions both to adjust the lexical meaning (i.e. to revise the part of a main clause) and as a copulative additive. Only for (17c) did all informants respond that the sentence was acceptable without “*but B*”. Therefore, “*though A but B*”, “*not A though A’ but B*” and “*not only A though A’ but B*” are interpreted as a new PU.

## 6. The underlying principle establishing the “*though A but B*” phrase

This section is devoted to how “*though A but B*” has become an established independent PU, having its own function.

“*Though A but B*” is a new CC observed in contemporary English, which has resulted from the process of “concept categorization”. “Concept categorization” is a process in which various concepts expressed in various syntactic units [a] [b] [c] ... [...] are interpreted as one syntactic unit such as [abc ...]. Then, the new syntactic unit is given a category of its own such as noun, adverb, or adjective, etc. (Yagi 1999: 105ff.).

Following the results of respondents’ elicitations it can be concluded that sentences can be coherent when only “*though A*” is used. However,

as Quirk et al. (1985) point out, *but* is an indispensable element for *though* because *though* is used with *yet*, *still*, *however*, *nevertheless*, *nonetheless*, *notwithstanding*, *anyway* and *anyhow* to stylistically arrange sentences and to make the meaning of a sentence with a longer clause explicit. *But* is not included in the optional words, still it can be frequently substituted with *yet*. Therefore, *but* is used with *though* because of the analogy of *yet*. From a semantic perspective, *but* comes with *though* since only “*though A*” provides incomplete information in relation to the presupposition in a sentence. Then, the structure [though] ... [but] alters into the new syntactic pattern [though ... but] by the repeated use of *though* and *but* together. As a result, [though ... but] becomes established as an independent CC.

This research has indicated that “*not only A though A' but B*” and “*not A though A' but B*” as with “*though A but B*” are observed and function as new CCs. First, “*though A but B*” is established as a CC. Then, two semantically similar but syntactically different phrases – “*not A but B*” or “*not only A but also B*” on the one hand, and “*though A but B*” on the other hand – merge into a new pattern – “*not only A though A' but B*” or “*not A though A' but B*”. Both of the new phrases work as CCs.

As explained in Section 3, “*though A but B*”, “*not only A though A' but B*” and “*not A though A' but B*” correlatively connect clauses with phrases. This phenomenon goes beyond the commonly acknowledged scope of conjunctions. However, it is possible to substitute an event shown in a phrase with a clause, or vice versa, from the perspective of concept categorization. For this reason, it is no wonder that “*though A but B*”, “*not only A though A' but B*” and “*not A though A' but B*” connect clauses with phrases when grammar is perceived not as a syntactic but as a semantic pattern. Rather, these PUs are one of the fascinating features observed in present-day English.

## 7. Conclusions

I have revealed the polysemy and multifunction of various phrases that are frequently observed in contemporary English but have not been fully discussed so far. By adopting a phraseological approach, I have explained how the phrases became established as an independent PU. This research, as a part of such a phraseological mode of research, focuses on “*though A but B*” and reveals its actual behaviour in functioning as a new CC. As a result, “*though A but B*” functions as a copulative additive and is estab-

lished as an independent CC through concept categorization. In addition, two other phrases – “*not only A though A' but B*” and “*not A though A' but B*” – are observed and they function as CCs.

“*Though A but B*”, “*not only A though A' but B*” and “*not A though A' but B*” as CCs connect clauses with phrases, clauses with clauses or phrases with phrases. The CCs combining clauses with phrases are beyond the scope of the definition of CCs. Nevertheless, the findings obtained in the study were verified because the study focused on showing the meaning and not on explaining the structure of phrases (i.e. grammar). In addition, by tackling the functions of “*though A but B*”, “*not only A though A' but B*” and “*not A though A' but B*” from a semantic perspective, the study proved that grammar is just a routine rule and does not play an important role in explaining new PUs in contemporary English.

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## Frazeologiczne podejście do rozumienia funkcji nowego skorelowanego spójnika we współczesnym języku angielskim – *though A but B*

### STRESZCZENIE

Dane korpusowe pokazują, że współczesny język angielski niektóre przykłady połączenia wyrazowego “*though A but B*”, używanego jak w następującym przykładzie: (...) *I thought I might have a brain tumor. But it's something I can live with. I always say too though that I may have MS but MS does not have me and I think that is the key for my success in whatever I've got* (Larry King Live, 28 April, 2002, podkr. A.I.). Po przeanalizowaniu wcześniejszych badań nad *though* i *but* okazało się, że nie ma studiów poświęconych jednostce “*though A but B*”. Przykłady jej użycia pokazują, że ma ona nową funkcję, mianowicie łączącą, obejmującą funkcje spójników *though* i *but*. Ponadto wyrażenie “*though A but B*” funkcjonuje jako skore-

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lowany spójnik, podobny do *“not only A but also B”* i *“neither A nor B”*. Z analizy wynika, że powstanie wyrażenia *“though A but B”* można objaśnić odwołując się do kategoryzacji konceptualnej. Bliskie semantycznie słowa *though* i *but* wpływają na swoje funkcje, następnie *though* i *but* są zestawione razem, tworząc [*though A but B*]. W artykule przedstawiono jednostki *“not A though A' but B”* i *“not only A though A' but B”* występujące we współczesnym języku angielskim i omówiono ich powstanie i funkcje.

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## **Phraseological Discourse Markers of Reliability: From a Viewpoint of World Englishes**

**ABSTRACT:** Discourse markers play an important role in making a discourse textually cohesive and contextually interpersonal. In the current study, we will focus on the phraseological discourse markers of reliability (PDMRs) such as “I think” and “I believe”. PDMRs are textual in initiating new sentences, and also meta-textual or interpersonal in adjusting the strength of an addresser’s claim and controlling the relationship between an addresser and an expected addressee. Using a newly compiled international learner corpus, which holds 1.3 million words of the essays written by learners of English in ten countries and regions in Asia, we will discuss how PDMRs are used in the varieties of Englishes comprising an inner circle, an outer circle, and an expanding circle.

**KEY WORDS:** *discourse markers, expression of reliability, learner corpus, world Englishes*

### **1. Introduction**

The trend of globalization is drastically changing the status of the English language. English has now become a hybrid of World Englishes (WEs) and its traditional conventions are being modified by a great number of English users emerging in the world. Among varied facets of the language, pragmatics, which often concerns the interpersonal relationship between an addresser and addressee, is particularly sensitive to the recent changes in English language.

In this article, we will focus on phraseological discourse markers of reliability (PDMRs) such as “I think” and “I believe”, as an example of



changing facets in English pragmatics. PDMRs have the important function of showing “the degree of reliability” in a discourse (Aijmer 1997).

When studying discourse markers (DMs) from the viewpoint of WEs, two issues need to be considered. First is the definition of DMs to be examined. As often pointed out, DMs are a highly ambiguous category in linguistics. A great variety is observed in terms: clue words (Reichman, 1981), cue phrases (Grosz & Sidner 1986), clue phrases (Cohen 1987), rhetorical markers (Scott & Souza 1990), sentence and clausal connectives (Knott & Mellish, 1996), discourse cues (Di Eugenio et al. 1997), discourse connectives (Webber et al. 1999), discourse particles (Fischer, 2006), and pragmatic markers (Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg, 2011). A similar variety is also observed in types and functions: “textual” and “functional” (Moreno 2001), marking “a transition in the evolving progress of the conversation” and “an interactive relationship between speaker, hearer, and messages” (Biber et al. 1999), or “the connection between what a speaker is saying and what has already been said and what is going to be said”, “the structure of what is being said”, and “what speakers think about what they are saying and what others have said” (Fisher 2006).

Chalker & Weiner (1996) admits that DMs as a technical term cannot be easily defined. Fischer (2006) suggests that “the approaches [to DMs] vary with regard to very many different aspects: the language(s) under consideration, the items taken into account, the terminology used, the functions considered, the problems focused on, and the methodologies employed” in previous studies. Swan (2005) also writes that it is “impossible to give a complete list [of DMs] in a few pages”. Many studies have been done in the field, but there seems to be little, if at any, agreement in what DMs are, what their functions are, and what are included in them.

Therefore, in the current study, we will avoid discussing DMs in general and limit ourselves to analyzing PDMRs. PDMRs attract our attention because they are textual in initiating new sentences, and also meta-textual or interpersonal in adjusting the strength of an addresser’s claim and controlling the relationship between an addresser and an expected addressee.

The other issue to be discussed is the data used for analysis of WEs. Because of a lack of appropriate data, previous studies have depended on a qualitative analysis of limited samples. One of the possible solutions is using a corpus, but most of the full-scaled corpora ever compiled cover British or American English alone (e.g., British National Corpus, Corpus of Contemporary American English). Although several smaller corpora

collect data in ESL countries such as India and Singapore (e.g., Kolhapur Corpus, International Corpus of English), EFL countries, where independent English users are newly emerging, have not been covered. Using the terminology by Kachru (1985), the target of existing corpora is primarily the Inner Circle (IC), and sometimes the Outer Circle (OC), but hardly ever the Expanding Circle (EC).

In this study, we will therefore use the International Corpus Network of Asian Learners of English (ICNALE), which has been recently released. The ICNALE covers all of the IC, OC, and EC in Asia. Although it is classified as a "learner" corpus, learners at intermediate or higher levels can also be regarded as "users" of WEs.

## 2. Literature Review

### 2.1. DMs in Speech

First, we will briefly survey several of the studies focusing on DMs in general used in speech by English native speakers (NSs) and learners as non-native speakers (NNSs). Moreno & Eugenia (2001) reveals that Spanish learners underuse "well" in speech in comparison to native speakers, which the author concludes characterizes non-nativeness of learners' discourse. Müller (2004) reports that German learners underuse "well", "like", and "so" in speech, while a gap between NSs and NNSs is not observed with "you know". Fuller (2003) shows that German, French, and Spanish learners use "well", "you know", "like", "oh", and "I mean" less and in a more limited variety. Hellermann & Vergun (2007) shows that proficient learners come to use "like", "you know", and "well" in a closer way to NSs. Romero Trillo (2002) reveals that Spanish children cannot use involvement DMs such as "you know", "you see", "I mean", and "well" in a NS-like way, but a gap between NSs and NNSs is not observed with operative DMs such as "look" and "listen", which means that interpersonal DMs are more difficult to acquire than textual ones. Buysse (2010) shows that Belgian learners overuse "so" and "well", while they underuse "you know", "like", "kind/ sort of", and "I mean", which also means that interpersonal DMs are more difficult to acquire.

### 2.2. DMs in Writing

Next, concerning DMs used in writing, Feng (2010) reveals that Chinese learners often use DMs of additives, adversatives, causals, and con-

tinuatives, but some learners avoid using DMs or use them inappropriately. Martínez (2002) reports that Spanish learners of English use DMs similarly in their L1 and L2, and that they use a greater variety of DMs when expressing logical relationships (e.g., quasi-parallel, concluding, contrasting, and causal) between sentences. Šimčikaitė (2012) illustrates that Lithuanian learners overuse informal or semi-formal DMs such as “then”, “well”, “of course”, “in other words”, and “I mean” in writing, which the author says is caused by lack of explanation on stylistic features of DMs in course books, ambiguous information presented in teaching materials, and an emphasis on a communicative approach in classes. As for DMs in course books and teaching methodology, Fukazawa (2000) illustrates that Japanese high school EFL textbooks include fewer DMs than an ESL course book, most of which are limited to temporal and contrastive types. Dülger (2007) proves that a process view writing, in which learners prewrite, write, and rewrite their essays in a peer discussion facilitated by a teacher, leads to use of a greater number and variety of DMs than a product view writing, in which learners write their essays with reference to a model essay.

### 2.3. PDMRs

Finally, several studies discussing “I think” and other PDMRs will be mentioned. Aijmer (1997) analyzes “I think”, which is called a modal particle, an epistemic adverb, and a speech-act adverbial as well as a DM, from the viewpoint of pragmatization or semantic grammaticalization. The analysis of the London-Lund Corpus reveals that the ratio of less pragmatized “I think that S+V” forms (“that” forms) to more pragmatized “I think S+V” forms (zero forms) is 7% to 93%, which is largely identical to the ratio reported in Thompson & Mulac (1991) focusing on American spoken data. Also, it is shown that the “that” forms are common in discussions, while zero forms in informal conversations, and neither of them are common in formal public speech characterized by little involvement and interaction. Yong, Jingli, & Zhou (2010) analyzes speech corpus and illustrates that Chinese learners overuse “I think” in general; prefer using a zero form; tend to use “I think” in the sentence-initial position, which conveys deliberation and objectivity; and use “I think” in unique collocations such as “first/ secondary, I think”, “in my opinion, I think”, and “ok, I think”, which are not observed in the data of native speakers. Tsuchiya (2012) compares “guess”, “think”, “say”, and “know”, which are all classified as assertive verbs, and insists that when an addresser makes

a claim with “assertiveness” based on evidence and belief, “that” forms are chosen, while when an addresser makes a claim based on internalized subjective judgment, zero forms are chosen.

Although previous studies have discussed DMs and PDMRs from multi-dimensional viewpoints, usage pattern of PDMRs by international users of WEs has remained unclear to date.

### 3. Research Design

#### 3.1. Target PDMRs

PDMRs to be examined here are defined as a micro structure optionally attached to a main sentence structure, which comprises a first person pronoun “I”, a present-tense non-factive verb of thought (NFVT), and a conjunction “that” as an additional item.

PDMRs typically take a form of “I think (that)”, but several types of “I think (that)” need to be excluded.

- (1) I think (that) smoking should be banned.
- (2) Smoking should be banned, I think.
- (3) That’s why I think (that) smoking should be banned.
- (4) Smoking should be banned. I think so.

Instances of “I think (that)” in (1) – (3), which clearly function as PDMRs, are included in our analysis, while “I think” in (4) is excluded in that it is not optional in the sentence structure (\*~~I think~~ So.).

With a reference to thesauri, we have collected varied NFVTs, and have examined the frequencies of “that” forms of PDMRs in a whole set of the ICNALE.

I am convinced that (2), I am sure that (17), I believe that (130), I conceive that (0), I consider that (7), I contemplate that (0), I fancy that (0), I feel that (35), I guess that (9), I imagine that (1), I have in mind that (0), I meditate that (0), I muse that (0), I ponder that (0), I presume that (0), I speculate that (0), I suppose that (4), I suspect that (0), I reflect that (0), I think that (650)

Thus, we have chosen six PDMRs to be analyzed: “I am sure (that)”, “I believe (that)”, “I consider (that)”, “I feel (that)”, “I guess (that)”, and “I think (that)”.

### 3.2. RQs

The aim of the current study is to clarify how varied users of WEs, especially those belonging to different concentric circles, adopt PDMRs in their written essays. Our research questions are how differently international users of WEs use PDMRs in terms of interpersonality (RQ1), pragmaticalization (RQ2), formal variety (RQ3), reliability levels (RQ4), and collocation (RQ5). Also, we will consider how writers in different countries are classified according to their usage pattern of PDMRs (RQ6).

### 3.3. Data

We will use the ICNALE (Beta version 0.3) as data for discussion. The ICNALE collects 1.3 million words of English essays written by 2,600 college students in 10 Asian countries and areas and 200 English native speakers (Ishikawa 2013).

The ICNALE has two unique features. One is that writing conditions are strictly controlled. The number of topics is limited to two: “It is important for college students to have a part time job” and “Smoking should be completely banned at all the restaurants in the country”. Writers are required to show whether they agree or disagree with the topics by illustrating reasons for their position. In addition, time for writing (twenty to forty minutes), length of essays (two to three hundred words), dictionary use (prohibited), and spell-checker use (compulsory) are all controlled. Stricter control on writing conditions naturally leads to greater homogeneity in data, which guarantees a reliable contrastive interlanguage analysis between different writer groups.

The other is that all NNS writers are classified into five proficiency levels of Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR): A2, B1\_01, B1\_2, B2, and C1 (NB: C1 is merged into “B2+” in the latest version of the corpus). Classification is based on writers’ scores in English proficiency tests such as TOEFL, TOEIC, and IELTS, or in the vocabulary size test (Nation & Begler 2007).

**Table 1. CEFR levels of writers**

Circle	Country	A2	B1_1	B1_2	B2	C1+
Outer	Hong Kong (HKG)	1.0	30.0	52.0	15.0	2.0
Outer	Pakistan (PAK)	9.0	45.5	44.0	1.5	0.0
Outer	Philippines (PHL)	1.0	5.5	88.0	5.5	0.0
Expanding	China (CHN)	12.5	58.0	26.3	2.8	0.5
Expanding	Indonesia (IDN)	16	41.0	41.5	1.5	0.0
Expanding	Japan (JPN)	38.5	44.8	12.3	4.3	0.3
Expanding	Korea (KOR)	25.0	20.3	29.3	19.3	6.0
Expanding	Thailand (THA)	29.8	44.8	25.0	0.5	0.0
Expanding	Taiwan (TWN)	14.5	43.5	30.5	11.0	0.5

Proficiency distribution greatly varies according to each country and area. Therefore, we will use the data of NNSs only at B1\_2 (B1 upper) level as well as that of NSs. By controlling the proficiency level, we can conduct a more reliable international comparison. B1 is defined as a “threshold” level where users can “produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest” and “describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes & ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans”. Learners at B1 level, particularly at B1 upper level, are reasonably regarded as “independent” users of WEs.

### 3.4. Methodology

First, we will examine the total frequencies of the PDMRs, which show degrees of reliability in an addresser’s claim and help to control the relationship between an addresser and an addressee, in order to approach RQ1 (interpersonality). Then, we will compare the ratios of three kinds of PDMRs: a “that” form (I NFVT that S V), a zero form (I NFVT S V), and a sentence final form (S V, I NFVT) for discussing RQ2 (pragmaticalization). According to Aijmer (1997), these three forms represent three degrees of pragmaticalization, from less pragmaticalized to more phatic and pragmaticalized. Also, we will compare the ratios of “I think (that)” and the other PDMRs, concerning RQ 3 (formal variation).

Concerning RQ4 (reliability), Aijmer (1997) proposes that a set of PDMRs, “I guess”, “I suppose”, “I think”, “I believe”, and “I am sure”, con-

struct a cline of “degree of reliability”. For discussing this, we will classify six NFVTs into three groups: strong reliability verbs (“am sure”/ “believe”), neutral reliability verbs (“think”/ “consider”), and weak reliability verbs (“guess”/“feel”). The ratios of three types will be compared.

Then, concerning RQ5 (collocation), we will pay exclusive attention to “I think (that)” forms and compare the connectives and adverbials occurring immediately at their left (L1 position) (e.g., But I think.../ Finally, I think.../ All in all, I think...). Collocating items offer a clue to probe the context in which PDMRs are used by international users of English. Collocating items are classified into six function types: addition (“and”, “moreover”), adversative (“but”, “however”), order (“firstly”, “secondly”), personalization (“for me”, “in my opinion”), cause and effect (“because”, “so”), and summarization (“all in all”, “thus”), and the ratios of six types will be mutually compared.

Finally, in order to discuss RQ6 (classification), we will conduct a correspondence analysis, which is a multivariate analytical measure to describe the internal structure of a multi-way frequency table. Dimensions or axes to maximize correspondence between rows and columns are identified and individual item data are scattered on a two-dimensional graph.

## 4. Results and Discussion

### 4.1. RQ1 Interpersonality

Firstly, our attention is on the total frequency of PDMRs, which concern how interpersonal a discourse can be. In the figures below, the horizontal axes show three concentric circles and ten individual countries including English native speakers (ENS), while the vertical axes represent the means of the frequencies in all countries belonging to the same concentric circles (Fig. 1) and the individual frequencies according to countries (Fig. 2), both of which are adjusted per 100,000 words.

Fig. 1 shows that PDMRs occur more often in OC and EC than in IC. Based on a hypothetical testing of the total raw frequencies, the differences between OC and IC ( $\chi^2=329.74$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and between EC and IC ( $\chi^2=48.30$ ,  $p<.001$ ) are significant (after Bonferroni correction). Many of previous studies have mentioned that overuse of “I think” type expressions are characteristic of NNS’ speech, but a different pattern is seen in writing.



**Fig. 1-2. Total frequency of PDMRs: Concentric Circles (Left) / Countries (Right)**

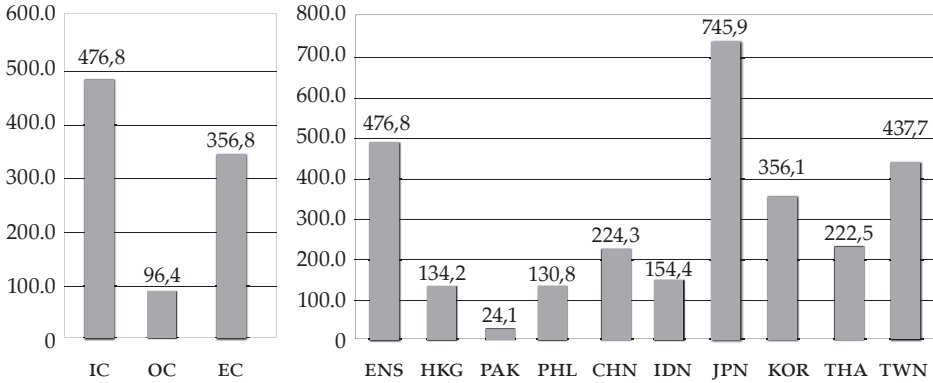


Fig. 2 shows that among nine NNS countries in OC and EC, the frequency of PDMRs is exceptionally high in Japan. Overuse of “I think” by Japanese learners at novice levels has been mentioned in some of the previous studies, but our data proves that this trend also applies to learners at an intermediate level. The below is a part of the essay written by a Japanese college student, who uses “I think” as many as four times in an approximately two hundred words text.

... First of all, I think that college students should not only study subjects...  
I think that when they have a part-time job, they can learn ...Therefore  
I think that college student should be independent of their parents. So  
I think that it is important for college students to have a part-time job.

Japanese learners’ overuse of “I think” and other PDMRs may be partly influenced by their L1, where clear assertion is carefully avoided and an expression of “*to omou*” (lit. “I think that...”) is adopted widely as a versatile hedge.

#### 4.2. RQ2 Pragmaticalization

Next, we will pay attention to the ratio of three types of PDMRs: a “that” form (I NFVT that S V), a zero form (I NFVT S V), and a sentence final form (S V, I NFVT). In the figures below, the vertical axes represent the means of the ratios in all countries belonging to the same concentric circles (Fig. 3) and the individual ratios according to countries (Fig. 4), both of which are shown in percentages.



**Fig. 3-4. Ratios of Zero, “That”, and Sentence-final Forms of PDMRs: Concentric Circles (Left)/ Countries (Right)**

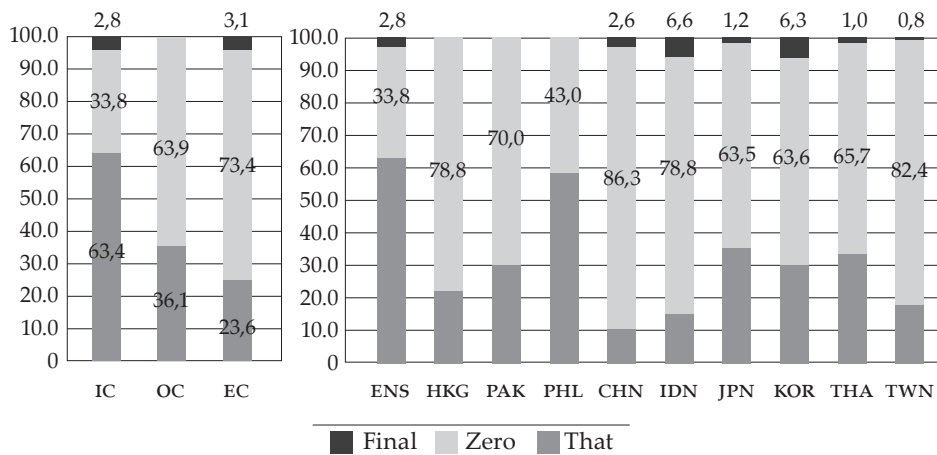


Fig. 3 reveals that the ratio of sentence final forms is extremely low. It also shows that the ratio of pragmaticalized zero forms is increasingly higher in the OC and EC in comparison to the IC. This suggests that PDMRs tend to be more pragmaticalized or grammaticalized in WEs.

Fig. 4 shows that the ratio of zero forms is exceptionally low in Philippines and high in China and Taiwan. This suggests that Philippine writers are the closest to NSs in terms of use of PDMRs, while Chinese and Taiwanese writers prefer using PDMRs largely in an informal way.

What’s more, I think a part-time job can prevent you from being addicted to computers.... I guess it’s time that college students got down to finding a part-time job. Let’s go out of the campus and enter the society! (CHN)

The essay above exemplifies that use of zero forms is linked to informality or the spoken-orientation of a discourse, which is suggested by the occurrence of colloquial phrases such as “what’s more” and “Let’s...” as well as an exclamation mark.

### 4.3. RQ3 Formal Variety

The ratios of “I think (that)” forms and the other forms are examined here. In the figures below, the vertical axes represent the means of the ratios in all countries belonging to the same concentric circles (Fig. 5) and the individual ratios according to countries (Fig. 6), both of which are shown in percentages.

**Fig. 5-6. Ratios of "I think (that)" forms and the other forms: Concentric Circles (Left)/ Countries (Right)**

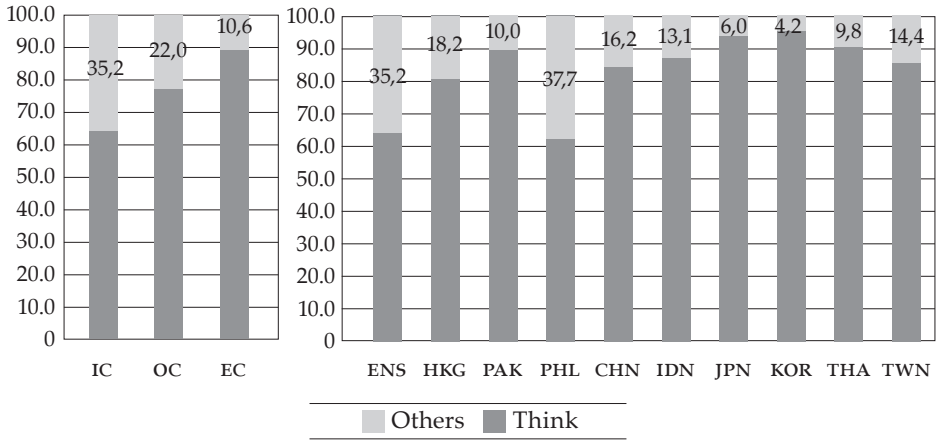


Fig. 5 reveals that the ratio of non-"I think (that)" forms, which represents the formal variety of PDMRs, are increasingly lower in the OC and EC in comparison to the IC. This exemplifies that PDMRs tend to focus more on the archetypal "I think (that)" forms in WEs.

Fig. 6 shows that the ratio of non-"I think (that)" forms is low in the Philippines and high in Korea and Japan. This corroborates the affinity between Philippine writers and NSs again, and at the same time shows that Korean and Japanese writers tend to use "I think (that)" forms not as one of the PDMRs but rather as an independent filler-like set-phrase.

#### 4.4. RQ4 Reliability

The ratios of strong reliability verbs ("am sure", "believe"), neutral reliability verbs ("think", "consider"), and weak reliability verbs ("guess", "feel") are examined. In the figures below, the vertical axes represent the means of the ratios in all countries belonging to the same concentric circles (Fig. 7) and the individual ratios according to countries (Fig. 8), both of which are shown in percentages.

Fig. 7 illustrates that the ratio of neutral forms, which are more semantically "bleached" and therefore more pragmatized, is increasingly higher in the OC and EC compared with the IC. This exemplifies that PDMRs come to be more phatic in WEs.

**Fig. 7-8. Ratios of NFVTs connoting strong, neutral, and weak reliability: Concentric Circles (Left) / Countries (Right)**

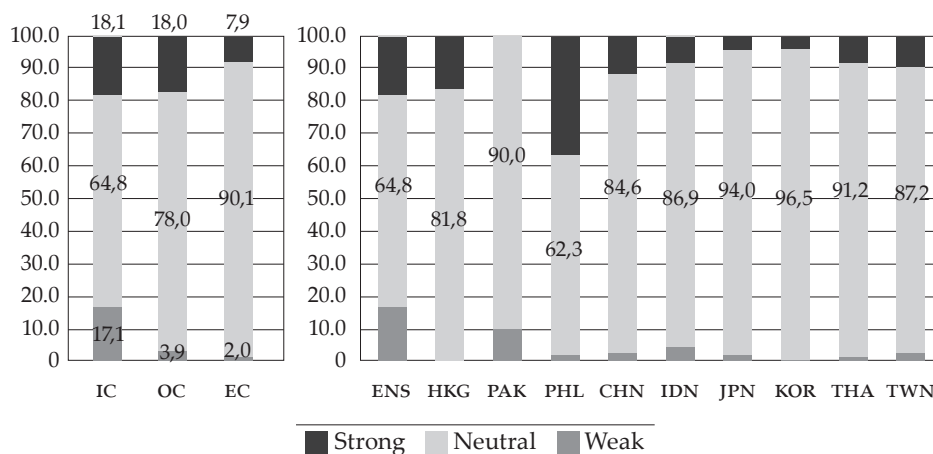


Fig. 8 shows that the ratio of neutral forms is low in the Philippines and high in Korea and Japan. The tendency observed here is the same as that observed in the analysis of formal variety.

#### 4.5. RQ5 Collocation

Next, collocating items occurring just at the left of “I think (that)” will be surveyed. Frequencies of individual items are shown in Table 2, and frequencies of six function types are shown in Fig. 9. In both cases, frequencies are adjusted per 100,000 words.

**Table 2. Frequencies of Items collocating at the left of PDMRs (per 100,000 words)**

Collocating Items	IC	OC	EC
<i>Addition</i>	43.0	2.0	0.0
and	36.4	0.0	0.0
moreover	0.0	0.7	0.0
but more than that	2.2	0.0	0.0
then	4.4	1.3	0.0
<i>Adversative</i>	21.0	5.2	9.6
but	15.5	3.9	3.9
however	5.5	1.3	5.7
<i>Order</i>	2.2	4.6	16.2

finally	0.0	0.0	2.2
first(ly)	1.1	3.9	6.6
next	1.1	0.0	1.3
second(ly)	0.0	0.7	3.1
third(ly)	0.0	0.0	3.1
<i>Personalization</i>	2.2	2.0	14.9
(as) for me	0.0	0.7	3.1
in my opinion	0.0	1.3	8.7
personally	2.2	0.0	3.1
<i>Cause &amp; Effect</i>	39.7	5.9	29.3
because	5.5	0.0	1.7
besides	0.0	2.0	1.3
for these reasons	2.2	0.0	3.1
so	28.7	3.3	14.4
therefore	3.3	0.7	8.7
<i>Summarization</i>	2.2	1.3	9.2
all in all	1.1	0.0	2.2
in conclusion (to conclude)	1.1	1.3	5.7
thus	0.0	0.0	1.3

**Fig. 9. Ratios of six types of L1 collocating items: Concentric Circles**

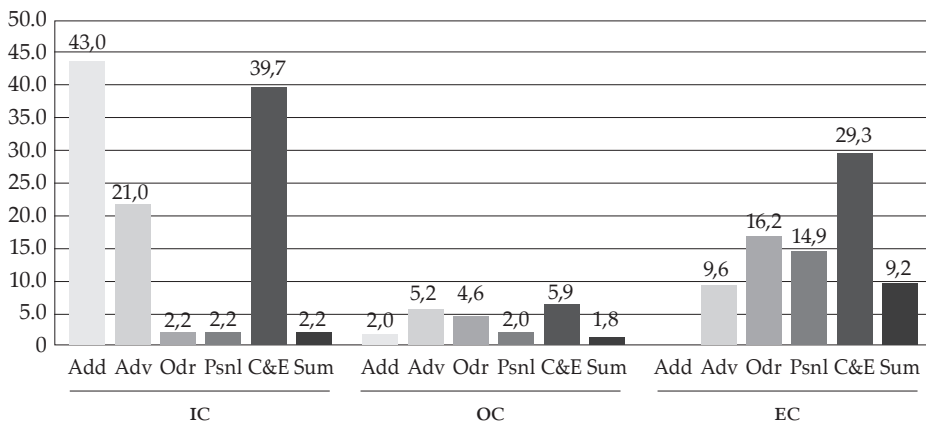


Fig. 9 shows that the contexts in which PDMRs occur greatly varies according to the three concentric circles. In case of the IC, contexts can

be trichotomically classified into addition (43.0%), cause and effect (39.7%), and summarization (21.0%), meaning that the range of use of PDMRs is considerably limited in the IC.

Here in Colorado, smoking has been illegal in restaurants for kind of a long time, and I think this makes our states seem much more healthy and clean. / ... all the boys I talked to say that they do not like to kiss girls who smoke, so I think that is a good reason to have abstained from smoking too. / In some ways, it does not seem fair to limit the rights of people by banning smoking, but I think that the government should do more to regulate this area because it is so important to maintain good health of the citizens. (ENS)

Meanwhile, in the OC and EC, the range is much wider and it has no inclination to a particular context, except for cause and effect in the EC. This suggests that “I think (that)” forms come to be used more exclusively and at the same time in a more versatile way in WEs, where “I think (that)” forms seem to cover varied functions formerly embodied in different types of PDMRs.

#### 4.6. RQ6 Classification

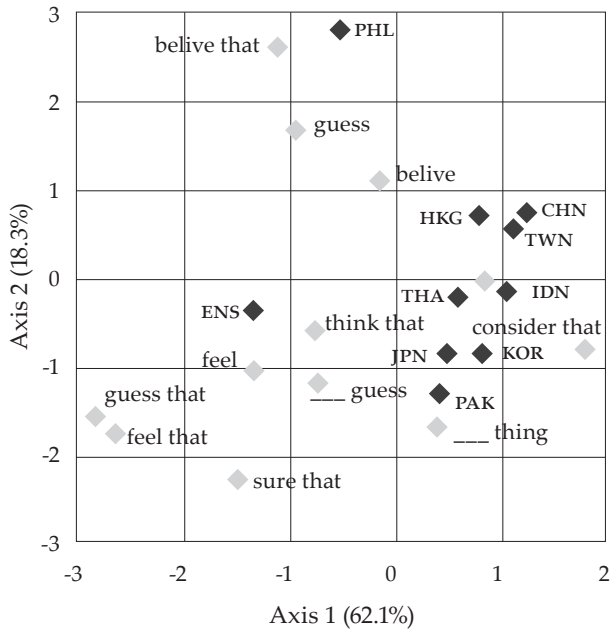
Finally, we will examine the scatter plot obtained from a correspondence analysis (Fig. 10). Contributions of Axis 1 and Axis 2 are 62.1% and 18.3% respectively, and the accumulative contribution amounts to 80.4%, which shows that data interpretation based on two dimensions is largely valid. In the figure below, PDMRs with under-bars (as in “\_think”) occur at the sentence final positions.

Axis 1 (horizontal) clearly distinguishes between a group of NSs and Philippine writers and a group of NNSs in the OC and EC. This illustrates a discrepancy between the conventional English used by (near-) NSs and new Englishes used by international language users in terms of use of PDMRs. The former is characterized by use of less pragmaticalized PDMRs including strong or weak reliability verbs, while the latter by use of more pragmaticalized PDMRs including neutral reliability verbs.

Axis 2 (vertical) categorizes NNSs roughly into four subgroups: (1) HKG, CHN, and TWN, (2) THA and IDN, (3) JPN and KOR, and (4) PAK. It is of special note that three areas sharing Chinese as L1 are clustered together, implying that use of PDMRs might be at least partly influenced by writers’ L1s. Group 1 is characterized by use of zero forms of “I believe” and

“I think”. Group 2 by more exclusive use of “I think” forms, while Group 3 by use of less pragmaticalized “I think / consider that” forms, and Group 4 by use of sentence final PDMRs. These features characterize the use of PDMRs in WEs.

**Fig. 10. Scatter plot based on a correspondence analysis**



## 5. Conclusion

In the current study, we have analyzed how international users of English adopt “I think (that)”-type expressions in written essays, and discovered many noteworthy facts about the changing usages of PDMRs in WEs.

In WEs, especially in the EC, PDMRs tend to be used less often and in a more phatic or pragmaticalized way (RQ1-2). Their formal variety is being limited more and the expressions including neutral reliability verbs, especially, “I think (that)” forms, come to be used rather exclusively as an independent set phrase (RQ3, RQ4). Unlike other PDMRs, “I think (that)” forms are being used in a broader context in a discourse (RQ5). Although there still exists a clear boundary in terms of usage of PDMRs between the conventional English used by (near-) NSs and new Englishes used by

international users, it could be expected to become increasingly ambiguous in the ongoing globalization of English language.

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## Frazeologiczne metatekstowe operatory wiarygodności w perspektywie światowych odmian języka angielskiego

### STRESZCZENIE

Operatory metatekstowe odgrywają ważną rolę w budowaniu spójności tekstu i tworzeniu kontekstu interpersonalnego. Niniejszym artykuł poświęcony jest frazeologicznym metatekstowym operatorom wiarygodności (PDMR-y – *phraseological discourse markers of reliability*), takim jak *I think* ('Sądzę') i *I believe* ('Wierzę'). PDMR-y mają zarówno charakter tekstowy, kiedy zaczynają nowe zdania, jak i metatekstowy lub interpersonalny, kiedy regulują natężenie intensywności stwierdzenia nadawcy i kontrolują relację między nadawcą i przewidywanym odbiorcą. Wykorzystując nowo opracowany korpus języka uczących się, który zawiera 1,3 miliona słów pochodzących z prac napisanych przez uczących się języka angielskiego jako obcego w dziesięciu krajach i regionach Azji, autor omawia, jak PDMR-y są wykorzystywane w różnych odmianach języka angielskiego, w tym w wewnętrznym kręgu, zewnętrznym oraz rozszerzającym się.

Analiza wykazała, że w odmianach języka angielskiego w świecie, zwłaszcza w rozszerzającym się kręgu, PDMR-y są rzadziej używane i pełnią częścię funkcję fatyczną lub pragmatyczną. Zróżnicowanie ich postaci jest ograniczone i wyrażenia, do których zaliczmy również neutralne czasowniki wyrażające wiarygodność, zwłaszcza formy typu *I think (that)* ('Sądzę (że)'), są niemal wyłącznie używane jako niezależna fraza. W przeciwieństwie do innych PDMR-ów, formy *I think (that)* są używane w dyskursie w szerszym kontekście. Chociaż nadal istnieje wyraźna granica w użyciu PDMR-ów pomiędzy standardową odmianą języka angielskiego, którą posługują się rodzimi użytkownicy lub ci bliscy rodzimym, oraz nowymi odmianami angielszczyzny, które wykorzystują w komunikacji międzynarodowi użytkownicy, należy spodziewać się, że będzie ona ulegać zatarciu w wyniku postępującej globalizacji języka angielskiego.

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## Phrasal Connective Adverbials in English<sup>1</sup>

**ABSTRACT:** In this study, I investigate new English phrasal connective adverbials, with special reference to *not only that but*. Other adverbial phrases such as *that apart*, *that instead*, and *alongside that* are also addressed. While examining how they behave, what they mean, and where they come from, the present study will clarify that such new phrasal connective adverbials have been created with the phrase-forming skeletons '*that + X*' or '*X + that*', which is also evidenced in the formation of other connective adverbials in the history of the English language. In the conclusion, I discuss implications for future studies conducted in phraseology and other areas of language research.

**KEY WORDS:** *conjuncts, phrasal connective adverbials, not only that but*

### 1. Introduction

In the Introduction of the revolutionary monolingual learners' dictionary, *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary*, published in 1987, John Sinclair emphasizes the dictionary's inclusion of authentic examples to show typical usages. In the statement, he uses an interesting sequence of words, *not only that, but*:

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<sup>1</sup> This is a radically revised and enlarged version of the paper I read at the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Linguistics of Contemporary English (Osnabrueck, Germany, 19-23 July, 2011). The present work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Numbers 23720256 and 24652097.

- (1) The user can thus be confident that the examples display the language as it is used. Not only that, but the examples printed are typical of usage.

(J. Sinclair, *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (1987), p. xv)

Additional examples of this phrase in use are:

- (2) Downs argues that bureaucrats do exhibit personality traits but these may differ. Not only that but they do have different ways of achieving their maximum personal utility. (BNC)
- (3) Wind is free, of course. Not only that, the land under the turbines can usually be farmed. And farmers may be able to earn extra money by charging visitors to see their wind farm.

(*Voice of America*, Feb. 27, 2007)

Examples (2) and (3) show that a comma and the conjunction *but* are optional. *Not only that* ((,) *but*) in these sentences functions as a 'phrasal' (i.e. consisting of a sequence of words) connective adverbial. It is obvious that this phrasal connective adverbial comes from the co-relative conjunction *not only X but Y*, the meaning of which is additive. It provides 'the framework for whole sentences as a sentence builder' (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992: 42f.). However, the use of the phrase in the examples above varies from its typical use. One major difference is that the word string functionally serves as a discourse organizer in texts.

English connective adverbials such as *therefore* and *however* are called conjuncts and indicate how the speaker views the connection between two linguistic units (Quirk et al. 1985: 631ff.). Greenbaum (1969: 35) argues that conjuncts constitute a closed class; however, in the history of the English language, some conjuncts evolved from other syntactic items or sequences of words (e.g. *therefore*). Additionally, as the following discussion will clarify, *not only that, but*, and others are relatively recent additions to the language as connective adverbs. They have been gaining ground recently, and conjuncts are never a completely closed class.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 246) list *not only that but* among conjunctive expressions that are emphatic forms of the 'and' relation. However, the phrasal connective adverbial has not yet been thoroughly examined. The objective of this study is to discuss phrasal connective adverbials in present-day English. *Not only that but*<sup>2</sup>, *alongside that*, *that apart* and *that*

<sup>2</sup> In what follows, the representation *not only that but* is intended to include all its variant forms with the omissions of a comma, *but* or both, unless stated otherwise.

*instead* are investigated. The following discussion will revolve around the investigation of *not only that but* as a representative case. It will be argued that (i) different kinds of multiword units are used as phrasal connective adverbials in contemporary English; (ii) all of them are created by using the moulds 'X + *that*' or '*that* + X', the X slots of which are filled by a word or a sequence of words, and they as a whole function as connective adverbials; (iii) this pattern of connective adverbial formation can be historically observed in the embryonic stage of the development of, for example, *therefore*, and English employs the phrase-forming skeletons to create new phrasal connective adverbials; and (iv) identification and thorough investigations of individual English phrases can significantly contribute to other areas of phraseology and language studies.

As data sources, the present study uses corpora on the web as well as manually collected illustrations. Included in the corpora are the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA), the Time Magazine Corpus of American English (Time Corpus) and the British National Corpus (BNC). Illustrations are culled from these online corpora along with frequency data. The details about the data sources are available at <http://corpus.byu.edu/>.

## 2. Conjuncts

### 2.1. The semantics of conjuncts

English adverbials play a wide range of roles in sentences, as Quirk *et al.* (1985) point out, which is reflected in the fact that they have a wide variety of meanings and can appear in different sentence positions. Semantically, adverbials express space, time, process, respect, contingency, modality, degrees, etc. These meanings are realized in various types of syntactic structure, ranging from adverbs to noun phrases to prepositional phrases to clauses. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 501ff.), on the basis of the grammatical functions, divide English adverbials into four categories: ADJUNCT, SUBJUNCT, DISJUNCT, and CONJUNCT. It is sufficient here to state what members can be classified as conjuncts and to touch upon their meanings along with their syntactic characteristics.

Conjuncts are defined as adverbials that semantically connect two utterances or parts of an utterance, or serve to 'relate the clause to the neighboring text' (Huddleston and Pullum 2001: 775). They specify 'how the speaker or writer understands the semantic connection between two

utterances, or parts of utterances' (Schwertfeger 2005). In example (4), the speaker understands the two utterances should be connected with *nevertheless* in the sense of concession, because people usually don't fall asleep when they are very uncomfortable:

- (4) He was very uncomfortable. *Nevertheless* he fell asleep.

(Halliday and Hasan 1976: 229)

The semantic connections between two utterances are considerably varied, ranging from LISTING (e.g. [ENUMERATIVE] *first, second, in the first place*, etc.; [EQUATIVE] *likewise, in the same way*, etc.; [REINFORCING] *besides, furthermore, moreover, in addition*, etc.), to [SUMMATIVE] (e.g. *altogether, therefore*, etc.), to [APPOSITIVE] (e.g. *in other words, for example*, etc.), to [RESULTIVE] (e.g. *as a result*, etc.) and so forth. See Quirk et al. (1985: 634ff.) for a more complete list of conjuncts.

### 2.3. The syntax of conjuncts

Conjuncts are realized in various syntactic forms such as adverb(ial)s, prepositional phrases (e.g. *by the way, on top of that*, etc.), and (non-)finite clauses (e.g. *what's more, to sum up*, etc.) (Downing and Locke 2006: 75). Some conjuncts include the pronoun *that* in their formation (e.g. *on top of that*). Interestingly, English has often seen this type of conjunct in use throughout its history. Even if a particular conjunct is spelled as one word in present-day English, it may be etymologically derived from a string of words including a demonstrative. In present-day English, for example, we do not consider *therefore* to be two words; however, it originates from *there + for*. In fact, according to *the Oxford English Dictionary 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*, it was often written as two words (s.v. *therefore*, adv.). To put it another way, *therefore* was, at one time, considered a phrasal connective adverbial (see also Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992: 39) for the discussion of other phrasal connective adverbials written as one word). Etymologically, *there* is a cognate with *that*. While the force of *there* to form new connective adverbials has abated, the demonstrative *that* has assumed the role. *That* is combined with other words to productively create a large number of phrasal connective adverbials.

Conjuncts are 'connectors of structures between groups, between clauses, between sentences and between paragraphs' (Downing and Locke 2002: 63). Note, however, that conjuncts containing the demonstrative pronoun *that* (e.g. *on top of that, for all that, that said*, etc.) can be char-

acterized by the fact that their function is limited to connecting sentences and paragraphs. *That* in these expressions refers to the preceding context and retains cohesion in texts.

In many cases, conjuncts stand at the initial position of a clause with some exceptions. Some conjuncts stand only at the beginning of a clause (Urgelles-Coll 2010: 16). Generally, the meanings conjuncts express serve as an important factor in determining where they occur in a sentence. For instance, when conjuncts are in the REINFORCING role, they usually occupy the initial position of a sentence. Schwertfeger (2005) makes it clear that *furthermore*, *in addition*, and *moreover* are likely to occur at the initial position of a sentence in both spoken and written English: their placement in any other sentence position would make the relationship between two utterances obscure.

Researchers have been pointing out other syntactic characteristics of conjuncts. For example, (i) they are not gradable (Urgelles-Coll 2010: 16) (e.g. *\*very accordingly* / *\*moreover enough*); (ii) they cannot be the focus of a cleft sentence<sup>3</sup> (Quirk et al. 1985: 631) (e.g. *\*It is nonetheless that you should send her the agenda*); (iii) they cannot be the basis of contrast in alternative interrogation or negation (Quirk et al. 1985: 631) (e.g. *\*Should you send her the agenda nonetheless or likewise?*); (iv) they cannot be focused by subjuncts (Quirk et al. 1985: 631) (e.g. *\*You should only nonetheless send her the agenda*); and (v) they can co-occur with another conjunct or a coordinating conjunction (Urgelles-Coll 2010: 16) (e.g., *And so all in all you agree with me; But she has achieved good results nonetheless*). All of these syntactic characteristics can be used as diagnostics to show whether a particular expression is a conjunct or not.

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<sup>3</sup> Corpora may provide examples that do not speak in favor of this. For example, the following example can be found in the COCA:

I once thought to be right, but found to be otherwise. *It is therefore* that the older I grow, the more I am apt to doubt my own. (Levitt, Jack R., *The great Masonic odyssey: Birth of a democracy* (1993))

Interesting as this is, this type of example does not provide good reason to claim that conjuncts can be the focus of a cleft sentence. Such examples should be seen as one-offs.

### 3. *not only X but also Y*

#### 3.1. As a correlative conjunction

*Not only X but also Y* expresses the additive meaning and has traditionally been called a correlative conjunction. Before discussing the phrasal connective adverbial *not only that but*, we must have a brief look at the default uses of the correlative. The term correlative is used because *not only X* tends to co-select, that is, is closely associated with, *but also Y*. The close association between *not only X* and *but also Y* can be observed in the earliest stage of the use. A search of *the Oxford English Dictionary 2<sup>nd</sup> edition on CD-ROM* (ver. 3.1.1) for *not only* in all the quotations revealed that it dates back to 1398: *That heryth not only fourth ryght but all abowte* (s.v. *forthright*). *Not only* came together with *but* at the very beginning stage of its use. This close association of the sequence of words is the reason that it itself is a multi-word unit, that is, a phrase<sup>4</sup>.

Regarding other characteristics specific to this correlative conjunction, grammarians have so far pointed out that (i) *also* is optional and, in some cases, adverbials such as *too* and *as well* take its place (Quirk et al. 1985: 941; Graner 2009: 574; Huddleston and Pullum 2001: 1314); and (ii) when the Y position is filled by a sentence, *but* is omissible (Huddleston and Pullum 2001: 1314). In this case, X has to be filled also by a clause or sentence. Hence, the default use of *not only X but also Y* can be schematized as in (5):

- (5) a. X, Y = NPs/other kinds of phrases: *not only X but (also) Y (as well/too)*  
 b. X, Y = clause/sentence: *not only X (but) (also) Y (as well/too)*

#### 3.2. Parallelism

The most frequently mentioned usage problem about this correlative conjunction is parallelism observable between X and Y; that is, the claim that both positions have to be filled by constituents of the same syntactic category. Graner (2009: 574) argues that 'these correlative conjunctions must frame syntactically identical sentence parts'. According to *the Merriam Webster's Dictionary of English Usage* (p. 667), this prescriptive statement was made in the 19th century.

<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, the correlative conjunction is called as an organizational framework (Greaves and Warren 2010: 221), which helps to 'manage the utterance and the discourse' (Sinclair and Mauranen 2006: 60).



However, non-parallel constructions occur so often that they frequently pass unnoticed. One example suffices to demonstrate that the speaker does not obey such a prescriptive rule once in a while:

- (6) Political leaders enjoy few degrees of freedom before they must respond to events, and then they must communicate not only with other governments but also those in civil society too: witness the difficulties...  
(*TIME*, May 9, 2011)

Prescriptivism would dictate that the underlined parts of example (6) should be corrected as *not only with other governments but also with those in civil society*.

### 3.3. Variant forms

*Only* may be replaced by different adverbs such as *just* and *merely*:

- (7) *not just X but (also) Y*  
Because some of the isotopes released during a nuclear accident remain radioactive for tens of thousands of years, cleanup is the work not just of first responders but also of their descendants and their descendants' descendants.  
(*TIME*, May 9, 2011)
- (8) *not merely X but (also) Y*  
Not merely did he claim to present to livings retrospectively in his own reign but even to vacancies which had occurred *sede vacante* in his father's reign!  
(BNC)

As the following discussion will clarify, these variant forms are less likely to be used as phrasal connective adverbials, differently from the canonical form with *only*.

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1. *Not only that but* as a phrasal connective adverbial

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 230) argue that in example (9), the phrases *after that* and *despite that* as a whole function as a conjunct:

- (9) a. They fought a battle. *After that*, it snowed.  
b. He was very uncomfortable. *Despite this*, he fell asleep.



English users no longer consider *therefore* to consist of two words; in the same vein 'even in analytic forms such as *after that* we respond to the cohesive force of the phrase as a whole rather than singling out *that* as an anaphoric element on its own' (Halliday and Hasan 1975: 230). This is tantamount to saying that they are phraseological units that are produced in a ready-assembled manner as if they were one lexical item. The speaker selects the sequence of words *after that* as a phrasal connective adverbial in the same way as they choose *therefore* as a single connective adverb.

Conjuncts that contain *that* in their formation can be regarded as phrasal connective adverbials. *On top of that* consists of the complex preposition plus *that*. The fixed sequence of words, as a whole, plays a connective role and expresses the meaning of addition. Included in phrasal connective adverbials are *despite this*, *after that*, *on top of that*, *in spite of that*, *that said*, *instead of that*, *as a result of that* and so on – they all assume a connective role in texts. These phrasal connective adverbials are chosen at one go without grammatically dissecting the chunks.

**Figure 1. Abridged and selected concordance lines for *not only that but* in the COCA (Accessed 12 June 2011)**

1	I mean, I certainly think this will happen too. <b><i>But</i></b>	<u>not only that,</u>	there's this huge economic drain, which
2	makes the wheels go around in America, no doubt about it.	<u>Not only that,</u>	it pays my salary, but we don't want
3	He's convinced it came from a member of the ruling clan.	<u>Not only that,</u>	American oil executive, he says, were not happy
4	company closely monitored the cross-border trade. ! TOAL:	<u>Not only that, but</u>	we have government people and
5	see what is going on in his mind. ! LOGAN:	<u>Not only that, but</u>	Dr. Eichenberger, who sometimes prescribes

6	on one of these ships, the Celebrity one, the newer ships.	<u>Not only that,</u>	they're doing a lot of ports, which means
7	too, but it's -- you can't beat the beauty. <u>And</u>	<u>not only that,</u>	you can do, not only the white water rafting,
8	Both said having OI doesn't rule out the possibility of abuse.	<u>Not only that,</u>	according to Dr. Sharps there's no way to
9	and his followers defended his legitimacy, of course;	<u>not only that but</u>	his royal lineage. The Gospel of
10	boss will think, What a risk taker to serve me Chianti, <u>and</u>	<u>not only that, but,</u>	I love it.
11	Hard it is when you're trying to tote all the beach chairs. <u>And</u>	<u>not only that but</u>	it has a great head rest which is adjustable.
12	made which was to say, "I'm out of it, <u>and</u>	<u>not only that, but</u>	Senator Obama has got problems in Ohio and
13	war which a very large section of the population didn't want.	<u>Not only that,</u>	<u>though,</u> it's not simply to do with Iraq.

**Table 1. *not only that but* in the BNC and the COCA (Accessed 12 June 2011)**

	BNC	COCA
<i>not only that but...</i>	181	867

Figure 1 shows that the sequence of words *not only that but* recurs in texts and expresses the additive meaning. A search for the sequence in the BNC and the COCA retrieved 181 and 867 examples respectively (Table 1). These examples constitute evidence for the presence of *not only that but*, which is a holistically produced phrasal connective adverbial.

Indeed, *not only that but* is grammatically analyzable as negative item + adverb + demonstrative + conjunction. However, in that case, we would run into some problems. As is clear from Figure 1, *but* is optional and *not only that* often stands on its own. Differently from *despite*, *after*, *on top of*, etc., *not only* is not a preposition. These prepositions can take an object, whereas *not only* itself should not take an object because it is not a preposition. Nouns can stand in the X position on the presupposition that the coordinating conjunction *but* + some constituent follow (see (5a)). The slots X and Y are given their syntactic *raison d'être* by the presence of *but*. It is difficult to provide a compelling explanation for the behavior of *not only that* as a connective adverbial if it is grammatically analyzed. Since *that* is a demonstrative pronoun, *but* should be an obligatory element in this correlative conjunction to guarantee that some constituent can stand in the Y position. However, *but* is not necessarily overtly expressed in the phrasal connective adverbial, as instantiated by Figure 1. Then, what syntactically supports the existence of *that*? In addition, *but* is optional only when a clause or sentence occurs in the X position. Since the X position in the phrasal connective adverbial is filled by *that*, it is difficult to explain for the optionality of *but*. A better approach to this sequence of words might be to consider that since *not only that* is chosen as a phrase without regard to its internal structure, and *but* can be optional when Y is filled by a sentence, as in the default cases (5b). In this phrasal use of the correlative conjunction, *not only that but* is a word-like multi-word unit functioning as a phrasal connective adverbial with an additive meaning that creates cohesion between utterances.

If *not only that but* functions as a phrasal connective adverbial, that is, a conjunct, it should have the same syntactic characteristics as other conjuncts, as discussed in 2.3. The phrasal connective adverbial is not compatible with any of the syntactic structures that conjuncts do not occur in. For example, it is not gradable and therefore is unable to be modified by *very*, it is not likely to occur in the focus of a cleft sentence, it cannot be contrasted in alternative interrogation or negation, and it cannot be focused by subjuncts:

- (10) a. \*Very *not only that (but)*, I'm so thrilled to stand...  
 b. ?It is *not only that (but)* that I'm so thrilled to stand...  
 c. \*Am I so thrilled to stand before the people of America *not only that (but)* or in spite of that?  
 d. \*Only *not only that (but)*, I'm so thrilled to stand...

Furthermore, the phrasal connective adverbial can co-occur with another conjunct or a coordinating conjunction, which is shown by the concordance lines 1, 7, 10, 11, 12 and 13 in Figure 1. As easily seen from the examples given so far and Figure 1, *not only that but* has the propensity of standing at the beginning of a clause or sentence. This is one of the characteristics of conjuncts with the additive meaning, as mentioned in 2.3.

There seems to be one difference between the conjunctive use and the default use of *not only X but also Y*. In the conjunctive use, *also* is fairly unlikely to appear in the sequence. Only three examples of the contiguous sequence *not only that, but also* can be found in the COCA. This is probably explained by the clumsiness of the immediate juxtaposition of *also* with the phrasal connective adverbial. When *also* does not occur immediately after *but*, this clumsiness seems to be somewhat tolerable:

- (11) a. And not only that, you also hear a lot about like jobs and how illegal immigrants do the jobs that Americans won't do. (COCA)  
 b. And not only that, but you also want to know how many have been upheld. (COCA)

All the syntactic and semantic facts discussed in this section certainly point to the fact that *not only that but* characteristically serves the function of cohesively tying texts as a discourse organizer. Note that other correlative conjunctions such as *both X and Y* and *(n)either X (n)or Y* are never used as phrasal connective adverbials to serve such cohesive functions (e.g. *\*both that and...*). In other words, *not only that but* can cross sentence boundaries, whereas others cannot.

*Not only that but* can be used to add more to what his or her addressee has said, as in (13), as well as to what the speaker him/herself has said (12). In example (13), Hume finishes talking and then Williams takes a turn, using *not only that* to signal cohesion in the conversation. With this phrasal connective adverbial, Williams can naturally add extra information to what Hume has said:

- (12) If he stayed, he could become bigger, faster and stronger. Not only that, he could improve as a blocker and receiver [...]. (COCA)  
 (13) HUME: It is very hard for the government to win this..... I mean, not everyone in this business is on the same side and there is a little bit of that.

WILLIAMS: And not only that, I think the Microsoft has been pumping money into the Republican campaigns around the country.

(COCA)

Furthermore, *not only that* has acquired another use that other additive conjuncts do not have. In (14), *not only that* stands on its own. Note that other additive conjuncts do not fit naturally here. It is rather difficult to stop a sentence with a connective adverbial only (e.g. ??Well, *moreover*):

(14) MR-LEHRER: He left the Reagan administration because of a disagreement with Mr. Casey at the CIA, did he not?

SEC-HAIG: Well, not only that. I think the two of us were soul brothers in that administration.

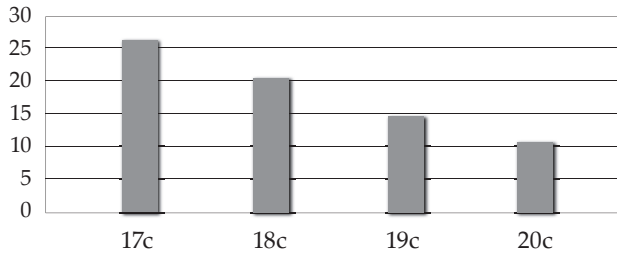
(COCA)

#### 4.2. Non-parallelism

In discussing the default uses of the correlative conjunction *not only X but also Y*, the prescriptive parallelism has been dealt with. However, the phrasal connective adverbial *not only that but* constitutes a clear breach of the rule that syntactically identical constituents have to occur in the X and Y positions, because the X and Y parts are filled by the demonstrative *that* and a sentence, respectively.

I searched *the Oxford English Dictionary* for quotations of *not only*, and about 2,900 examples were retrieved, all of which were manually checked and irrelevant data were eliminated. Figure 2 shows the proportions of non-parallel *not only X but also Y* constructions from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. As you can see, the steady decrease of non-parallelism can be identified, which suggest present-day English speakers are more likely to adhere to the parallelism. According to the *Merriam Webster English Usage* (p. 667), the prescriptive parallelism goes back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Through the history of the English language, parallelism itself has been obeyed. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, non-parallel structures accounts for just 10% of the occurrences of the correlative conjunction *not only X but also Y*.

**Figure 2. Non-parallelism in *not only X but (also) Y* in the OED quotations**



The Time Corpus includes more than 100 million words from Time Magazine texts from 1923 to the present. This corpus shows search results decade for decade and makes it possible to investigate how words, phrases, and grammatical constructions have increased or decreased in frequency over time. Table 2 shows the result of the search of the Time Corpus. The table shows that *not only that but* was already used in the 1920s. Why does the phrasal connective adverbial, with its non-parallel construction, enjoy such widespread use despite the more strict observance of parallelism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century?

**Table 2. Phrasal connective adverbial *not only that but* in the Time Corpus (Accessed 27 Dec. 2010)**

	1920s	1930s	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
not only that but	7	8	3	9	16	5	8	17	7

Phrases are chosen as a whole without regard to their internal structures. This is called the idiom principle (Sinclair 1991). Since a sequence of words is simultaneously chosen (not constructed word by word) to create a phrase regardless of its internal grammatical structure, it may sometimes be grammatically irregular. For example, the phraseological unit *by and large* does not show parallelism, although English grammar dictates that the coordinating conjunction *and* has to connect syntactically identical constituents. Although the phrasal connective adverbial *not only that but* does not show parallelism, it is a natural composite as a phraseological unit.

### 4.3. Variant forms

The correlative conjunction *not only X but also Y* has some variant forms, as discussed in 3.3, but their conjunct use cannot be attested in the BNC as often as the canonical counterpart. Among 1,260 examples of *not merely that* in the BNC, only one example shows its conjunctive use, as instantiated by (15), whereas *not just that* as a conjunct cannot be attested in the corpus. On the other hand, the COCA retrieves a few examples of *not just that but* as a phrasal connective adverbial, as in (16). The lack or scarcity of the variant forms can presumably be attributed to the unlikelihood that a new function derives first from less canonical forms:

- (15) I was uttering three distinct syllables: Lei-ces-ter Square. Not merely that, I was putting my strongest accent on the syllable that wasn't.  
(BNC)
- (16) a. Yes, we want the good things that are in it. And not just that, we have something to contribute, and this in a metaphorical sense, is somewhere to put the tallit prayer shawl.  
b. But how could he leave his family in their greatest time of need? Not just that, but he wanted to be with them more than he wanted his own life.

### 4.4. Newly formed phrasal connective adverbials in present-day English using the phrase-forming skeletons 'X + that' and 'that + X'

Other new phrasal connective adverbials have come into use in present-day English, though not yet with great frequency<sup>5</sup>. Examples include *that apart*, *that instead* and *alongside that*. The first two of them originate from *apart from that* and *instead of that*, respectively. Some illustrations are given below:

- (16) *apart from that* > *that apart*  
a. He might write one TV play, but apart from that he feels his work is done. (COCA)  
b. This whole thing has freaked him. Apart from that, he's fine. (COCA)

<sup>5</sup> Of course, frequency is one important factor to identify phraseological units; however, Biber et al. (2004: 377) point out the fact that the most frequently mentioned phrase *kick the bucket* is rarely attested in natural speech or writing. Notwithstanding that, the low frequency attested does not obliterate the 'phrase-ness' of the phrase. A particular sequence of words can be regarded as a phrase in terms of various criteria.

- c. Food was also strictly controlled and no sweets or biscuits were allowed in rooms. That apart, moral education was high on the agenda, followed with varying degrees of import by botany, languages and academic subjects. (BNC)
- d. I'll leave it to international lawyers to parse whether the plans by European nations to assist in training rebel forces are lawful under Resolution 1973. But that apart, help to the rebels is pretty much limited to bombing Gaddafi's forces along the Mediterranean.

(*Time*, May 9, 2011)

(17) *instead of that > that instead*

- a. He knew the town would approve of him if he should turn the man in. But instead of that, Ben helped the man hide in the swamps all summer; he shared food with him out of his own poor larder. (COCA)
- b. I don't want to have to tell my two daughters and five grandchildren that I had the opportunity to ensure that Social Security will be around for them and that instead, I passed it off to somebody else. (COCA)

Because their distribution, function, and meaning overlap, the existence of the newer forms may seem redundant. Why is it, then, that the new types of phrasal connective adverbials have emerged in present-day English? Their emergence can probably be explained by the principle of least effort (cf. Yagi and Inoue 2007). When given a choice of two phrases, the speaker will opt for the simpler construction consisting of fewer words, if the simpler phrase expresses the same meaning and does not make communication ambiguous. The speaker tends to express what they want to say, with the least effort. This is exemplified by the expression *a couple times*, which is a shortened form of *a couple of times*. The production of the former is less laborious. *That instead*, etc. are also produced effortlessly compared with the *of*-counterparts.

Another aspect that accelerates the use of the new phrasal connective adverbials is the division of labor to express meanings. The phrase *instead of that* has two functions in texts: one is the conjunctive use as discussed above, and the other is a quasi-coordinator within a sentence, exemplified by *what would you do instead of that?* The use of the phrase in this example can be schematized as X (*what*) *instead of* Y (*that*), in which X and Y are constituents that function as object of the verb (*do*) in the sentence. *Instead of* in this case behaves as if it were a coordinating conjunction. However, *that instead* is functionally restricted as a phrasal connective adverbial; that is, a discourse organizer. The same line of discussion also holds for the case of *that apart*. Such a newly emerging phrase as a result of division of labor



can disambiguate the functions of the phrase when its older counterpart has been used with some functions.

Furthermore, though spelled in two words, the new phrasal connective adverbials are formed in the same way as *therefore* (that is, the demonstrative plus the item which determines the meaning of the whole phrase). The mould '*that* + X' has been employed throughout the history of the English language to produce conjuncts. The mould, functioning as a type of phrase-forming skeleton, can be a fertile ground for creating new expressions such as *that apart*, *that instead* and *that said*. These phenomena are interesting in that such a phrasal mould exists at a more abstract level (like collocational frameworks (e.g. *for* + ? + *of* etc. (Renouf and Sinclair 1991)) and new concrete phrases are formed with the gap X filled by variants. Note that the demonstrative *that* plays an important role in the phrase-forming skeleton for phrasal connective adverbials. Without the referential item, the whole phrase cannot serve its function. *That* is important in terms of the function of the phrase, while the X-filler is important in determining the meaning of the whole phrase.

*Alongside*, which is a preposition of place and can describe paths (Lindstromberg 2010), is used with *that* as a phrasal connective adverbial with the meaning of additive:

(18) *alongside that*

- a. ... so that present-day features of the language can be shown to have been shaped by (and to continue to reflect) quite varied developments in the language at earlier times. Alongside that, regional and social variation in the language in our own day is only fully understandable when we come to see the language as also varying in the temporal, historical dimension. (BNC)
- b. For readers who are interested in thinking further about some of the issues and problems that we cover, we suggest a number of questions for discussion. Alongside that, we also provide some practical activities. (T. McEnery and A. Hardie, *Corpus Linguistics* (2012), p. xiv)

The English language has witnessed the development of some conjunctive adverbials from locative prepositions (e.g. *beside(s)* discussed by Risänen (2004)). Differently from *besides*, *alongside* itself has not yet assumed a role as a connective adverb. The phrase *alongside that* has extended its function to a more abstract (not locative) one as a phrasal connective adverbial. There is no doubt that '*X* + *that*' is also a phrase-forming skele-

ton for phrasal connective adverbials in English, as instantiated by *in spite of that*, *in addition to that*, *on top of that*, etc. Many of these phrases – with a few exceptions (e.g. \**on top* v.s. *in addition*) – do not allow the referential part to be deleted.

## 5. Conclusion

Language is in a state of constant change that proceeds below the threshold of conscious awareness. However, corpora provide us with a large amount of authentic data which make it possible to see ongoing language changes in more accurate and obvious ways. Investigating such data, we can realize some ongoing changes in some areas of grammar that have previously been considered static.

Conjuncts are never a closed class. All the expressions under scrutiny in this study demonstrate change that is happening within the English language. These expressions have evolved into phrasal connective adverbials that are formed with what can be called phrase-forming skeleton (i.e. '*that + X*' and '*X + that*'), and they serve as a discourse organizer to create cohesion in texts. These phrasal connective adverbials connect texts in a manner that displays the speaker's viewpoint. This is probably the same kind of change as that which occurs with the grammaticalisation of words whose functions change from propositional to textual in the history of English (Traugott 1982). Empirical studies using a phraseological approach to phrases and their formation can contribute much to neighboring areas of language studies such as grammaticalisation.

Furthermore, studies of English phrases can facilitate the studies of phrases in other languages. Fiedler (2012) points out the influence of English on German phraseology. For example, the German phrase *das gesagt* has been translated and imported from the English phrasal connective adverbial *that said*. In this connection, it is interesting to note here that during the question-answer session after my oral presentation of Sumiyoshi (2011), an audience member mentioned that no German counterpart expression appears to exist of the English phrasal connective adverbial *not only that but*. Although a Google search for *nicht nur das sondern* retrieves a large number of examples of this sequence of German words, further documentation and research are necessary to investigate the influence of English phraseological units on other languages. For such a study to be

meaningful, however, it is necessary to first have a robust understanding of English phrases.

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Corpora

[BNC] *The British National Corpus*. <http://corpus.byu.edu>

[COCA] *The Corpus of Contemporary American English*. <http://corpus.byu.edu>

[COHA] *The Corpus of Historical American English*. <http://corpus.byu.edu>

[Time Corpus] *The Time Magazine Corpus of American English*. <http://corpus.byu.edu>

## Frazeologiczne wyrażenia przysłówkowe o charakterze łączącym w języku angielskim

### STRESZCZENIE

Celem niniejszego artykułu, którego podstawę materiałową stanowią dane korpusowe, jest pokazanie, że kombinacje wyrazowe takie jak *not only that but*, *alongside that*, *that apart* i *that instead* zaczęły mieć nową funkcję: stały się one frazeologicznymi wyrażeniami przysłówkowymi o charakterze łączącym we współczesnym języku angielskim, tzn. spójnikami, co ilustruje następujące zdanie: *Not only that but they do have different ways of achieving their maximum personal utility*. Chociaż Greenbaum (1969) twierdzi, że spójniki tworzą zamkniętą klasę, jednak nie jest tak w tym przypadku. Wyrażenie *not only that but* wyraża relację dodawania i odnosi to, co jest mówione, do tego, co zostało uprzednio powiedziane. Jednostka *not only X but also Y* jako element zdaniotwórczy pierwotnie wyraża dodanie w zdaniu. Interesującym zagadnieniem badawczym jest sprawdzenie, czy wyrażenie *not only that but* jako element organizacji dyskursu przekracza granice zdania i tworzy spójność tekstów. Analiza materiału korpusowego wykazuje następujące prawidłowości: (i) Różne rodzaje połączeń wielowrazowych używane są jako przysłówkowe wyrażenia o charakterze łączącym we współczesnym języku angielskim. (ii) Wszystkie są regularnie tworzone według schematów 'X + that' i 'that + X', w których wolne miejsce wypełnia słowo lub kombinacja słów i całość funkcjonuje jako wyrażenie przysłówkowe o charakterze łączącym. (iii) W perspektywie historycznej omawiany wzór tworzenia wyrażeń przysłówkowych obserwowany był w fazie załączkowej rozwoju *therefore*. Język angielski wykorzystuje te schematy do tworzenia nowych wyrażeń przysłówkowych o charakterze łączącym. W artykule przedstawiono implikacje wynikające z analizy dla dalszych badań z zakresu frazeologii i innych dziedzin badawczych językoznawstwa.

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## Functions and Development of *you know what*

**ABSTRACT:** *You know what* has both non-parenthetical and parenthetical uses. While non-parenthetical *you know what* may serve as either a proposition-deleted interrogative or a deictic expression, parenthetical *you know what* may function as either a comment clause or a discourse marker. As an elliptical question with propositional meaning, it can be easily made complete according to the context. The item concerned in its deictic use performs like a pronoun, which is used to refer to a thing that the speaker cannot or does not want to specify. As a comment clause, *you know what* has scope over proposition and is primarily conveying the speaker's emphasis of the importance and newsworthiness of the upcoming proposition. *You know what* as a discourse marker has scope over discourse and contributes to the structure or coherence of the discourse. Grammaticalization is a way to relate these syntactically and semantic-pragmatically different uses of *you know what*.

**KEY WORDS:** *non-parenthetical, parenthetical, grammaticalization*

### 1. Introduction

You know what is variously used in spoken discourse, but it has received not much scholarly attention. A review of the previous research reveals that there are "two different kinds of approaches" (Inoue 2007: 137) to the item concerned.

It is found that *you know what* in dictionaries (e.g. LAAD, OALD, OED) is basically considered as a parenthetical, which is "used to emphasize what you are about to say" or "used to introduce new information" (LAAD 2000: 794). The definitions given in the dictionaries, however, are

not sufficiently phrased since they do not provide further description of the actual uses of *you know what* in conversation.

In Enfield (2003), it appears in the form of *you-know-what*, which clearly shows its status as a noun construction. The item is used as a “vacuous word”, the reference of which “is crucially dependent on the situation and the speakers’ common ground” (2003: 107). It is argued that with *you-know-what* the speaker communicates different reasons for “not saying the word for the thing in mind” (2003: 106). It may have “accusing force” and more often, it is used for the purpose of avoidance and conspiracy, as in “Did you bring any you-know-WHAT? (e.g. ‘marijuana’, to a party)” (2003: 106).

Inoue (2007) gives a more comprehensive description of *you know what*, including both the two different approaches mentioned above. She identifies 7 distinguishable functions of *you know what* as a proposition-deleted phraseological unit and argues that each function has its particular syntactic and phonetic features. Moreover, it is stated that the core function of *you know what* is intensification and the expansion from the core function to its extended functions can be ordered and illustrated as “emphasizer → mixture of the topic changer and emphasize → opener, topic changer → information supplier → hesitation filler” (2007: 149).

The present paper argues that *you know what* has both non-parenthetical and parenthetical uses. While non-parenthetical *you know what* may serve as either a proposition-deleted interrogative or a deictic expression, parenthetical *you know what* may function as either a comment clause or a discourse marker, as illustrated below:

- A. Elliptical interrogative: a proposition-deleted interrogative with only what retained, functioning the same as an interrogative without ellipsis
- (1) Mr. IZRAEL: Hold on. Let me say this. If there were a bunch of brown-faced people out there yelling and screaming and hollering, you know what? (Soundbite-of-laugh)  
 Mr. IZRAEL: Out would come the dogs, the hoses...  
 Mr. IFTIKHAR: Right. Right. Right.  
 (COCA: 2009 (090814) NPR\_TellMore)
- B. Noun construction: a deictic expression, referring to a thing that the speaker cannot or does not want to specify
- (2) HUME: That’s it for the panel, but stay tuned to see if John McCain can handle the inevitable questions about you know what.  
 (COCA: 2008 (080414) Fox\_Hume)

- C. Comment clause: a proposition modifier, denoting the speaker's emphasis of the importance and newsworthiness of the following proposition
- (3) President BARACK OBAMA: Our kids hopefully are watching and saying, you know what, there are no short cuts.  
(COCA: 2009 (090212) NPR\_NewsNotes)
- D. Discourse marker: a textual device, initiating or ending discourse, denoting cohesive relation between discourse segments or signaling discourse continuation
- (4) DAVE PRICE: Oh, this is going to be fun, I can't – oh, it's so cold. You know what, we got the studio warmed up to 45 degrees, because we're trying to save energy for CBS.  
(COCA: 2007 (20070207) CBS\_Early)

The focus of this study is describing the features and functions of *you know what* as a parenthetical in utterances like example (3) and (4) above on the basis of distinguishing between its parenthetical and non-parenthetical uses, and exploring its possible path of development in the process of grammaticalization.

The present study is empirical and adopts a bottom-up approach to give a linguistic description of *you know what*. All the data are taken from a selection of texts representing contemporary, semiformal or informal spoken American English from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (hereafter COCA).

## 2. Identifying the relevant item

As mentioned earlier, *you know what* has both parenthetical use and non-parenthetical use in spoken discourse. It is important to note that they are syntactically and semantic-pragmatically different.

### 2.1. Non-parenthetical *you know what*

*You know what* as a non-parenthetical may serve as a proposition-deleted interrogative or a deictic noun construction. On such occasions, *you know what* is not syntactically optional and it carries propositional content.

#### 2.1.1. Proposition-deleted interrogative

*You know what* in (1) above is syntactically integrated into the sentence structure and the removal of the construction will render the sentence incomplete, and thus is unmistakable in its non-parenthetical use. It is



observed that the proposition-deleted *you know what*, as in (1), is often used as a rhetorical interrogative<sup>1</sup>, with the answer immediately provided by the questioner. Clearly, *you know what* as a rhetorical interrogative may give the hearer a strong sense of anticipation and highlight the upcoming message the speaker wants to convey.

Proposition-deleted *you know what* may also serve as a genuine interrogative asked to seek an answer, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) KOTB: And Joy, usually you do see families kind of gaining weight together, but do you typically see them losing weight together?  
 Ms. BAUER: You do. You know what?  
 GIFFORD: The buddy system is so great, though, right?  
 (COCA: 2008 (080526) NBC\_Today)

Clearly, the proposition-deleted interrogatives discussed above, rhetorical or genuine, can be said to function the same as the interrogatives without ellipsis. In other words, it is easy to make the proposition-deleted interrogatives complete according to the context. *You know what* in (1) and (5) above, for instance, can be restated as follows respectively:

- (6) ... you know what? = ..., you know what would happen?  
 (7) You know what? = You know what the reason is?

It should be noted that, however, the instances where proposition-deleted *you know what* serves as an interrogative with propositional meaning are not common in my data; instead, it is usually used as a formulaic and parenthetical item, which will be discussed further below.

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<sup>1</sup> The term “rhetorical question” is used in a broad sense in this study. Such questions are asked merely for effect with no answer expected and the answer may be obvious or immediately provided by the questioner. The instances referred to as rhetorical questions in this research are termed as “ratiocinative questions” in Quirk et al. (1985: 826), which are different from the rhetorical questions in their typology. In Quirk et al., the rhetorical question, as in (1) below, is interrogative in structure, but has the force of a strong assertion, and it generally does not expect an answer; the ratiocinative question, as in (2), is self-addressed, and it resembles the rhetorical question in not expecting an answer from others.

(1) Can anyone doubt the wisdom of this action? (= Surely no one can doubt the wisdom of this action)

(2) What do I want to eat? Well, a roll will do.

In Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 867), the instances concerned belong to the category of “expository question”, which is used to direct the hearer’s attention to a question whose answer is about to be given by the speaker.



### 2.1.2. Deictic use of *you know what*

You know what in (2) above can be taken as a deictic expression, which performs like a pronoun. It has propositional meaning, referring to a thing that the speaker cannot or does not want to specify and it can be made clear in the specific context. It is obvious that *you know what* here is a syntactically integral element, which is an unambiguous case of non-parenthetical. The same characteristics also hold true in the following example.

- (8) LAUER: ... But if you dig into that food and it tastes like you know what, you may stay at that restaurant that one time, but you're not going back. ... (COCA: 2001 (20010401) CNN\_KingWknd)

It is observed that when the construction concerned is used as a deictic noun phrase, it also appears in the form *you-know-what* in my data, as in (9).

- (9) Justice SCALIA: ... you don't say he's punishing you. What's he punishing you for? He's trying to extract...  
STAHL: Because he thinks you are a terrorist, and he's going to beat the you-know-what out of you. (COCA: 2008 (080914) CBS\_Sixty)

As discussed in Enfield (2003), deictic *you know what* is typically used for the purpose of avoidance and conspiracy in natural conversation and the interpretation of the item is contextually determined. The reference of *you know what* in (8) and (9), for instance, can be made clear according to the context, as illustrated below:

- (10) ... it tastes like you know what = ... it tastes like something insipid/  
chewed tallow  
(11) ... beat the you-know-what out of you = beat the shit/hell out of you

### 2.2. Parenthetical *you know what*

Now, let us discuss the instances where you know what serves as a parenthetical. As shown in (3) and (4) above, *you know what* here is syntactically detached and optional.

Generally speaking, parenthetical items are syntactically flexible, which is a direct result of their loose attachment to the syntactic structure. In the case of *you know what*, it predominantly occurs in the sentence-initial or – medial position, as in (3) and (4) above, and sometimes, as in the following example, it appears to be an independent unit because the speaker is interrupted.

- (12) HANNITY: We ought to be opening the jails in America. All perjurers get set free. All people who coach witnesses get free. All people who file false affidavits. We should set every single one of them free because Tony Coelho supports breaking the rule of law, and he backs up a president who does these things...  
 COELHO: You know what?  
 HANNITY:... and even if...  
 COELHO: Sean...  
 HANNITY:... we had it on video, you'd support him because you're...  
 COELHO: Sean... (COCA: 1999 (19990122) Fox\_HC)

Moreover, it should be noted that parenthetical *you know what* contributes little to the propositional content; instead it plays an important role in facilitating the communication, which will be discussed in detail in the following section.

### 3. Functions of *you know what* as a parenthetical

Taking the scope of modification and specific functions into consideration, we may find that parenthetical *you know what* can be used as either a comment clause or a discourse marker. While the former has scope over proposition and is primarily subjective in meaning (evaluative and reinforcing), the latter has scope over discourse and is textually significant.

#### 3.1. Comment clause use

In the following examples *you know what* serves as a comment clause, which conveys the speaker's evaluation of the following proposition. More specifically speaking, it denotes the speaker's emphasis of the importance and newsworthiness of the upcoming information and signals to the hearer that what follows deserves notice. In this case, *you know what* is typically found in sentence-medial position, as shown in the example below:

- (13) Mr. RAY:... as we begin to recondition – this is a great opportunity for all of us, it really is, to find our inspiration. I – you know, I have met numerous people who have taken jobs and they've said, you know what, I got laid off and I stepped back and I really thought about what am I good at, what am I unique at, what...  
 (COCA: 2009 (090224) NBC\_Today)

Moreover, it is found that *you know what* as a comment clause often occurs in the contrastive environment signaled by *but*. Note the following example.

- (14) BROWN: That's amazing. So you were able to get these kids to the Dominican Republic and get them help?  
 S. BURNETTE: Absolutely. We put them in two pickup trucks. We had sheets and blankets and pads in the back of the truck, took some of our Haitian nurses with us and didn't know if we could make it across the border or not. People told us the border was closed, but you know what, the doors just opened. They waved us on through, ...  
 (COCA: 2010 (100115) CNN\_Brown)

As illustrated in the instances above, *you know what* as a comment clause works on the level of clause or sentence, conveying the speaker's comments on the following proposition itself. Put differently, it does not link directly back to a prior utterance (Traugott, Dasher 2002: 155) and its function is primarily subjective rather than textual.

### 3.2. Discourse marker use

*You know what* in the examples below serves as a discourse marker, which works on the level of discourse and is textually significant. It focuses on the relation among discourse units and primarily contributes to the structure or coherence of the discourse. To be more specific, *you know what* may be used to initiate or close discourse, denote cohesive relation across utterances (causal, elaborative or topic-shifting), or signal discourse continuation.

#### 3.2.1. Boundary marker

As shown in the following examples, *you know what* may play an important role in marking boundaries in conversation, namely, initiating or closing discourse.

##### A. *You know what* can be used to initiate discourse.

In (15), Hayworth initiates his response to Brown's question with *you know what*.

- (15) BROWN: Congressman, let me switch gears for a moment here. In an interview last month, you still seemed to have some doubts about whether President Obama is an American citizen. And I just want to get you on the record on this. Is he or isn't he, in your view?

HAYWORTH: You know what? The only people raising that question, Campbell, with all due respect, are people in the media. ...

(COCA: 2010 (100215) CNN\_Brown)

Observe another example, which illustrates a different situation. In (16), Liasson intends to initiate discourse with *you know what*, which is somewhat ignored and overlapped in the crosstalk. He continues his turn after another speaker realizes that he is interrupted.

- (16) HUME:... does anybody doubt that he believes it? You don't doubt he believes it. BARNES: Oh, I'm certain – he certainly does believe it.  
KONDRACKE: I think he believes...  
LIASSON: You know...  
KONDRACKE:... that there is a chance. I mean, I don't think he believes that he's really going to do it.  
HUME: Yeah, he said on this broadcast...  
LIASSON: You know what?

HUME:... a chance to be president of the United States – I'm sorry. Go ahead, Mara. LIASSON: Yeah, and you know, let's not forget one other thing. He's got to win the Reform Party nomination. ...

(COCA: 1999 (19991025) Fox\_Hume)

The same characteristics can be seen in (12) above. With *you know what*, the participant (Coelho) intends to gain his position as a speaker and initiate discourse.

**B.** *You know what* can also be used to close discourse.

In (17), we see that *you know what* serves the function of closing a talk.

- (17) ZYLA VICKERS: So it's too bad from a diplomatic point of view and the U.S. would prefer it. But it wouldn't be an error to go forward when, you know, we kind of have the cards on the table already with the, you know, the French (UNINTELLIGIBLE) for their, you know, less than pure reasons.  
NEVILLE: You know what, Adam, I know you have some thoughts. You know what, Adam, I have to take a break here.

(COCA: 2003 (20030305) CNN\_Talkback)

As illustrated above, *you know what* serves the function of marking boundaries in conversation and contributing to the structure of the discourse. It is found that *you know what* can also be used as a cohesive device, which has a clear reference to a prior discourse segment and signals cohesive or discourse relation between the current utterance and the prior discourse seg-

ment, namely, causal, elaborative or topic-shifting. Clearly, *you know what* as a cohesive device contributes to the coherence of the discourse and facilitates the hearer's interpretation, which will be discussed further below.

### 3.2.2. Marker of justification

As shown in (18), *you know what* may be used to denote a causal relation. What follows *you know what* in this case provides the reason or ground for the propositional content contained in the previous utterance. *You know what* here can be roughly paraphrased as *because* or *since*.

- (18) COLIN GILLESPIE, LEGO: ... Scanners ready. Good job. It's starting to setup. I click on „Install CardScan“ – nice sound effects. It might be particularly nice to look at some of the other toys. I think this might take a while. You know what, I can't seem to install the CardScan. ...  
(COCA: 2003 (20030209) CNN\_Business)

The example below is another one in which *you know what* is used as a marker signaling causal discourse relation.

- (19) DOBBS: There's a man who knows his leverage buyouts  
DORFMAN: Right. You bet. And he must be feeling great today. You know what, he pulled off the public offering of Safeway Stores. It came out at 11-1/4 and went to a premium, although he originally pitched a price of 16. ... (COCA: 1990 (19900426) CNN\_Moneyline)

### 3.2.3. Marker of elaboration<sup>2</sup>

*You know what* may be used to signal elaborative discourse relation. To be more specific, what follows *you know what* is an addition to or a refine-

<sup>2</sup> It is found that the elaborative relation, "in which the message of S2 parallels and possibly augments or refines the message of S1" (Fraser 1999: 948), is rather comprehensive. A range of possible subtypes (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Quirk et al. 1985; Halliday 1994; Fraser 1999; Schourup 1999), are illustrated below:

(A) Addition:

(a) Parallel: *and*

(b) Reinforcing: *in addition, moreover, what is more, above all, to top it (all)*, etc.

(B) Refinement:

(a) Clarifying: *I mean, namely, that is (to say)*, etc.

(b) Exemplifying: *for example, for instance, to illustrate*, etc.

(c) Corrective: *or rather, more precisely, to be more precise*, etc.

(d) Distractive: *by the way, incidentally*, etc.

(e) Summative: *(all) in all, in short, in conclusion, to conclude, to sum up*, etc.

ment in some way of the previous statement and it can be interpreted as *moreover*, *I mean*, *for example*, etc. in different contexts.

A. With *you know what*, the speaker introduces an additional aspect he/she considers worth mentioning so as to add something important to what he/she has said before. In this case, *you know what* is synonymous with *moreover* or *what is more*.

Observe the following example.

- (20) ELLEN LEVINE: It's called Pantene's Moisturizing Curl Shaper. Only \$7.53. And you're all smooth.  
 ROBIN ROBERTS: (Off-Camera) It's like a raincoat for your hair?  
 ELLEN LEVINE: Yeah, it's like a rain, that's good.  
 ROBIN ROBERTS: (Off-Camera) I know.  
 ELLEN LEVINE: I like that. It's like a raincoat for your hair, and you could have used it then. You know what, it's good in the winter, too.  
 ROBIN ROBERTS: (Off-Camera) It is as well.

(COCA: 2004 (20040629) ABC\_GMA)

B. *You know what* introduces a more specific characterization or a clarifying account of the previous utterance and it can be roughly interpreted as *I mean*, or *that is*.

Example (21) is taken from a program in which Ms. Moreno is showing how to conduct a great Easter egg hunt. It is obvious that what follows *you know what* is a specific account of the previous *keep it simple*.

- (21) LAUER: ... Hey, Robyn. Happy Easter to you.  
 Ms. ROBYN MORENO: Happy Easter. How are you?  
 LAUER: What do you do, keep it simple? Or do you like complicated hunts?  
 Ms. MORENO: No, keep it simple. You know what, to have a memorable Easter egg hunt you don't have to go crazy, spend a lot of money. Just to get to the box, you know. It's spring, supposedly. It's a little chilly.

(COCA: 2008 (080321) NBC\_Today)

C. *You know what* signals an illustrative account and it may be glossed *for example*, or *to illustrate*.

In (22), *you know what* is used to introduce an illustration of an earlier point, namely, Obama adopted a lot from Bush's administration, such as surveillance techniques.

- (22) BECK: ...It was supposed to come to an end, but no, under Barack Obama it's – he's already on pace to sign far more executive orders than the evil George Bush did. He also adopted many of Bush's terror policies, war strategies, surveillance techniques. You know what? Last week, somebody in the administration said that Americans have, quote, „no reasonable expectation of privacy on your cell phone.“ Really? He tells us how much of a mess he inherited from the last president. ... (COCA: 2010 (100215) Fox\_Beck)

### 3.2.4. Marker of topic shift

*You know what* in the examples below serves as a marker of topic shift. What *you know what* initiates may be either a shift of the focus or perspective on the current topic or a return to the topic discussed earlier after a short digression. It is obvious that *you know what* as a topic shifter marks a more global relation, since it serves to “relate a single utterance to a property of a longer stretch of discourse” (Schourup 1999: 257).

A. *You know what* denotes a change in focus or direction, and there is no return to the prior topic.

The conversation in (23) has been on Obama's performance in the first 50 days of his term. With *you know what*, Mr. Izrael initiates a new topic about RNC chair Michael Steele.

- (23) MARTIN: ... So I think this is an interesting argument to follow, and clearly Ruben and Warren Buffet- his guru – have laid out one argument, and the president's laid out another, and we'll see who's right. I think it's an interesting question.  
Mr. IZRAEL: All right, keep it in motion. You know what, RNC chair Michael Steele, he's in hot water again. The comments he made in GQ Magazine about homosexuals and abortion, now, you know, he's being compared to Woody Allen's enigmatic, schizophrenic Zelig for those movie fans out there, man,' cause he is everywhere. Yo, we got some tape right here, right? (COCA: 2009 (090313) NPR\_TellMore)

B. *You know what* signals a return to a prior topic after a short digression.

The example below is taken from a program in which Chef John Gray is challenged to prepare for the guests a three-course meal on a recession-proof budget of thirty-five bucks. The conversation prior to example (24) is on how to make warm banana nut bread. With *you know what*, Priya David continues the prior topic about the delicious dessert Chef John Gray has



made after the participants talking temporarily in a joking manner about the budget and trying it again in John Gray's kitchens in Mexico.

- (24) ERICA HILL: Okay. And then we have to throw them in. All right. Lets see how we did  
 JOHN GRAY: Little bit of the chicken.  
 ERICA HILL: – with the old menu. The thirty-five-dollar budget, your grand total, thirty-four dollars eighty-six cents, fine showing. Are you on the leaderboard? Oh.  
 JOHN GRAY: Missed.  
 ERICA HILL: Not at the top three but you what I think that means? That maybe we should all go to Mexico and try it again.  
 PRIYA DAVID: Next week.  
 ERICA HILL: I think its not a bad idea.  
 PRIYA DAVID: Oh, thank you. You know what? I want that dessert.  
 (Cross-talking) ERICA HILL: Its fantastic.

(COCA: 2009 (090627) CBS\_Early)

### 3.2.5. Hesitation filler

There are also some instances in which *you know what* serves the function of filling a pause, which denotes utterance continuation and contributes to the coherence and stream of the discourse. It is found that, however, there are not many instances in which *you know what* functions as a hesitation filler in my data.

In (25), the repetition of *it was* further indicates *you know what* in this case serves as a hesitation filler, which fills a silence and provides the speaker with verbal planning time.

- (25) QUIST ARCTON: You know, I come from Ghana, Neal, so it was home from (unintelligible) it was, you know what, it was a delightful and very positive story because it was the first country in sub-Saharan Africa ...

(COCA: 2009 (091112) NPR\_TalkNat)

The speaker in (26) cuts off her utterance and resumes talk after *you know what* with an alternative syntactic structure. It is obvious that *you know what* is used to provide the speaker with verbal planning time to rephrase what she wants to say when she finds that she cannot finish that with the original sentence structure.



- (26) GIFFORD: What was their take on it in Dubai?  
 KOTB: It was, you know what, there you get sort of CNN, BBC and all the rest, so they just sort of reported it the way...  
 (COCA: 2009 (090727) NBC\_Today)

To conclude this section, *you know what* as a discourse marker is multifunctional and is primarily textually significant. Unlike its comment clause use, which focuses on the relation between the speaker and the following proposition and expresses his/her subjective evaluation and emphasis of the proposition, *you know what* as a discourse marker focuses on the relation between discourse segments and contributes to the structure or coherence of the discourse.

#### 4. Development of *you know what*

So far we have discussed the features and uses of *you know what* as a non-parenthetical and a parenthetical. They are syntactically and semantic-pragmatically different but closely related to each other. The present paper puts forward tentatively a hypothesis that discourse marker *you know what* may derive from the full interrogatives containing *you know what*. It can be said to follow the cline “full interrogative > rhetorical interrogative > proposition-deletion rhetorical interrogative > comment clause > discourse marker” in the process of grammaticalization. What is involved in the process includes decategorialization, desemantization, pragmatic strengthening, increased scope of modification and subjectification.

##### 4.1. Full interrogative

*You know what* may first appear in full interrogatives which fall into the pattern of “Do you know what ...?”. It is observed that such instances, as in (27), are usually used as genuine interrogatives or inquires with the auxiliary verb *do* as the operator.

- (27) JOSTAD: And do you know what they were looking for or what they took from your home?  
 SMITH: Yes, they were just looking for everything that was inside of our computers and inside our phones. ...  
 (COCA: 2010 (100115) CNN\_Grace)

The interrogatives falling into this pattern may also be used as rhetorical questions, as in (28) below, with the answer immediately provided by the questioner, but such instances are not common in my data (less than 20 percent).

- (28) KOTB: And do you know what that means? Fifteen drinks a week.  
That's light to moderate. (COCA: 2009 (090122) NBC\_Today)

It is obvious that *you know* here is not directly connected to what. Put differently, *you know what* cannot be treated as a fixed and independent unit. The non-fixed *you know what* participates in syntactic structure and has scope within proposition. Moreover, it carries concrete propositional content which is composed of the meaning of each component.

#### 4.2. Rhetorical interrogative

The pattern “Do you know what ...?” is changed into “You know what ...?” with the interrogative operator *do* somehow dropped. The motivation for the deletion of *do* may be communicating with the least effort. It is found that the instances falling into the pattern “You know what ...?”, as in the following example, are predominantly used as rhetorical interrogatives<sup>3</sup> (over 90 percent). The pattern becomes somewhat freezing in form with the elimination of the auxiliary verb *do* and fixing in tense<sup>4</sup>.

- (29) LISA SYLVESTER CN: ... This is an icy version of the American dream. There are four rooms, television, and surround-sound stereo. But you know what his favorite part is? It's his beer never goes warm. Not bad at all. (COCA: 2010 (100215) CNN\_Situation)

#### 4.3. Proposition-deleted rhetorical interrogative

The rhetorical interrogatives containing *you know what* is changed into *you know what* by the deletion of the rest of the position with only *what* retained, as shown in example (1) discussed earlier. It should be noted that not all propositions can be deleted with only *what* retained. Observing the proposition-deleted *you know what* which functions the same as the full rhetorical interrogative in my data, we may find that it seems reasonable to say that the propositions in which *what* serves as the complement, object or subject rather than the determiner (with *what* as a pronoun

<sup>3</sup> It is observed that the instances falling into the pattern “You know what ...?” may also be used as genuine request for information, as in the example below:

(1) DIANE SAWYER: (Off-camera) Congratulations. How about with you and your mom? You know what kinds of drugs she was doing? (COCA: 2009 (090213) ABC\_20/20)

<sup>4</sup> The pattern “Do you know what ...?” can also be used in past tense, namely, “Did you know what ...?”, in the cases of seeking for an answer from the hearer.

rather than an interrogative adjective) are easier to be dropped<sup>5</sup>. *What* on such occasions is used to refer to the situation that is to be specified (new information). Put differently, *what* is the message the speaker wants to convey. The interrogative clause is reduced to the interrogative phrase alone, which represents the whole proposition.

Clearly, the proposition-deleted *you know what* has the same propositional meaning as the rhetorical interrogative without ellipsis and it can be easily made complete according to the context. It is important to point out that *you know what* cannot be considered as a formulaic item in this stage although it appears so.

#### 4.4. Comment clause

The proposition-deleted rhetorical interrogative develops into a formulaic parenthetical item, or to be more specific, a comment clause, which conveys the speaker's subjective evaluation of the following proposition as the result of decategorialization and desemanticization. *You know what* is decategorialized in the sense that it loses the ability to serve as a constituent in the sentence structure and becomes an optional particle-like parenthetical item. In addition to decategorialization, it also undergoes desemanticization in its evolution. More specifically speaking, the item loses its concrete propositional meaning and assumes a more abstract meaning, namely, expressing the speaker's emphasis of the importance and newsworthiness of the upcoming proposition. Clearly, the item evinces an increase of subjectification. What is also involved in this process is increased scope of modification and syntactic freedom. As a comment clause, *you know what* has scope over proposition and it is syntactically flexible and optional.

#### 4.5. Discourse marker

Discourse marker *you know what* can be seen as a later development in the process of grammaticalization. Comment clause *you know what* is further desemanticized and pragmatically enriched. It works on a more global level and its primary function is no longer to convey the speaker's emphasis of the following proposition. Instead, it evinces an increase of

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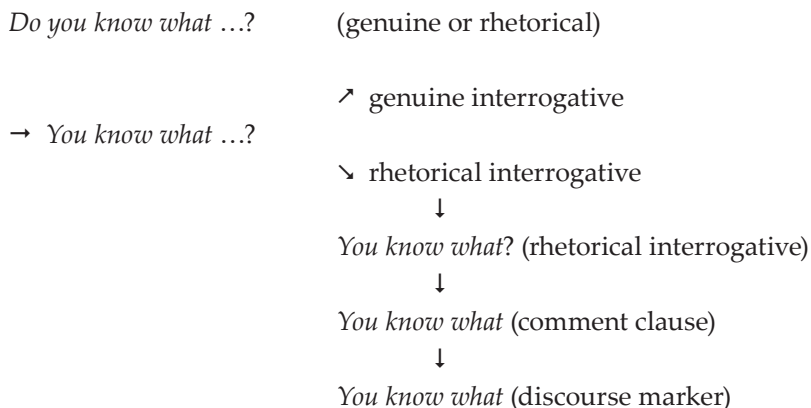
<sup>5</sup> The findings in my data are also supported by what is found in the previous research and dictionaries. In OED, *you know what* is seen as an elliptical form of *you know what it is/what is the truth of the matter/ what is the thing to do*, and in Yagi (2002), it is considered as a construction resulting from the ellipsis of *what actually happened*, or *what the truth was*, etc.

procedural significance and primarily serves as a textual device contributing to discourse structure or coherence.

Similar to what is observed in the development of other discourse markers, the different textual functions of *you know what* can be seen as the generalized and conventionalized contextual uses or pragmatic implicatures of its comment clause use through frequent occurrence (Cf. Aijmer; Simon-Vandenberghe 2004). *You know what* may be employed in various contexts in which the speaker thinks it is necessary to emphasize the importance and newsworthiness of what he/she is going to say. It is often used, for instance, when the speaker intends to gain the position as a speaker and initiate discourse. It is then gradually accorded procedural significance and can be used as an initiator marking the boundary of discourse.

Admittedly, we cannot deny the existence of the subjective meaning in the instances where *you know what* is interpreted as a discourse marker (even in the case of hesitation filler). It is important to point out that, however, *you know what* on such occasions is primarily functioning as a textual device, which contributes to the structure or coherence of the discourse, rather than expressing the speaker's emphasis of what he/she wants to say. It is argued that the discourse marker functions of *you know what* develop from but are over and above its evaluative and reinforcing use as a comment clause.

The development of *you know what* from a full interrogative containing *you know what* to a discourse marker can be illustrated as follows:



## 5. Conclusion

*You know what* is variously used in spoken discourse. It may serve as a proposition-deleted interrogative, a noun construction, a comment clause, or a discourse marker, which are syntactically and semantic-pragmatically different. As an elliptical interrogative, it has propositional content and can be easily made complete according to the context. In this case, *you know what* may be used as a rhetorical question or less often a genuine inquiry for information. As a comment clause, it has clause scope and is primarily used to convey the speaker's emphasis of the importance and newsworthiness of the following proposition. *You know what* as a discourse marker works on the level of discourse. It may play an important role in marking boundaries in conversation, namely, initiating or closing discourse. It can be used to signal causal or elaborative discourse relationship across utterances, or mark a topic shift at a more global level. In addition, *you know what* may also function as a hesitation filler, denoting utterance continuation. Clearly, *you know what* as a discourse marker can be said to contribute to the structure and coherence of the discourse and it is textually significant. The different uses of *you know what* are distinct from but closely related with each other. They can be taken as different stages of *you know what* in the process of grammaticalization, which is a way to incorporate all these uses.

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## Funkcje i rozwój wyrażenia *you know what*

### STRESZCZENIE

Wyrażenie *you know what* ma zarówno nieparentetyczne, jak i parentetyczne zastosowania. Nieparentetyczne wyrażenie *you know what* może być użyte albo jako pytanie, albo jako połączenie wyrazowe o charakterze wskazującym, natomiast parentetyczne *you know what* może funkcjonować jako fraza komentująca lub operator metatekstowy. Jako eliptyczne pytanie wyrażenie to może być łatwo przekształcone w pełne w danym kontekście. Omawiana jednostka w zastosowaniu deiktycznym funkcjonuje jak zaimek, używany w odniesieniu do rzeczy, której mówiący nie umie lub nie chce nazwać konkretnie. Jako fraza komentująca *you know what* głównie wyraża nacisk mówiącego na znaczenie i atrakcyjność informacyjną kolejnego wypowiedzenia. Jednostka *you know what* jako operator metatekstowy jest elementem dyskursu i buduje spójność tekstu. Gramatyzacja łączy te syntaktycznie i semantyczno-pragmatycznie różne użycia wyrażenia *you know what*.

2.

## Lexicography & Phraseology





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## **Chinese and Western Works on Chinese Phraseology: a Historical Perspective**

**ABSTRACT:** The last decades have seen an impressive increase in monolingual and multilingual studies on Chinese phraseology. While the definition and delimitation of this field have been debated essentially during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, descriptions of different phraseological forms existed throughout the history of Chinese linguistic studies. This article aims to retrace the essential trends of the development of Chinese phraseological studies, focusing on the relationship between these studies and traditional Chinese philology (especially lexicography and glossography), and underlining the interplay between Western and Chinese linguistic traditions in this field. Some recent developments of contemporary phraseological studies as well as the links with other fields of linguistics in China are taken into account.

**KEY WORDS:** *history of Chinese linguistics, Chinese paremiology, historical phraseology, collocations*

### **1. Introduction**

As in other traditions of linguistic studies (Doyle 2007: 1078), the history of phraseology in China is essentially constituted by the history of paremiology.

According to Fu Huaqing (1996: 329), the first paremiographical works can be traced back to the Eastern Han dynasty (25AD–220AD), when the *Tongsuwen* 通俗文 *Popular Expressions* by Fu Qian 服虔 appeared. Given that this work has been lost, the first monographs on paremiology today available date back to the Song dynasty: the anonymous (Fu 1996: 320) *Shichangtan* 释常谈 *Explanations of Common Sayings* and the *Xushichangtan*

续释常谈 *Sequel of the Explanations of Common Sayings* by Gong Yizheng 龚颐正.

During the Ming dynasty (1328-1644), Yang Shen 杨慎 (1488–1559) compiled the *Gujinyan* 古今谚 *Ancient and Modern Proverbs*.

This field flourished during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), when several compilations appeared, as Du Wenlan's 杜文澜 *Guyaoyan* 古谣谚 *Ancient Sayings*, Huo Hao's 霍灏 *Tongsupian* 通俗篇 *Popular expressions*, Qian Daxin's 钱大昕 *Hengyanlu* 恒言录 *Recordings of Everlasting sayings*, Zheng Zhihong's 郑志鸿 *Changyu xunyuan* 常语寻源 *Origins of Common Sayings*.

Proverbs and idiomatic expressions were also recorded and analyzed in other kinds of linguistic and philological works. Records of proverbs can be dated back to the pre-Qin literature (Rohsenow 2001: 153), and idiomatic expressions have been largely present in lexicographical works as well as in stylistic treatises (Fu 1996: 328).

In these works, a large spectrum of locutions have been collected or analyzed.

Different categories are usually considered part of Chinese phraseology. The terms *shuyu* 熟语 and *shuyuxue* 熟语学, largely adopted for phraseology since the 1980s, are generally considered inclusive of the following forms (Fu 1996: 320; Xu 2000: 276): the *chengyu* 成语, indicating four character literary expressions, even though the term is sometimes used to designate idioms in general (Sabban 1979: 33); the *geyan* 格言 maxims or aphorisms; the *yanyu* 谚语, generally translated as proverbs, designating "an oral form consisting of complete sentences" (Rohsenow 2001: 151); the *xiehouyu* 歇后语 "enigmatic folk similes" or "truncated witticisms" in Rohsenow's definition (2002: xiii), or "proverbe calembouresque" in Sabban's translation (1979: 7); the *guanyongyu* 惯用语 that Rohsenow defines as "idiom, in the technical linguistic sense of a group of words used invariantly whose meaning cannot be determined by the sum of its parts" (2002: xiii).

Other terms are often used in reference to Chinese phraseology, like *suyu* 俗语 "proverbial expressions" (Rohsenow 2001: 150) or *xiyu* 习语 (Xu 2000: 276) "idiomatic expressions".

The categorization of these forms, the terminology and the delimitation of phraseological studies are still matter of debate (Xu 2000: 276).

Besides this ancient and rich tradition of Chinese monolingual studies, bilingual, multilingual and contrastive works on phraseology represent a relatively recent but relevant development.

## 2. The encounter of two traditions: bilingual and contrastive works

The first works on Chinese paremiology written in Western languages can be traced back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The end of the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) saw an increase in contacts between Western countries and China, as well as a significant presence of Western missionaries and diplomats in China. From the point of view of linguistic and didactic studies, this promoted the compilation of works on the Chinese language, such as bilingual dictionaries, bilingual reference grammars, learning grammars and language textbooks, meeting the needs of an increasing number of foreigners eager to learn Chinese.

Several sections dedicated to proverbs and idiomatic expressions were included in these works. This inclusion was motivated by different reasons. First of all, missionaries and diplomats proposed proverbs and idiomatic expressions in their works as a tool of language learning, i.e. a way of memorizing words and phrases, following the Western didactic tradition they were used to (Puren 1988: 66). Secondly, we can mention the importance of proverbial expressions in written and oral communications as well as the missionaries' interest for idiomatic expressions in transmitting Christian faith (Doolittle 1872: 491–498).

The first bilingual collection of idiomatic expressions can probably be found in the *Notitia linguae sinicae*, by the Jesuit missionary J. H. de Prémare, compiled in 1732, but published in 1831, one of the first grammars of Chinese. In this work we find two sections grouping idiomatic expressions: in the first part, dedicated to the vernacular language, the *Collectio proverbiorum* lists locutions consisting of 3 up to 9 characters, with Latin transcription and Latin translation for each entry; in the second part, dedicated to classical Chinese, the *Elegantiorum locutionum collectio* consists of a long list of expressions, with Latin translation.

The learning grammar *Arte China constante de alphabeto e grammatica* by the Lazarist missionary J. A. Gonçalves, published in 1829, represents another example: the section *Proverbios* (the Chinese title being *Suyu* 俗語) groups Chinese proverbs with Portuguese equivalents.

A more detailed presentation of Chinese idioms can be found in the monumental *Cursus litteraturae sinicae* by the Jesuit missionary A. Zottoli. The fourth volume, published in 1880, includes the section *Allusiones litterariae* (in Chinese *Diangu* 典故), consisting of almost 1,500 locutions, organized in 40 thematic sections, such as *cæli res*, *terræ orbis*, *temporis ordo*,

*parentes et filii, corpus, domus, animalia*. For each entry, the Latin translation is given, often followed by some explanations on the sources and the history of the expression.

The French missionary Paul Perny also dedicated two sections of his *Grammaire de la langue chinoise orale et écrite* (1873–1876) to the Chinese phraseology, the *Idiotismes de la langue orale* and the *Idiotismes de la langue écrite*. Perny indicated the Latin transcriptions (with tones) of the entries, the literal translations, the French equivalents, where existent, and remarks on the ways of using these locutions.

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, bilingual works entirely dedicated to paremiology also appeared, the main cases being the works of J. Doolittle and P. Perny.

The *Proverbes chinois recueillis et mis en ordre* by P. Perny, Chinese title *Zhongguo suyü* 中国俗语, was published in 1869 in Paris. This work lists proverbial expressions in 21 thematic sections, like *Proverbes sur le Ciel*, *Sur l'Etude*, *Sur la Brièveté de la vie*, *Sur la Discrétion de paroles*, *Sur le Soins de sa perfection*, *Sur l'Education*. For each entry, the French translation or equivalent is given (Latin equivalents are sometimes added).

Other examples can be found in Justus Doolittle's *Vocabulary and Handbook of the Chinese Language, Romanized in the Mandarin Dialect* (Chinese title *Ying-han cuilin yunfu* 英漢萃林韻府), published in 1872. The second volume consists of a long series of glossaries, including terminological glossaries (for instance, dedicated to diplomatic, nautical, mathematical or chemical terminologies) and paremiological glossaries.

Among the different glossaries dedicated to paremiology, we can mention: the "400 proverbs and plain or metaphorical terms by Rev. C. C. Baldwin", the "200 proverbs from Ningpo by Rev. Arthur E. Moule", the "Proverbs from Tientsin", the "Metaphorical and proverbial sentences arranged by the Editor," the "Foochow, Shanghai and Tientsin Proverbs collected by the Editor", the "Book Phrases and proverbs used by preachers, translated and arranged by Schmidt".

Paremiography was not the only form of phraseological studies in these sinological works. In the grammars and dictionaries appeared in this period, several passages or sections were dedicated to more or less fixed combinations of words.

For instance, J. Edkins included in *A Grammar of Colloquial Chinese as Exhibited in the Shanghai Dialect*, published in Shanghai in 1853, the section *Collocations of verbs*, analyzing several combinations of verb plus verb or verb plus adjective.

Different examples can also be found in bilingual or multilingual dictionaries.

One of the first Chinese-European language dictionaries, the 18<sup>th</sup> century Chinese-Latin dictionary *Hanzi xiyi* 汉字西译, by Basilio Brollo, begins with the *dazi lianyu* 打字连语, a sort of table of collocations of the character *da* 打, arranged by alphabetical order.

The *Dictionnaire chinois, français et latin* (1813) edited by J. de Guignes, proposes a similar list of word combinations in the section entitled *Caractères joints avec le mot tà*, containing 119 entries.

Other interesting examples can be found in the dictionaries of Western languages written in Chinese.

In the *Introduction to idiomatic phrases* of Kwong Ki-chiu's (Kuang Qizhao 邗其照) *A Dictionary of English Phrases with Illustrative Sentences*, published in 1881, the author underlined his interest for "particular kind of idioms" which he defines, using the words of G. P. Marsh, as "verbal combinations, the purport of which [...] can not be gathered from the meaning of the several members that compose them" (1881: xviii).

As specified in the *Preface*, this was one of the first dictionaries adding the "comparative frequency" of the phrases, "indicated by letters marked in parenthesis".

This dictionary had a large influence not only in China but also in other Asian countries. For instance, the Japanese version edited by Eigaku Shinshisha was published in 1899 under the title of *Ei-Wa sōkai jukugo dai-jū* 英和双解熟語大字彙.

*The Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases* (Chinese title *Han-ying chengyu cilin* 汉英成语辞林), by J. M. Dixon, Chen Yinming and Yan Huiqing, published in 1909, constituted another example of dictionary focused on expressions and phrases instead of single words or characters.

In this period, Chinese lexicography, which can be considered one of most ancient and rich lexicographical traditions in the world, underwent rapid changes. The Qing dynasty saw the development of bilingual lexicography, a shift of focus from characters (*zi* 字) to words (*ci* 词) and an increasing importance recognized to words in context. These elements can be found just as much in the bilingual dictionaries as in the bilingual grammars and primers of the period.

### 3. 20<sup>th</sup> century developments of Chinese phraseology

During the last century, phraseological studies underwent significant developments. Phraseology emerged as a branch of linguistics, linked to the development of lexicology (Xu: 275; Fu: 320).

According to Wen and Wen (2009), the history of phraseology in China can be divided into four phases: ancient studies, from pre-Qin times up to Qing dynasty times (1644–1911); the period going from the May Fourth Movement (1919) to the foundation of the People's Republic of China (1949); the period from 1949 to the Cultural Revolution; the New Period (*xin shiqi* 新时期) following the Open door policy, launched in 1978.

While, as already mentioned, during the dynastic period these studies were strictly tied to the traditional Chinese philology, the development of paremiology in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was promoted by the interest for popular arts and mass literature which characterized the May Fourth Movement (Fu 1996: 343; Xu 2000: 278). This resulted in an increase in interest for forms like the *xiehouyu* (truncated witticisms) and the *yanyu* (proverbs), considered as expressions of popular culture (Wen & Wen 2009: 35).

This period was also characterized by the influence of Western ethnology and folklore studies. Proverbs and idiomatic expressions were collected for ethnological purposes (Fu 1996: 320). The Folksong Research Society (*Geyao yanjiuhui* 歌谣研究会) was founded in 1920 at the Beijing University and its review, the *Geyao zhoukan* 歌谣周刊, started being published in 1922. Numerous studies on paremiology were published, among them we find some dictionaries, like Guo Huojie's 郭后觉 *Guoyu chenyu daquan* 国语成语大全 and Hu Bu'an's 胡补安 *Suyudian* 俗语典, collecting different kinds of idiomatic expressions.

The period following the foundation of the People's Republic of China was characterized by the strong influence of Russian linguistics. The term *shuyuxue* 熟语学 is generally considered as having been spread as a translation of the Russian фразеология in the 1950's. (Wen & Wen 2009: 96). Reflecting the 1960's political and historical climate, several studies were ideologically and politically connoted (Wen & Wen 2009: 58, 65).

This period saw the establishment of the category of *guangyongu* and different attempts of classifying phraseological forms, like in the works of Ma Guofan 马国凡 and Tang Songbo 唐松波 (Wen & Wen 2009: 88–89, 94–95).



The period post-1978 is characterized by an impressive development of phraseological studies. According to Xu (2000: 598) and Zhou (1996: 217–218), the *chengyu* (four character literary expressions) are the main interest of Chinese phraseological studies in this period: for instance, more than 30 monographs, 80 dictionaries and almost 100 articles on *chengyu* have been published in the decade 1983–1993.

Nevertheless, several important studies on other kinds of phraseological forms appear in these years. Among them, we can quote the works on the *yanyu* (proverbs) by Wen Duanzheng 温端政, Wang Qin 王勤, Ma Guofan 马国凡 and Wu Zhankun 武占坤 or the studies on the *guangyongyu* (idioms) by Gao Gedong 高歌动 and Ma Guofan. Ma Guofan, Gao Gedong and Wen Duanzheng are also the authors of relevant monographs on the *xiehouyu* (truncated witticisms).

Moreover, an increasing number of linguistic and lexicological works include specific sections on phraseology (for instance, Zhou 1995; Fu 1985; Fu 1996; Xu 2000).

This period also see the publication of theoretical works, investigating the nature and delimitation of *shuyuxue* (phraseology), like the studies of Sun Weizhang 孙维张, Liu Guanghe 刘广和 or Wu Zhankun. In these essays, phraseology is generally regarded (for instance, by Sun Weizhang) as a branch of lexicology, and fixed locutions are considered as its object of study (Wen & Wen 2009: 245–269).

Otherwise, Wen Duanzheng and Wen Shuobin propose to contrast the concepts of *ci* 词 (word) and *yu* 语 (lit. ‘expression’). The authors describe *yu* 语 as “linguistic units [...] formed by word and word groups, having a relatively fixed structure” (Wen & Wen 2009: 280), thus defining two complementary disciplines: lexicology (in Chinese *cihuixue* 词汇学), focused on *ci* (word) and *yuhuixue* 语汇学 (term that in this case is better understood as ‘phraseology’) focused on *yu* (expression).

Even though the word *yuhuixue* is currently used by other scholars (such as Li 2008), this term is far less frequent than *shuyuxue*. Nowadays, this last term is largely adopted to designate all the studies on fixed locutions, including *chengyu*, *yanyu*, *xiehouyu*, *suyu* and *guangyongyu*.

However, we can point out that other trends of studies on word combinations, which are not usually included in the category of *shuyuxue*, can be actually regarded as related to phraseological studies.

This is the case of the researches on collocations, in Chinese *dapei* 搭配 or *ciyu dapei* 词语搭配, which are generally considered as part of phraseology in the Western context. The number of publications on *ciyu dapei*

词语搭配 has exploded in the last two decades. The influence of Western linguistics, especially of the British scholar Firth, is particularly strong in this field (Shen 2007: 7).

The last years have seen a considerable expansion in monolingual studies focusing on the Chinese language. For instance, we can quote the essays by Zhang Shoukang 张寿康, Lin Xingguang 林杏光, Wang Xijie 王希杰, Liu Jingmei 刘静梅, Li Ziyun 李子云, Zhang Yisan 张诒三 or the monograph on Chinese collocations by Li Yude 李裕德 (1998). Zhang Shoukang and Lin Xingguang are also the authors of a collocation dictionary of Chinese lexical words (*Xiandai Hanyu Shici Dapei Cidian* 现代汉语实词搭配词典, 1992).

Even though relevant monolingual studies have been published, the development of the researches on collocation is particularly evident in bilingual, multilingual and contrastive works, especially in the works focusing on English and Chinese collocations. According to Shen (2007: 16), this is due to the strong influence of Western linguistics on the Chinese scholars specialized in foreign language studies, as well as to the applicability of collocation studies to foreign language teaching and translation. Among the numerous scholars researching on collocations, especially on English collocations, we can quote Wei Naixing 卫乃兴, Li Guoqing 李国庆, Wang Zhihong 绍志洪 and Wang Zhiming 王志明 (Shen 2007).

Collocations are an important concern in the didactics of Chinese as well as in the didactics of foreign languages in China. The studies on English collocations for Chinese learners, and the studies on Chinese collocations for foreign learners, published in China and abroad, flourish. For instance, we can quote the works by Wang Zhao 王焰, Liu Qingyu 刘清玉 and Ying Li 盈利 on English or the researches by Cui Xeumei 崔雪梅 and Shen Xiuying 申修瑛 on Chinese (Shen 2007). An increase in interest for collocations is also evident in the bilingual primers and learning grammars of Chinese, as well as in the primers of foreign languages written in Chinese.

As in other contexts (Sinclair 2008: XVI), the researches on collocations are linked to the development of computational and corpus linguistics. Most of the studies conducted on English or Chinese collocations are based on corpora. Several researches deal with collocation extraction, collocation frequency, collocation and automatic translation, like the works of Wei Naixing, Li Wenzhong 李文中, Xiang Kejun 相克俊, Huang Xiling 黄希凌, Li Xiaohong 李晓红 (Shen 2007: 18–19).



Collocations are also a concern of current Chinese lexicography and numerous dictionaries of collocations have been published in the last years. Among them, *A Dictionary of English Collocations* 英語搭配大詞典, published in 1990, is probably the first bilingual collocation dictionary edited by Chinese scholars, i.e. a group of linguists from the Suzhou University (Wu 1993: 463), inaugurating this new field of Chinese lexicography. Otherwise, we can also find the Chinese (bilingual) edition of Western collocation dictionaries, like the *Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English* (the Chinese bilingual version being entitled *Niujin yingyu dapei cidian* 牛津英語搭配詞典) or the Chinese version of the *Longman Dictionary of English Collocations* (Chinese title: *Langwen shiyong yingyu dapei cidian* 朗文實用英語搭配詞典).

Several bilingual dictionaries are dedicated to collocations in special languages, like the *Ying Han-Han Ying jingmao dapei cidian* 英漢·漢英經貿搭配詞典 (English subtitle: *An Economics and Commerce Dictionary of English-Chinese & Chinese-English Collocations*) by Lin Yang 林志揚, the *Ying Han-Han Ying yixue dapei cidian* 英漢·漢英醫學搭配詞典 (English subtitle: *A Medical Dictionary of English-Chinese & Chinese-English Collocations*) by Lin Shengqu 林生趣 or the *Ying Han-Han Ying keji dapei cidian* 英漢·漢英科技搭配詞典 (English subtitle: *A Science and Technology Dictionary of English-Chinese & Chinese-English Collocations*) by Wu Shaojian 吳紹健.

As these examples show, collocations are currently a main concern in the didactics of foreign languages, in corpus linguistics, contrastive linguistics and terminological studies.

#### 4. Conclusions

The birth of phraseological studies in China is historically linked to the rich traditions of glossography and lexicography.

The first works ascribable to phraseology took the form of dictionaries of paremies, and paremiology can be regarded as the main concern of phraseological studies throughout the history of Chinese linguistic studies.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this field has been redefined. Bilingual, multilingual and contrastive works are to be considered the main trends of recent developments.

Some examples of bilingual phraseology can be traced back to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, when several works on Chinese written in Western lan-

guages, like bilingual dictionaries, grammars and primers, included sections on different forms of word combinations (proverbs, sayings, literary allusions, collocations).

This field of study was strictly tied to the didactics of Chinese as a foreign language, as well as to the didactics of foreign languages in China, in a period of increasing contacts between Western countries and China.

While the links with lexicography and foreign language teaching are still present in Chinese phraseological studies, the recent developments are mainly related to corpora linguistics and computational linguistics.

The place of this field inside linguistic studies, the relationships with other disciplines and the terminology are still debated and are going through rapid changes.

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## **Chińskie i zachodnie prace poświęcone chińskiej frazeologii: Perspektywa historyczna**

### **STRESZCZENIE**

Jako nauka frazeologia ma długą historię w Chinach, gdzie przybrała ona formę badań paremiologicznych. Lemma i glossy dotyczące przysłów były częste w chińskiej leksykografii. W historii chińskich badań językoznawczych ukazało się kilka zbiorów przysłów. Chińskie i europejskie tradycje studiów frazeologicznych zaczęły się w XVII wieku. W dwóch kolejnych stuleciach, tj. XVIII i XIX, misjonarze, dyplomaci i sinolodzy opracowywali dwu- i wielojęzyczne prace lub umieszczali rozdziały poświęcone przysłowiom w swoich słownikach i gramatykach. Mogą one być uznane za pierwsze opracowania badań kontrastywnych nad chińską i europejską frazeologią, czyli, używając tytułu tomu, „międzykontynentalnego dialogu o frazeologii”. W ubiegłym stuleciu miały miejsce przedefiniowanie i systematyzacja tego pola w obrębie studiów językoznawczych. Trzy

ostatnie dekady charakteryzują się wzrostem zainteresowania badaniami frazeologicznymi, co ma związek z rozwojem językoznawstwa korpusowego. Frazeologia rozwija się jako jego dziedzina badawcza, ale należy podkreślić, że jest również ważnym zjawiskiem z punktu widzenia językoznawstwa kontrastywnego i nauczania języka chińskiego i języków obcych. Niniejszy artykuł analizuje wzajemne relacje zachodnich i chińskich tradycji w chińskich badaniach nad frazeologią, przedstawiając je na szerszym tle historii chińskich badań językoznawczych.

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## **From Idiom Variants to Open-Slot Idioms: Close-Ended and Open-Ended Variational Paradigms**

**ABSTRACT:** There is a cline between idiom variants and open-slot idioms in English: from *blow a fuse/gasket* in which the nominal constituent admits only a single substitution to *wear your heart on your sleeve* in which the noun group *your heart* is actually instantiated by a plethora of other nouns or noun groups making of this multi-word unit an open-slot idiom with an open-ended variational paradigm. Variation is regularly signalled in general dictionaries and in dictionaries of idioms by means of different typographical marks such as oblique strokes or commas or by including a note in the body of the article. On the contrary, not all lexicographers indicate the information concerning an open paradigm of variant forms in the entry or the body of the article of open-slot idioms whose phraseographic status is hard to delimit or grasp.

**KEY WORDS:** *idiom variant, open-slot idiom, lexicographic treatment, variational paradigm*

### **1. Introduction**

A great number of idioms are varied when used in discourse, although a clear line should be drawn between regular (or lexicalised) variation, contextual variation, manipulation or exploitation of multi-word units and open-slot idioms. Idiom variants are usually represented by the alternation of two (or even sometimes three or four) nominal, verbal or adjectival constituents having attained lexicalised status and being recorded as such in dictionaries of idioms. *Hit the road/trail, fit as a fiddle/flea, go for the jugular/throat* are instances of idioms with lexicalised nominal variants. Idioms with verbal variants such as *up/raise the ante, upset/overturn*

*the applecart, fly/show/wave the flag* are regularly registered in general dictionaries and dictionaries of idioms as are idioms with adjectival variants such as *a passing/nodding acquaintance, hard/hot on your heels* or *plain/clear/smooth/easy sailing*. Prepositions and adverbial particles can also alternate in a number of idioms, as shown in such dictionary entries as *fray at/around the edges, like death warmed up/over* or *green about/around/at the gills*. All these variant forms are usually represented by means of oblique strokes and may be registered or not in dictionaries depending on the personal choice of each lexicographer.

A second type of regular variation includes those entries in which a more or less open-ended paradigm is provided, as is the case with inserted adjectives. This lexicographic practice shows that the expression in question is generally instantiated with an inserted adjective, although no clear guidelines are given as to the type or exact number of adjectives except for the actual adjectives found both in the entry and in the examples, as illustrated by the following dictionary entry from the Longman Idioms Dictionary (LID):

- 2 (also **cast a critical, professional etc eye over**) to look at something, or consider something, in a particular way: *She took care with the arrangements, knowing that her mother would cast a critical eye over them.* | *Gavin has agreed to cast an expert eye over our programme.* (LID)

Finally, dictionaries may choose to record idioms with no explicit variant or group of variants but rather lemmatised with a slot, signalled by an underscore, that may occupy an initial, medial or final position, as shown respectively by *\_\_\_ to a fault, too \_\_\_ for words* and *do sth under the banner of \_\_\_*. More than one slot is also possible, as with the phrases *\_\_\_ with a capital \_\_\_* and *once a \_\_\_ always a \_\_\_*. Rarely do general dictionaries apply this lexicographic technique, which is reserved especially to a small number of dictionaries of idioms.

## 2. Types of phraseological variation

Multi-word units can vary in many different ways and this variation may concern pragmatics, semantics, syntax, lexicology and even morphology. In the present study I will be mostly dealing with lexical variation. Lexical variants of phraseological units are the product of three distinct

processes, namely lexical substitution, lexical insertion and lexical truncation. As regards open-slot idioms, they are the product either of substitution or insertion but not of truncation:

Recurrent and systematic variation may result in PhUs having their entry forms altered in general dictionaries and dictionaries of idioms. The insertion of an adjective may eventually become so common and widespread that certain PhUs can be considered as having an open slot in their lexicographic form, as is the case with *cut your teeth* which is recorded by the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (CALD)* as *Cut your political/professional, etc. teeth* and defined as 'to get your first experience of the type mentioned'. The definition itself represents a clear sign of the semantic openness of this string which is normally instantiated with the insertion of a qualifying adjective that specifies and restricts its sphere of application delimiting its referential scope. (Martí Solano 2011: 391)

Adjectives that were formally inserted as a means of contextualisation of certain phraseological units have become so widespread that the original shorter versions are less and less found in corpora. What was once optional becomes, by recurrence, a semi-obligatory constituent without which the holistic meaning of the string seems to go out of its depth. The string *keep an eye on* is usually instantiated by means of the inclusion of an adjective, since it has become too general a phrase and speakers feel the need to qualify with more precision its holistic meaning. The qualification process is only syntactically possible by means of the insertion of an adjective before the only nominal constituent, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (1) *The trouble with that position is that the theatre itself is much less high-minded than those who **keep a watchful eye on** its purity.*  
(*The Guardian*, 24 November 2004)
- (2) *Even so, just as it is as well to **keep a careful eye on** those leaders with a taste for writing poetry, so an enthusiasm for architecture is a characteristic that [...]*  
(*The Observer*, 29 May 2005)
- (3) *"Speak has a legitimate right to make their views known to people, but we will be **keeping a close eye on** anybody crossing the line".*  
(*The Guardian*, 30 December 2004)

## 2.1. Phraseological variation and dictionaries of idioms

In order to cover a wider spectrum of lexicographic sources I have used seven dictionaries of idioms, namely *A Dictionary of American Idioms*

(DAI), the *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* (CIDI), the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms* (CCDI), the *Longman Idioms Dictionary* (LID), the *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English. Volume 2: Phrase, Clause & Sentence Idioms* (ODCIE2), the *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (ODI) and the *American Heritage Dictionary of Idioms* (AHDI). Only the ODI and the LID do actually make use of the open-slot lexicographic practice in a regular although unmethodical way. Despite the fact that criteria for the lemmatisation of open-slot idioms as such vary from one lexicographer to another, the random selection of examples in Table 1 shows the rather personal and arbitrary selection of entries.

**Table 1. A sample of open-slot idioms as lemmatised in the ODI and the LID**

ODI	LID
___ <i>as sin</i>	(now) <i>that's what I call</i> ___
___ <i>from hell</i>	___ <i>city</i>
___ <i>in residence</i>	___ <i>is a two-way street</i>
___ <i>to a fault</i>	___ <i>isn't the word for it</i>
___ <i>your head off</i>	___ <i>to a fault</i>
___ <i>your socks off</i>	___ <i>with a capital</i> ___
___ <i>'s-eye view</i>	<i>a (wet) paper bag</i>
<i>a peach of a</i> ___	<i>a ___ of the first water</i>
<i>a slip of a</i> ___	<i>bang goes</i> ___
<i>on the</i> ___ <i>side</i>	<i>be</i> ___ <i>at heart</i>
<i>once a</i> ____, <i>always a</i> ___	<i>do sth under the banner of</i> ___
<i>scratch a</i> ___ <i>and find a</i> ___	<i>on the</i> ___ <i>front</i>
<i>strike (or sound) a</i> ___ <i>note</i>	<i>roll on</i> ___
<i>the poor man's</i> ___	<i>sb couldn't</i> ___ <i>his/her way out of</i>
<i>the rocky road to</i> ___	<i>so</i> ___ <i>it's not even funny</i>
<i>the sick man of</i> ___	<i>talk about</i> ___
<i>too</i> ___ <i>for comfort</i>	<i>the</i> ___ <i>of sb's dreams</i>
<i>too</i> ___ <i>for words</i>	<i>too</i> ___ <i>by half</i>
<i>what price</i> ___?	<i>wise in the ways of</i> ___
<i>who's she</i> ___ <i>the cat's mother?</i>	<i>you can't beat</i> ___

It is obvious that the two lists above are but a sample of a larger set of open-slot idioms and that they cannot be taken as definitive. However, on comparing them, there is only one item in common, that is \_\_\_ *to a fault*. It seems that a more conservative approach to phraseography finds it hard to include gaps in the lemmatised entries of idioms, as this practice would convey a feeling of instability, vagueness, a kind of lexical no-man's-land



to the dictionary users, hence the choice of head phrases such as *too close for comfort*, *as guilty/miserable/ugly as sin*, etc. in most dictionaries of idioms.

The LID, in its turn, includes an important number of idioms labelled 'spoken' such as (*now*) *that's what I call* \_\_\_\_, *roll on* \_\_\_\_, *talk about* \_\_\_\_ or \_\_\_\_ *isn't the word for it* which are actually conversational formulas with a compulsory open slot rather than idioms. It is interesting to notice that this same dictionary registers *sth smells fishy* (also *sth seems, sounds etc fishy*) instead of using an open-slot for the first constituent. On scrutinizing the examples found in this entry one clearly understands the reason behind this lexicographic choice: *sth* is instantiated by a long and rather complex noun phrase, as shown in one of the examples provided after the definition: "The latest proposal to split the cost of the stadium between the City and the Giants sounds fishy to me". As a result, one can state that lexicographic practices in this respect are inconsistent and that the same criterion is not always applied or respected.

### 3. Open-slot idioms

If we consider the examples given by both the ODI and the LID, we can define open-slot idioms, from a phraseographic point of view, as those strings recorded by some dictionaries of idioms in which one or several constituents have been elided. As far as dictionary users are concerned, these slots can be filled with an open-ended paradigm of the word class (usually a noun, an adjective or a verb) that fits in semantically and syntactically in the open slot.

#### 3.1. Open-slots as qualifiers

Several types of open-slot idioms have been identified according to formal and semantic criteria as well as to the extent of their variational paradigms. For space reasons, I will only be dealing with a small number of the selections of idioms listed above. A first group includes those expressions used as qualifiers either of an object or of a person. These can have an open slot for a noun (*a peach of a* + NOUN, *a slip of a* + NOUN, *an arm-chair* + NOUN) or for an adjective (ADJ + *to a fault*, *too* + ADJ + *for words*).

A search in the online archives of *The New York Times* has yielded the following results, which are obviously not complete or definitive but rather indicative of an open-ended paradigm: the slot in the schema *a peach of a* + NOUN is filled with a variety of nouns such as *show, person, place, deal,*

*fellow, time, film, movie, car, dress, tune, shot, performance*, etc. showing a wide range of possible candidates, both /human/ and /non-human/, whose excellence is highly praised.

A *slip of a* + NOUN is another qualifying expression that indicates smallness in a positive way. It is labelled 'old-fashioned' in the *Cambridge Advances Learner's Dictionary* (CALD) and this is corroborated in (4) by the interpolated clause which follows the phrase in bold type:

- (4) *In another way, I'm not, because Sheherazade is such a slip of a girl, as your grandmother might say, that for a moment I wonder if we've got the wrong 300-acre estate [...]* (The Observer, 7 November 2004)

The lemmatisation of this unit in the CALD as *a slip of a sth* is at odds with the example provided after its definition, *I knew her when she was a slip of a girl*, since the nominal constituent is "girl" and obviously is not "something", which is quite misleading for foreign learners as they might expect an object and not a person as the slot-filler. Only 6 results have been found in the BNC for this string either in combination with *girl* or *lad* or *child*. The CoCA has yielded a total of 20 results with a larger set of nouns such as *girl, thing, woman, smile, lass, lad, dress, boy*, etc. including not only nouns referring to (young) people but also to objects.

The results in the *New York Times* for the schema *an armchair* + NOUN represent an open-ended paradigm of nouns designating professions, occupations or persons with a particular set of beliefs such as *cook, strategist, navigator, official, psychologist, Bolshevik, constitutionalist, anthropologist* or *traveler*.

Concerning idioms with an open slot for adjectives, the undisputed winner is ADJ + *to a fault*. I have found, among others, the following slot-fillers: *honest, unselfish, loyal, generous, fashionable, efficient, self-involved, impeccable, faultless, indulgent, slapstick, vital, good-natured, consistent, earnest, impartial, neutral, rational, cautious, measured, humble, courteous, liberal* and *solicitous*. The semantic prosody<sup>1</sup> of this variational paradigm is clearly positive, which is borne out by the definition provided by the CIDI:

<sup>1</sup> Hunston (1995: 137) summarises the notion of semantic prosody as follows: "Briefly, a word may be said to have a particular semantic prosody if it can be shown to co-occur typically with other words that belong to a particular semantic set". (Hunston & Francis 2000: 104).

**be kind/generous, etc. to a fault**

to be extremely kind/generous, etc

*She's a really sweet person and she's generous to a fault.*

On the contrary, ADJ + *as sin* (as recorded in the ODI) would not be considered an open-slot idiom but rather an idiom with a restricted variational paradigm. This fact is clearly recorded by the CIDI in which this string is lemmatised as “as guilty/miserable/ugly as sin”, with a close-ended variational paradigm. By the same token, an item such as \_\_\_\_ *in residence*, as it is recorded in the ODI, would not be considered an open-slot as the paradigm is very limited and concerns a small group of nouns such as *writer, poet, artist, composer* and the like.

**3.2. Open-slots as themes**

Some open-slot idioms, generally those having the slot at the end, are filled in by the theme, which is the noun or the noun phrase which encapsulates the new information in the sentence and represents its focus. *What price \_\_\_\_?* is the choice made by the ODI for the entry of this idiom that is lemmatised in the CIDI as *What price fame/victory/success, etc?* The lexicographer's choice of nouns implies that variants should include nouns denoting very positive situations. This is not always the case when occurrences of the string are searched in online newspaper archives, as illustrated in (5) and (6):

- (5) *One of the bizarre examples has been the parents of dead children whose organs were removed complaining bitterly that they have only been given £1,000, while the Alder Hey parents got £5,000. **What price children's organs?*** (The Guardian, 20 February 2004)
- (6) *In New Zealand he may find out that he is not only behind Jones in the pecking order but also behind Wilkinson, whom I strongly suspect Woodward is desperate to play, and the Irishman Ronan O'Gara. **What price some dissension** if results go against the Lions?* (The Guardian, 23 May 2005)

However, other theme-related open-slot idioms can be instantiated by means of a totally open paradigm of nouns or noun phrases. The string *Bang goes \_\_\_\_* is one of these cases. The phrase is lemmatised as *bang goes sth* in the CIDI and as an open-slot in the LID. Again, this is a conversational formula rather than an idiom.

### 3.3. Open-slots as arguments

Predicate or phrasal idioms are made up of a verb plus an argument usually realised as a noun phrase, as in *bang the drum* or *lose the plot*. Other syntactic types in which a prepositional argument is required are also common, as *with the rocky road to \_\_\_* or *wise in the ways of \_\_\_*. The ODI lemmatises with an open slot *the rocky road to \_\_\_\_\_* whereas the CIDI prefers the entry *rocky road*, which is defined as follows: *if you are on a rocky road you are experiencing a difficult period and have a lot of problems*. A search in the online archives of *The New York Times* has yielded the following slot-fillers: *knowledge, renewed prosperity, glory, economic unity, holiday tradition, a global market, press freedom, health reform, European unity, success, stardom*, among others. It is obvious that the CIDI considers the argument as an external constituent whereas the ODI regards it as internal and therefore as part of the idiom structure.

*Do sth under the banner of \_\_\_\_\_*, as this idiom is lemmatised in the ODI, represents a clear example of an idiom with an external constituent rather than an open-slot idiom. The combination does not even have its own entry in the CALD, where it appears in the example of the third subentry of the noun *banner*:

3. [S] an idea, principle or belief that is strongly supported by someone  
*They won the election **under** the banner **of** lower taxes.*

This lexicographic treatment does not give idiom status to this combination, which should be interpreted as a colligation. The word is used figuratively to mean “idea”, “principle” or “belief” and the supporting example is provided simply to show the prepositions used in the syntactic frame.

### 3.4. Open-slots as delimiters

The notion of delimiters in phraseological variation theory was first used by Ernst in 1981 (see references). “Domain delimiters” (Ernst 1981: 51) are generally inserted adjectives, although sometimes they can be nouns with an adjectival function, that delimit the referential scope of idioms to a particular domain, sphere or field, as illustrated in the following examples: *turn back the **moral** clock*, *lose the **domestic** plot*, *the crest of the **economic** wave*, *beat about the **academic** bush*, *bang the **human rights** drum*, etc.

When cases of idioms with domain delimiters are searched in lexicographic works some sort of mismatch may arise between the head phrase and the examples provided after the definition. *Strike a note* is lemmatised as an invariable idiom in the CIDI even though the two examples make use of an internal modification which is signalled by the use of a bold type:

**strike a note**

to express and communicate a particular opinion or feeling about something

*I find it really difficult to strike **the right** note when I'm writing job applications.*

*At the end of her speech, she struck a note **of** warning about the risks involved in the project.*

The string is thus instantiated under the following two schemas: *strike a \_\_\_\_\_ note* and *strike a note of \_\_\_\_\_*. The slot-fillers for the first schema in the BNC are, among others, *sad, prophetic, discordant, victory, sombre* and *responsive*. In the CoCA the slot-fillers are *positive, cautionary, familiar, whimsical, triumphant, surprising, strong, nautical, jarring, false, different* and *deep*.

The phrase *put sth/sb on the map* can be said to have two different types of slots. The first one is compulsory and corresponds to the direct object and the second one is optional and serves as a domain delimiter. In order to investigate the potential range of the variational paradigm, different searches have been made both in the BNC and the CoCA and the results are set up in Table 2:

**Table 2. Variational paradigm of put sb/sth on the map in the BNC and the CoCA**

Idiom schema	BNC	CoCA
[nn*] on the map (compulsory open slot)	Cubism British post-war ballet the Ethiopian fossil beds his own business the firm the hobby rugby league poetry	women's tennis Columbine High School Harvard Business School his school women's basketball the story the company the museum

on the * map (optional open slot)	political sporting rock nuclear monument marketing literary artistic academic	literary cultural international fine-dining fashion culinary art
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The compulsory slot is mainly filled in with things, places or institutions rather than with people. On the other hand, the optional slot is filled in mainly with adjectives or nouns that function as delimiters that restrict the large sphere represented by the nominal constituent *map*.

The phrase *jump/climb/leap/get on the bandwagon* is usually lemmatised with a number of verb variants, as the entry in the CIDI amply shows<sup>2</sup>. However, forty-one occurrences have been found in the BNC, out of which seven correspond to the open-slot variant schema *on the* + NOUN + *bandwagon*, two to the schema *on the* + NOUN PHRASE + *bandwagon* and seven to the schema *on the* + ADJ + *bandwagon*.

- (7) *Too many celebrities are **getting on the health bandwagon** and producing ill-conceived "fitness" manuals.* (BNC)
- (8) *As for the so-called foresters who **jumped on the tax-avoidance bandwagon** and ruined our moorlands, then I hope [...]* (BNC)

One of the most prolific open-slot idioms happens to be *wear your heart on your sleeve*. This phrase epitomises the notion of inanalysability of the nominal constituent *heart*. The *heart* stands for feelings, emotions and passions in English lexis and phraseology as in a large number of other languages and cultures in the world, so one would expect that the paradigm of nouns should include items particularly related to those semantic fields. However, the feelings and emotions that are encapsulated in the analysable phraseological constituent *heart* have clearly been expanded

<sup>2</sup> This phrase is usually recorded taking into account the degree of variability of its verbal component. As a result, it is common to find several synonymous or quasi-synonymous verbs as part of the lemmatised form. However, no mention of its immense potentiality of variability through lexical insertion is made in dictionary description except for the fact that the vast majority of the examples illustrative of the phrase tend to include an extraneous lexical item. (Martí Solano 2011: 398)

and diversified to include five main types of domains, namely “feelings” (*emotions, vulnerability, influences*), “religion” (*faith, Christianity, atheism*), “nationality” (*roots, identity, heritage, patriotism*), “politics” (*political affiliation, political colours*) and “cultural preferences” (*classic influences, literary passions, intellectual interests, intellectualism*):

- (9) “Speedy”, as he is known, is currently rushing merrily around the country in a showy bid to save his colleagues from defeat. He **wears his presidential ambitions on his sleeve**. (*The Guardian*, 24 March 2004)
- (10) The new champion is a descendant of Sir Logan Campbell, a Scottish emigre who became mayor of Auckland in the 19th century, but he has always **worn his heritage on his sleeve**. (*The Guardian*, 21 June 2005)

Another similar case, although not as prolific as the previous one, is *take a leaf out of sb’s book*. A search in the online archives of *The Guardian* has yielded actualisations such as the following showing clear evidence of an open-ended paradigm:

- (11) **Taking a leaf out of Skins’s character-per-week structure**, the second episode hones in on Nathan. He’s ended up with the double blow of being kicked out of home [...]. (*The Guardian*, 7 July 2010)
- (12) They were undone only when Spurs **took a leaf out of the Bolton style guide** to claim their second equaliser with a goal from a set piece, Niko Kranjcar’s corner [...]. (*The Observer*, 3 October 2009)
- (13) The Arts Council’s basis for making judgments on artistic merit [...] Here, the arts system could consider **taking a leaf out of the scientific and academic worlds** and adopting a process of peer reviews. (*The Guardian*, 21 December 2007)

Not only is the nominal constituent *book* replaced by a synonym or quasi-synonym as in (12) but the whole prepositional complement can be substituted by an unpredictable range of noun phrases, as shown in (11) and (13).

### 3.5. Open-slot sayings and proverbs

Although proverbs are regarded as one of the most fixed types of phrasological units, they can be manipulated and give rise to antiproverbs, remotivation and other types of exploitation:



Exploitation is sometimes so common that it forces reconsideration of the 'canonical' form of the FEI. For example, all tokens in OHPC of the proverb *beauty is in the eye of the beholder* are exploited: [...] The syntagmatic structure of the proverb remains intact, and the first example certainly refers explicitly to the original form, but the persistence of exploitation and substitution suggests that the canonical form of this FEI should be *\_\_ is in the eye of the beholder*, with an open slot in subject position to be filled by any abstract that is considered essentially subjective. (Moon 1998: 172)

A very small number of sayings and proverbs can therefore be considered as open-slots, as for instance *Once a \_\_\_\_\_ always a \_\_\_\_\_* in which both slots are filled with the same lexical item. A search in the CoCA for slot-fillers has yielded the following results: *spook, senator, prostitute, junkie, cheater* and *bishop*. The semantic prosody of the variational paradigm is in this case clearly negative. The range of variants is rather small since, as a general rule, proverbs and sayings are thinly represented in general corpora and therefore their degree of frequency is usually low or very low. This type of open-slots is illustrated in examples (14), (15) and (16):

- (14) *One thinks of Truffaut's famous letter in which he suggested that if Godard ever made an autobiographical film, the appropriate title might be **Once a Shit, Always a Shit**.* (The Guardian, 29 April 2005)
- (15) *"**Once a Wasp, always a Wasp**" is the club's proud boast and Green will remain a part [...]* (The Guardian, 13 May 2005)
- (16) ***Once a Raj orphan, always a Raj orphan**. In Jane Gardam's superb new novel, *Sir Edward Feathers*, [...]* (The Guardian, 20 November 2004)

The traditional proverb *One man's meat is another man's poison* is another example of a paired parallel phrase that has become an open-slot proverb. Only three examples have been found in the CoCA, all of them from the spoken part of the corpus:

- (17) *Well, Harry, you know the old saying "**one man's trash is another man's treasure**", and that is very much the case here.* (CoCA)
- (18) *They did that because they wanted us to write about their relentlessness in pursuit of terrorism and their successes. You know, **one man's breach of security is another man's public relations**.* (CoCA)
- (19) *And on amazon.com, one of the major indicators of a title's performance, "XXX" ranked for weeks in the top 100. As they say, **one man's pornography is another man's art**.* (CoCA)



## 5. Conclusions

Open-slot idioms seem not to be entirely accepted by lexicographers as they are only recorded by a small number of them. Most dictionaries of idioms prefer to lemmatise open slots by means of strings of variant forms in the head phrase and/or by including them in the examples provided after the definition. Printing inserted elements in bold type in the examples is another means of avoiding the slot in the head phrase. Only the *Longman Idioms Dictionary* (LID) and the *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (ODI) do make use of slots, although both their actual selection and theoretical criteria appear to be arbitrary and unmethodical. The fondness for the inclusion of spoken fixed phrases, mainly conversational formulas and other discourse structuring devices, could explain in part the abundance of open-slots in these two dictionaries of idioms. Although several types of open-slot idioms have been identified according to semantic, syntactic and discursive functions of the potential variational paradigm, a much larger sample would definitely be necessary to account for the extent and typology of this phraseological phenomenon.

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## Od wariantów idiomów do jednostek z komponentem wymiennym: zamknięte i otwarte paradygmaty wariantów

### STRESZCZENIE

Chociaż tradycyjnie uważane są za stałe związki wyrazowe, idiomy tak naprawdę wykazują dużą zmienność. Niektóre z tych wariantów idiomów mogą uzyskać status stałych połączeń i stać się jednostkami hasłowymi w artykułach słownikowych. Warianty leksykalne, takie jak *hard/hot on your heels* czy *break fresh/new ground*, stanowią pierwsze ekstremum zamkniętego paradygmatu w niektórych przypadkach dodawanie do podstawowego składu związku przymiotnika może być tak powszechne, że one mogą być włączone w artykuły hasłowym, tak jak na przykład *as* jest w przypadku jednostki *cut your political/professional, etc. teeth* w *Cambridge International Dictionary of Idioms* (CIDI). Drugie ekstremum to związki typu *wear your heart on your sleeve*, często aktywizowane przez substytucję rzeczownika *heart* w rozległym paradygmacie, co w doskonały sposób pokazuje proces wariantowości zachodzący w wyniku substytucji. Jest to przykład idiomu z komponentem podlegającym wymienności, mimo że informacji o tym nie podają ani słowniki ogólne, ani słowniki idiomów. Analiza komponentu *heart* pozwala na objaśnienie zastosowania rzeczowników *emotions* i *feelings*, ale nie wyjaśnia użyć innych elementów, np. *Christianity*, *presidential ambitions* i *heritage*. Dotyczy to również jednostki *take a leaf out of somebody's book* oraz niektórych związków frazeologicznych utworzonych za pomocą substytucji innymi lub niepowiązanymi semantycznie składnikami stanowiących przykłady idiomów ze zmiennym komponentem. Wśród opracowań leksykograficznych *Oxford Dictionary of Idioms* (ODI) i *Longman Idiom Dictionary* (LID), podają największą liczbę artykułów z idiomami ze zmiennym komponentem, tj. opuszczając główny składnik i zastępując go luką. Na przykład, *with a capital A/B* etc. i *rocky road* są kanonicznymi formami w CIDI, podczas gdy \_\_\_\_\_ *with a capital* \_\_\_\_\_ and *the rocky road to* \_\_\_\_\_ są jednostkami hasłowymi w LID i ODI.

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## The Role of *mushi* in Japanese Idioms: Encoding Conceptual Information in an Electronic Dictionary

**ABSTRACT:** The complex semantic structure of idioms poses a challenge for language learners and lexicographers alike. Because of the complex nature of idioms, the meaning of an idiom often cannot simply be deduced from its components. Thus, it takes time to cut through the more opaque idioms to understand the cultural background that lies behind them and to grasp idiomatic meaning and usage. In my work I show how the cognitive linguistic approach to the analysis of idioms can help to enhance a bilingual electronic dictionary using the example of *mushi*-related (insect/bug-related) expressions in Japanese.

**KEY WORDS:** *electronic phraseography, Japanese idioms, conceptual metaphor*

### 1. Introduction

Idioms<sup>1</sup> and their underlying metaphors are a well-researched domain. Research in contrastive phraseology has proven that concepts or metaphors are universal or culture-specific and pairs of idioms in different language can be equivalent or not (quite) equivalent. In this work, I show how cultural information and conceptual metaphors can be used for phraseography, especially when dealing with language pairs with very little overlap in cultural and linguistic references. I use as an example

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<sup>1</sup> The term *idioms* in this work is used as an equivalent to the Japanese *kanyōku* as defined by Miyaji (1985), which in the narrow sense are multi-word-expressions, the meaning of which cannot be deduced by the sum of their components in a non-phraseological context. *Kanyōku* are usually phrases below sentence level and do not convey a wisdom or universal truth as proverbs (*kotowaza/kakugen*) do.

the representation of Japanese idioms that take the word *mushi* (bug<sup>2</sup>) as a component in a Japanese-German online idiom dictionary<sup>3</sup>.

During my research on the phraseography of Japanese idioms of emotion, I came across a surprising amount of expressions that make use of *mushi* as a metaphor. A significant percentage seem to be very closely related to the human temper, especially to feelings of anger, dislike and irritability. Even though contrastive phraseology is a well researched field, there is little information on idioms of emotion or attitude/character using *mushi* as a reference. Because the metaphoric use of the word *mushi* in idioms expressing emotion appears to have no equivalents in English and German, this particular phenomenon was chosen to elaborate the encoding of a culture-dependent metaphor in the bilingual phraseological lexicon. As a starting point for the semantic classification of idioms that make use of *mushi* as a component, I would like to take a look at the meaning of the component by itself.

## 2. The meaning of *mushi*

Laurent (1995) shows in an anthropological field study that the ethnozoological category *mushi* cannot be mapped to western animalistic taxonomy. He states that *mushi* is clearly a folk category bound to culture-dependent thinking and selection criteria, a concept only partly covered by the western conception of *bugs* or *insects*. In his research, Laurent shows that the mental image evoked by the word *mushi* depends on the age and gender of a person and that it always covers different segments of the fauna than the ones used in western zoology. He reported that the outline of the category seems to be unclear, yet there seems to be some common understanding that some animals (like fireflies) are more representative of *mushi* than are others. Typical representatives would be the firefly, caterpillars, different types of worms and larvae, but also millipedes and locusts.

Through dictionary research, Laurent (1995) traces the meaning of the Chinese character *mushi* (虫) from the original denoting snake through

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<sup>2</sup> The Japanese word *mushi* can be roughly translated as *bug*, *worm* or *insect*, but as explained below there is no real equivalent to this word in English (or German).

<sup>3</sup> A prototype of this Japanese-German idiom dictionary is available at [www.wadoku-idioms.de](http://www.wadoku-idioms.de).

various stages. With regard to the present, he extracts four distinct meanings of *mushi*:

1. The (ethno-)zoological category – mainly including crawling creatures, like worms, snails and larvae (but not snakes), but also including some Insects – draws from two classical concepts: small animals singing in the autumn and the Daoist belief of three worms, called *sanshi* (三巳), which govern human emotions and the subconscious. Next to this traditional Japanese meaning, *mushi* is used as (translation) equivalent of the English word *insect*.
2. The meaning of a number of stomach diseases or nervous disorders, especially in children.
3. Unconscious, uncontrollable emotions.
4. A metaphor for someone who is very fond of or passionate about something, sometimes in a denigrate way.

Orii (2001) associates three distinct meanings to the word *mushi* and the idiomatic expressions that use it: (i) small creatures, mostly insects (*konchûrui* 昆虫類), (ii) especially those insects that cry in a pretty fashion, and (iii) *sanshi*, which is believed to be responsible for moodiness in human and the nine *mushi*, which according to ancient Chinese medical theory were said to be the cause of various illnesses.

Laurent (1995) mentions a number of idiomatic expressions linked to the second and third meaning, like *mushi ga itai* (lit. the *mushi* are painful) for abdominal pain or *mushi ga sukanai* (lit. the *mushi* do not like him/her) for instant antipathy. Orii (2001) goes further than the lexicographic categorization summary by Laurent (1995) to correlate daily life experiences in the Edo-Period with the appearance of idioms that use *mushi* as a metaphor to express feelings and impulses being beyond an individual's control<sup>4</sup>.

Both regard the popularization of the belief in the Edo-Period that *sanshi* resided in the human body as one factor in the evolution of these idioms. This Daoist belief is associated with the tradition of the *kôshin-machi*

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<sup>4</sup> Orii (2001) cites in her article the Tenri University folklorist Iijima Yoshiharu and the Tokyo Medical and Dental University immunologist Fujita Kôichirô. Unfortunately, no similar publications on the topic of *mushi* could be retrieved from bibliographical databases.

(*kôshin*<sup>5</sup> wake) and can be traced back to Heian-Period, but it appears to have entered general use in early modern times. The *sanshi* were feared, because they were said to leave the body of a human while the person is asleep every 60 days during the night of *kôshin* to report the person's good deeds, but especially the bad ones, to the heavenly god (*tentei*) and thereby influence humanity's faith and well-being. Instead of focusing on doing good in their daily lives, a tradition that began in the upper classes and later spread to the middle and lower classes evolved, in which people stayed up all night telling stories and singing to prevent the *sanshi* from escaping the body (Laurent, 2006).

From China, the view that illnesses comes from inside the body rather than outside was adopted and associated with the nine *mushi* residing in the human body being the cause of disease (Orii: 2001). Orii clearly sees a connection between these traditional views on the *mushi* in human beings and the current use of *mushi* in Japanese idioms.

### 3. Previous work

Even though idioms expressing emotions have received a lot of attention in phraseological research, previous work barely mentions Japanese idioms that use the word *mushi* as a metaphorical constituent. Cognitive metaphor theory states that in many languages the experience of the emotion of anger is expressed using the metaphor of heat applied to a closed container (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987; Kövecses, 1986). Kövecses (2000) observes that the basic concept of the anger metaphor (cause-force-expression) is common to a number of different languages, including Japanese, suggesting that it emerges from the pressurized container metaphor and that the universality of this metaphor for anger is based on the functioning of the human body.

The Japanese language is no exception to this, and research in Japanese phraseology shows a number of idioms expressing anger that appear to be quite specific to the Japanese language (Matsuki, 1995; Baba, 2002). Matsuki (1995) regards *hara* (stomach) as the place where anger is contained, if the emotion is under control. In the case that it overflows, it can affect *mune* (breast) and cause frustration, or rise up to *atama* (head) and

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<sup>5</sup> *Kôshin* denotes a date defined by the traditional Chinese calendar, as well as a Buddhist demon god.

cause a loss of control. Ishida (2005) proposes a method for comparing Japanese and English idioms that express anger and reaches the conclusion that there are very few idioms that show full semantic correspondence. Laurent (1995) mentions that there are a number of idioms that make use of the word *mushi*, but the focus of his study clearly lies on the literal meaning of *mushi* from an ethnological and folklorist perspective.

#### 4. Idiomatic expressions using *mushi* in Japanese

The Nihon Kokugo Dai-Jiten lists 66 idioms in connection with *mushi*, the most prominent member of this *hara no mushi ga osamaranai* (lit. the *mushi* in the stomach cannot be mollified) features *mushi* as small creature in the stomach that is taking the blame for unrestrained emotions for the affected person. It clearly expresses a state of anger constrained in the stomach, in compliance with the theory of Matsuki (1995). *Hara no mushi ga osamaranai* gives the impression that the person is striving to control his anger, but that the small creature in his stomach obstinately resists control. Similar expressions that can be explained in this context are *mushi ga okiru/torinobosu* (the *mushi* rises/ makes the blood rush to the head), which according to the Nihon Kokugo Dai-Jiten<sup>6</sup>, express an increase of the emotion lust and therefore relative loss of control. But *mushi* can also be used as a metaphor for a general feeling of irritability, as expressed by *mushi no idokoro ga warui* (lit. the dwelling place of the *mushi* is bad), which means that someone is being easily ticked off (angered) by things that usually would not bother him. On the other hand, a gain in control of one's emotions can be expressed by killing or appeasing the *mushi* (*mushi o korosu*, lit. to kill the *mushi* and *mushi ga shizumaru*, lit. the *mushi* calms down).

Somewhat similar but not directly related to anger/irritability is a cluster of idioms blaming intuitive, inexplicable negative feelings on *mushi*, as seen in the idioms *mushi ga sukanai* (lit. the *mushi* do not like someone), which is used to express an intuitive aversion, or *mushi ga shiraseru* (lit. the *mushi* report), which one uses to express having a premonition or hunch of something (bad).

There are metaphors for anger, or more specifically annoyance, that use bug in English (*sth./sb. bugs someone*) and *Wurm* (worm) in German

<sup>6</sup> The Nihon Kokugo Dai-Jiten (also known in English as the *Shôgakukan's Japanese Dictionary*) is the largest dictionary of the Japanese language.



(etw. wurmt jemanden lit. something worms someone for something bugs someone<sup>7</sup>). This similarity could be coincidental or rated as evidence of Orii's (2001) theory that the everyday experience with parasites in early modern times played a role in the development of *mushi*-idioms and that this phenomenon is probably shared by all of mankind. It is thinkable that this might have been a factor in shaping the belief of *mushi* residing in humans in Daoist tradition or Chinese medicine. But the fact is that the component *mushi* is noticeably more diversified and productive as a metaphor in the conceptualization of emotions in Japanese phraseology than in English or German.

Very similar to the above mentioned *mushi o korosu* (lit. to kill the *mushi*) in the literal meaning is *mushi mo korosanu* (lit. not even killing a *mushi*) denoting a type of person, who cannot even kill a bug (that is, couldn't hurt a fly). This derives from a conceptual metaphor also found in English (or German) of the *mushi* as small animal, usually like a parasite, which is associated with the characteristics of something weak, parasitical and worthless as a being. The Japanese language contains idioms such as *mushi ga tsuku* (lit. a *mushi* sticks to somebody) referring to an ill-chosen boyfriend 'infesting' a young woman. *Mushi* is also used to denote someone being almost fanatically into something, invoking the image of a parasite clinging to something, much like the to be bitten by the ... bug in English as a metaphor for sudden enthusiasm for something. The Japanese expression *hon no mushi* (lit. book-*mushi*) describes an obsessive reader in a similar way as the English (*bookworm*) and the German (*Bücherwurm*). However in Japanese the phrase is still productive because it is basically possible to replace *hon* (Book) by almost any other hobby.

Typical expressions drawing from the characteristic weakness of the species are *yowa-mushi* (lit. weak *mushi*), which is used to insult somebody as being feeble, and *naki-mushi* (lit. cry-*mushi*), which is used to describe a person crying often or quickly, and *mushi no iki* (lit. *mushi* breath), which is used to describe someone very weak, possibly in the last stage of their life. The verbal idioms like the gestural<sup>8</sup> idiom *nigamushi o kamitsubushita yô na (kao)* (lit. [a facial expression] as if one has bitten on a bitter *mushi*) for a scowl, and *tonde hi ni iru natsu no mushi (no yô)* (lit. [like] a summer *mushi* flying into the fire), which is used to describe self-destructive or trouble-

<sup>7</sup> The German expression differs from the English expression because its use is limited to abstract causes of annoyance.

<sup>8</sup> A method of encoding gestural idioms in a phraseological dictionary is discussed in Vogel (2011).



inviting behaviour, are often used as similes and are transparent without knowing the cultural background.

Even though this list is not exhaustive, it covers the basic concepts found in idioms that use the component *mushi* as encoded in Japanese monolingual dictionaries. But there is another idiom that is quite common that nonetheless does not seem to fit well in any of the mentioned groups. The idiom *mushi ga ii* (lit. the *mushi* is good) is frequently used to refer to somebody who is selfish or to an egoistic action. It seems to be closest to expressions denoting uncontrollable emotions or intuition, yet any attempt to explain it in this context seems forced because it stands basically by itself<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, in this approach it is treated as an opaque idiomatic expression that has to be memorized as a single unit not related to any particular concept.

#### 4. Lexicographical representation in an onomasiological view

Onomasiological dictionaries have been trying to bridge the gap between the factual and figurative meaning of idiomatic expressions by assigning categories to expressions that reflect an underlying metaphor. The problem with the onomasiological perspective on idioms is that there is still no one ontology of the real world – and possibly will never be – which can be used as a foundation.

Looking at the 66 idioms listed in the *Nihon Kokugo Dai-Jiten* under the entry *mushi*, only a fraction is registered in the onomasiological dictionaries of Japanese, the *Reikai Kanyôku Jiten* and the *Imi Kara Hikeru Kanyôku Jiten*. About one third<sup>10</sup> of the idioms can be categorized in connection with anger or irritability. That is if the idioms expressing the cessation of anger are included. These transitional idioms pose a problem in the categorization because what they actually express is the unemotional

<sup>9</sup> There are at least two common variations: *mushi ga yoi* (lit. the *mushi* is good), as form variant, and *mushi ga yosugiru* (lit. the *mushi* is too good), which puts a little more emphasis on the egoistic nature of something or someone.

<sup>10</sup> This portion refers to the encoding of idioms in the *Nihon Kokugo Dai-Jiten*. For the *wadoku-idioms* dictionary, one would have to distinguish between lemmas and actual entries, since it introduces an architecture in which one dictionary entry can have more than one associated lemma. These so-called form variants share the semantic commentary but make it possible to cover the complete range of orthographic variability to display each form variant as a full-fledged lemma in the dictionary article.

state (*peace of mind*) as a status quo in association with the feeling of anger. The solution for cases like this is transitional categories in form of a subcategory of anger or the cessation of the anger, which is a directional link between the anger and peace of mind. This subcategory seems particularly rich in synonymic expressions, such as *mushi o korosu* (lit. to kill the *mushi*), *mushi o osaeru* (lit. to suppress the *mushi*), *mushi o koraeru* (lit. to control the *mushi*), and *mushi o shinasu* (lit. to let the *mushi* die), which all express the ability to control one's own feelings.

The second biggest group (about one quarter) makes use of the component *mushi* as a metaphor ("a small animal, sometimes one that cries in a pretty fashion or a parasite"), as mentioned in the previous section. Another 10% of the idioms are fairly disparate and either have to do with abdominal pains and disorders or various emotions, such as a mood change, as seen in the idioms *mushi ga kawaru* (lit. the *mushi* changes), and *mushi ga dôjiru* (lit. the *mushi* are upset), which expresses surprise. As previously mentioned, there are more idioms expressing emotions, including intuitive aversion or dislike, intuition, and shameless or selfish behaviour, which do not fit any one particular pattern.

## 5. Lexicographical Representation as Conceptual Metaphors

Hashimoto (1993) and Otsuka (1994) show that one's understanding of idiomatic expressions is facilitated when one is familiar with the underlying concept, but these concepts are usually not part of dictionary entries. Keysar and Bly (1995) showed through experiments with L-2-Learners that knowledge of the concepts behind metaphors can help language learners understand and memorize an idiomatic expression.

One possible way to present the underlying concept and bridge the gap between distinct languages is to provide additional information to the dictionary user. For example, *Kodansha's Dictionary of Basic Japanese Idioms* is built around key entries, which explain the linguistic and cultural background of the group of idioms associated with the key word. In case of *mushi*, the dictionary includes a general note about the meaning of the key word and its association with "the nebulous alien inside us all that has been attributed with the ability to move us to like or dislike, be angry or mollified" and with "childhood irritability and other minor nervous disorders" (*Kodansha's Dictionary of Basic Japanese Idioms*, 415). These general notes are followed by the expressions, which are grouped in three

categories: (a) things the source of which remains uncertain and ascribed to some “bug”, (b) metaphoric use derived from some characteristically buggy trait, and (c) idioms that don’t fit in the other categories.

The approach presented in this paper uses a similar hierarchical classification, with the key word *mushi* at the top level and three subsections grouping idiomatic expressions by affiliating them to distinct meanings of the key word. Naturally, these groups have some superficial similarity to the ones used by *Kodansha’s Dictionary of Basic Japanese Idioms*, but there are significant differences with regard to the definitions and the selection of elements assigned to the categories.

In my approach, the first conceptual category is more specifically rooted in the ethno-category *mushi*, traditionally regarded to be responsible for intuitive or uncontrollable action or emotion in folk belief. Because these *mushi* are characterized as (imaginary) creatures that actually reside inside of human beings, this group is restricted to idioms that can be explained in those terms:

- (1) According to folk belief, three worms resided in every human being that were held responsible for moodiness, uncontrollable emotions or intuitive feelings. (Followed by an optional etymological commentary).
- *hara no mushi ga osamaranai* (lit. the *mushi* in the stomach cannot be mollified)
  - *mushi no idokoro ga warui* (lit. the dwelling place of the *mushi* is bad)
  - *mushi ga shiraseru* (lit. the *mushi* report)
  - *hara no mushi ga shôchi shinai* (lit. the *mushi* do not approve)
  - [...]

A second group centers around childhood irritability and other minor nervous disorders

- (2) Moodiness, often linked to abdominal disorders and childhood irritability
- *mushi ga dôjiru* (lit. the *mushi* are upset),
  - *mushi ga kawaru* (lit. the *mushi* changes)
  - *mushi ga mushi ga warui* (lit. the *mushi* are bad)
  - *mushi no idokoro ga warui* (lit. The dwelling place of the *mushi* is bad)
  - [...]

Metaphors like *naki-mushi*, *yowa-mushi* or *hon-no mushi*, which also belong to the first group in the *Kodansha Dictionary of Basic Japanese Idioms*, form a separate group because in these expressions *mushi* does not denote the ‘nebulous alien’ inside a person, but is instead used to denote the person himself.

- (3) Small creature, larvae, worm, parasite. Used metaphorically for a person who is considered as being weak, feeble or particularly obsessed with something.
- *mushi ga tsuku* (lit. *mushi*-infested)
  - *hon no mushi* (lit. book-*mushi*)
  - *naki-mushi* (lit. cry-*mushi*)
  - *yowa-mushi* (lit. weak *mushi*)
  - [...]

Figure 1. The entry for *hara no mushi ga osamaranai* in the WaDoku-Idioms Japanese-German phraseological dictionary

**WaDoku-Idioms.de**

和独慣用句辞典

Schnellsuche

search

はら むし おさ  
**腹の虫が治まらない (NnoNgaVneg)**  
 verärgert sein; unzufrieden sein; sich mit etwas nicht abfinden können

←

Komponenten (Quelle: WaDokuJT)

Metaphor 虫

Für sich alleine bedeutet 虫 (*mushi*) für eine Reihe von Kriechtieren (Würmer, Maden, Larven) und Insekten.

(1) Im übertragenen Sinn wird *mushi* (bzw. *hara no mushi*) häufig als eine Metapher für Verärgerung verwendet.

⇒ Etymologie  
 ⇒ 虫を殺す ⇒ 虫の居所が悪い ⇒ 腹の虫が治まらない ⇒ 虫が取り上す ⇒ 虫に当たる ⇒ 虫を煩う ⇒ 腹の虫が承知しない

(2) Launenhaftigkeit, insbesondere bei kleinen Kindern, die in diesem Fall auch auf Bauchschmerzen/Parasitenbefall zurück geführt wird. ⇒ 虫を起こす ⇒ 虫がおきる ⇒ 虫気が悪い ⇒ 虫が換わる ⇒ 虫が動じる ⇒ 虫を病む

(3) Vergleich von einem Menschen mit einem kleinen Tier. Bildlich auch für jemanden, der wie ein Parasit mit etwas verbunden ist. Meist despektierlich. ⇒ 虫が付く ⇒ 本の虫 ⇒ 虫の息 ⇒ 泣き虫 ⇒ 器虫 ⇒ 虫の這うよう

(4) Metapher für Selbstzentriertheit oder Schamlosigkeit. ⇒ 虫がいい

Formvarianten

腹の虫が治まらない  
 腹の虫が納まらない

Kategorie: Zorn

目に角を立てる  
 虫を殺す  
 腹の虫が治まらない  
 腹が居る  
 腹が癒える  
 青筋を立てる  
 怒り心頭に発する  
 怒髪天を衝く  
 腹が立つ  
 腹が煮え返る  
 腹が煮える  
 一寸の虫にも五分の魂  
 虫が取り上す  
 小腹が立つ  
 目を三角にする  
 めくじら立てる  
 地団駄踏む  
 頭に来る

Such conceptual clusters can be encoded as a distinct entry type in the lexicon, called synaptic article. These special dictionary entries are displayed in information boxes<sup>11</sup> as part of the idiom associated with them, but are also indexed in a way that a search by metaphoric key element would lead to the synaptic article itself. Figure 1 shows a dictionary entry for *hara no mushi ga osamaranai* with information on grammar, semantics, form variants and (expandable) component meanings. In addition, the view shows form variants, idioms associated with the same onomasiological category and the information box for displaying the synaptic entry for *mushi* as a metaphor for anger/irritability and its etymological background.

Information boxes are introduced in the dictionary to summarize all the idiomatic expressions derived from the same mental image. On one hand, these info boxes are more selective than categorization because they group only idioms based on the same metaphor. On the other hand, the explanation given is general enough to make it possible to encode pairs of antonyms (*hara no mushi ga osamaru* – *hara no mushi ga osamarai*) together. Links lead from the list of expressions in the information box to the dictionary articles themselves and to explanations of the literal meaning of the components.

There are still a number of idioms that cannot be explained in connection with these conceptual metaphors. In a user study, Keysar & Bly (1995) found that it is even possible to make people believe that the constructed cultural background is what they have known all along. Even though it would be feasible to construct scenarios around the idioms, this approach chooses not make use of this kind of mnemonics. Instead, the approach uses real cultural background information to support the semantic commentary.

## 6. Conclusion

Analysis of the idioms listed in dictionaries that make use of *mushi* has shown that a significant percentage of them can be mapped and grouped to a small number of metaphors by semantic categorization. The result of the categorization shows a clustering of idioms, which can be at least

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<sup>11</sup> Information boxes are similar to the 'usage note' boxes in the *Macmillan Dictionary* and *Thesaurus* supporting the understanding of metaphors.

partly mapped to distinct conceptual metaphors and their cultural and etymological background. The categorization and clustering is reflected in onomasiological access and linkage structures and as synaptic articles in the lexicon. This information can be directly accessed through the navigational and search elements of the dictionary and is displayed as an extended semantic commentary that is displayed in the form of information boxes as part of the phraseological entries of the lexicon.

By making this implicit semantic information explicit, the dictionary is actively supporting the L-2 learner to gain a deeper understanding of these idioms, thereby enhancing the memorisation process. It is up to future research and user studies to show to what extent and in which reference situation and form this display of the underlying meaning proves to be most useful to language learners.

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## **Rola *mushi* w idiomach japońskich: zapisywanie informacji konceptualnych w słownikach elektronicznych**

### **STRESZCZENIE**

Japońskie słowo *mushi* nie jest porównywalne z żadną inną jednostką leksykalną w języku angielskim ani niemieckim. Zdecydowana większość japońskich idiomów z komponentem *mushi* nie ma bliskich odpowiedników z korespondującym składnikiem faunicznym w języku angielskim ani niemieckim i nie są one z reguły ekwiwalentami tłumaczeniowymi. Zrozumienie ich znaczenia jest trudne dla nierodzimych użytkowników języka japońskiego, więc stanowią wyzwanie dla leksykografów, którzy próbują zapisać ich znaczenie w słowniku. W moim modelu japońsko-niemieckiego słownika używam kategoryzacji jako metody objaśniania znaczenia idiomów, aby można było je wyszukiwać po znaczeniach, a nie po formach (fonetyce). Ta metoda prowadzi do gromadzenia grup idiomów o podobnym lub synonimicznym znaczeniu, skupionych wokół kategorii gniew, drażliwość, obsesja lub po prostu pasożyty/małe żyjątka. W artykule objaśniono koncept *mushi* i jego etymologię (motywację idiomatyczną). Te informacje są przedstawione w ramach informacyjnych w danej kategorii (podejście onomazjologiczne) lub z któryś z powiązanych artykułów słownikowych (podejście semazjologiczne). Celem jest ułatwienie zapamiętywania tych idiomów poprzez pokazanie ich w kontekście oraz ukazanie konceptu wspólnego grupie idiomów.



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## **Diffusion de la sagesse proverbiale aux nouvelles générations<sup>1</sup>**

**ABSTRACT:** Ce travail propose tout d'abord d'établir ce que nous comprenons par proverbes, en réfléchissant sur le savoir du public laïc concernant ces unités. Ensuite, nous présentons une collection de dictionnaires spéciaux, dont les entrées sont en cinq langues étrangères (anglais, espagnol, français, italien ou latin) et les équivalents en portugais du Brésil. Ces ouvrages ont été élaborés en vue de divulguer aux usagers communs un échantillon des proverbes fréquents dans ces langues étrangères et leurs équivalents en portugais brésilien, pour éveiller leur culture phraséologique. La microstructure vise expliquer le sens des entrées, ainsi que la relation entre l'entrée et les équivalents (équivalence littérale, approximative, globale, partielle, etc), en cherchant un style léger et plaisant, parce que nous croyons que revient aussi aux chercheurs ce rôle de construire des ouvrages de référence qui portent la connaissance des phénomènes parémiologiques à ceux qui ne sont pas spécialistes.

**MOTS-CLÉS:** *les proverbes, la parémiologie, la culture phraséologique, les dictionnaires*

### **1. Introduction: le concept de proverbe**

La parémiologie étudie tout ce qui se confond, qui frotte les frontières du proverbe, comme les adages, les refrains, les dictons, les sentences, les maximes, etc, eux tous des unités phraséologiques.

Pour Gross (1996), une expression phraséologique figurée comme les proverbes a toujours un sens non-compositionnel. Cette caractéristique

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<sup>1</sup> Ce texte est la version révisée et augmentée de la communication présentée au Colloque International de Parémiologie, qui a eu lieu à Paris, du 29 juin au 02 juillet 2011.



révèle la façon dont les usagers saisissent les proverbes, parce que la relation entre les éléments constitutants de ces unités et le sens global de l'unité proverbiale n'est pas évidente.

Après que les éléments d'un proverbe sont soumis tout d'abord à un processus de figement (ou semi-figement) qui le consacre dans la tradition d'une langue et au sein d'une communauté, nous nous attendons à une reconnaissance de l'unité et son sens figuré, même si les éléments ne sont que partiellement motivés (Mejri 1997; Jorge 1999). Par exemple, dans le proverbe „Ce n'est pas avec la beauté qu'on paie son boucher”, la figuration est plus large que dans „Quand l'aumône est trop grosse, le saint se méfie”, où nous pouvons récupérer quelque élément compositionnel pour nous aider à comprendre le sens figuré de tout l'énoncé. Pourtant, dans „Il n'y a point de laides amours”, nous disons qu'il s'agit d'un dicton, non d'un proverbe, parce que cet énoncé est totalement motivé, compositionnel et non figuré.

Nous définissons le proverbe comme une unité phraséologique figée ou semi-figée, formulée par un énoncé complexe autonome. Cela veut dire que la formulation proverbiale, bien que concise, se présente tout à fait complète (des phrases avec des sujets et des compléments), comprenant par conséquent tout un discours et ayant une vie propre, puisque sa signification ne dépend pas de son actualisation discursive : le proverbe contient en soi toute une pensée, tout un raisonnement, tout un texte, n'importe quelles sont les situations communicationnelles pour qu'il soit employé. De plus, cet énoncé est reconnu par toute une communauté linguistique, parce qu'il naît des expériences partagées qui sont rassemblées et exprimées d'une façon figurée. Le sujet énonciateur, au sein de cette communauté, peut s'en servir à un moment ou autre pour atteindre un but fonctionnel : apprendre, conseiller, consoler, prévenir, réprimander, persuader ou même injurier (Xatara & Succi 2008).

Pour ce besoin vital – très ancien – de formaliser des règles de conduite et les attribuer une autorité irréfutable (Burker & Porter 1997), les proverbes ont été présents dans la philosophie des Grecs, Romains, Egyptiens, Arabes et se sont perpétués depuis le Moyen Âge (Albuquerque 1989). En effet, l'usager, pour renforcer ce qu'il pense à l'égard de certains événements dans des situations communicatives diverses, cherche plusieurs fois à faire appel à des énoncés qui peuvent représenter un savoir traditionnel et incontestable. Et là il peut trouver les proverbes.

## 2. Usage des proverbes

La parémiologie ne s'occupe pas seulement d'essayer de définir le proverbe et le distinguer des autres phraséologismes, mais aussi d'analyser son incorporation au langage quotidien (Amaral 1976). On pourrait alors penser qu'un recueil de proverbes peut aider à cette incorporation, parce qu'on ne peut pas employer ce qu'on ne connaît pas, et les dictionnaires se prêtent comme des aides effectives à l'enrichissement lexical.

Cela est encore plus vrai dans le cas des usagers d'une langue étrangère (LE), plus dépendants de l'aide des dictionnaires. Mais les proverbes sont enregistrés dans les dictionnaires bilingues beaucoup moins que des expressions idiomatiques ou figurées, beaucoup moins que des expressions grossières et injurieuses, ce qui entraîne une méconnaissance des proverbes, surtout par les générations les plus jeunes.

Compte tenu de ce manque, quelques questions peuvent se poser : Ne pas connaître un proverbe signifie que ce proverbe est vieilli et ne représente plus la sagesse, une „vérité" anonyme ? L'homme actuel n'a plus besoin de règles de conduite ? Ou il s'agit d'un appauvrissement du langage qui chasse les formulations les plus archaïques et les moins évidentes, comme „À bon vin, point d'enseigne", qui veut dire que le bon vin n'a pas besoin d'éloges ? Il faut garder comme vrai que les jeunes doivent attendre un certain âge pour les acquérir („Plus âgé, plus connaisseur des proverbes" dirait-on), même si on ne sait jamais à partir de quel âge ils devraient normalement les connaître ? Nous croyons, comme Hanania (1993), que sans doute on se trouve devant l'affaiblissement des traditions transmises par les proverbes.

### 2.1. Proverbes très vivants et marqués culturellement

Nous devrions prendre en compte le fait que la fréquence des proverbes est aussi liée aux pensées qui demeurent très vivantes („Le temps c'est de l'argent" n'est pas démodé, puisque sa fréquence d'usage est très élevée), ou aux référents qui ne sont plus actuels mais appartiennent à une réalité historique du passé („Le gibet est pour les malheureux") (Sabino 2010).

Cependant, nous admettons que le discours figé du passé peut assurer sa place dans le présent, justement pour montrer que l'homme a très peu changé : la plupart des sentiments et conflits sont éprouvés par tous les peuples, dans toutes les époques. D'où normalement la valeur universelle d'un proverbe qui se formule dans plusieurs langues. Par exemple le

proverbe *O costume faz a lei* se trouve en français („L’usage fait la loi”), en anglais (*Custom rules the law*), en espagnol (*Costumbre hace ley*), en italien (*L’uso fa la legge*), etc.

En fait, la répétition diachronique d’un proverbe c’est ce qui lui assure une stabilité formelle et sémantique. Ce figement ainsi que sa fréquence d’usage sont les critères principaux qui vont déterminer la reconnaissance et lexicalisation d’un proverbe comme tel par la communauté linguistique où il est parlé.

De cette façon, les Brésiliens ont consacré, par exemple, le proverbe *Mais vale um pássaro na mão do que dois voando* („Un oiseau dans la main vaut mieux que deux dans la haie” ou „Un tiens vaut mieux que deux tu l’auras”) et non *Mais vale um peixe na mão do que dois nadando* („Un poisson dans la main vaut mieux que deux dans la mer”).

D’un autre côté, les considérations de Szende (1996) affirment que toutes les langues ont des lacunes dans une perspective contrastive, parce que les problèmes d’équivalence peuvent être sur le plan du réel (le référent existe-t-il ou pas ?) ou sur le plan de la langue (c’est le mot qui manque dans l’une des langues ?). Cela est aussi vrai dans les cas des proverbes qui n’expriment aucune vérité universelle, mais très locale, propre à une culture. Nous avons en portugais du Brésil, le proverbe *Quem não gosta de samba é ruim da cabeça ou doente do pé* („Qui n’aime pas la samba n’est pas bon de la tête ou malade du pied”), qui n’existe pas dans les autres langues. De toute façon, on peut partager la signification culturelle que ce proverbe véhicule, comme, par exemple en français „Qui n’aime pas la samba, est malade de la tête ou du pied”, en ajoutant bien sûr une explication pareille à „les Brésiliens qui n’aiment pas la samba ne sont pas bien vus et acceptés”.

Un autre cas qui nous fait repenser la vérité universelle des proverbes, comme une sagesse populaire partagée, c’est l’existence des proverbes antonymes, antagoniques même, comme : *Longe dos olhos, longe do coração* („Loin des yeux, loin du coeur”) X *Longe dos olhos, perto do coração* („Longe dos olhos, près du coeur”). Or, si le sens de distance physique qui implique une distance affective se consacre, en plusieurs langues d’ailleurs (le premier cas des proverbes mentionnés), nous pourrions dire que cette pensée représente une vérité avec laquelle sont d’accord les individus un peu partout dans le monde. Mais cette vérité apparemment consensuelle est mise en cause par l’existence conflictuelle d’un autre sentiment, celui de distance physique qui n’empêche pas de garder les affections (le second cas des proverbes précités).

### 3. Les dictionnaires : un raccourci pour l'apprentissage des proverbes ?

Dans cet état des choses, quel est le rôle des dictionnaires de proverbes ? C'est de ne pas se laisser perdre une très ancienne tradition orale, qui figure premièrement enregistrée dans des manuscrits.

On pourrait dire que le premier recueil proverbial vient de l'Égyptien Ptahhotep, autour de 2400 ans av. J.-C., un papyrus découvert en 1843 par l'explorateur français Émile Prisse d'Avesnes qui réunit des „enseignements” et des „maximes”. Aussi dans l'Antiquité grecque (entre 1200-800 av. J.-C.), des recueils ont été constitués par des scribes anonymes, en ajoutant aux enseignements égyptiens une importante tradition de fabulistes et chanteurs ambulants. À leur tour, les érudits byzantins ont repéré les formules d'origine populaire récurrentes dans l'Antiquité grecque et les ont mélangées à des sentences littéraires, ce qui peut représenter les premiers obstacles pour que l'origine des formules soit déterminée. On ne pourrait pas non plus oublier le répertoire biblique des proverbes, écrit en hébreu entre 600 et 400 ans av. J.-C., et qui au cours des III<sup>e</sup> et IV<sup>e</sup> siècles av. J.-C., a été traduit dans plusieurs langues. Tous ces recueils égyptiens, grecs, byzantins et bibliques réunissent les ancêtres de la plupart des proverbes collectés par des copistes anonymes du Moyen-Âge, encore en circulation aujourd'hui et trouvés dans des dictionnaires actuels ([www.proverbes-francais.fr](http://www.proverbes-francais.fr); <http://les-proverbes.fr/site/cote-mots/plus-sur-les-proverbes/ca-vient-dou-un-proverbe/letude-des-origines>).

Si un proverbe est alors enregistré dans un dictionnaire de nos jours, il est considéré lexicalisé mais, surtout dans les dictionnaires bilingues, ils sont rares ou ceux qui sont choisis sont les proverbes qui présentent un grand nombre d'occurrence fréquente. De plus, nous ne trouvons qu'une explication de leur sens et non une proposition de traduction qui soit un équivalent possible dans l'autre langue.

#### 3.1. L'univers proverbial français-portugais

Le rédacteur d'un dictionnaire bilingue français-portugais, par exemple, quand il inclut des proverbes dans son ouvrage, ne devrait pas

- 1) seulement présenter l'explication en portugais pour un proverbe : il ne suffit pas de donner au proverbe „Au royaume des aveugles, les borgnes sont rois” une explication comme “tous ceux qui ont un petit

avantage peuvent se faire remarquer s'ils sont comparés à ceux qui sont totalement infortunés".

- 2) non plus donner une traduction littérale comme *No reino dos cegos, os caolhos são reis*,
- 3) mais il devra proposer le proverbe équivalent : *Em terra de cegos, quem tem um olho é rei*.

Également, pour le proverbe „À brebis tondue, Dieu mesure le vent", on ne se contentera pas d'expliquer que "Dieu donne des difficultés proportionnelles à la faiblesse humaine", ni de le traduire mot à mot (Para ovelha tosquiada, Deus mede o vento); il faut proposer le proverbe équivalent : *Deus dá o frio conforme o cobertor* (= Dieu donne le frois d'après la couverture).

Et définitivement, l'absence de beaucoup de proverbes dans les dictionnaires bilingues est une contrainte pour la maîtrise phraséologique de la LE et la compétence lexicale et culturelle de l'apprenant, de la même façon que la méconnaissance des unités complexes figurées en général représente un obstacle même en langue maternelle (LM).

### 3.2. Une proposition nouvelle

Alors un groupe de recherche à l'Université de l'État São Paulo, sous la direction de la professeure Claudia Zavaglia, croit d'un côté que l'enregistrement lexicographique des proverbes et aussi d'autres unités phraséologiques en perspective bilingue sert à renforcer la propre identité nationale, la brésilienne dans le cas en question. Nous croyons que l'existence de dictionnaires qui mettent en contraste le portugais et d'autres langues atteste son importance culturelle dans le cadre international de langues de prestige. D'un autre côté, ces chercheurs tiennent qu'un dictionnaire phraséologique bilingue peut représenter un instrument qui favorise l'apprentissage des phraséologismes dans la LE ainsi que dans la LM.

Pour cela ce groupe a élaboré une collection de cinq dictionnaires, *Xeretando a linguagem* („Fouillant le langage"), qui a pour objet apporter au public commun, débutant dans les études phraséologiques, des curiosités de certains types d'unités, parmi celles-ci, les proverbes, afin de les motiver à les connaître et à leur faire attention.

Le grand défi de ce travail a été donc de présenter une introduction avec un langage facilitant et des articles simples : entrées dans la LE (anglais, espagnol, français, italien et latin), sélectionnées parmi les phraséologismes les plus usuels (parce que les plus fréquents dans les dic-

tionnaires monolingues), et leurs équivalents en portugais, avec des commentaires de nature diverse, pour expliquer le sens du proverbe d'une façon informelle et souvent amusante et détendue.

Voilà leurs couvertures :



Chacun des dictionnaires décrit six unités différentes (expressions idiomatiques, proverbes, faux amis, langage des couleurs, argot des jeunes et gros mots), dans des chapitres segmentés :

- Chapitre I : *Você está falando grego?* („Tu parles chinois ?”) – qui traite des expressions idiomatiques.
- Chapitre II : *Quem tem boca vai a Roma* („Qui langue a à Rome va”) – on va revenir à celui-ci.
- Chapitre III : *Amigo da onça* („Faux frère”) – qui se rapporte aux faux amis.
- Chapitre IV : *Está tudo azul* („C'est tout rose”) – qui parle de couleurs employées pour exprimer quelque sentiment, des aspects culturellement marquées dans chaque univers linguistique (courants politiques, distinctions ethniques etc).
- Chapitre V : *Tá ligado?* („T'es branché ?”) – qui s'occupe des argots des jeunes.
- Chapitre VI : *Danou-se!* („C'est foutu !”) – qui réunit des mots tabous, employés quand on a un besoin de quelque type de transgression, de libération.

### 3.2.1. En ce qui concerne les proverbes

Maintenant on reprend le chapitre objet de ce travail : les proverbes. De ce chapitre, on a sélectionné un article de chacun des cinq dictionnaires bilingues.

## Ex. d'article du dictionnaire en ANGLAIS

The apple doesn't fall far from the tree → *Filho de peixe, peixinho é*

Esse provérbio é usado em situações em que se compara o filho ao pai. Pode servir tanto para elogiar ou criticar as ações de um filho (ou filha). O que interessa é a relação de semelhança entre os dois. Tal como outro provérbio em inglês – **Like father, like son** – é a continuação de uma tradição: *Tal pai, tal filho*.

[en français : La caque sent toujours le hareng – Ce proverbe est employé dans des situations où on compare le fils à son père. Il peut servir pour approuver ou critiquer les actions d'un fils (ou fille). C'est bien intéressant la relation de similitude entre les deux. Tel qu'un autre proverbe en anglais – **Like father, like son** – qui a aussi une traduction littérale et implique une reprise du caractère du père par le fils : *Tel père tel fils*.]

## Ex. d'article du dictionnaire en ESPAGNOL

**A perro flaco, todo son pulgas** → *Em cavalo ruim até as éguas dão coice*

Em português também temos *Em pau caído todo mundo faz graveto*. Entende-se que aos sofrendores sempre recaem mais dores e sofrimentos, isto é, *Desgraça pouca é bobagem* / **Las desgracias nunca vienen solas**.

[en français : Un malheur en entraîne un autre / Un malheur n'arrive jamais seul – En portugais aussi nous avons *Em pau caído todo mundo faz graveto*. On comprend qu'à ceux qui souffrent reviennent encore plus des douleurs et souffrances, c'est-à-dire, *Peu de mal ne gêne pas*.]

## Ex. d'article du dictionnaire en FRANÇAIS

**À cheval donné on ne regarde pas la bride** → *A cavalo dado não se olham os dentes*

O negócio é ganhar algo (e nas duas línguas "cavalo" foi o selecionado), mas se foi ganho, tratemos de não reclamar caso percebamos algum defeitinho (esteja este representado pela rédea para os franceses, ou pelos dentes para os brasileiros).

[en français : Ce qui importe c'est de réussir à avoir quelque chose (et dans les deux langues, on a sélectionné le mot « cheval », mais si on a ce qu'on désire, il faut faire attention à ne pas se plaindre au cas où on y remarque quelque défaut (celui-ci représenté par la bride pour les Français, et par les dents pour les Brésiliens).]



**Paris n'a pas été fait en un jour** → Roma não se fez num só dia  
 Em francês fala-se de Paris, em português poderia ser Brasília, não é?!  
 Ou São Paulo, ou Rio... Mas aqui estão em jogo muitos séculos a mais,  
 tudo para dizer que grandes conquistas levam tempo.

[en français : Dans le proverbe français on parle de Paris et dans le proverbe en portugais, on pourrait parler de Brasília, n'est-ce pas ?! Ou São Paulo, ou Rio... Mais ici sont en jeu beaucoup de siècles, tout pour dire que les grandes conquêtes prennent du temps.]

Ex. d'article du dictionnaire en ITALIEN

**L'erba cattiva non muore mai** → Pau torto morre torto  
 Refere-se ao fato de uma pessoa ter muitos vício e hábitos ruins que  
 estão sempre presentes em suas ações, embora haja tentativas para  
 eliminá-los.

[en français : Qui a bu boira – Ce proverbe se rapporte au fait que si une  
 personne a beaucoup de mauvaises habitudes, elles sont toujours présentes  
 dans ses actions, bien qu'il y ait des tentatives de les surmonter.]

Ex. d'article du dictionnaire en LATIN:

**Non semper Saturnalia erunt** → Nem todo dia é dia santo  
 Sentido literal: não serão sempre Saturnais (as Saturnais eram uma  
 festividade romana em honra a Saturno, durante a qual as pessoas  
 extravasavam em alegria, além de esquecerem distinções e con-  
 venções sociais).

[en français : Tous les jours ne sont pas des jours de prise – Sens littéral :  
 c'est pas toujours saturnales (les Saturnales étaient une fête romaine en  
 hommage à Saturne, pendant laquelle les personnes s'épanouissaient en  
 joie ainsi qu'elles oubliaient les séparations et conventions sociales.)]

#### 4. Considérations finales

La langue portugaise du Brésil est très lacunaire à l'égard des ouvrages bilingues phraséographiques ou parémiographiques. Alors, nous croyons que des ouvrages comme la collection *Xeretando a linguagem* peut contribuer à montrer l'importance de l'univers des phraséologismes à l'usager commun.



## Collection

- Aquati, C., Totti, L.A.S. (2010) : *Xeretando a linguagem em latim*.  
Ceneviva, C., Nigro, C. (2010) : *Xeretando a linguagem em inglês*.  
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## Upowszechnianie mądrości przysłów wśród młodych pokoleń

### STRESZCZENIE

W artykule podjęto próbę ustalenia, czym jest przysłowie w rozumieniu użytkowników języka, którzy nie są językoznawcami. Omówiono w nim serię słowników przysłów angielskich, hiszpańskich, francuskich, włoskich i łacińskich. W opracowaniach tych przysłowia danych języków zostały zestawione z portugalskimi ekwiwalentami (odmiana brazylijska). Mikrostruktura słowników uwzględnia znaczenie dosłowne i odpowiedniki portugalskie, co pozwala rozwijać kompetencję frazeologiczną osób niebędących specjalistami w zakresie nauki o języku.



3.

Contrastive Linguistics /  
Translation & Phraseology



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## The Starry Sky in Proverbs and Sayings

**ABSTRACT:** The present article examines some of the names used for the heavenly bodies in folk sayings and analyzes them by consulting an astronomer to verify their astronomical reference and through the study of the wider cultural references the names subtend. In this way I wish to propose an analytical method capable of revealing the key characteristics of the referent that is the basis of the appellation, a step-by-step reconstruction via the word and the tradition to which the referent belongs. Thus, in the final analysis, what the article proposes is a reflection on the distinctiveness of celestial bodies as linguistic referents.

**KEY WORDS:** *stars, folk tradition, linguistics, semantics, astronomy*

### 1. Introduction

When one embarks on a study of the folk names of the heavenly bodies, when one does research in the field of astral onomastics, the key point that needs to be clarified is the definition of the referent. This is a fundamental question that accompanies the research as it is being carried out. It is not a referent that is immediately obvious, nor is it a tangible object whose characteristics can be intuitively known.

The definition of the referent is intrinsically linked to the study of words and to culture. It is constructed in time. When the night sky is observed with the naked eye, what can be seen are points of light scattered against a black background. The question posed in this article is therefore to what exactly each name has been attributed. What are the

key characteristics of the referent? What, ultimately, is the reason behind the bestowing of a name? In seeking answers to these questions I moved from synchronic to diachronic analysis and used information from other fields of study.

From this standpoint, proverbs are a source of great interest. By virtue of their unique ability to preserve words that have fallen into disuse, adages are means of retrieving lost words, a treasure trove of precious linguistic objects. The value that proverbs have in this field of study goes beyond this, however. Here in fact it is the vestige of a narrative, of belief, a clue to the empirical value attributed to a celestial body. The objective of this article is to understand what function star names have in the proverbs examined, and via analysis, to better understand what the key characteristics of the referents are. To clarify this, several proverbs have been analyzed in collaboration with the astronomer Professor Juan Antonio Belmonte (Instituto Astrofísico de Canarias).

## **2. Giving Names to the Sky**

The voyage of exploration proposed has its starting point in a prior onomasiological linguistic study of folk names used for the heavenly bodies in Italy and Spain (Capponi 2005 and 2010). Deriving information largely, but not exclusively, from linguistic atlases and dictionaries, I constructed a corpus of data that made it possible to identify the principal lexical types used in the naming of the celestial bodies and constellations. It was then possible to observe that many names could be grouped together in semantic areas that seemingly function as gravitational centers around which various designations orbit. Linguistic analysis thus enabled me to identify the semantic hubs that became the basis of an in-depth study, seeing them as possible indications of age-old motifs that we know continue to exist, although, like a subterranean river, they are no longer visible. It is by following these linguistic traces that we can begin to reconstruct a word's history, using various disciplines as sources, and thereby reconnect the strands that link word to context, to people and to history. This involves working in a specialized field before then going on to apply the analytical approaches of other disciplines to one's findings so that the object analyzed can acquire the volume and depth it merits and are what give it current relevance.

This is a close-up examination of the forms of an act, “the naming of the sky”, that while surely ancient is still fully alive, and continually called into play. Space, that new world waiting to be discovered, requires new names for new things. Having lost our familiarity with the night sky visible with the naked eye, we now learn about space from satellite photography. Comparing folk tradition, classical tradition and contemporary scientific astronomical nomenclature prompts reflection on the forms of continuity and change, from antiquity to the present, of celestial imagery that has changed profoundly during the last century. Names, as Blumenberg (1991) wrote, represent the first form of human beings’ familiarity with the world. Giving a name signifies removing something from an indistinct mass, from the continuum, and thereby making tangible, although not always intelligible, what is beyond our grasp. The gnoseological value that can be attributed to this act of *homo nominans*, remains, therefore, intact. In short, what is here proposed is a method that by considering the name of a heavenly body as the answer to a question, seeks to find the question to which the name is the response. It is the question that allows us to flesh out the referent. In their introduction to *Medieval Views of the Cosmos*, Evelyn Edson and Emilie Savage-Smith express this idea as follows:

The medieval world system, inherited by the Christian and Islamic worlds from the Greeks and Romans and modified by the principles of both religions, was profoundly satisfying in terms of both theology and common sense, answering questions which scientists would not dare to ask today (Edson et al. 2004: 1).

### 3. Circular Time: Chronological, Metereological and Mythical

The following three proverbs refer to the constellation Ursa Major:

- (1) *Vámonos d'aquí qu'è hora, / vámonos d'aquí qu'è hora / vais'o carro d'as estrelas / eu non quero dormir fora*  
(Machado y Álvarez 1884, Vol. IX: 267).
- (2) *Cando o carro do ceo volve o rabo, / ou quer amanecer ou é dia craro*  
(Mingote Calderón 1995: 192).
- (3) *Cuando el Carro vuelve el hopo, al día le falta poco*  
(Martínez Kleiser 1953, s.v. anochecer).

The first says when the “celestial cart” disappears, it is time to go home, as otherwise one risks not being able to return home to sleep. The second specifies that when we see the back of the cart, it is either dawn or daytime. The third says that when we see the back of the cart, daybreak is not far off.

Belmonte explains them in this way: “The stars in Ursa Major (the Plough – U.K. – and Big Dipper – U.S. – but *Carro* (wagon, cart) in Italian and Spanish) are second magnitude and therefore visible at civil twilight. In sowing time in autumn this happens in the morning, at dawn”.

There are many expressions based on this vision of the sky as the backdrop to the passing of the hours. Below are some Sicilian ones cited by Pitré (1997: 519-520), which I have verified with Belmonte. When “la Puddara” (Pleiades) is *’n pernu* (perpendicular to the earth) it is midnight. This in fact occurs in November, in seed time. *Cu li setti stiddi* (“with the seven stars”) is the expression used to mean “at the first light of dawn”<sup>1</sup>. This depends on the season, but in late spring these stars rise at dawn. According to another Sicilian saying, Venus (*la stidda di l’arba o di jornu*, “the star of dawn or of day”) rises “two hours before day” (*cu dui uri di matinu*). Looking at *li triali* (Orion) and *la puddara* (Pleiades), “from their position in the sky at the various times they can be seen, farmers and sailors can deduce approximately what time of night it is”. The same information is reported by Ostermann (1894: 7), for example for the Friuli region of Italy: “I Sièz (the Pleiades) are the stars farmers look at in order to know the time”. Analogous information is contained in some Spanish proverbs:

- (4) *Cuando las cabrillas se ponen / à la hora de cena – tiempo es de tornarse*  
(Rodríguez Marín 1896: 397).

Belmonte has explained that “In (4) what might come to mind is the acronical setting in November, shortly before winter, which however occurs at dawn”. According to Barale (2003), in Piedmont “as late as the 1950s, in Valle Grande, a side valley of Valle Vermentagna, old people used the Pleiades as a *düsviarégn* (clock)”. Barale cites an elderly inhabitant of the mountain village of Palanfré who was going to the market in Vern-

<sup>1</sup> Pitré (1978: 5) gives the same information and in a footnote cites the astronomer A. Riccò, who reviewed his pages on astronomy and meteorology and pointed out to him that in fact six of the Pleiades are visible to the naked eye and two or three others are only intermittently visible. He concludes: “The number 7 must have been used because it is cabalistic, perfect, etc”.



ante (Valle Vermenagna) and indicated the time he had set out as “When I set out the Pleiades was (sic!) in the direction of Bec D’Orel – a mountain peak” (Barale 2003: 152).

Orion, a winter constellation, marks the hours of night vigils. Barale (2003) records the following Piedmont-dialect proverb (given here using his transcription):

- (5) *En dariera ‘d Carlevò i Setëu menu i viere a cugiò!* (Barale 2003: 149).

It says that towards the end of Carnival, the stars in Orion’s belt (*i Setëu*) guide revelers home to bed. Barale’s explanation is that “In the winter season, when the constellation of Orion is most visible due to its declination, which culminates in the sky at 10 o’clock on the night of January 15, it marked the time of night vigils. Several informants, not all of them elderly, emphasized that the stars in Orion’s belt principally indicated the end of the vigil and that this indication came from a particular position of the asterism in relation to a specific mountain” (Barale 2003: 149). This seems to be referred to in analogous proverbs that contain references to women at their spinning wheels going on with their winter work until the setting of Orion, which is indicated with various designations including cudgels (6), sawyers (7), mowers (8), rake (9), scythe (10-11):

- (6) *Lis Macis, di Zenàr, / La buine filandere ha di mandàlis a ponàr*  
(Osterman 1894: 6), Carnia.
- (7) *A la Ciandalira li Seitur’s cugien canta la fialira*  
(Volpati 1932: 178, n. 4), Piedmont.
- (8) *Una bona filandera da žiné la da met a leč i pradéi*  
(Volpati 1932: 179, n. 3), Provence.
- (9) *Le filarése de deñèr le fila finke i restié i va a punèr*  
(Rossi 1992: s.v.), Agordino.
- (10) *De gener la falz mett le donne a poler*  
(Volpati 1932: 185 n. 5), Trentino.
- (11) *Da Nadal le brave filandare le manda le fauc a poussar*  
(Volpati 1932: 185 n. 6), Trentino.

Orion in fact disappears from the sky at midnight in late winter and the expressions listed above are therefore confirmed.

For the names rake, scythe and mowers, it is useful to recall that in summer Orion is visible in the early morning, the time that mowing starts

(Capponi 2005: 142–149). Belmonte explains that in effect, “The heliacal rise of Orion occurs from June to July, therefore in summer, and at dawn the constellation can be seen on the eastern horizon”. I now cite a testimony found in Barale (2003: 149): “An elderly farmworker in Valle Maira recalled that during the 1950s in the month of August, he had worked as a mower in Campiglione, an outlying district of San Michele di Prazzo (Province of Cuneo) and work began only when Orion’s belt reached a specific position on the horizon”<sup>2</sup>.

If we now return to the first three proverbs from which these reflections began and deepen our analysis, we will observe that the designation “cart”, found in all three and in the third is followed by the determiner “of the stars”, has been widely used in the Iberian peninsula since ancient times. The designation, which appears in the twelfth-century *Libro del saber de astronomía*<sup>3</sup>, is based on the similarity between the apparent distribution of the stars and the form of a cart. We will now review some of the salient characteristics that emerge from the study of variants of this lexical type and its suffixes and determiners<sup>4</sup>.

### 3.1. The Designation

“Cart”, the first element in the designation, is taxon-generic and indicates an object that is part of material culture<sup>5</sup>. It can be a wagon for haulage, a

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<sup>2</sup> The close attention paid when observing the position of Orion is indicated by this testimony: “An elderly woman in the hamlet of Castelli di San Michele in Valle Maira could clearly recognize on the local horizon the point where Orion’s belt disappears on the horizon towards the end of the winter season and the relative date and point at which it reappears during the summer season” (Barale 2003: 149).

<sup>3</sup> For Spanish names, see Mendoza Abreu (1999: 134–143).

<sup>4</sup> The reflections which follow come from Capponi 2010 and are here integrated with new material.

<sup>5</sup> The metaphoric association which is the basis of the designation of the constellations generally rests on a formal reason (connected to the apparent form that the stars compose in the sky) and a functional reason (associated with the times when the stars appear). A constellation is constructed over time and is an intrinsically human product that acquires form and identity from words. It is a purely imaginary construct. The learned, scholarly tradition is documented by a wealth of illustrations in ancient texts on the heavens in a fascinating textual migration that has been explored on the philological and iconographic level in a way that has enabled us to reconstruct continuity within change (from the studies done by Franz Boll to Aby Warburg’s research on the frescoes in Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara, to the work of Carl Bezold, Wilhelm Gundel, Fritz Saxl, and Gertrud Bing). For the oral tradition, however, the links have largely been dispersed and lost. We have no sure images, no written figurative tradition. Over the centuries the ductile outlines of the constellations have been bent to comply with the tastes of astrono-

carriage for people, a cart with a shaft, two-wheeled or four-wheeled, wobbly or lopsided, that is one of a variety of designations (see Capponi 2010: 84–86) that seem to capture the image of the alternative versions of an object used for work and transportation that was part of the daily visual landscape, accompanied by its characteristic sound, its creaking, a “melody” that was part of country life. There are numerous folk sayings associated with carts, their sound and thunder.

A cart’s characteristic “song” can be produced in various ways and can be modulated differently, with techniques that are recalled in numerous folk sayings. There is a large collection of such sayings in Lorenzo Fernández (1974) but here I cite only two, taken from Carreras y Candi (1931: 320): *Si quieres qu’o caro cante / Mollall’o eixo n’o río, / Que dempois de ben mollado / Canta com’un asubío*. This means that if you want a cart to sing, you should wet its shaft in a river, because when it is thoroughly drenched, it will sing with a piping tone. Other sayings indicate that a cart’s song can be modulated by using different techniques, by the tallow or resin used, by the type of wood it is made of, by the steepness of the road it is on: *Por la calle abajito, güi, güi, / Va una carreta, tiquitiqui, / Va una carreta, lairón, lairón, lairón; / Como lleva tocino, güi, güi, / Va rechinando, tiquitiqui, / Va rechinando, lairón, lairón, lairón*<sup>6</sup>.

A linguistic marker of the added value attributed to the referent is often the second element in the designation, used to note, to emphasize, in a comprehensive *segnatura rerum*, what it is that particular value is attributed to. Religious modifiers, many of which replaced prior pagan determiners, are clear indices of such value: the Cart can be *de Santiago, de San Juan, de San José, de San Antonio* and also, the Cart (or small cart) *de Dios*<sup>7</sup>.

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mers and their patrons. We need only think of the discovery of the austral sky. It is also interesting to look through celestial atlases and follow the development of increased specialization in cartography from the publication of Johann Bayer’s *Uranometria* in 1603 to Johann Elert Bode’s *Uranographia* in 1801, via a series of attempts of systematic Christianization of the sky, seen, for example, in Julius Schiller’s atlas *Coelum stellatum christianum* (1627). See *Les figures du ciel* (1998), pp. 80ff. An end was put to this sort of celestial anarchy, this phantasmagoria of forms, in the early twentieth century by the International Astronomical Union, with Delporte (1930), which established the official scientific mapping and outlines of the 88 constellations.

<sup>6</sup> For further information on the iconography of the Cart, see Mingote Calderón (2002: 128–169).

<sup>7</sup> When there are references to saints in the names of heavenly bodies, it facilitates analysis to take the following into consideration: a) a possible calendar reference (functional element), b) a possible reference to traditional iconography (figural element), c) the symbolic value attributed to the saint, which can often be understood from a joint study

An example can be found in this invocation against a blizzard, addressed to Santiago with his oxen and cart:

Pico Sagro, Pico Sagro,  
 Que te consagrou  
 O bendito Santiago  
 Cos seus bois  
 E co seu carro,  
 Líbranos de iste fogo airado,  
 Pola intercesión da Virxe María,  
 Un Padrenuestro e un Ave María

(Lorenzo Fernández 1974: 72)

The determiner is often a vehicle of Christianization. If we widen the scope of our investigation, we will observe, as Beccaria did (2000: 147–149) that the image of a celestial cart in which divinities journey across the sky is an ancient one, found throughout the Indoeuropean area (Thor, the Germanic god of thunder drives a cart pulled by two goats; in the Avesta, Mitra has a chariot drawn by four horses; Helios, the Greek god of the Sun, rides a chariot led by winged horses)<sup>8</sup>. One of the most widely known figures in Basque mythology, Mari, rides through the sky in a horse-drawn chariot. She is called *bruja* (witch), as well as *dama*, *la señora*, *la maligna* (Caro Baroja 1975: 294): tabuistic names, affective-deferential designations, that serve to verbally exorcize danger.

### 3.2. Time and Weather Metaphors

But to fully comprehend the reasons for this interweaving of motifs and observe how the apparent dispersion of names in nearly synonymic gamuts of great temporal and spatial amplitude has a focal point, we need to turn to astronomy. Analysis of the designations in fact makes it possible to trace the semantic chains that unite earth and sky in harmonious chorus: the position of the heavenly bodies, the measuring of time and weather, and their earthly effects – in other words practices, trades and

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of the two elements just noted and frequently leads back to pagan antiquity. These are in fact the elements that either in conjunction or on their own can furnish valid references for the analysis.

<sup>8</sup> Even the references to animals are not without symbolic implications. For the relationship between animals and meteorology that has existed since ancient times, the reader is referred Krekoukias (1970).

activities connected to the seasons and the weather (agriculture, animal rearing and sailing)<sup>9</sup>. The subtended element in these mirror-like correspondences between “above” and “below” is the observation of the stars and the recognition of their cyclical return. It is thus an operation that takes place in time and in history, one that depends on tradition and the transmission of knowledge, closely linked to the recognition of the relationship of temporal succession.

It is at this point in our analysis that we need astronomical verification of the knowledge transmitted in sayings. In the three cited above, Ursa Major is described as marking the passing of the hours at night: “The constellations are country people’s nighttime clock” (Finamore 1890: 49). A Spanish saying describes the stars, together with the sun and roosters, as clocks: “El sol, las estrellas y los gallos son los relojes en el campo” (Martínez Kleiser 1953: *s.v. sol*).

These are descriptive sayings, in which the position of Ursa Major is read as a time marker. We have, in addition, expressions collected as ethnographic information and recorded in the linguistic atlas for Wallonia whose nature is predictive and include references to the Cart:

- (12) *Poucet charrie ses chevaux en haut, il fera beau*  
(Haust 1953, III, 4: 49-FOLKL. L116).
- (13) *Le char à la queue au haut, il fera beau..., à vallée, il fera laid*  
(Haust 1953, III, 4: 49-FOLKL. Ma 51).

They say that when *Poucet* (the star Alcor) drives his horses on high, the weather will be good (12); if the back of the cart points upwards, the weather will be good, but if it points down, the weather will be bad (13). Belmonte has confirmed that “The back points up early at night in the summer, when the weather is good but points down at sunset in April, the rainy season”.

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<sup>9</sup> For information on the stars’ importance in navigation since ancient times, see Le Boeuffe (1997), in particular the references to Ursa Major (10-11) and the discussion of the relationship between astronomy and meteorology (25-31). An example is the rich tradition of the Dioscuri, sons of Zeus, the twins Castor and Pollux, believed to protect sailors. There is a mythical account of their struggle against pirates to rid the seas of danger: sailors held them in such esteem that their image was carved on the bows of ships. They are traditionally associated with St.Telmo/Elmo and St. Elmo’s fire, the Christianization of the phenomenon the Greeks called “the sons of Zeus” or “Dioscuri” and the Romans “*fraters Helenae*” or “*sidus Helenae*”. See Capponi (2010: 117-120).

In Paredes de Coura (Portugal) people say that the stars in Ursa Major represent a cart and that when it points down, it is time to begin to sow (dawn in the months of October and November), but when it points up, it is better not to undertake this task. In the Asturias, a cart with its wheels turned upwards is protection against storms. Overturning a cart, like turning the blade of a scythe towards the sky, are folk practices used to obtain protection against bad weather. But overturning a cart can also be an omen that a journey should be interrupted, as the celestial cart is held to bring stormy weather (Mingote Calderón 1995: 191–192).

Careful study of these many cultural references will make it possible to reconstruct the story of Poucet (to which Gaston Paris dedicated *Le Petit Poucet et la Grande Ourse*, 1875) and will allow us to trace some apocalyptic myths that since ancient times have been associated with the constellations. According to Sébillot (1989: 51) and Volpati (1933: 460), Alcor is identified with *le Petit Poucet*, a little man who in some traditions is the driver of the Cart (Wallonia, Franche-Comté, French Switzerland) and in others is a thief who steals the oxen pulling the Cart (Albania, Lithuania, Germany). This is the origin of the name “Petit Poucet’s Cart” for Ursa Major. In Wallonia, Alcor continues to be called “the coachman”, “the carter”, “the drover”, and “the man-servant” (Haust 1953, III, 4: 49, ADD). It is said that the horses move diagonally because the driver rides the second mount (not the first, as is usual), or that Poucet, who is under the second horse’s belly, tries to grab hold of the reins and this is the reason why the cart moves along on a slant. In another part of Wallonia, the driver of the Cart is Abraham: the animals are badly yoked and this is why the cart moves in an irregular way. It is said that when Abraham manages to realign the animals, it will be the end of the world (Legros 1948: 15–16). In the Vivarais region of southeastern France, Ursa Major is an enormous pan and at the end of its handle there is a tiny man waiting for the contents of the pan to boil and then take it off the fire: the day that he does will be the end of the world (Sébillot 1989: 51).

We find predictive, atmospheric value connected to the observation of the sky in ethnographic entries concerning Venus in Spanish linguistic atlases. Usually *el lucero* is described as *estrella de la mañana or de la tarde* – the morning star or the evening star – in a variety of synonymic expressions that associate the planet with the early hours of the day or with sunset, with references to a time of day or to the activities carried out at that time. We instead find a little used designation for Venus – *lucero del rio*

“the river star”, recorded in Andalusia. The reference is to the position of the planet in relation to the Guadalquivir River:

- (14) *Se dice que si camina sobre el cauce del Guadalquivir, será un buen año; pero malo, si se desvía* (ALEA, 84: Jaen 401).

According to (14), if Venus follows the course of the Guadalquivir, the year will be good, bad if it moves away from it. Belmonte has clarified that what is being referred to is the time “when Venus is seen to the west-southwest at sunset, following the course of the Guadalquivir during the sowing season, in autumn”.

In the linguistic-ethnographic atlas for the Canary Islands, there in a note to the reply *estrella del agua*, star of the water, we read:

- (15) *Se llama así porque llueve cuando llega al filo de la cumbre* (ALEICan, 756: Hi 1,2).

The name comes from the fact that it rains when it reaches the peak. Belmonte’s comment is that “from Frontera, the peak lies to the southwest” and this justifies the phenomenology.

It is useful to observe here that, as was previously noted, position is established on the basis of a parallel reference to the position of the territory’s mountain ranges. The relation between Venus and rainfall in the Canary Islands was carefully studied by Belmonte (2001: 158–166), who pointed out the existence of the threefold association “Venus-rainfall-pastureland” based on an actual correspondence between Venus, the arrival of rain and the greener pastures that resulted. Analogously, Sprajc (1993) identified the triad “Venus-rain-corn” for the ancient Mesoamerican area. It is therefore worthwhile to recall here that the stars whose position was considered a sign of rainfall were given particular importance. One example is the Pleiades, their calendrical value and their connection with rain, carefully analyzed by, among others, Johanna Broda (2002) in a study on the ceremony of the *Fuego Nuevo* (2002: 161)<sup>10</sup>. The link between Venus and pasturing is documented in Spain by a substantial denominative series (Capponi 2010: 83–84). In Italy, Cortelazzo (1994: 199–201) noted that the Venetian designation *stella boara* (drover’s star), which has spread to the nearby Romagna region and the Croatian city Dignano d’Istria, is present

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Frazer (1933).



in Piedmont and, via the farm workers who moved to Sicily in Medieval times, can be found in San Fratello (in the Province of Messina), where it has been conserved in Gallo-Italic speech. It is a very old designation, whose use in the Paduan and Venetian dialects of the 1500s has been documented, and is found in *Dialogo Facetissimo* by Ruzante.

The possibilities that the seeming movement of the stars and planets offers for predicting weather changes, being prepared for the cyclical passing of the seasons and telling the time at night, cannot but make observation of the sky extremely important for survival (planning how work should be done on land and sea, marking the rhythm of activities and days). When something is repeated, prediction is possible; discovering the rules and times of cyclical repetition is an undoubted advantage. Pliny relates that Democritus, after observing the Pleiades rise, foresaw a large rise in the price of oil. He bought the entire oil production of the country at a low price and when the time for oil to be sold arrived, he made a huge profit. He then decided to return the money he had made to the greedy merchants, satisfied to have demonstrated that if he had wanted to, he could have grown rich quickly (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* XVIII, 273–274). Belmonte gathered testimony from a group of farm people on the island of Tenerife (Teno Alto) who had asked for aid because a drought was imminent. To his question “How do you know when it is going to rain? Carmen told me that last year, as early as October, you applied for aid because there was going to be a drought. But how did you know this or were you just making a lucky guess?” one farmer’s answer was: “Because the star, the one we were talking about [Venus] did not rise where it should have” (Belmonte 2001: 192).

#### 4. Which Onomastics?<sup>11</sup>

If we imagine the constellations as being a portion of the sky, stellar geography, celestial onomastics could be read as toponymy. Humankind has always sought to arrange the sky geographically and measure it. Examples that come to mind include Arabic names for stars that are veritable toponymistical labels, luminous indicators that trace the profile of a figure: “the star of the foot”, “the star of the shoulder”, and so on.

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<sup>11</sup> See Migliorini (1927: 1–14).



The proper name of a constellation also frequently describes a personage whose birth, life, loves and death are well known, and enjoys symbolic and a narrative autonomy (the pride and arrogance of Orion, for example, who challenges the gods) that distances them from the geography. At the times when the sky, an enormous moving clock, is conjoined with the calendar and feast days, the names of the heavenly bodies are like the names of those annual celebrations which have a proper name.

On the basis of what has been written above, three important factors emerge on which to base our definition of the referent: space (the delimited portion of the sky being considered); time (the hour of night, the season, the time of year when the heavenly body is visible); identity (identification with a personage or an object, with the value attributed to it and, in the final analysis, with a formulation of what is sacred).

In *astronymy* (Le Boueffle 1996 used the term *astronymie*) we find onomastic processes similar to those that can be found in folk phytonymy and zoonymy (the same procedure for opposing pairs, a recourse to affinities, tabuistic techniques, of nominal deference). In many cases, then, for some kinds of proverbs, we can apply analysis criteria similar to those used for atmospheric, meteorological events (see Calzacorta Elorza 2011: 15–33), to which the stars are closely linked in a temporal relationship that often turns into a causal one (*post hoc propter hoc*) to the extent that *signa* become *causa*. The sky becomes the space where the natural and supernatural are sundered (see Alinei 1984: 122–125).

## 5. Conclusions

We proposed a reflection on the referent of our topic through an analysis of folk phraseology. What can be concluded, very briefly, is that the existence of the referent depends on the relationship between cultural imagery and empiric observation of the sky, where cultural imagery entails reference to a centuries-old tradition that has been conserved and transformed and empirical observation means observing the appearance of the heavenly bodies over long periods of time so that their periodicity can be understood.

Measuring time is thus, in the last analysis, what gives the referent substance, shaping it in keeping with the specific cultural forms present in different areas. There is a close connection with meteorology and therefore with predicting the future. Temporal succession, which often

becomes causal succession, is the basis of the power attributed to the stars or to those who know them, and by knowing them can predict their movements.

The word that gives a name to a heavenly body is a cultural precipitate of great symbolic pregnancy. It forms part of a cultural fabric, of knowledge, of a cosmovision whose roots are ancient. The word defines the thing, which in turn defines the word, in a circular relationship held together by 1) the image projected in the sky, 2) the story that accompanies and explains the word and 3) the symbolic value attributed to the word. These interacting elements are then modulated in erudite and folk culture, and bear witness to the places and times they have passed through, signs of variety in continuity.

The analysis carried out has shown that when studying the heavenly bodies from a linguistic point of view, if we fail to establish connections between different but complementary levels of analysis we risk losing sight of the object being studied. These referents' unique qualities, in fact, result in a rapid disappearance from speakers' memories.

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## Gwiaździste niebo w przysłowia i powiedzeniach

### STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł przedstawia refleksje dotyczące wyjątkowości ciał niebieskich jako językowych referentów. Po omówieniu cech dystynktywnych związanym z aktem „nadawania nazw niebu” (2), co jest nadal aktualną praktyką, następuje szczegółowa analiza ludowych powiedzeń i przysłów pochodzących z języków romańskich obejmują nazwy własne ciał niebieskich. Ich astronomiczna referencja jest potwierdzona przez konsultacje z astronomem i odwołanie się do źródeł językoznawczych i etnograficznych, co pozwala ustalić związek pomiędzy nazwą i miarą czasu cyklicznego: chronologiczny, meteorologiczny i mityczny. Celem analizy jest przedstawienie głównych cech referentów, które są podstawami denominacji (4).

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## **Phraseologismen bei Autoteilen in der portugiesischen, englischen, französischen und deutschen Sprache**

**ABSTRACT:** Because of their dynamism, phraseological units are gaining more importance today. According to Aitchison they are permanently available in the mental lexicon, and facilitate communication, especially by their transcultural character which allows discovering their real meaning. Moreover, the metaphorization is common for different cultures. After having analyzed the corpus of my PhD thesis, defended in 1996, I could confirm this statement referring to the term creation. According to Wüster, terms are artificial and unique word creations which describe a scientific concept. Indeed, I realized that many terms have been created either before or in the moment they were needed, as a phraseological unit or as a proper one. Thus, the transcultural core probably has been intentionally chosen. As one of my PhD scores was to find a term-formation model in Brazilian Portuguese, creations using phraseological units are supposed to play here an important role. A comparison between the ABNT terms and their English, French and German equivalents will enable researchers to create more idiomatic motor vehicle terms.

**KEY WORDS:** *phraseological units, terms, term-formation model, idiomaticity, mental lexicon*

### **1. Einleitung**

Dieser Artikel ist Teil meiner an der Universidade de São Paulo – USP von 1991–1996 angefertigten und auf Portugiesisch verfassten Doktorarbeit mit dem Titel “Da produção terminológica na área de peças da indústria automobilística” (Über die terminologische Produktion bei Autoteilen) lautet. Die Promotion wurde durch das Doktoratsstipendium Programm

“CAPES – demanda social” des Bundesstaates São Paulo finanziert und unter der Aufsicht von Frau Prof. Dr. Maria Aparecida Barbosa, Dozentin am Institut für Linguistik und Semiotik der gleichnamigen Universität durchgeführt und 1996 verteidigt. Einerseits war es das Ziel dieser Forschung, durch eine morphologische und semantische Untersuchung auf ein Modell zur Erstellung von Termini für Autoteile für die brasilianische Variante des Portugiesischen zu stoßen. Andererseits sollten Äquivalenzen zwischen den Termini der brasilianischen Gesellschaft für technische Normung ABNT und den EU-Termini für Englisch, Französisch und Deutsch aufgestellt bzw. terminologische Lücken geschlossen werden. Bei dem als Grundlage benutzen und die gesamte Forschungsarbeit hindurch genannten “corpus de base” (Basiskorpus) (Castañeda, A.M.A. 1996: 783) genannten Forschungsmaterial handelte es sich um das Glossar “Veículos rodoviários No. 05:001.06-034, das von der brasilianischen Gesellschaft für technische Normung “Associação Brasileira de Normas Técnicas – ABNT erstellt und 1994 in São Paulo-SP veröffentlicht wurde. Der “corpus de apoio” (idem) (Hilfskorpus) bestand aus ausgewählten, in der Bibliographie angegebenen Ausgaben des Amtsblattes der Europäischen Gemeinschaften von 1986 bis 1992 und aus der Terminologischen Datenbank INTERFASS des Unternehmens Mercedes-Benz AG, Untertürkheim, Deutschland, die die Firma Daimler-Benz do Brasil mir freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt hatte. Auf Grund dieser Quellen war es möglich, ein Autoteile-Glossar für Portugiesisch, Englisch, Französisch und Deutsch zu erstellen und die Entsprechungen für Autoteile anzugeben. Terminologische Lücken wurden von mir geschlossen, die von mir neu erstellten Fachtermini von Ing. Grad. Wolfgang Zaiser und Dipl.Ing. Thomas Hubacher als solche verifiziert. Eine genaue morphologische und semantische Analyse der 1298 Termini erlaubte mir, die im Autoteilebereich geläufigsten Terminologiestrukturen für das brasilianische Portugiesisch festzustellen und sie auf Grund ihrer hohen Häufigkeit für künftig zu erstellende Termini im Autoteilebereich vorzuschlagen. Die Verbindung zur Phraseologie beruht auf der Tatsache, dass ich mich seit drei Jahren intensiv mit Phraseologie im Fremdsprachenerwerb, insbesondere in DaF und DaZ beschäftige. Auch in der Terminologieerstellung können Phraseologismen die gleiche Arbeit leisten, d.h. im mentalen Lexikon permanent abrufbar sein und somit einen wichtigen Beitrag zum Verständnis des Sachverhalts und der einzelnen Begriffe leisten. Im Gegensatz zu meiner Doktorarbeit, in der die semantische und morphologische Untersuchung nur für die brasilianische Variante des Portugiesischen erfolgt,

reißt ich hier Überlegungen zum Einsatz von Phraseologismen auch in den den drei "Äquivalenten-Sprachen Englisch, Französisch und Deutsch an.

## **2. Terminologie: eine Antwort auf die neuen Anforderungen bezüglich des wissenschaftlichen Umgangs mit Fachwortschatz**

Terminologie ist auf Grund der Notwendigkeit entstanden, ständig neue Fakten und technisch-wissenschaftliche Prozesse, die nichts anderes als eine logische Folge der Entwicklung sind, zu benennen. Zuerst wurden Fachwörter auf eine traditionelle linguistische Weise gehandhabt. So war die Terminologiewissenschaft in den frühen 90ern in vier Bereiche aufgeteilt.

- Terminologie ist ein Teil des Fachwortschatzes
- Terminologie ist der formale Reflex einer wissenschaftlichen Organisation von Begriffen
- Für die Benutzer ist Terminologie eine "Ansammlung von Kommunikationseinheiten".
- In der Linguistik ist Terminologie für die Aktualität und für den modernen Gebrauch einer Sprache zuständig. (Cabré, M.T. 1993)

Die Sprachwissenschaftlerin Maria Teresa Cabré gibt der Terminologie eine linguistische und eine kommunikative Dimension. Ich stimme mit ihr überein, räume jedoch der kommunikativen Dimension einen höheren Stellenwert ein. Ohne jegliche Kommunikation ist Entwicklung nicht möglich, weder in Wissenschafts- noch in anderen Bereichen. Daher muss Kommunikation innerhalb der Gemeinschaft der Wissenschaftler und unter Wissenschaftlern und der Industrie stattfinden, Letztere wird schließlich das neue Wissen in den Produkten einsetzen und so dem Endverbraucher zur Verfügung stellen. Jedoch ist es zuerst vonnöten, eine klare Vorstellung über den Begriff, den Kern des Fachbegriffs bzw. Fachworts zu haben. Darüber hinaus werde ich einen kurzen Überblick über die begriffliche und die terminologische Ebene (Dimension) geben. Wie im allgemeinen bekannt, ist der Begriff eine Abstraktion irgendeiner Gegebenheit bzw. irgendeiner Aktivität. Wenn zwei Personen miteinander kommunizieren wollen, brauchen sie eine Methode, die beiden erlaubt sich gegenseitig ihre Gedanken mit ihren Begriffen mitzuteilen. (Vgl. Felber 1987). Diese Aufgabe wird von Zeichen ausgeführt. (Vergl. Delacroix



1924). In der Linguistik sprechen wir von Zeichen. Dieser Terminus wurde von Saussure eingeführt. (Vergl. Saussure, F: 1917). Bei einer Informationsübertragung oder anderen Kommunikationsformen zwischen zwei Partnern kodifizieren und dekodifizieren Termini einen Begriff. Die Wahl eines Zeichens um einen bestimmten Begriff darzustellen ist "willkürlich" (ebenda). Wenn wir auf die Terminologie zurückkommen, handelt es sich hier um einen künstlichen Bereich der Lexik mit dem Ziel, bei kommunizierenden Personen ein gemeinsames Verständnis zu einem bestimmten Thema zu erreichen.

### 3. Linguistische Einbettung und Verbingung mit der Wiener Schule der Terminologie

Mein Ausgangspunkt war Pottiers generatives Aussagen-Modell (parcours génératif d'enonciation), mit dessen Hilfe der Weg von der begrifflichen Einkleidung einer Idee bis hin zu deren Wortbildung, die in Größenzeichen erfolgt, erklärt wird (ebenda; Pais 1993: 558). Ich bevorzuge den Begriff "Matrix" in meiner Doktorarbeit (Castañeda, A.M.A. 1996: 399). Neue Wörter der natürlichen Sprachen und auch paralleler semiotischer Systeme werden hier geschaffen. Fachtermini, die einerseits zu einem Teil der natürlichen Sprachen und andererseits zu parallelen semiotischen Systemen gehören, werden hier gebildet. Pottiers generatives Aussagen-Modell ist in drei Phasen unterteilt:

- Die erste Phase besteht aus einer biologischen Wahrnehmung der Welt, die unter einem bestimmten kulturellen Blickwinkel (Pottier, B. 1987; Pais, C.T. 1993: 554, Whorf: 1956) erfolgt. Diese Phase endet mit der Begriffsbildung, in der mentale Modelle "Begriffe" gebildet werden. Pais spricht hier von einem "Conceptus" (Pais, C. T. 1993: 557). Diese Modelle befinden sich auf einer vorkulturellen Ebene und haben einen Aspekt, der sich zwischen den einzelnen Kulturen bewegt. Somit sind die Modelle in jedweder menschlichen Kultur vorhanden. (Ebenda: 557)
- In der nächsten Phase, der Begriffsbildungsphase, führt die Produktion mentaler Modelle zu begrifflichen Semembündeln diffusen Charakters, ("nébuleuses sémiques conceptuelles" (Pottier, B. 1987: 84), die von Pottier als "Lexie" (ebenda) bezeichnet und sich in der Mitte zwischen biologischer Wahrnehmung der und semiologischen Form



befinden. Pottier spricht hier von einem instabilen "Sememamalgam" (ebenda: 82, meine Übersetzung). Dieses Amalgam ist in der Lage "Größenzeichen" zu bilden, die in einer natürlichen Sprache zu lexikalischen Einheiten führen. "In einer natürlichen Sprache sollte diese Lexie (ebenda, Dupuy-Engelhardt 2002) ein höchstmögliches Maß an Faktoren mit einem existierenden Lexem haben. Damals stellte Pottier ein einzelnes Wort als Lexemeinheit vor, welche er mit einer lexikalischen Einheit gleichsetzte. Heute operieren wir mit lexikalischen Einheiten, die aus mehr als einem einzigen Wort bestehen, z.B. den Phraseologismen. Der linguistischen Bedeutung wird eine Sememstruktur zugewiesen, die an der Systemebene beteiligt ist. Diese linguistische Bedeutung entspricht einem Bündel kleinster semantischer Bedeutungspartikel, der Seme. Gemäß der Linguistin Barbosa (Vergl. Barbosa., M. A. 1992 handelt es sich hier schon um einen linguistischen Begriff.

- In der darauffolgenden Phase, der Aktualisierungsphase, hat die Lexie die Systemebene verlassen, in der sie einen Status als polysemisches Supersemem innehatte. Stattdessen haben wir es hier mit Sememen mit einer stärker eingegrenzten Bedeutung zu tun, die mit verschiedenen Diskursuniversen in Beziehung stehen. Die Aktualisierung der Lexie erfolgt in den Diskursen des Sprechers, also auf der Gesprächsebene. Das Ergebnis solch einer Aktualisierung ist die Bedeutung, die ausschließlich zu einer spezifischen Diskurs- und Aussagesituation gehört.

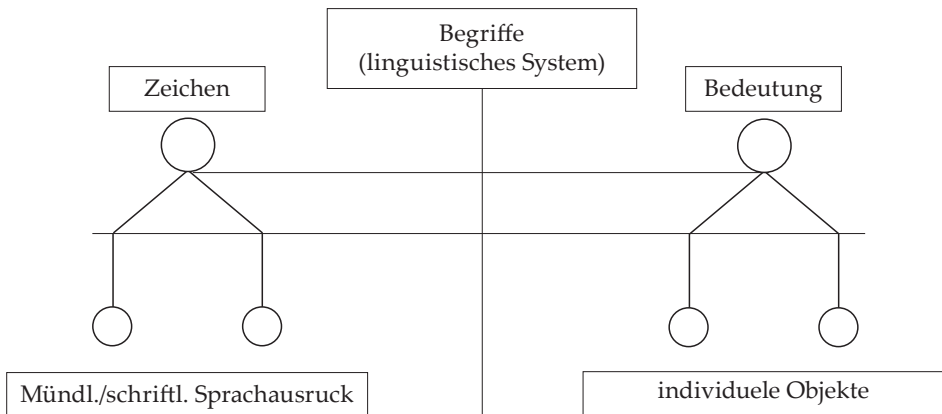
Die Phasen des generativen Aussagen-Modells haben keine lineare, sondern eine kreisförmige Bewegung inne. Für Pais ist der das Aussagen-Modell ein Zyklus von Informationsverarbeitung, die von der Begriffsbildung zur Lexemierung, und von der Lexemierung zur Diskursproduktion von Informationen und Bedeutung, und von dieser Produktion zur Speicherung und zum Abruf von Information gehen. Dieser Vorgang aktiviert wiederum den Begriffsbildungsmechanismus (Pais, C.T. 1993: 557, meine Übersetzung). Die Reihenfolge dieser Phasen muss eingehalten werden, damit man das Endergebnis, nämlich die Aktualisierung einer Lexie in einem von Menschen geführten Diskurs erhält.

Das Konzept der Lexie von Pottier ist grundlegend für das Verständnis eines Terminus. Zur Begriffsebene zugehörig ist die Lexie ein Teil der "hyper-tiefen Struktur" (ebenda: 566) und kann sowohl von einem semiotischen System zu einem anderen, als auch innerhalb des semiotischen

Systems selbst übersetzt werden. So widerspiegeln die Termini “roue”, “wheel”, “roda” and “Rad” (ABNT-no. 3.1073) als Aktualisierungen der entsprechenden Lexie im Autoteile-Bereich den gleichen Begriff. Somit ist klar ersichtlich, dass man von einem semiotischen System in ein anderes übersetzen kann. Auf Grund der paradigmatischen Schichtung ist eine Übersetzung innerhalb des gleichen semiotischen Systems möglich. So existieren die Termini, die ja die sprachlichen Symbole der Begriffe sind (vgl. Wüster 1991: 36), “cilindro de freio” and “burrinho” parallel nebeneinander, wobei “burrinho” ein Fachbegriff aus der Werkstattsprache ist, während “cilindro de freio” im wissenschaftlich-technischen Bereich benutzt wird. (Vergl. Fluck, H.-R. 1991). Aus diesem Grund erschien es mir angebracht, mich auf diese linguistische Einbettung zu beziehen. Weiterhin spricht Pottier von verschiedenen Abstufungen der Lexie. So ist eine komplexe Lexie für ihn eine noch nicht hundertprozentig stabile Wortverbindung, so wie man sie z.B. bei Neologismen findet (s. Alves und Carvalho). Gemäss dieser beiden Forscherinnen ist ein Neologismus ein semantisch noch nicht ganz gefestigter Begriff.

Darüberhinaus benutzte ich das vierteilige Wortmodell von Wüster (Wüster, E. in: Felber 1987: 144) der Wiener Schule, um die Bedeutung eines Terminus, eines Begriffs und der Beziehung zwischen den beiden zu erklären. Es handelt sich um ein ontologisches Modell, mit dessen Hilfe die gegenseitige Abhängigkeit zwischen dem zu benennenden Objekt, seinem Begriff, dem Begriffszeichens als etwas Abstraktes und dessen tatsächlicher Aktualisierung erklärt wird.

### Wüsters vierteiliges Wortmodell



Quelle: Felber, H. (1987), p. 84, meine Übersetzung

Unten rechts befinden sich die individuellen Objekte. Rechts oben sind die entsprechenden Begriffe, die diese individuellen Objekte umfassen. Links oben sind die Zeichen. Hierbei handelt es sich sowohl um Varianten der mündlichen als auch der schriftlichen Zeichen. "In der Terminologie bildet jede Sprache ein System von Begriffen auf der Basis deren Beziehungen untereinander. Termini bilden lediglich ein System, weil sie in ein Begriffssystem eingebaut, also Begriffen zugeordnet werden. Somit funktionieren sie in diesem System als Elemente. Wüster setzt das Sprachsystem in die obere Hälfte seines vierteiligen Wortmodells. Seiner Meinung nach besteht ein Sprachsystem darin, dass Termini ständig Begriffen zugeordnet werden. Andererseits gäbe es kein Verstehen und folglich keine Kommunikation." (Packer 2009: 39).

Ich habe diese begrifflichen Beziehungen der Wiener Schule als Säulen meines Modells zur Wortbildung von Autoteile-Termini benutzt. Diese sind "Determinatio", "Konjunktion", "Disjunktion" und "Integratio" (Felber 1987). Nach der Wiener Schule reflektieren mehrteilige Termini ihre besonderen Beziehungen. Somit entspricht jede dieser 4 begrifflichen Beziehungen mit ihren möglichen Begriffsstrukturen einer spezifischen begrifflichen Operation (Vergl. auch Wüster 1974, 1979). Ich habe diese 4 begrifflichen Beziehungen als Basis zur Erstellung meines Modells zur Bildung von Termini ausgesucht, wobei ich hier über Determinatio, Konjunktion, Disjunktion und Integratio spreche. Folglich sollte ich vier verschiedene Matrixtypen erhalten. Da mein Modell auf dem Häufigkeitsindex, den ich in Kapitel 3 meiner Doktorarbeit ermittelt habe, basiert, und mein Untersuchungskorpus lediglich die Determinatio und Integratio als begriffliche Operationen mit zuverlässigen Populationen anzeigt, konnte ich das Modell nur für diese beiden begrifflichen Strukturen entwickeln. Ich habe neue Terminbildungen, die aus einem einzigen Wort bestehen, ausgelassen, weil diese keine Herausforderung darstellen, die Bedeutung eines technischen Begriffs auszudrücken. Vielmehr habe ich mich auf ontologische Beziehungen unter mehreren Termini bezogen. Diese Termini sind auch diejenigen, die zur Gruppe der Phraseologismen gehören, wie ich in Sektion 5 zeigen werde.

Da ich mit Pottiers generativem Aussagen-Modell und mit den Terminationen von Wüster arbeitete, habe ich beide in der folgenden Tabelle zusammen mit meinen eigenen Bezeichnungen vorgestellt.

POTTIER	WIENER SCHULE DER TERMINOLOGIE		MEINE BEZEICHNUNG
	Struktur	begriffliche Beziehung	
Einfache Lexie	1) Stamm 2) abgeleitetes Wort		Substantive
Zusammengesetzte Lexie	Zusammengesetztes Wort	Determination	Zusammengesetzter Terminus im engeren Sinne
Komplexe Lexie	Wortgruppe oder Lokutionen	Determination	Zusammengesetzter Terminus im weiteren Sinne
		----- Integration	

Quelle: Castañeda, A.M.A. (1996), S. 119, meine eigene Übersetzung

## 4. Morphologische und semantische Analyse

### 4.1. Vorgehensweise

Wie schon anfangs erwähnt, habe ich meine Doktorarbeit auf Portugiesisch geschrieben. Folglich erscheinen zuerst die portugiesischen Bezeichnungen, anschließend die deutsche Übersetzung in runden Klammern bzw. nach einem Gedankenstrich, wenn der portugiesische Terminus im Originaltext schon in einer runden Klammer steht. Alle in diesem Artikel vorkommenden Übersetzungen sind meine eigenen.

Ich unterteilte den Basiskorpus in vier Unterkategorien, um genauere Ergebnisse zu bekommen. Diese Unterkategorien, im folgenden "categorias" (Kategorien) genannt, sind erstmals PBA (Peças básicas do Automóvel – Basis-Autoteile, z.B. "bomba – Pumpe", ABNT-Nr. 3.154). In der folgenden Unterkategorie CRD (Conceitos em relação direta – Begriffe in direkter Verbindung) werden wissenschaftliche Einheiten wie z.B. "concentração carbônica – Konzentration von Kohlenstoffmonoxid", ABNT-Nr. 3.296 behandelt. Die dritte Unterkategorie ist GCA (Grandezas Científico-Automobilísticas – wissenschaftliche Automobil-Messgrößen) und bezieht sich auf Einheiten des Automobilsektors, z.B. "r.p.m. – Umdrehungen pro Minute, U/min.", ABNT-Nr. 3.1082. Die vierte Unterkategorie

ist VEÍC (Veículos-Automobile), in der alle Fahrzeugtypen und Klassifizierungsausdrücke, wie zum Beispiel “automóvel – Automobil”, ABNT-Nr. 3.116, subsumiert sind.

## 4.2. Ergebnisse hinsichtlich der ontologischen Beziehungen unter mehreren Begriffen

### 4.2.1. “Determinação” (Determination) (Castañeda, A.M.A. 1996: 410, meine eigene Übersetzung)

Die “Determinação” (Determination) entspricht sowohl der zusammengesetzten als auch der komplexen Lexie (Pottier 1978: 270) und wurde von meinen Bezeichnungen “Termo composto correspondentes à lexia composta no sentido de Pottier” (Zusammengesetzter Terminus, der Pottiers zusammengesetzter Lexie entspricht) (Castañeda, A.M.A. 1993: 119, 404) und “Termo composto correspondente à lexia complexa no sentido de Pottier” (Zusammengesetzter Terminus, der Pottiers komplexer Lexie entspricht) (ibidem) abgeleitet.

DETERMINATION DETERMINATUM: SUBSTANTIV		
+		
DETERMINANS:		
(±SEMANTISCH MOTIVIERTES) SUSTANTIV	(± NEGATION) + ADJEKTIV (± PARTIZIP)	± BUCHSTABE
	± ZUSÄTZLICHE DETERMINANTEN	
± ADJEKTIV (± PARTIZIP)	± ADJEKTIV (± PARTIZIP)	± NUMERAL
± zusätzliche, ausnahmsweise gestattete Determinanten		
(± INITIALEN)	(± INITIALEN)	
(± EIGENNAME)	(± EIGENNAME)	

Quelle: Castañeda, A.M.A. (1996), Ss.410, 793, meine eigene Übersetzung

Beispiel: peso rebocável máximo autorizado ABNT-Nr. 3.872 (höchstzulässiges Zuggewicht); Determinatum: peso; Determinanten: rebocável (Adjektiv) + máximo (Adjektiv) + autorizado (Partizip)

#### 4.2.2. “Integração” (Integration) (Castañeda, A.M.A. 1996: 417, meine eigene Übersetzung)

Die von mir vorgeschlagene “Integração” (Integration) entspricht der komplexen Lexie und wird von meiner Bezeichnung “Termo sintagmático correspondente à lexia complexa no sentido de Pottier 1978” (Syntagmatischer Terminus, der Pottiers syntagmatischer Lexie entspricht) abgeleitet (Castañeda, A.M.A. 1996: 119, 404). Denn Denn für Pottier, “ist die komplexe Lexie eine Wortsequenz, die sich in der Lexikalisierungsphase und auf verschiedenen Niveaustufen befindet” (Pottier 1978: 269). , Zum Gebrauch dieser Bildungsmatrix für neue Autoteile-Termini im Brasilianischen Portugiesisch habe ich folgende Richtlinien empfohlen, die das Ergebnis meiner morphologischen und semantischen Untersuchung sind: “Die Präposition muss im Einklang mit dem auszudrückenden begrifflichen Kontext ausgesucht werden und muss nicht zwingend “a” oder “de” sein.

- Substantive können von einem Numeral begleitet werden.
- Zusammengesetzte Termini haben die Struktur “Substantiv + Adjektiv (± Adjektive) und zeigen somit eine inter-vokabuläre Begriffsbeziehung und eine Determinations-Beziehung innerhalb des Terminus.
- Syntagmatische Termini weisen die Struktur “Substantiv + Präposition (± Artikel) + Substantiv” auf. (Castañeda, A.M.A 1996: 416, meine eigene Übersetzung).

INTEGRATION				
NOMINALES ELEMENT + SUBSTANTIV		PRÄPOSITION +  A/D		NOMINALES ELEMENT  SUBSTANTIV
ANDERE MÖGLICHE NOMINALE ELEMENTE				
NOMINALES ELEMENT 1		PRÄPOSITION (± ARTIKEL)		NOMINALES ELEMENT 2
SUBSTANTIV	+	PRÄPOSITION (± ARTIKEL)	+	SUBSTANTIV
SUBSTANTIV	+	PRÄPOSITION (± ARTIKEL)	+	ZUSAMMENGE- SETZTER  TERMINUS (SG/PL)

SUBSTANTIV (± NUMERAL)	+	PRÄPOSITION (± ARTIKEL)	+	SINTAGMA- TISCHER TERMINUS
ZUSAMMENGE- SETZTER TERMINUS	+	PRÄPOSITION (± ARTIKEL)	+	SUBSTANTIV
SINTAGMA- TISCHER TERMINUS	+	PRÄPOSITION (±ARTIKEL)	+	SUBSTANTIV

**Beispiele mit dieser Struktur**

ABNT-Nr.	NOMINALES ELEMENT 1	PRÄPOSITION	NOMINALES ELEMENT 2
3.1219	válvula	de	segurança
D. Äquiv.	Sicherheitsventil		
3.535	espaço	de	acomodação dianteira
D. Äquiv.	Vorderer Fahrzeugraum		
3.998	radiadores	de	tanque de plástico
D.Äquiv.	Plastiktankkühler		

ABNT-Nr.	NOMINALES ELEMENT 1	PRÄPOSITION	NOMINALES ELEMENT 2
3.424	dispositivo ativo	de	retenção
D.Äquiv.	Aktive Arretiervorrichtung		
3.721	largura do veículo	com	portas (abertas)
D.Äquiv.	Fahrzeugbreite – Wagentüren offen		

**5. Terminbildungen, bei denen Phraseologismen verwendet werden**

Während meiner Forschung habe ich auch eine beachtliche Anzahl an Termini untersucht, die als Teil einen Phraseologismus aufweisen oder

selbst ein Phraseologismus sind. Das Interessante daran ist, dass es sich bei all diesen Phraseologismen um Metaphern aus dem allgemeinen bzw. aus einem speziellen Bereich handelt. Für Gibbs (2002) und Naciscione (2011) stellen die Metaphern sogar eine "Technik des abstrakten Denkens in der Terminologiebildung und ein Hilfsmittel, figurative Bedeutungskonstruktionen über die einzelnen Sprachgrenzen hinaus zu verstehen." (Naciscione. 2001, meine eigene Übersetzung)<sup>1</sup>. Ich spreche über die folgenden 22 Termini, die ich als Beispiel gewählt habe, um einen Überblick über die Komplexität dieses Themas zu geben. Alle Beispiele für Termini, die in diesem Korpus enthalten sind, aufzulisten und zu analysieren würde über das gesteckte Ziel dieses Artikels hinausgehen und wären für ein größeres Forschungsprojekt eher geeignet.

ABNT-no.	Brasilianisches Portugiesisch	Englisch	Französisch	Deutsch
3.102	árvore	shaft, axle	arbre, essieu	Welle
3.103	árvore da direção	Pitman arm shaft, steering shaft	essieu de direction	Lenkwelle
3.104	árvore da direção independente do mecanismo da direção	Pitman shaft, independant from steering mechanism	essieu de direction indépendant do mécanisme de direction	vom Lenkmechanismus unabhängige Lenkwelle
3.105	árvore da direção integrante do mecanismo da direção	integrated pitman shaft	essieu de direction intégré	integrierte Lenkwelle
3.106	árvore da roda	Axle	essieu, axe	Radachse
3.107	árvore da transmissão	output shaft	arbre de prise de mouvement, arbre de sortie	Abtriebswelle
3.108	árvore cardã	Prop(eller) shaft	arbre à cardan	Kardanwelle
3.117	autonomia por litro	Fuel consumption	consommation de carburant	Kraftstoffverbrauch

<sup>1</sup> Naciscione (2011: 18): "...to recognize metaphor as a technique of abstract reasoning in the formation of terminology and to comprehend figurative meaning construction across languages".



3.148	bico ejetor	injection nozzle	gicleur	Spritzdüse
3.150	bocal de abastecimento	filler neck	tubulure de remplissage	Einfüllstutzen
3.155	borboleta do acelerador	accelerating, device throttle valve	papillon du dispositif d'acélération	Drosselklappe des Beschleunigers
3.156	braço	Lever	levier, bras	Hebel
3.157	braço auxiliar de direção	additionnal steering arm	levier d'attaque additionnel	zusätzlicher Lenkhebel
ABNT-no.	Brasilianisches Portugiesisch	Englisch	Französisch	Deutsch
3.269	colméia do radiador	radiator honeycomb	nid d'abeilles du radiateur	Kühler(wabe)
3.270	coluna de direção	steering column	colonne de direction	Lenksäule
3.316	Configuração mestre	Main configuration	Configuration principale	Hauptkonfiguration
3.335	Coroa-pinhão	Ring gear	Couronne dentée	Zahnkranz, Radkranz
3.336	Corpo	Body	Caisson	Aufnahmekörper
3.337	Corpo de prova (pastilhas do freio)	Test piece (brake pads)	Pièce d'essai (garnitures de frein)	Probekörper (Bremsbeläge)
3.338	corpo do filtro	filter housing, filter bowl	corps, boîtier, cuve de filtre	Filtergehäuse
3.756	luz-piloto	indicator light, monitor lamp	lampe (témoin), voyant	Kontrolllampe
3.880	pino-rei	Ball head bolt	boulon à rotule	Kugelbolzen

### Die transkulturelle Motiviertheit

Wenn wir uns diese 22 Beispiele ansehen, wird sehr deutlich, dass es eine transkulturelle Motiviertheit bei Termini gibt, deren Wichtigkeit die Sprachwissenschaftler Naciscione und Fojtu hervorheben. Gemeinsame Ideen und Vorstellungen über Sachverhalte erleichtern das Verständnis, die Dekodifizierung, also auch die Kodifizierung. Lehnübersetzungen sind, wo immer sie möglich sind, höchst willkommen (vgl. Naciscione 2011: 5). Jedoch ist diese transkulturelle Motiviertheit nicht bei allen vier untersuchten Sprachen und in allen 22 Beispielen gleich stark vorhanden.

### 5.1. Die Metaphern “Baum” im Französischen und Portugiesischen, “Speer” im Englischen und “Welle” im Deutschen

ABNT-no.	Brasilianisches Portugiesisch	Englisch	Französisch	Deutsch
3.102	árvore	shaft, axle	arbre, essieu	Welle
3.103	árvore da direção	Pitman arm shaft, steering shaft	essieu de direction	Lenkwelle
3.105	árvore da direção integrante do mecanismo da direção	integrated pitman shaft	essieu de direction intégré	integrierte Lenkwelle
3.106	árvore da roda	Axle	essieu, axe	Radachse
3.107	árvore da transmissão	output shaft	arbre de prise de mouvement, arbre de sortie	Abtriebswelle
3.108	árvore cardã	Prop(eller) shaft	arbre à cardan	Kardanwelle

Hier wird das Word “árvore” (Baum) metaphorisch verwendet, um eine Achse zu bezeichnen. Auf Portugiesisch haben wir, ebenso wie auf Französisch, “arbre”, das Bild eines Baumes und schließen auf eine Lehnübersetzung aus dem Französischen ins Portugiesische. Dies erlaubt uns, uns die allerersten, in Kutschen und Zuggefährten verwendeten Achsen vorzustellen, die kleine und dünne Bäume bzw. Baumteile sein mussten. Demgegenüber wurde im Deutschen eine andere Metapher – die Welle – verwendet. Die Welle bricht sich kreisförmig. So wurde in Portugal und folglich später in Brasilien und Frankreich das Bild des Materials gewählt, aus dem das wichtigste Element hergestellt wurde, das das Ziehen von Kutschen und anderen Zuggespannen erst ermöglichte. In Deutschland hingegen stellten die alten Techniker das Ergebnis dieses Werkzeuges, nämlich die kreisförmige Bewegung, in den Mittelpunkt. England, das die Wiege der Industriestaaten ist, benutzt den Terminus “shaft” (Speer), einen achsenförmigen Gegenstand aus Holz. Bei diesen Beispielen bestätigt sich der Schluss der Sprachwissenschaftlerin Naciscione, die die Metapher unter einem kognitiven Ansatz als Technik für abstraktes Denken in der Terminologiebildung und zum Verstehen von figurativen Bedeutungen über die einzelnen Sprachgrenzen hinaus verteidigt (Naciscione

2011, S.18). Es wäre interessant die Ursache für die unterschiedliche Metaphernwahl zu erforschen. Zur Begriffserweiterung wird dieser Terminus “árvore” mit anderen Termini kombiniert, die zusätzliche technische Begriffe und Sachverhalte ausdrücken, und stellt bei der Integration die Mehrzahl (s. Unterkapitel 4.2.2), wie wir bei folgenden Beispielen sehen können: árvore da direção (3.103), árvore da direção independente do mecanismo da direção (3.104), árvore da direção integrante do mecanismo da direção (3.105), árvore da roda (3.106), árvore da transmissão (3.107). Dieses Ergebnis bestätigt die Zahlen der Untersuchung in der Doktorarbeit, die für die portugiesische Sprache eine klare Befürwortung der Integration ausdrücken (Castañeda 1996: 788-791). Es gibt nur ein Beispiel für Determination (s. Unterkapitel 4.2.1.) bei mit “árvore” gebildeten Termini: árvore cardã (3.108). Somit ist die Integration als Struktur viel geläufiger als die Zusammensetzung. Es handelt sich bei den obengenannten Termini um “teilmotivierbare Wendungen” nach der Klassifizierung von Phraseologismen, die Harald Burger 1982 vorgenommen hat (Burger 1982). Wenn man das französische und das deutsche Äquivalent betrachtet, fällt auf, dass weder bei den französischen, noch bei den deutschen Termini “arbre (Baum)” bzw. “Welle” konsequent verwendet werden. Der Terminus “essieu” (Achse) taucht in Komposita auf: essieu de direction (3.103), essieu de direction indépendant do mecanismo de direction (3.104), essieu de direction intégré (3.105), essieu, axe (3.106). Dies lässt auf eine Technisierung durch Entmetaphorisierung dieses Terminus schließen, so wie es Naciscione auch im Lettischen feststellt und bedauert (Naciscione 2011, S.5). Im Deutschen existiert zusätzlich der Terminus “Radachse” (3.106).

## 5.2 Motiviertheit durch Respektsverhältnisse

### 5.2.1 Die Metapher “Krone”

ABNT-no.	Brasili- nisches Portu- giesisch	Englisch	Französisch	Deutsch
3.335	Coroa-pinhão	Ring gear	Couronne dentée	Zahnkranz, Radkranz

Ein anderes Beispiel für eine teilweise stattfindende, transkulturelle Motiviertheit und somit eine teilmotivierbare Wendung ist “coroa-pinhão” (3.335), wobei das determinierte Substantiv seine Motiviertheit von der

Wichtigkeit des Werkstücks bezieht. Im Französischen wird genau das gleiche semantische Bild verwendet: die Metapher der Krone. Das portugiesische “coroa” und das französische “couronne” bedeuten sowohl “Krone” als auch “Kranz”. Aufgrund der schnelleren technischen Entwicklung in Frankreich dürfte es sich bei dem portugiesischen Terminus um eine Lehnübersetzung handeln., während “ring gear” (Englisch) und “Zahnkranz, Radkranz” lediglich wiederum eine teilweise stattfindende, semantische Motiviertheit, nämlich die von herausragenden Personen, innehaben. In der Vergangenheit benutzten nur wichtige Persönlichkeiten Ringe. Jedoch waren sie nicht so wichtig wie der König als Souverän und wichtigste Person seines Universums, der eine Krone trug und noch immer bei bestimmten Anlässen trägt. Bei allen Termini in den vier Sprachen handelt es sich um teilmotivierbare Wendungen nach Burger 1982.

### 5.2.2. Respektspersonen als Metaphern im Portugiesischen: “rei” (König), “mestre” (Meister) und “piloto” (Pilot)

ABNT-no.	Brasilianisches Portugiesisch	Englisch	Französisch	Deutsch
3.880	pino-rei	Ball head bolt	boulon à rotule	Kugelbolzen
3.316	Configuração mestre	Main configuration	Configuration principale	Hauptkonfiguration

Einige zusammengesetzte Termini im brasilianischen Portugiesisch, die sich auf wichtige Werkstücke beziehen, benutzen als Bestimmungswörter Substantive mit einer starken semantischen Motivierung, die Respektspersonen bezeichnen. So werden “rei” (König) für das Kompositum “pino-rei” (3.880) (Kugelbolzen), “mestre” (Herr, Meister) für das Kompositum “configuração-mestre” (3.316) (Hauptkonfiguration) und “piloto” (Pilot) für das Kompositum “luz-piloto” (3.756) benutzt. In den Äquivalenten der weiteren Sprachen erscheint der Aspekt der Kontrolle und Überprüfung wie in “indicator light” bzw. “monitor lamp” (Engl.), “lampe témoin”, “voyant” (Franz.) and Kontrolllampe (Deutsch). Solche ausdrucksvolle Wörter sind meines Erachtens nach sehr nützlich, um die Wichtigkeit eines Werkstücks im gesamten Maschinenkontext anzuzeigen. Sowohl Techniker als auch Laien werden die Bedeutung schnell verstehen, und ich erwarte einen systematischen Gebrauch dieser Wörter in der Zukunft.

### 5.2.3. Die Metapher "Autonomie" im Portugiesischen und der Kraftstoffverbrauch im Deutschen

ABNT-no.	Brasilianisches Portugiesisch	Englisch	Französisch	Deutsch
3.117	autonomia por litro	Fuel consumption	consommation de carburant	Kraftstoffverbrauch

Der Terminus "autonomia por litro" ist ein politisch motivierter Terminus. Autonomie ist die politische Selbstbestimmung einer Region, Provinz bzw. eines Bundeslandes innerhalb eines Staates. Gewisse Kompetenzen unterstehen den Landesregierungen bzw. Regierungen von Bundesstaaten, was sich im Terminus Landeshoheit niederschlägt. Diese Idee wurde in der portugiesischen Sprache auf das technische Universum übertragen. Hier geht es um die Zeit, die ein Fahrzeug mit einem Liter Treibstoff fahren, also im technischen Sinne autonom sein kann. Die Erklärung kommt bei den entsprechenden Äquivalenten "fuel consumption" (Engl.), "consommation de carburant" (Franz.) und Kraftstoffverbrauch (Deutsch) deutlich zum Ausdruck.

Bei allen mit Respekt verbundenen Metaphern fällt im Portugiesischen die Form der Determination ins Auge, welche die klare Mehrheit darstellt.

### 5.3. Körperteile als Metaphern

ABNT-no.	Brasilianisches Portugiesisch	Englisch	Französisch	Deutsch
3.156	braço	Lever	levier, bras	Hebel
3.157	braço auxiliar de direção	additional steering arm	levier d'attaque additionnel	zusätzlicher Lenkhebel
3.270	coluna de direção	steering column	colonne de direction	Lenksäule
3.336	Corpo	Body	Caisson	Aufnahmekörper
3.337	Corpo de prova (pastilhas do freio)	Test piece (brake pads)	Pièce d'essai (garnitures de frein)	Probekörper (Bremsbeläge)
3.338	corpo do filtro	filter housing, filter bowl	corps, boîtier, cuve de filtre	Filtergehäuse

3.150	bocal de abastecimento	filler neck	tubulure de remplissage	Einfüllstutzen
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Bei Motiviertheit von Körperteilen seien vier Beispiele genannt: zuerst "braço" (3.156) (Arm). Die gleiche semantische Motiviertheit finden wir im Französischen mit dem Terminus "bras" und "levier", was wiederum für eine Lehnübersetzung spricht. Demgegenüber stehen im Deutschen und Englischen "Hebel" und "lever". Wird der portugiesische Begriff "braço" jedoch mehr spezifiziert, wie z.B. "braço auxiliar de direção" (3.157), taucht "arm" im englischen Terminus auf - "additional steering arm"- und verschwindet im Französischen "bras" zu Gunsten von "levier": "levier d'attaque additionnel". An zweiter Stelle taucht "coluna (Säule) de direção" im Glossar auf (3.270). Da das Aussehen einer Säule in diesen vier Sprachräumen bekannt ist und infolgedessen schon die Bezeichnung der "Achse des Skeletts bei Wirbeltieren", zu denen ja auch der Mensch gehört, motiviert hat - columna vertebral (port.), vertebral column (engl.), colonne vertébrale (franz.), und Wirbelsäule (dt.) - ist folglich deren semantisches Bild in den entsprechenden Terminuschöpfungen vorhanden: "steering column" (Eng.), "colonne de direction" (Fre.) and "Lenksäule" (Germ.). Vermutlich handelt es sich um Lehnübersetzungen aus dem Französischen. Als drittes Beispiel erscheint "corpo" (3.336). Auf Grund der transkulturellen Motiviertheit ist das Äquivalent im Englischen "body" und "Aufnahmekörper" im Deutschen, obwohl es sich im letzten Fall um einen zusammengesetzten Terminus in Form eines Substantivs handelt, dessen Bestimmungswort "Aufnahme" und Grundwort "Körper" ist. Bei der semantischen Analyse der folgenden Integrationsstrukturen, die "corpo" verwenden, fällt zuerst ein Terminus aus dem Bremsbereich ins Auge: "corpo de prova" (3.337). Nur das deutsche Äquivalent benutzt die gleiche Motiviertheit "Probekörper". Beim englischen und französischen Äquivalent wird diese Motiviertheit bei "test piece" und "pièce d'essai" völlig außer Acht gelassen. Bei der Analyse des Begriffs "corpo do filtro" (3.338) ist die Idee eines Behälters gegeben. So wird im Englischen "filter housing" bzw. "filter bowl", im Französischen „corps“, "boîtier", "cuve de filter" und im Deutschen "Filtergehäuse" gesagt. Tatsächlich ist der Körper der Behälter von Seele und Geist eines Menschen, oder lediglich von menschliches Organen. Schließlich möchte ich den vierten Terminus "bocal de abastecimento" (3.150) vorstellen. Der englische Terminus dazu ist "filler neck", der französische Terminus "tubulure de remplissage" und der deutsche Terminus "Einfüllstutzen". Techniker wollten hier ein-

fach die Ähnlichkeit zwischen dem menschlichen Organ zur Nahrungsaufnahme und der technischen Vorrichtung zum "Füttern", also Tanken von Autos hinsichtlich der Öffnung ausnutzen, um einen anschaulichen Terminus zu kreieren. Bei "filler neck (Nacken)" hat der Benutzer gleich das Bild des Hals mit dem dazugehörigen Mund vor Augen. So gibt es hier eine teilweise stattfindende Motiviertheit, im Portugiesischen hingegen ist die Motiviertheit vollständig. Wie gezeigt wurde, wurde weder im Französischen, noch im Deutschen dieses Bild zur Beschreibung dieser Vorrichtung benutzt.

Bei allen Körperteile betreffenden Metaphern, die aus mindestens zwei Wörtern bestehen, wird im Portugiesischen die Form der Integration verwendet.

#### 5.4. Begriffe aus der Welt der Tiere als Metaphern

3.148	bico ejetor	injection nozzle	gicleur	Spritzdüse
3.155	borboleta do acelerador	accelerating, device throttle valve	papillon du dispositif d'ac-célération	Drosselklappe des Beschleunigers
3.269	colméia do radiador	radiator honey-comb	nid d'abeilles du radiateur	Kühler(wabe)

Im Anschluss werden drei Termini mit semantischer Motivierung von Tieren vorgestellt: "bico ejetor" (3.148) "Schnabel", das deutsche Äquivalent heißt "Spritzdüse". Diese semantische Motiviertheit fehlt völlig im Englischen, Französischen und Deutschen. Das heißt, dass es sich hier um keine Lehnübersetzung wie bisher gehandelt hat (s. z.B. 5.1, 5.2, 5.3). Spritzdüsen sind moderne Autoteile, die z.B. in der Einspritztechnik des Zündungsapparats verwendet werden, was auf eine modern technische Entwicklung auf brasilianischem Boden deutet. Der Terminus "borboleta do acelerador" (3.155) – deutsches Äquivalent: Drosselklappe des Beschleunigers – "butterfly", und "Papillon du dispositif d'accélération" mit dem gleichen semantischen Bild auf Englisch und Französisch beziehen sich auf das Aussehen der Drosselklappe. Auch hier handelt es sich um eine Lehnübersetzung. "Colméia do radiador (3.269), das den Platz bezeichnet, an dem Bienen leben, wurde durch Lehnübersetzung von mir in den anderen drei Sprachen erhalten und von den Herren Zaiser und Hubacher als gültiger Terminus verifiziert. Es handelt sich um die Ter-



mini “radiator honeycomb” (Engl.), “nid d’abeilles du radiateur” (Franz.) and “Kühler(wabe)” (Deutsch), die wir auch im Internet finden.

Bei Metaphern aus der Welt der Tiere überwiegen leicht die Termini der Integration.

## 6. Schlussfolgerung und Ausblick

Als allgemeine Schlussfolgerung im Hinblick auf die Hauptcharakteristika von Phraseologismen ist es wichtig, linguistische Charakteristika bei der Bildung von neuen Fachtermini zu berücksichtigen. Da diese, gemäß Aitchison, ständig im mentalen Lexikon verfügbar sind, wäre ein Gebrauch dieser Phraseologismen im technischen Kontext sehr hilfreich, weil so ihre semantisch motivierte Kraft für eine beschleunigte Kodifizierung und Dekodifizierung und somit für Verständnis von beiden Seiten sorgt. Eine Beschreibung und Analyse der Motiviertheit existierender Termini mit Phraseologismen als Bestandteilen wird hier sehr hilfreich sein. Nach der Linguistin Fojtu bereichern sich Termini und Phraseologismen gegenseitig, da “der Phraseologismus als Basis für den Terminus benutzt wird, und die Bedeutung des phraseologischen Terminus auf der Bedeutung des Phraseologismus fußt” (Fojtu, S.4, meine Übersetzung)<sup>2</sup>. Eine Analyse zeigt, auf welche Art Phraseologismen schon benutzt worden sind, wie wir in den Unterpunkt 5.1, 5.2., 5.3 und 5.4 gesehen haben. Wie schon vorher gesagt, stellen die Metaphern für Gibbs (2002), Naciscione (2011) und weitere Linguisten eine “Technik des abstrakten Denkens“ dar, wodurch das mentale Lexikon meiner Ansicht nach noch potenziert wird. Ich würde bei Erstellung von neuen Terminologien eine Überprüfung einer transkulturellen Motiviertheit vorschlagen und diese mittels Lehnübersetzungen ausnutzen, wann immer es möglich ist, außer, dass ein anders motivierter Terminus schon so tief verwurzelt ist, das eine metaphorische Angleichung eher störend wäre. Trotz der hier vorgestellten Ergebnisse und anschließender Vorschläge zur Erstellung von Termini, sind meine Schlüsse weit davon entfernt, für die Erstellung von Autoteile-Termini im brasilianischen Portugiesisch und in den anderen Sprachen ausschlaggebend zu sein. Ich möchte lediglich eine Beitrag dazu leisten,

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<sup>2</sup> Fojtu (2011: 4): “...– the phraseological unit is used as a basis for the term and the meaning of the phraseological term is built from the meaning of the phraseological unit”



ein Werkzeug zu liefern, mittels dessen Forscher künftige idiomatische Autoteile-Termini bilden können.

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## **Phraseologismen bei Autoteilen in der portugiesischen, englischen, französischen und deutschen Sprache**

### **SUMMARY**

Every day phraseological units gain more and more importance in our globalized civilization. One of the multiple reasons is their linguistic dynamism, which starts in the very first years of language acquisition. Phraseological units are, according to Aitchison, permanently available in the mental lexicon, playing an important role in communication. The biggest importance consists in their transcultural character. In an intercultural approach, phraseological units show their real meaning, which only appears, if we consider the context and the real world knowledge. The metaphorization, a main character of the phraseological units, can be found all over different cultures. After having analyzed my PhD thesis, from 1996, I found that this characteristic element, normal in colloquial discourses, when we have ordinary communication situations, has been also used in the creation of terms. According to Wüster, terms are artificial word creations in order to describe a scientific concept. Their main premise to be accomplished is that they have to be unique. During my PhD research I noticed that a lot of motor vehicle terms had been created or within a phraseological unit, or as proper phraseological unit. Thus, the transcultural core has been intentionally chosen. As one of my PhD scores was to find the most usual term-formation model in Portuguese, purposed in chapter 4 of my thesis and based on the results of the morphological and semantic basis corpus analysis (chapter 3), term creations using phraseological units are supposed to play here an important role. As base for my new research I have chosen, likewise in my PhD research, the Brazilian standard project “Veículos rodoviários – Glossário no. 05:001.06-034 (*Street vehicles*), of the Brazilian Standard Association “*Associação Brasileira de Normas Técnicas (ABNT)*, published in January, 1994. As I also elaborated, in chapter 5, a Portuguese-English-French-German Glossary, giving the terminological equivalents among the terms in this area, I will also detect the possible transcultural situation about phraseological units as motor vehicle terms in the other languages (e.g. “PT: *Esspessura da colméia do radiador* – EN: *honeycomb width* – FR: *largueur du nid d’abeilles* – DE: *Wabendicke*). These results will enable researchers to create more idiomatic motor vehicle terms.

## Frazeologizmy jako terminy motoryzacyjne w językach portugalskim, angielskim, francuskim i niemieckim

### STRESZCZENIE

W cywilizacji globalnej jednostki frazeologiczne mają coraz większe znaczenie. Jeden z wielu czynników warunkujących je to dynamika językowa, która zaczyna się w pierwszych latach przyswajania języka. Według Aitchison związki frazeologiczne są cały czas w naszym leksykonie i odgrywają ważną rolę w komunikacji z racji ich międzykulturowego charakteru. W perspektywie kontrastywnej frazeologizmy ukazują dwoje znaczenia realne, uobecniające się w analizie kontekstu i wiedzy o świecie. Metaforyczny charakter frazeologizmów jest ich główną cechą, którą obserwujemy w wielu różnych kulturach. W rozprawie doktorskiej autorki z 1996 roku przedstawiono funkcjonowanie tego elementu, typowego dla dyskursu potocznego, zwykłych sytuacji komunikacyjnych, w tworzeniu terminów. Jak podaje Wüster, terminy to sztucznie utworzone jednostki, opisujące dany koncept naukowy. Wiele terminów z zakresu motoryzacji ma charakter frazeologiczny: są one derywatami lub frazeologizmami właściwymi. Jednym z celów badawczych było znalezienie najczęstszych modeli w języku portugalskim Portuguese. Podstawą badania, podobnie jak we wspomnianej rozprawie doktorskiej, jest brazylijski projekt standaryzacji Veículos rodoviários – Glossário no. 05:001.06-034 (*Street vehicles*) opracowany przez the Brazilian Standard Association Associação Brasileira de Normas Técnicas (ABNT), który został opublikowany w styczniu 1994 r. Analiza portugalsko-angielsko-francusko-niemiecki glosariusza opracowanego przez autorkę uwzględnia terminy pozwala wskazać transkulturowy charakter terminów motoryzacyjnych (np. port. *espessura da colméia do radiador* – ang. *honeycomb width* – fr. *largueur du nid d'abeilles* – niem. *Wabendicke*). Uzyskane wyniki ułatwią językoznawcom tworzenie kolejnych idiomatycznych terminów z zakresu motoryzacji.

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## **Phraseological Units of Biblical Origin in English and German**

**ABSTRACT:** The Bible represents a major source of phraseological units in a myriad of languages. Due to their common origin Biblical idioms are often considered to be internationalisms. This article will show that the languages of English and German have not only taken different Biblical expressions into their vocabularies, but also that many of the so-called equivalents differ with regard to structure and meaning. Furthermore, it will be demonstrated that the Biblical phraseology is in a state of flux due to the dominant use of English as a global lingua franca. New expressions from English enter the language (e.g. *die Extrameile gehen* [cf. *to go the extra mile*]); traditional German expressions (e.g. *Menetekel*) are replaced by English loan translations (*die Schrift an der Wand* [cf. *the writing on the wall*]). This article will thus shed light on these recent developments and suggest reasons for them.

**KEY WORDS:** *phraseological units, the Bible, equivalents, internationalisms, loan translations*

### **1. Introduction**

At first sight, this topic might seem considerably worn-out. Biblical idioms are among the best described groups of phraseological units. Bibliographies contain a large number of titles on Biblical phraseology including contrastive studies of two or more languages as well as essays on individual Biblical expressions that have become winged words<sup>1</sup>. There are,

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Mieder's (2009a) bibliography with more than 800 items for the keyword BIBLE.

however, at least two reasons why it is worthwhile taking a fresh look at the topic. Firstly, corpus-based research has advanced our understanding of how phraseological units are used in different contexts. Contrastive analyses reveal that expressions which are presented as equivalents by dictionaries exhibit semantic and pragmatic differences. Secondly, as is well-known, the use of English as a global lingua franca is leaving its traces in many languages. This study will address the question of whether this influence can also be felt within such a traditional topic as Biblical phraseology.

## 2. The Bible as a cornerstone of phraseology

A phraseological unit (PU) is a lexicalized polylexemic linguistic unit which is characterized, in principle, by semantic and syntactic stability, and to a great extent by idiomaticity. Because of its optional connotative features it may fulfil various pragmatic functions in discourse (cf. Fiedler 2007: 28).

The phrasicon of a language is a rich inventory of all sorts of heterogeneous items. Applying a classification on the basis of structural-semantic criteria and frequency, we find the following types to be especially relevant: nominations, proverbs, sayings, winged words/quotes/catch phrases, binomials, and stereotyped comparisons. As table 1 shows, examples from the Bible can be found easily which proves the Book of Books to be one of the most important sources of phraseology<sup>2</sup>.

**Table 1. Types of phraseological units**

Nominations	<i>a good Samaritan</i> (Luke 10: 30-37) <i>the patience of Job</i> (James 5: 12)
Proverbs	<i>A prophet is not without honour save in his own country</i> (Matthew 13: 57) <i>As you sow, so you reap</i> (Galatians 6: 7)

<sup>2</sup> For English, the King James Version of the Bible (1611) was used; for German, Martin Luther's translation of the Bible (1534). The influence that these books had on the development of the two languages, both in terms of standardization and in terms of their phraseological impact, are comparable. In both languages, many Biblicisms are so commonplace and wide-spread that people use them without conscious reference to the source text.

Sayings	<i>to swim against the tide</i> (Sirach 4: 31) <i>to take sb. under one's wing</i> (Psalm 94: 4)
winged words / quotes / catch phrases	<i>There is nothing new under the sun</i> (Ecclesiastes 1: 9) <i>a wolf in sheep's clothes</i> (Aesop/Matthew 7: 15) <sup>3</sup>
Binomials	<i>sackcloth and ashes</i> (Matthew 11: 21) <i>fire and brimstone</i> (Genesis 19: 24-26)
stereotyped comparisons	<i>as old as Methuselah</i> (Genesis 5: 27) <i>to take care of sb. like one's eyeball/the apple of one's eye</i> (Deuteronomy 32: 10; Psalm 17: 8)

One of the most fundamental and at the same time fascinating questions in phraseology research has been how and to what extent culture is shown in phraseology. On this basis, PUs are often classified into culture-bound (or culture-specific) items, on the one hand, and those that are known and used beyond the borders of individual languages (sometimes called “universal”) or internationalisms, on the other hand. Examples of the first group are, in English, *to send sb. to Coventry*<sup>4</sup> and *a catch-22 situation*<sup>5</sup> and, in German, *blauer Brief*<sup>6</sup> and *Mein Name ist Hase* [...]<sup>7</sup>. Although

<sup>3</sup> This subtype includes expressions that are usually considered to be of Biblical origin. However, they were used proverbially in the Bible itself and have other sources. Piirainen (2012: 57) speaks of “multilayered intertextuality.”

<sup>4</sup> This idiom means ‘to punish sb. by ignoring, especially refusing to talk to them’. There are several theories about its origin (see Flavell, Flavell 1992: 62–63). The most plausible seems to be that the townspeople of the English Midland town of Coventry so disliked having soldiers garrisoned in their town that if a woman was caught speaking to one she would instantly be shunned by her neighbours.

<sup>5</sup> *A catch-22 situation* is a frustrating situation, caused in particular by a rule that is considered unfair. It says that a first event cannot happen until a second event has happened, but the second event cannot happen before the first event has happened. In other words ‘Damned if you do, damned if you don’t’. *Catch-22* is the title of a novel by Joseph Heller about a group of US pilots in World War II. One of the protagonists does not want to fly any more and goes to see the doctor to be declared crazy and so be grounded. The doctor answers: “Anyone who wants to get out of combat duty isn’t really crazy. This is the catch – ‘Catch-22.’”

<sup>6</sup> To receive a *blauer Brief* (‘blue letter’) means to be dismissed from your job. In the 19th century in Germany, letters informing people about redundancies (as well as parents being informed that their children will not be moved up into the next class, or officers that they are requested to apply for a discharge) were sent in blue envelopes.

<sup>7</sup> This means ‘I don’t know anything and don’t want to be involved’. It is reported as being traceable to a statement by Victor von Hase in court in 1898. He was suspected of having lost his student identity card deliberately in order to help a friend to flee from Heidelberg after having killed another student in a duel.

we can understand their contents having been informed on the historical background, due to their embeddedness in the history of a speech community and its culture they are often regarded as typically English or German respectively and will, therefore, cause translation problems.

Members of the other group, with examples such as *to lose one's head/seinen Kopf verlieren*, *the iron curtain/der eiserne Vorhang* and *One hand washes the other/Eine Hand wäscht die andere* are considered to be international PUs ("Inter-Phraseologismen" according to Braun, Krallmann 1990). The reason for the existence of these corresponding expressions can be found in language contact (see Mieder 2010) and common sources. They can be traced back to mythological stories, classical literary works (e.g., Shakespeare, Dante, Cervantes), folk narrations, fables and legends (see Piirainen 2010: 12). One of those most important sources for the entire European continent and beyond is the Bible. Due to their common source Biblical expressions, so-called *Biblicisms*, are per se regarded as international PUs. There are several dictionaries listing parallel PUs derived from the Bible in several languages (e.g. Walter/Mokienko 2009, Walter et al. 2010). Paczolay's collections, for example, includes equivalents for *They that sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind* (Hosea 8: 7) in 30 languages and *He that shall not work, shall not eat* (Thessalonians 3: 10) in 43.

A closer look, however, reveals a number of differences in the corpus of *Biblicisms* in common European languages. A first difference refers to the number of Biblical expressions that the individual languages have taken from the Bible. Mokienko (2012: 92) points out that there are considerably more PUs of Biblical origin in Russian than in French. According to Piirainen (2012: 171), "in contemporary German, for example, approximately 150 Biblical idioms are still in common usage". For the purpose of this study the use of a total of 162 English PUs of Biblical origin found in dictionaries (*Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* 1979; *Collins Cobuild Idioms Dictionary* 2002; [www.phrases.org.uk](http://www.phrases.org.uk)) was taken as a basis and confirmed by corpora. When we compare these to lists of German Biblical PUs, it becomes evident that not all of them have a counterpart. Piirainen (2012: 171) reports that out of a total of 120 pre-tested English Biblical idioms 64 turned out to qualify for inclusion into the group of "widespread idioms". Obviously, different languages borrowed different items from the Bible.

Another aspect is the form. In contrast to, for example, Shakespearean PUs, idioms of Biblical origin cannot be regarded as citations from the source text. Many items are far away in their structure from the original wording that can be found in the Bible. For example, the idiom *the black*



*sheep (of the family)* does not exist in this form in the Bible, but goes back to the following passage in Genesis 30 (cf. Piirainen 2012: 57):

- 32 *I will pass through all thy flock to day, removing from thence all the speckled and spotted cattle, and all the brown cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and of such shall be my hire.*
- 33 *So shall my righteousness answer for me in time to come, when it shall come from my hire before the face: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and brown among the sheep, that shall be counted stolen with me.*

Mokienko (2012: 93) explains the discrepancies between Biblical phrases in various languages with diverse translations of the Bible. West-slavic and German Biblical texts go back to Latin source texts, whereas Russian translations were influenced by Byzantine traditions. As for German, it is known that quite a number of PUs coined by Luther are characterized by his specific style, which was, on the one hand, very poetic and, on the other hand, very close to the speech of ordinary people. An example of the first attribute is the expression *durch die Finger sehen* (lit. 'look through the fingers') to describe 'overlook incorrect behaviour deliberately'; an example of the second is the expression *das Maul halten* (lit. 'to hold one's mouth', with *Maul* being a rude word, cf. *Shut up*) (see Böttcher et al. 1981: 102, 132).

### 3. Biblical PUs in English and German

#### 3.1. Cross-linguistic equivalence

As mentioned in Section 2, despite having the same textual source, Biblical idioms can vary considerably across two languages. It is therefore necessary to study them in more detail in terms of equivalence. Phraseological equivalence presents an intensively studied field (Korhonen 2007, Dobrovol'ski 2011), and a number of authors have recently stressed the complexity of the issue by outlining different approaches of contrastive idiom research (Farø 2006; Menado-Blanco 2010; Kozak-Opsahl 2010). The current study does not focus on equivalence as an abstract property used to describe the aimed-at quality of a target text in the translation (see Koller 2004), but instead is concerned with the existence of equivalents, i.e. of expressions that can be regarded as identical or at least corresponding, and which serve as substitutes in two languages. Equivalence in this sense can be basically seen with reference to two criteria: (a) the form of



expressions, i.e. the identity of their constituents, and (b) the meaning of the expressions, including criteria such as connotative (above all stylistic) restrictions (see Wotjak 1992; Korhonen 2007). Taking this as a starting point, we can distinguish between different subtypes of equivalents among Biblical idioms.

### 3.2. Types of equivalents

#### 3.2.1. "Total" equivalents

This group includes Biblical idioms that are identical with regard to their meaning, their form (i.e. their syntactic structure) and the image that they are based on. Examples are given in Table 2.

**Table 2. Phraseological units with identical forms, meanings, and images in English and German**

form +	meaning +	image/source +
<i>forbidden fruit</i> <i>verbotene Frucht</i>	sth. one wants to have very much but is not allowed or supposed to have	fruit of the tree of knowledge that God had forbidden Adam and Eve to touch; Eve tempts Adam to eat it (Genesis 2: 9; 3: 2-6)
<i>The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak.</i> <i>Der Geist ist willig, doch das Fleisch ist schwach.</i>	people have good intentions, but the human nature does not allow them to live up to the moral standards they have set themselves	Jesus admonishes his disciples, who were fallen asleep, to watch and pray and not to enter into temptation (Matthew 26: 41)

Examples:

- (1) *In general the **forbidden fruit** effect was stronger for males than females, and there was a curvilinear relation with age [...]. In addition, the meta-analysis revealed a small **forbidden fruit** effect when violence (but not sex) was labeled.* (Calvert, S.L./Wilson, B.J. *The Handbook of Children, Media, and Development* 2011: 545)
- (2) ***Verbotene Früchte: Cannabiskonsum, ein soziales Problem?** [Forbidden Fruits: Cannabis, a social problem?]* (Hill, S. 2002, book title)
- (3) *What I am claiming is that the devoicing of voiced stops and the frication of stop releases can happen inadvertently or unintentionally. It is not so much that **the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak** but that the spirit is not constrained by aerodynamics but the flesh is.* (Breivik, L.E. et al. *Language Chance: Contributions to the Study of its Causes* 1989: 179)

- (4) [E]igentlich hatte ich mir ja geschworen, nie wieder auf Super-Sonder-Bilig-Angebote hereinzufallen. Allein: **Der Geist ist willig, das Fleisch bekanntlich schwach**. So kam es, dass ich diese unglaublich günstige Personewaage mitgenommen und das alte Gerät ersetzt habe.

(Braunschweiger Zeitung 2 Feb 2007)

[Actually I had sworn to myself never again to fall into the trap of super-extra-cheap-bargain-offers. However, the spirit is willing but the flesh as we know weak. So it occurred that I bought these unbelievably cheap personal scales and exchanged them for my old ones].

As the inverted commas with the word *total* in the headline serve to indicate, full equivalence, i.e. total correspondence in all possible parameters, does not seem realistic in two languages. As Gehweiler (2006) has convincingly shown, using the Biblical expressions *sth. is going to the dogs* and *jmdn.letw. geht vor die Hunde*, superficially equivalent idioms can differ with respect to frequency and register, and can have different variants and prefer different external arguments.

### 3.2.2. Partial equivalents

#### 3.2.2.1. PARTIAL EQUIVALENTS WITH STRUCTURAL DIFFERENCES

The PUs arranged in this group show minor structural differences in English and German. These concern grammatical categories such as singular and plural, the syntactic structure and the use of function words. Examples are given in Table 3.

**Table 3. Phraseological units with structural differences in English and German**

form +/-	meaning +	image/source +
<i>a sign of the time</i> (Sing.) <i>die Zeichen der Zeit</i> (Pl.)	a typical characteristic of the present	The Pharisees and Sadducees are reproached for seeing the signs of the weather, but not those of the time  (Matthew 16: 3)
<i>a judgement of Solomon</i> (N+of+N) <i>ein salomonisches Urteil</i> (Adj.+N)	a wise decision	When two women came to Solomo with a child, each claiming to be the mother, the king decided to give the baby to the one who – when he suggested to split it into two halves so that each could have a piece – preferred leaving the boy to the other over having him killed  (I Kings 3: 16-28)

## Examples:

- (5) *The establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem in 1838 was a sign of the time.*  
(C. E. Bosworth *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*, 2007: 243)
- (6) *Anders als beim Bund, wo weite Teile der bürgerlichen Parteien die Zeichen der Zeit nicht erkannt hätten, setzten FDP, CVP, SVP und AP im Kanton St. Gallen weiterhin auf eine neoliberale Sparpolitik [...] (Galler Tagblatt 2 May 1997) [In contrast to the federal state, where large parts of the civil parties did not realise the signs of the time, FDP, CVP, SVP and AP in the Canton of St. Gallen go on pursuing neoliberal austerity policies ...]*
- (7) *This certainly gives him an easy out, a legal precedent to follow. And it wouldn't hurt his reputation any to have his judgement compared to the judgement of Solomon.*  
(J. Picoult *Sing You Home: A Novel*, 2011: 441)
- (8) *[...] fällen die Moderatoren ein salomonisches Urteil. Weil die Gäste bei beiden Kandidaten wie verrückt klatschten, wird der Gewinn geteilt. (Mannheimer Morgen 13 June 2000) [... the hosts rendered a judgement of Solomon. As the guests applauded enthusiastically for both candidates, the prize is shared.]*

The decision to arrange expressions with those minor differences in a group of its own and not to see them as total equivalents (with alternations) as other authors do (e.g. Dobrovolski 2011) was taken with consideration of the non-native speaker. The learner of English must be aware of the differences, as structural stability can be a decisive precondition of a PU (e.g. English *\*to lose the head*, German *\*einen Löffel abgeben*, French *\*avoir un bras long*).

#### 2.2.2.2. PARTIAL EQUIVALENTS WITH LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

The items in this group have the same meaning and image/source, but do not correspond in their lexical structure. Examples can be found in Table 4. In the majority of cases there are additional lexical elements in one of the two expressions, which is then nearer to the authentic text of the Bible. Varying lexical elements often belong to the same semantic field or represent a hyponymic relationship.

**Table 4. Phraseological units with lexical differences in English and German**

form -/+	meaning +	Image/source +
<i>like a lamb to the slaughter</i> <i>wie ein Lamm, das zur Schlachtbank geführt wird.</i> (... led to the slaughterhouse)	innocently and calmly, not being aware of an impending catastrophe	image of Jesus as a lamb, as sb. who sacrifices his life <i>But I was like a gentle lamb led to the slaughter; and I did not know that they had devised plots against me</i> (Jeremiah 11: 19) <i>He was oppressed, he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth [...]</i> (Isaiah 53: 7)
<i>to cast pearls before swine</i> <i>Perlen vor die Säue werfen</i> (lit. ...before sows)	to offer sth. valuable to sb. who cannot appreciate it	part of the teachings of Jesus dealing with judging; animals cannot understand the value of holy and precious things; they will destroy them <i>Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet [...]</i> (Matthew 7: 6)

- (9) *"Is this your place?" he asked and jumped out of the car, bounding up the porch steps to my door. I followed him like a lamb to the slaughter, unlocking the door and letting him sleep inside.*  
(J. Parks [ed.] *Boy Zone*, 2008: 87)
- (10) *Kurz vor Prozessbeginn sagte Uriella alias Erika Bertschinger-Eicke, sie fühle sich unschuldig und werde wie ein Lamm zur Schlachtbank geführt. Der 69jährigen Sektenchefin wird vorgeworfen [...] Heilmittel, Tees und Kosmetika aus der Schweiz nach Deutschland eingeführt zu haben, ohne die Waren zu verzollen. (Galler Tagblatt 8 Sept 1998)* [Shortly before the trial started, Uriella, aka Erika Bertschinger-Eicke, said she felt not guilty and was led like a lamb to the slaughterhouse. The 69-year-old leader of a sect is accused of having imported medicinal substances, teas and cosmetics from Switzerland to Germany without paying duty on the goods.]
- (11) *Libra Sept. 23 – Oct. 22*  
[...] *Your ability to make quick decisions could prove to be an important asset when a friend shows up unexpectedly and needs tea and sympathy. Just don't throw pearls before swine. They make choke them and leave you with the bill.*  
(*Weekly World News* 1 April 2003)

- (12) *Bewusst hätten sich die Organisatoren dafür entschieden, Live-Musik diesmal nur auf einer Bühne anzubieten. “[...] Deshalb haben wir beispielsweise auch keine Kabarettisten engagiert, weil es **Perlen vor die Säue geworfen** wäre, wenn am Ende nur 30 Besoffene vor der Bühne rumhängen”.* (Rhein-Zeitung 2 Feb 2005) [As he said, it was a conscious decision to provide live music only on one stage this time. ‘... This, for example, is also the reason why we haven’t engaged a cabaret artist, because it means throwing pearls before swine if finally only 30 drunken people hang around in front of the stage.]

It depends on speakers’ individual socio-cultural background knowledge whether they can establish a relationship between two Biblical expressions with partly different constituents. In the case of English *the alpha and omega* and German *das A und O*, speakers have to identify *A* and *O* as the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. With *a voice crying in the wilderness* and *Rufer/Prediger in der Wüste* (lit. ‘person calling/preacher in the desert’) due to the number of varying constituents an identification will be more difficult.

### 3.2.3. Pseudo-equivalents

The expressions included in this group are often called false friends (*faux amis*). They have identical constituents and are based on the same image, but carry different meanings. A well-known (non-Biblical) example for the language pair English and German is *to be over the hill* (= to be too old to do a particular job) and *über den Berg sein*. The latter reads literally ‘to be over the hill’, but it means ‘to have passed the worst part, e.g. of an illness’<sup>8</sup>.

Examples among Biblicisms are rare due to their common origin. They might be caused by inconsistent uses of expressions in the Bible or by a semantic change of an idiom in a particular language whereas its original meaning has been preserved in the other. Földes (1990: 65) mentions the German expression *nicht von dieser Welt sein* (‘not to be of this world’; cf. *to be out of this world*) (Joh. 88: 23), meaning ‘to be part of paradise/to be unusually good’, and the Hungarian *vki nem a világból való*, which is no longer used in this divine sense, but refers to a bookish and naïve human being. Piirainen (2012: 66–67) points out that *Abraham’s bosom* refers to ‘security and safety’ in some languages, whereas in others it stands for

<sup>8</sup> Further examples of phraseological false friends in German and English can be found in Fiedler (2007: 10 and 120).

'death' according to the Biblical passage: *And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom ...*' (Luke 16: 22)

The expression *to gnash one's teeth* can be found as a threatening gesture in the Bible (see Table 5). In other passages (e.g. Matthew 8: 12) *weeping and gnashing* appears in descriptions of people who were sent to hell. In Present-Day English *to gnash one's teeth* is used to describe people's obvious anger and annoyance and can be considered an equivalent of the German idiom *mit den Zähnen knirschen*. In German, the Biblical expression *die Zähne zusammenbeißen* (see Table 5) has gone through a different semantic change, resulting in the meaning 'to be courageous and strong in the face of pain and difficulty/to carry on suppressing one's feelings' (cf. Böttcher et al. 1981: 114). This sense is now expressed in English by *to grit one's teeth*.

**Table 5. Examples of false friends among Biblical PUs**

form +	meaning -	image/source +
<i>to gnash one's teeth</i>	express anger and annoyance	<i>The wicked plotteth against the just, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth</i> (Psalm 37: 12).
<i>die Zähne zusammenbeißen</i> (lit. 'to bite one's teeth together'; cf. <i>to grit one's teeth</i> )	to overcome a difficult situation showing strength and courage	<i>Der Gottlose droht dem Gerechten und beißt seine Zähne zusammen über ihn.</i> (Psalm 37: 12)

- (13) *More than a few PowerPoint users have **gnashed their teeth** and pulled out their hair because they forgot how to go back to showing the entire show, not a custom one.* (P. Weverka *PowerPoint 2007 All-In-One Desk Reference for Dummies* 2011)
- (14) *"Sicher hat die eine oder andere kleinere Blessuren. Doch wir müssen jetzt **die Zähne zusammenbeißen** und den Kampf gegen den Abstieg annehmen", betont der Trainer.* (Braunschweiger Zeitung 14 April 2007) ['Certainly, one or the other girl has minor injuries. But we have to grit our teeth now and accept the fight against relegation,' the trainer underlined.]

### 3.2.4. Missing equivalents

A possible fourth constellation is zero-equivalence, which means that a Biblical expression has been taken into the vocabulary of a particular

language, whereas it is not known or used in another language. In a situation where one language exercises dominant influence on other languages, as it is the case with English today, such a constellation is often a starting point for loan processes. The remainder of this article will therefore focus on the borrowing of English Biblical phrases in German.

## 2.2. Recent imports of Biblical idioms via English

At the beginning of this section, let us have a look at the following passage of the *Sermon on the Mount* (Matthew 5) in the King James Version and Martin Luther's translation of the Bible:

38 *Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:* 39 *But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.* 40 *And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also.* 41 *And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain.* 42 *Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away.*

38 *Ihr habt gehört, dass gesagt ist (2. Mose 21, 24): »Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn.«* 39 *Ich aber sage euch, dass ihr nicht widerstreben sollt dem Übel, sondern: wenn dich jemand auf deine rechte Backe schlägt, dem biete die andere auch dar.* 40 *Und wenn jemand mit dir rechten will und dir deinen Rock nehmen, dem lass auch den Mantel.* 41 *Und wenn dich jemand nötigt, eine Meile mitzugehen, so geh mit ihm zwei.* 42 *Gib dem, der dich bittet, und wende dich nicht ab von dem, der etwas von dir borgen will.*

The English expressions *An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth* and *turn the other cheek*, in German respectively *Auge um Auge, Zahn um Zahn* and *die andere Wange hinhalten*, have their origin here and are commonplace in both languages. The difference between English and German is that verse 41 (*And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain / Und wenn dich jemand nötigt, eine Meile mitzugehen, so geh mit ihm zwei*)<sup>9</sup> has manifested itself as an idiom only in one of the two languages, in English. *To go the extra mile* (= 'to be willing to make special efforts') is very popular in English. A number of American presidents have used it to mobilize their audiences or to underline their own disposition to increase their effort. In

<sup>9</sup> The passage goes back to the *Roman Impressment Law*, according to which a Roman soldier meeting somebody could oblige this person to carry his baggage for a (Roman) mile (vgl. Keener 1993: 535).



his study on B. Obama's rhetoric, W. Mieder (2009b: 262–263) mentions the following examples:

- (15) *Nothing brightens my day more than dealing with somebody, anybody, who takes pride in their work or **goes the extra mile** – an accountant, a plumber, a three-star general, the person on the other end of the phone who actually seems to want to solve the problem.*  
 (B. Obama 2006: *The Audacity of Hope. Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream*. New York: Three Rivers Press, S. 60)
- (16) *If publishing involves the intersection of art and commerce, Jenny and Steve have consistently erred on the side of making this book as good as it could possibly be. Their faith in this book has led them to **go the extra mile** time and time again, and for that I am tremendously grateful.* (S. 363)

The close connection between this idiom and US and international policies can also be seen when we try to follow its route into the German language. In corpora<sup>10</sup>, first examples can be found in 1998 in three quotes: one by Mary McAleese about the situation in Ireland, one by Bill Clinton on policies in the Middle East and, given in reported speech, one by George Bush on German reunification.

- (17) *McAleese: [...] Kürzlich sagte mir ein Freund, beim Brückenbau entstehe häufig die Situation, daß jemand in der Mitte steht und von keiner Seite richtig verstanden wird. Hierin liegt eine Portion Wahrheit. Nichtsdestotrotz, zur Aufgabe des Brückenbauers gehört es, **die Extrameile zu gehen**, und ich bin dazu bereit. Was Irland jetzt wirklich braucht, ist die Hand, die sich den Entfremdeten und Distanzierten entgegenstreckt. Wir müssen uns wegbewegen von unserer wirklich harten Vergangenheit. (Die Welt 30 March 1998) [McAleese: ... Recently a friend told me that during the construction of bridges there is often the situation that someone stands in the middle and is understood correctly from none of the sides. There is some truth in it. Nevertheless, it is part of a bridge builder's talk to go the extra mile, and I am prepared to do so. What Ireland needs now is the hand that is stretched out to the estranged and the distanced. We have to move away from our really hard past.]*
- (18) *Clinton, dem aus den Reihen der Republikaner im Kongreß zunehmend ein ultimativer Druck auf Israel vorgeworfen wird, stimmte der erneuten Ross-Reise zu, um eine drohende weitere Abkühlung in letzter Minute abzuwenden.*

<sup>10</sup> For this study, for the German language, mainly two corpora were used: (1) COS-MAS2 (Version 1.6.3), the corpus of the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache* (IDS), the largest publicly available corpus for the German language (<http://www.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2/>), and (2) a corpus of German newspaper articles which allows an overview of changes in the past ten years.



- Ross, so Clinton, *gehe „buchstäblich die Extrameile“, das heißt, er tue alles Vertretbare, um zu einer Einigung zu kommen. Wenn für ernsthafte Versuche dazu mehr Zeit nötig ist, scheint der Montagstermin in Washington noch nicht das letzte Wort zu sein.* (*Die Welt* 9 May 1998) [Clinton, who is accused by Republicans of placing ultimate pressure on Israel, agreed on Ross's fresh journey to prevent a further imminent slow-down at the last minute. Ross, as Clinton said, goes "literally the extra mile", that is, he does everything that is reasonable to reach an agreement. If more time is necessary for a serious attempt towards it, the meeting in Washington on Monday does not seem to be the last word.]
- (19) Präsident Bush wirft ein, in der Tat lebe Frau Thatcher in der Geschichte. Anders die USA: Sie fürchteten keine Geister aus der Vergangenheit und glaubten auch nicht, daß die Deutschen ewig büßen müssen. Dennoch müsse man die Ängste der anderen ausschalten und die Leute aufs engste konsultieren. So habe er vor dem Besuch des Bundeskanzlers Premierministerin Thatcher angerufen und ihr eine gute Stunde zugehört. Es gehe um die berühmte *Extra-Meile* an Konsultationen." (*Welt am Sonntag* 7 June 1998) [President Bush interposes that indeed Mrs Thatcher lives in the past. Not so the USA: They do not fear the ghosts of the past, neither do they believe that the Germans have to atone eternally. However, the fears of the others have to be allayed and people have to be consulted in the minutest detail. Therefore, as he said, he called Prime Minister Thatcher before the Bundeskanzler's visit and listened to her for a whole hour. It has to do with the famous extra mile of consultations.]

Although the corpora used include only 34 occurrences (from 1998 to 2012), it can be argued that *die Extrameile gehen* is well on its way to becoming a popular idiom in German. A google search yields about 10,000 hits. The expression is frequently used in spoken communication (see example 20 from a TV talent show) and increasingly can be found in job advertisements and text where companies and institutions give information about themselves (see examples 21 and 22).

- (20) *Von jetzt an hängt alles von euch ab. Wir können euch eine Tür aufhalten. Aber singen müsst ihr alleine. Ihr müsst hier die Extrameile laufen. Alles geben.* (Dieter Bohlen in *Deutschland sucht den Superstar* 30 Jan 2010) [From now on everything depends on you. We can open a door for you. But you have to sing on your own. Here you have to go the extra mile. To give everything.]
- (21) *Als Butler übernehmen Sie den VIP-Kabinenservice an Bord unseres 6\* Flussschiffes und verschaffen unseren anspruchsvollen Gästen unvergessliche Erlebnisse. Sie haben bereits erste Erfahrungen in der Luxushotellerie*

*gesammelt und verfügen über vertiefte Kenntnisse im Bar- und Servicebereich, Housekeeping und/oder Butlerservice. Diskretion, Aufmerksamkeit und die Fähigkeit, ein Wohlgefühl-Gefühl zu vermitteln zeichnen Sie aus. Sie sind jederzeit bereit **die „Extra Meile“ zu gehen** und lesen unseren Gästen jeden Wunsch von den Augen ab [...] [As a butler you run the cabin service on board of our 6\* river boats and provide unforgettable impressions for our demanding guests. You have already gained first experiences in deluxe hotel business and have profound knowledge working the counter, in the fields of service, housekeeping and/or butler service. Discretion, attention and the ability to provide a feelgood atmosphere are your distinctive qualities. You are always willing to go the ‘extra mile’ and you anticipate our guests’ every wish ...]*

(22) *Ein Beispiel für Kundenservice – **die extra Meile***

*Von Monika Birkner | Veröffentlicht am: 5. März 2009*

*Guter Kundenservice zeichnet sich bekanntlich dadurch aus, dass jemand **die „extra Meile“** für seine Kunden geht. Mit anderen Worten: Dass er mehr tut, als der Kunde erwartet. Heute hatte ich wieder solch ein Erlebnis [...] [An example of customer service – the extra mile. By Monika Birkner. Published on 5 March 2009. As is well known, good customer service can be seen in the fact that somebody goes the extra mile for their customers. In other words, they do more than the customer expects. Today I have had such an experience again ...]*

The second example of a Biblicism recently imported from English is the expression *die Schrift an der Wand* (cf. English *the writing on the wall*; in AmE also *The handwriting on the wall*), which is used to refer to a portent of doom or misfortune. It originates from the book of Daniel 5 in which the mysterious appearance of a man’s hand writing on the wall makes King Belshazzar aware at a feast of the coming destruction of the Babylonian Empire.

*5 In the same hour came forth fingers of a man’s hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall of the king’s palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote. [...] 25 And this is the writing that was written, Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin. 26 This is the interpretation of the thing: Mene; God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it. 27 TEKEL; Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. 28 PERES; Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians. [...] 30 In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain.*

On the basis of the Biblical scene, in the German language the word *Menetekel* is widely used to denote a sign of future ruin. COSMAS2 regis-

ters 929 occurrences of *Menetekel* for the years 1956-2011. Examples of *die Schrift an der Wand* can be found from the middle of the 1980s onwards.

- (23) *Milosevic will und will es nicht glauben: Die Zeit bleibt nicht stehen. Auch in seinem mittelalterlichen Reiche wird der Klang solcher Worte wie Reform, Öffnung zur Welt, Veränderung allmählich vertrauter. Noch würde niemand prophezeien wollen, wann Milosevic die Schrift an der Wand erkennt, aber eines Tages wird es wohl soweit sein. (Die Presse 3 June 1998) [Milosevic simply does not want to believe it. Time doesn't stand still. Even in his medieval empire the sound of words like reform, opening to the world, change is becoming more and more familiar. Still nobody wants to predict when Milosevic will notice the writing on the wall, but one day it will happen.]*
- (24) *Der Untergang der „Kursk“ im Jahr 2000 war die Schrift an der Wand: Weltgeltung und Seegeltung lagen auf dem Meeresgrund, zusammen mit 118 Seeleuten. (Die Welt 25 April 2008) [The sinking of the 'Kursk' in 2000 was the writing on the wall: international standing as well as naval power lay on the bottom of the sea, together with 118 seamen.]*
- (25) *Doch in den letzten 20 Jahren wurde weltweit kein einziges großes Ölfeld mehr entdeckt. [...] Shell baut Solarfabriken, Offshore-Windräder sowie Biomasse-Großkraftwerke, und BP schaltet Anzeigen in fast allen großen deutschen Zeitungen, in denen sich die bisherige Ölfirma BP selbst nicht mehr British Petroleum, sondern Beyond Petroleum nennt. Der erste große Ölkonzern kündigt also das Ende des Ölzeitalters an. Das war die Schrift an der Wand, die fast kein Journalist bisher bemerkte. (Mannheimer Morgen 2 Nov 2004) [But in the last 20 years worldwide not a single large oil field has been discovered ... Shell builds solar arrays, offshore windmills and biomass power plants, and the previous oil company BP advertises in almost all important German newspapers, calling itself no longer British Petroleum but Beyond Petroleum. The first large oil concern thus announces the end of the oil age. That was the writing on the wall which hardly any journalist has noticed so far.]*

There are probably several reasons why this phraseological neologism is increasingly apparent in the German press and other media. One of them is that journalists are more and more proficient in English and are systematically in contact with international news coming to them most of the time in English. The resemblance between the syntactic structures is another factor. A further reason for the use of *die Schrift an der Wand* despite the existence of an established expression that refers to the Biblical scene and has the same scope of meaning in the German language might be the stylistic difference. *Menetekel* is a foreign word and its use and understanding presuppose some background knowledge of its Bib-

lical origin, whereas the English expression is not stylistically restricted. Dictionaries mark it as *not formal* (cf. *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* 1979). In passages of oral communication, for example, translated quotes in interviews, and in contemporary literature therefore often the literal translation, *die Schrift an der Wand*, is preferred to *Menetekel* (see examples 26 and 27). Translations like these support the dissemination of the expression in the German language so that it seems conceivable that the established German expression is losing further ground and might be replaced one day by the English loan translation<sup>11</sup>. These processes tend to go unnoticed by the general reader.

(26) (Tennessee, USA) *In den achtziger Jahren hat Boyd Stetson in Kernkraftwerken gearbeitet. Dann stieg er aus: „Ich habe **die Schrift an der Wand** gesehen. Es ging nur noch abwärts.“* (*Hannoversche Allgemeine* 9 Dec 2009) [(Tennessee, USA) In the eighties Boyd Stetson worked in nuclear power plants. Then he dropped out: ‘I have seen the writing on the wall. Everything went downhill.’]

(27) *It was necessary for her son’s sake, and for herself, if she was to salvage anything at all from her early adulthood. **The handwriting on the wall** was brutal but clear. Her husband was a lush. He had a bad temper, one he could no longer keep wholly under control now that he was drinking so heavily [...]*

(Stephen King *The Shining* 1977: 74)

*Sie musste es wegen ihres Sohnes und ihrer selbst wegen tun, wenn sie überhaupt noch etwas von ihrer frühen Erwachsenenzeit retten wollte. **Die Schrift an der Wand** war brutal, aber deutlich. Ihr Mann war Säufer. Seit er so schwer trank [...] konnte er sein ohnehin launisches Temperament schon gar nicht mehr unter Kontrolle halten.*

(Stephen King *The Shining*, 1985,  
translated by Harro Christensen p. 58)

Due to the space restrictions of this paper, the idioms *die Extrameile gehen* and *die Schrift an der Wand* must suffice as illustrations of the fact that even today Biblical expressions are still entering the German language although in an indirect way via English, as a result of globalization and the dominant position of this language. In a further study it would

<sup>11</sup> Such a replacement can presently be observed in German with regard to the proverb *Der frühe Vogel fängt den Wurm* (a loan translation of *The early bird catches the worm*) which has gained enormous popularity during the last few decades with the result that it is used in place of traditional German proverb, *Morgenstund’ hat Gold im Mund* (lit. ‘Morning hour has gold in its mouth’) which has the same meaning (Mieder 2004).

be worthwhile tracing the use of other potential phraseological imports of Biblical origin, such as the idioms *in der elften Stunde* (cf. English *at the eleventh hour*) and *die Fliege in der Salbe* (cf. English *the fly in the ointment*).

#### 4. Conclusion

The study has verified that the Bible has an enormous influence on the formation of English, German and other languages. Its phraseological impact can be measured by the large number of phrases included that have become widely-used idioms. Despite their common origin Biblicisms in different languages are rarely fully equivalent. They vary in their forms, i.e. with regard to their structures and the lexical constituents they include, and occasionally in their meanings. In addition, as a comparison between English and German demonstrates, different languages adopt different expressions from the Bible with the result that a Biblical idiom in one language sometimes lacks an equivalent in the other. Those gaps are the starting point for loan processes which include the importation of idiomatic expressions that do not exist in the recipient language and are therefore added to the stock of German PUs, as well as the replacement of established German expressions by those based on English models. The data reveal that the phrasicons of our languages are in a state of flux and that not even the traditional field of the Biblical phraseology presents an exception in this regard, a situation which will reward further investigation and detailed empirical documentation.

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## Jednostki frazeologiczne pochodzące z Biblii w językach angielskim i niemieckim

### STRESZCZENIE

Biblia jest jednym z głównych źródeł jednostek frazeologicznych w wielu językach. Z powodu wspólnego źródła idiomy o pochodzeniu biblijnym często są traktowane jako internacjonalizmy. Celem niniejszego artykułu jest wykazanie, że języki angielski i niemiecki nie tylko przejęły różne frazeologizmy biblijne, ale również wiele z tak zwanych ekwiwalentów różni się pod względem struktury i znaczenia. Ponadto omówiona zostanie zmienność frazeologii biblijnej, co jest wynikiem statusu języka angielskiego, który określa się mianem *lingua franca*. Nowe wyrażenia z języka angielskiego wchodzą do zasobów frazeologii niemieckiej (np. *die Extrameile gehen* [cf. *to go the extra mile*]); tradycyjne niemieckie wyrażenia (np. *Menetekel*) są zastępowane angielskimi kalkami frazeologicznymi (*die Schrift an der Wand* [cf. *the writing on the wall*]). Niniejszy artykuł zawiera omówienie najnowszych jednostek należących do wybranej grupy związków oraz objaśnienie przyczyn ich inkorporacji.

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## **Semantic Interpretation of Idioms: Cross-linguistic Approaches**

**ABSTRACT:** Different languages are not different naming units of the same object, but different visions of it. As long as in a language everything is verbalized what its speakers perceive as crucial and essential, it is penetrated with different elements, reflecting the peculiarities of a national character, patterns of behavior, and the way of thinking. All these can cause not only the way a language reflects the reality in the form of its naïve worldview and expresses its attitude to its fragments from axiological point, but reproduces from generation to generation a culture-national background and traditions of native speakers.

In recent years, phraseology in the broad sense has become a unifying theme for an increasing number of theoretical and practical linguistic studies. The article dwells upon a correlation between language and culture. Culture-specific ways of thinking can be traced in the interpretation of world-based phraseological units.

**KEY WORDS:** *worldview, an image component, phraseological correspondence, an adequate transmission of sense, occasional translation*

### **1. Introduction**

Each nation has its own system of perception, thinking, behavior, and emotions. Hence there comes a peculiar understanding of culture as a depository of human cognitive categories through which the process of cognition, consisted in realization and mental organization of reality, is realized. A man is not born with some definite cognitive categories, but accumulates them in the process of acculturation. Culture is a mental



“coverage”, which members of a society use for orientation, interaction, categorization, interpretation, and current social behavior in their society. According to the supporters of cultural anthropology, language includes all the cognitive categories, which are laid in the basis of human thinking and composing the essence of culture. But the main subject of the investigation is not even a language as it is, but ‘texts’ in a broad sense of this term, i.e. informational chains, both verbal and non-verbal, constructed in the process of activity and speech, as namely in them linguistic worldview is reflected.

Kornilov underlines two basic approaches to the term ‘worldview of a nation’. The first approach is cognitive, instrumental, in the frame of which a language is considered from the point of view of its function as an instrument for communication, thinking or cognition as a semiotic code. The second approach can be called cultural-philosophical (2003: 131). From this position each ethnic language appears as an integral part of people’s culture, as the most important organ of self-reflection, self-cognition, and self-expressiveness of a national culture.

## **2. The cultural specified nature of linguistic worldview**

Instead of understanding culture as a combination of material and spiritual achievements of civilizations, now it is understood as a broad term, including all the peculiarities of historical, social and psychological occurrences which are characteristic of any ethnic group, its traditions, value system, opinions, institutions, behavior, living conditions, i.e. basically it includes all the sides of existence and consciousness. Naturally, such understanding of culture includes a language and all other aspects of verbal communication as an important condition of human existence.

Hence, culture as a qualitative characteristic of life-sustaining activity in created reality (‘second nature’), where ideal and spiritual formations are of top priority, is inconceivable without a language.

According to Edward Sapir, culture is “that, what the society thinks and does” (1993: 193). Penetration into a nation’s way of thinking assumes, primarily, knowledge of the semantic field of a foreign language, decomposition, structuring this field on different levels, essentially, expose to linguistic worldview.

The famous Russian poetess Marina Tsvetayeva once said that “other things cannot be thought in other language”. Moreover, feelings can be

experienced only within the frame of only one language consciousness, but not the other. In other words, there are concepts, which are fundamental for a model of one world, and they are absent in some others.

The connotative zone of any language is rather difficult for learning for representatives of any other culture. Lack of understanding of the absolute importance of this part of linguistic worldview causes many cultural-communicative failures.

In connotation potential resources of a nominative system of language are realized, as “a connotative word cannot only create but keep deep meaning which is in the complicated position towards word semantics, building cultural-national linguistic worldview” (2001: 56).

According to Teliya, namely cultural connotation enables to correlate language and culture. Associative characteristics and meanings fixed in a language go through a cultural-national process, which does not conform logics of common sense (1988: 176). In national culture the same word can have a branchy association net. Let's examine the word 'sobaka' (lit. dog) in the Russian language. Although this word does not correspond to typical mythological images, it is a constituent of many phrasemes, as a stereotypical image or person's characteristics. In the Russian lingvo-culture the image of a dog includes both positive and negative features. On the one hand, a dog is associated with faith/loyalty, fidelity/devotion, unpretentiousness (*vernij pjes, sobachji glaza, zaživjet kak na sobake, ustat' kak sobaka*). On the other hand, there is a number of expressions where a dog's image has negative connotations (*sobačya žizn', sobačitsya, sobaka na sene, psu pod hvost*).

The specific peculiarities of each nation can be revealed and analyzed in comparison with other nations. As long as each ethnic group has its own national image, we can assume that each ethno cultural community possesses its own national-specific language area. The term 'language environment' was introduced by E. Sapir, who included in this term physical (geographical) and social factors (religion, morals/morality, political organization of a society, art).

Under physical environment there are comprised geographical characters, such as topography of the country [...], climate, and amount of rainfall, and what may be called the economic basis of human life, under which term are comprised the fauna, flora, and mineral resources of the region. Under social environment are comprised the various forces of society that mold the life and thought of each individual. Among the more impor-

tant of these social forces are religion, ethical standards, form of political organization, and art (Sapir 2009: 227).

Some linguists account 'language environment' as a narrower notion. Language environment consists of living conditions / way of life, customs, national awareness, self-consciousness, national way of thinking. Language environment influences upon a language. And a language in its turn comes out in a role of a means of formation of lingvo-cultural community's mentality. Under mentality it is understood the mixture of ideas, views of people of a definite epoch, geographical belonging or social environment, which influences on historical and social process.

### 3. Conceptual worldview and linguistic worldview

The mechanism of linguistic expression cannot be the same for all languages. In connection with it the difference in linguistic worldview, and lack of naming units for definite subjects and phenomena, existing in one culture and not having analogies in the other, leads to contradictions in understanding. In modern linguistics mutual connection between language and culture gives rise to no doubt. A language cannot be separated from culture, which comprises its meaningful aspect. Language not only reflects instantaneous modern culture, but fixes its preceding state and conveys its values from generation to generation.

All man's knowledge about the world obtained during his life exists in his consciousness in a form of a worldview. The worldview has a considerable influence on the strategy of a person's life-sustaining activity: defines his behavior patterns, forms his evaluation system, ways of realization of man's subjectivity. Each worldview imprints a definite world image, but it is never its mirror reflection. The worldview is a sort of a world vision, its conceptual construction according to the logical world understanding.

According to Kubryakova, the conceptual worldview represents the functional singularity of a mental level in man's psyche or intellect, the level of his mind activity. The verbalized part of the conceptual worldview is usually called linguistic worldview or inner lexicon (1991: 126). From this point of view, the linguistic worldview is in submitting towards the conceptual one, as a thought in language does not fix in total capacity, therefore only crucial aspects are expressed verbally. The conceptual worldview stores much more information, as all types of thinking take part in its formation. But only language unwraps its content. "Namely the

lexicon presents the decomposition of the social realm and emphasizes in inner and outer world of individual separate values, as everything what is verbalized, is accentuated by human mind and is part of human's knowledge fund" (Kubryakova 1999: 111).

The specifics of linguistic worldview, as some special models of reality, are defined by the distinction in emphasizing and accentuating vitally important cuttings of reality, and in axiological marking of reality. It is known that the core of national worldview comprises cultural values, which predetermines the basic categories while constructing the worldview.

The linguistic worldview is "a verbalized system of 'matrices', in which the national way of a world vision, forming and predetermining a national character, is imprinted" (2003: 80). It changes along with man's evolution and his ideas about the world in the course of the world historical process. A man not only sees the world, feels it, comprehends and evaluates the social realm, but he empathizes the ongoing processes and phenomena, interprets them and creates 'new worlds' in his imagination and in language, correspondingly. However, the world is so diverse and incomprehensible that a man cannot express it through language to the full extent, with all its diversity. But the perception itself is the process of many millennia, therefore the linguistic worldview is the result of activity of many generations, for whom language is a means of concentration and experience exchange. But this cultural-historical exchange happens due to 'common word meanings' (Serebrennikov's term), or the sum of general differential characteristics of a word, which are the basis of this significance. All speakers of a language understand each other due to these minimum of differential characteristics.

#### **4. Cultural semantics of phraseme in the context of translation**

##### **4.1. Translation as a cultural phenomenon**

In the context of acquaintance with foreign culture the translation plays one of the leading roles, as far as it "crosses not only language borders, but cultural borders as well" (1994: 37). Speaking about linguo-cultural problems of translation, many scholars underline the necessity of interaction of linguistics, literature study, history, sociology, anthropology, psychology and other sciences for creating an ideal translation.

The communicative strategy of a sender and the strategy of an addressee is determined by an author's intention and addressee's anticipation, differences in their thesaurus - different ideas about material worldview, ideology, social experience, peculiarities of cultural traditions. An adequate translation demands not only linguistic experience, but also ideas about norms, pragmatics, the influence of cultural tradition, semiotic memory of culture. Lotman says that "...in reality coincidence of codes of a sender and a receiver is possible only to some extent, as translating activity is defined by two semiotic world models: national and individual (1996: 13).

Assuming any language creates a special linguistic worldview and that causes some difficulties while translating a text, we can mention that a language structure really determines possible ways of message construction, organizing expressing ideas in a peculiar way, sometimes imposing on the speakers obligatory usage of this or that form. The gap in linguistic worldview of different lingvo-cultures is one of the main obstacles within both communication and translation, as the interference of a native language inevitably affects on all levels. While translating mutual overlapping of source language and receptor language takes place. They simultaneously penetrate into one another and influence. As a result, we have a translated version, which represents the peculiarity of worldview, depicted in the original and at same time keeping the elements of a translator's native language.

According to G. Munen, linguistic barriers to transfer can be combined into three groups of problems: specificity of the semantics of linguistic signs, the incompatibility of 'worldview', created the language to reflect the extra-linguistic reality, and distinctions in this reality, in the culture, and civilization of all languages (1978: 37). Translation is aimed at absolute substitution of the original text, and the receptors of it consider it absolutely identical to the source text. Nevertheless absolute identity is unachievable, it does not prevent realization of interlanguage communication.

An interpreter's goal is to master the sense of the original text, its analysis, and an adequate translation with the help of another linguistic code in accordance with national speech patterns of a target language. Being an equivalent, the meaning perceived by a translator, can differ from the source text in the wake of various subjective actions. But these differences shouldn't change the initial communicative function of a verbal piece of work.

## 4.2. Understanding as an interpretational problem

Understanding can be referred to the most popular problems nowadays. Filatov thinks that “an issue of understanding arises there and then, where violations are, gaps in people’s experience” (1983: 71). One cannot help agreeing with a well-known Humboldt’s remark: “No one can understand the word exactly in the way it is understood by the other, and this difference, even the smallest one, runs like a circle around the water through the thickness of language. That’s why any understanding is misunderstanding at the same time, any agreement in thoughts and feelings is disagreement” (2001: 84). Though Humboldt meant here a monolinguisitic communication, but it is quite obvious, such a remark can be referred to translation as well. Hence the reason for misinterpretation is misunderstanding of another culture, inability to decode all cultural meanings, concealed behind the conventional signs. Florin considers that the most difficult task of a translator is “to understand that you don’t understand something” (1983: 5).

Paradoxically, a translator has to understand an original text deeper than a native reader. Firstly, such extra depth of understanding is connected with the necessity to make final conclusions about the content of a text, and, secondly, to meet requirements of a target language. In this case much depends on a translator’s personality and his level of professional competence, which is “necessary for transferring complex into informative and stylistic aspect of texts with the necessary degree of communicative equivalence” (Nelubin 2003: 150). According to Nelubin, “...among the components of translation competence idiomatic proficiency of a target language is vitally important. Besides, translation competence also includes elements of two contacting cultures” (2003: 149).

As it was pointed out, translation means not only the interaction of two languages, but the contact between them, too. A writer, being a representative of another culture, can fill a text with some definite number ‘cultural markers’, not deliberately, but unconsciously. This is because a writer describes the culture ‘from within’, and a receptor perceives it ‘from without’ (Khajrullin 1995: 60).

The transferring issues of markers from another culture were fully described in Nida’s theory, in his cultural-ethic conception. According to his ideas, there are no languages, which segment extra-linguistic experience identically. He considers that any information source and any information receptor are exceptionally individual, which is defined by their experience, and consequently, their understanding of any information

will be different (1978: 124). However, it does not make communication impossible. Therefore it will be interesting to study phrasemes correspondences.

Phrasemes play an important role in verbal communication, they not only transfer definite information, but influence on receptor's feelings and imagination. Besides, mistakes can be made because a translator does not differentiate a phraseme, and translates it as a free word combination:

Now put it aside for a few minutes and listen to what I have to say. Gordon Hawkins. Maxwell Ernst. Sharon Upton. ... Put that in your pipe and smoke it, baby. He had caught her attention, but she didn't know what he meant  
(D. Steel *Bungalow 2*, p. 337).

А теперь отстранись от этого на несколько минут и послушай, что я тебе скажу. Гордон Хокинс, Максвелл Эрнст, Шарон Эптон, ... Засунь это в трубку и раскури это, беби. Уолту удалось завладеть ее вниманием, но Тانيا не понимала, к чему он клонит.

'*Put that in your pipe and smoke it*' means that 'although you may dislike or disagree with something they have just said, you must accept that it is a fact or true' (CCID). This idiom is fixed in *The Russian-English Phraseological Dictionary* (BARFS) and has the following equivalents: *zapomni eto raz i navsegda*; *namotai eto sebe na us*; *zarubite eto sebe na nosu* (lit. remember it forever). But the translator decided to use translation, thus misleading the reader. Since for the Russian readers the process of putting tobacco into a pipe and smoking it first of all means a desire to have a rest in a quiet atmosphere and contemplate, which definitely contradicts to the semantic of the English version.

Literal meaning of a phraseme is a basis for creating an image and correlates this image with some sphere from a man's life. However, the nature of literal meaning influences on a choice of correlation and has to be taken into consideration by a translator. Many phrasemes express a certain attitude to a described phenomenon, approve of it or condemn it, recommend something or warn of something. Changes of emotional-stylistic characteristics of a phraseme, as a rule, make a translation inadequate.

If you're serious about what you've been doing for all these years, it will put you on the map forever. ... But I could never have dreamed up a better deal for you, or anyone for that matter. It's the brass ring. Grab it, and run like hell  
(D. Steel *Bungalow 2*, p. 17).



Хотя ты последние пятнадцать лет занималась писательством, именно этот сценарий может сделать тебя по-настоящему известной. ... Но я и мечтать не мог о подобном предложении для тебя, да и ни для кого, по правде говоря. Это то, что надо, это твой шанс добиться успеха. Хватай его и держи.

The etymology of the idiom '*the brass ring*' goes back to the old tradition: those who were enable to catch a big ring, hanging above people's head who were riding merry-go-rounds at the fairs, were given a chance for an extra free ride. So the idiom accentuates not somebody's achievements, but the fact that this success was not accidental, and you deserve it, as you worked hard. Obviously, the translator managed to transfer the semantic of 'success', but the efforts taken were left behind.

In a number of cases the conditions of using a phraseme in a context makes a translator reject a regular correspondence and find that version which will transfer the meaning of a phraseme in this context more accurate. Such an irregular way of translation is called occasional correspondence:

It was the children that had been the greatest gift. They owned her heart.  
Writing the film had been icing on the cake (D. Steel *Bungalow 2*, p. 391).

Изабелла и Руперт завладели ее сердцем. А работа над фильмом была словно вишенка на торте.

An idiom '*the icing on the cake*' means 'something attractive, but not necessary, which is added to something already very good (Oidle) or 'an extra good thing that happens and makes a situation or activity even better' (CCID). Overall, the semantics of this idiom presents something additional, not necessarily, what makes a situation more attractive. In our opinion, the translator, creating the occasionalism, rendered the duality of the idiom very accurate.

### 4.3. Culture specific interpretation of Biblical phrasemes

The comparison of phrasemes of different languages brings to light similarities and distinction of connotative potential in these languages. Connotative components of meaning of linguistic units are determined by definite linguistics or extra-linguistics factors. The occurrence of this or that connotation in the semantic structure of phrasemes can be defined by their individual inner forms, their place in the semantic system of language, or connotative contest of their constituents, revealing social-his-



torical background, peculiarities of contemporary material and spiritual culture of a nation, its worldview.

The idioms 'Judas kiss' and 'поцелуй Иуды (*pocelui Iudy*)' can prove it. In the Russian culture the idiom 'Judas kiss' means a mean hypocritical betrayal and a false demonstration of love implying herewith the highest degree of cynicism and immorality of a traitor.

In the English language this biblical expression has two analogies: 'Judas kiss' and its invariant '*the kiss of death*' according to the etymological article and the mark 'Biblical'. According to lexicographical analyses, the second idiom is used more frequently. In CCID it has the following meaning: If you say that a particular event is the kiss of death for something, you mean that it is certain to cause that thing to fail or be ruined. – *The job is the kiss of death because it is a dead end* [8: 216].

The analysis of English and Russian biblical expressions reveals the difference of the constituents of the semantic explication. The Russian idiom reproduces precisely the evangelic story about Judas betrayal of Christ in the garden of Gethsemane after the Last Supper, and leads directly to the arrest of Jesus by the police force of the Sanhedrin. So, it means villainy and hypocrisy. Whilst the English idiom is connected with 'the action or event that could have been planned beforehand and leads to serious, fatal consequences rather than with biblical precedent in which the theme 'betrayal committed by a person towards another one' is actualized.

Phraseological resources of national languages are considered long since one of the most important bases of the reconstruction of linguistic worldview. Phraseological units are significant means of expressing evaluation, with the help of which a person conveys subjective evaluative attitude to the objects and phenomena of reality. Phrasemes codify the knowledge of reality through images. Native speakers always distinguish in objects those features which seem for them vital or arouse in them the highest emotional response.

In this connection a big practical interest represents the study of phrasemes correspondence. Phrasemes have a special role in verbal communication, they do not simply transfer some definite information, but have an influence on feelings and imagination of a receptor.

## 5. Conclusions

So, being a means of human communication and hence social and national by nature, language cannot but carry the prints of the outlook peculiarities, ethic or cultural values, also behavior patterns, significant for a certain linguistic community. In that way the system of linguistic meanings corresponds to cultural competence of native speakers: the worldview of a nation is reflected in language through the system of distinctive images, samples, stereotypes, symbols. Hence, modern interpretation theory underlines the necessity of preserving the national specifics of an original text, since the majority of phrasemes are idioms characteristic for a definite language. Besides, among them there are lexemes, which national belonging is so vivid, as one of the constituents are the words denoting objects and phenomena of national culture. All these peculiarities of semantic structure of phrasemes influence the choice of an equivalent.

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## Semantyczna interpretacja idiomów: ujęcie międzyjęzykowe

### STRESZCZENIE

Kognitywne podejście do frazeologii w ujęciu międzyjęzykowym pozwala uzyskać interesujące informacje dotyczące relacji między uniwersalnymi zasadami kognitywizmu, kulturą i frazeologią. Ujęcie to nie pozostaje w sprzeczności do faktu, że język tworzy część kultury a kultura przejawia się we frazeologii danego języka. Bliski związek kultury i frazeologii najlepiej widoczny jest w idiomach, ponieważ wykazują one tendencję to odwoływania się do wyobrażeń, które są związane z kulturą danego języka. Dzięki temu można z nich odczytać wiele informacji dotyczących różnic kulturowych, zwłaszcza w przypadku, kiedy przedmiotem badania są języki oddalonych od siebie znacznie etników. Jednak założenie, że analiza idiomów może przyczynić się do odkrycia informacji o mentalności czy obrazie świata danej wspólnoty językowej jest poddawana dyskusji. Po pierwsze nie jest łatwo przeprowadzić podział między wyobrażeniem związanym z uniwersalnymi aspektami umysłu ludzkiego i cechami właściwymi dla danej kultury. Po drugie wiele idiomów nie ma absolutnych odpowiedników w innych językach. Przyczyny takiego stanu rzeczy nie należy upatrywać w kulturowej czy narodowej specyfice, ale w różnicach występujących w semantycznych interpretacjach w poszczególnych językach.

Istnieje duża liczba ponadnarodowych idiomów ze wspólnego dziedzictwa kulturowego, pochodzących z Biblii lub łaciny czy greki. Niektóre z tych idiomów mają identyczną formę, ale inne znaczenie, co jest spowodowane konotacjami, wyrażaniem kulturowo nacechowanego komponentu pozwala na zbadanie kultury i mentalności danej wspólnoty językowej. Z tego punktu widzenia idiommy są z natury związane z kulturą i z tego powodu komponenty kulturowe zapisane w semantycznej strukturze idiomów stanowią odzwierciedlenie narodowej kultury i narodowej mentalności.

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## **The Good and Bad Animals in Japanese and Brazilian Proverbs**

**ABSTRACT:** This paper aims to provide students of proverbs and other phraseological units, of either Brazilian Portuguese or Japanese, with data concerning how animals are perceived in proverbs of each language. For this purpose, we collected over 70 examples and verified how each case is evaluated through specialized studies of each language (Araújo 1950; Cascudo 1968; Mota 1974 and Mota 1978 for Portuguese and Honma 1999; Morimoto 1985; Ukida 1992 and Tomimatsu 2003 and 2004 for Japanese). The results are divided into two sections. In the first, we compare how both Brazilian and Japanese cultures perceive ten cases of animals (dog, cat, ox, horse, birds, fox, tiger, jaguar, lion and wolf), verifying which characteristics they use to compare them to human behavior. In the second section, we try to identify pairs of Japanese and Brazilian proverbs that share semantic similarities.

**KEY WORDS:** *proverbs, semantics, animals, Brazilian Portuguese, Japanese*

### **1. Introduction**

This paper was created within the perspective of helping students of Japanese Language and/or Portuguese Language who wish to further understand both languages through cultural elements. More specifically, it is focused on proverbs about animals.

As should be expected, although the proverbs dealt with in this paper specifically involve animals, the real subject is human behavior; demonstrating good examples to should be followed along with bad ones that

should avoided. Unsurprisingly, this applies to Brazilian and Japanese proverbs<sup>1</sup>.

Many studies use several denominations to classify different phraseological unities, such as aphorisms, maxims, proverbs, etc. However, we believe that restricting focus to only one of those unities could compromise the results, given that most sources found regarding Japanese expressions group those terms under the single word "*kotowaza*", which can be loosely translated as "proverb". In this paper, consequently, the term proverb will be used in a broader sense, including other phraseological units. Such perspective is supported by other studies on Japanese proverbs (Ukida 1992; Kaneko 1982 (apud Ukida); Tomimatsu 2003 and 2004). For the sake of comparison, the same will be done in the Brazilian cases.

The main factor that motivated the author to study this theme was the fact that, although there are many studies involving Japanese proverbs, others specific to animals (Mota 1974, Mota, 1978 and Cascudo, 1968), some comparing those to the Brazilian ones (Tomimatsu, idem and Ukida, idem), there was little to no references specific to cases involving animals, comparing its usage in Portuguese and Japanese.

Brazilian Portuguese is a language rich in cases in which animals are used to describe human behavior (although it is undeniable that the same may be said for many other languages). Thus, students of Portuguese as a second or foreign language can face an unpleasant experience in Brazil if they try to use unfamiliar expressions involving animals (again, the same can happen in other languages). On the other hand, Japanese speakers also boast a plethora of proverbs in their repertoire for use in daily situations. One visiting a Japanese specialized bookstore could easily notice the amount of dictionaries solely dedicated to proverbs. With that in mind, it seems clear to the author that studies such as the current one are necessary. The author believes that through a better understanding of how speakers of a given language perceive or attribute some specific characteristics to animals it is possible to better understand the culture of such language.

Therefore, we will try to analyze the characteristics attributed to animals through proverbs. In order to demonstrate this, we will first make considerations on several cases of specific animals within the first section. As one might expect, most cases show more than one characteristic, so one given case might show both a positive and a negative aspect. For instance,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mota (1978: 46-61) and Tomimatsu (2003: 99-100).

dogs are often praised for being faithful partners in English speaking nations, truly 'man's best friend', which can undoubtedly be considered a positive aspect. On the other hand, when called 'a dog', it is unlikely that any person would appreciate the remark. The same can be said both in Portuguese and Japanese.

In the second section, under a more semantic approach, we will try to identify which proverbs in the Japanese Language have a semantic equivalent to the Portuguese Language, and vice versa. The main purpose of this section is to provide students of both languages with a tool that allows further understanding on how to use proverbs in each target language. Also, we believe that it is possible to better understand the characteristics attributed to the animals involved in each case by verifying semantic equivalents in both languages.

On a short note about Japanese writing, instead of using the traditional combination of the *kanji*, *hiragana* and *katakana* systems for this paper, we will use the Hepburn Romanization method to present the Japanese phraseological units, which is officially used for romanization in Japan. This method uses two special characters, the apostrophe and the macron, the latter not commonly seen in use. The apostrophe is used to separate vowels according to Japanese syllables. Therefore, it is possible to clearly differentiate words like 'shinin' (dead person) and 'shin'in' (true reason). The macron indicates a long vowel, which creates minimal pairs in Japanese such as 'obasan' (aunt) and 'obāsan' (grandmother).

## 2. Methodology

We selected over 70 cases of proverbs about both domestic and wild animals (dog, cat, ox, horse, birds, monkey, fox, tiger, jaguar and wolf) for comparison. Based on those cases, we verified how each one (and more specifically how each proverb) depicts each animal, attempting to determine whether it is positively or negatively evaluated. These evaluations are based on dictionaries and specialized books. For Brazilian cases, the main references are based on Mota 1974, Mota 1978 and Cascudo 1968. For the Japanese cases, sources include dictionaries, both regular such as Honma, 1989 and Shinkokugo Kenkyukai 1999, as well as digital, such as the Allguide Kotowaza online dictionary. Based on the analysis, we presented brief considerations regarding the meaning of each specific prov-

erb, trying to establish similarities or differences from the Japanese and Brazilian perspective. The results are shown in the next section.

### 3. Analysis of proverbs involving animals

We will present the result of the analysis of proverbs in the two upcoming sections, introducing a total of 70 proverbs and drawing considerations about them. In the first section, we will compare specific cases of animals and identify how Brazilians and Japanese perceive them through proverbs. In the second section, we will introduce pairs of proverbs that share semantic similarities and can be translated into one another.

#### 3.1. Good and bad animals

In this first section, we will consider several proverbs involving animals in both Portuguese and Japanese and try to verify if a given case can be considered positive and / or negative.

It must be taken in consideration that, since some animals mentioned in Japanese proverbs do not exist or are unfamiliar to Brazilian Portuguese speakers and vice versa, a simple comparison would be impractical. Considering this, the author chose a more flexible approach and accepted cases of animals that share several physical and behavioral characteristics as a single case. For instance, the Tiger is a well-known creature in Japanese culture, even though the animal is not found in Japan. The same cannot be said about the Brazilian Jaguar, known in Portuguese as 'Onça'. It is the largest cat found in South Americas and common in many areas in Brazil and in many pieces of Brazilian folklore. However, since they possess many common points, as depicted in proverbs, it seems reasonable enough to draw comparison between them.

After each consideration, we present the list of all the proverbs related to each case. They are identified with the letter 'J' for Japanese and 'P' for Brazilian Portuguese, and numbered according to their order of appearance, independent of language.

##### 3.1.1. Dog

The dog is depicted in many interesting aspects. For Japanese, it has an inherent wandering characteristic (J01), sometime interpreted as a lesson to avoid unnecessary risks. The dog is expected to be loyal, hence the shock of any treason (J02). So an obedient dog can escape imminent pun-



ishment (J05). The dog is not necessarily brave, thus throws bravados with no real threat (J03). Surprisingly the Japanese consider the dog's worst enemy to be the monkey (J04), so two people represented by a monkey and dog are unlikely to ever become friends. For Brazilians, despite a dog having also the characteristic of not actually being as brave as it boasts (P07, P08), the dog has an undeniable usefulness. Not having one close by (P06) constitutes a dire situation, forcing one to use any resource available (P09). That said, it is still not considered good company (P10) so it's a bad influence that can lead to undesirable consequences.

- J01 *Inu mo arukeba bā ni ataru* (lit. If a dog walks will hit a stick)  
 J02 *Kaiinu ni te o kamareru* (lit. having the hand bitten by the dog you raised)  
 J03 *Inu no tōboe* (lit. A dog's howl)  
 J04 *Ken'en no naka* (lit. the relation between dogs and monkeys)  
 J05 *O o furu inu wa tatakarezu* (lit. The dog that swings its tail is not beaten)  
 P06 *Estar num mato sem cachorro* (lit. being in the bushes with no dog)  
 P07 *Valente como cachorro amarrado* (lit. brave as a leashed dog)  
 P08 *Cão que ladra não morde* (lit. A dog that barks does not bite)  
 P09 *Quem não tem cão caça com gato* (lit. He who has no dog hunts with a cat)  
 P10 *Quem com cão se deita com pulgas se levanta* (lit. He who sleeps with dogs wakes up with fleas)

### 3.1.2. Cat

Although present in many households, the cat is not praised for its good qualities. For the Japanese, when someone is extremely busy, he or she might seek help from even the most useless creature (J11). In order to hide one's true malicious nature, a person can pretend to be calm and harmless in the same way a cat does (J12). Like a cat borrowed from someone else (J13), a usually extroverted person would become shy and reserved. Also, there is no benefit in giving valuables to cats. As they simply do not understand their true value, (J14) they might be the worst choice to trust in (J15). Worse than that, they might even try to sweet talk someone (J16) in order to escape certain punishment. For Brazilians, a cat might be too impetuous and try to do more than its given abilities (P18) or simply possess too much greed, easily visible through its eyes (P20). It is undeniable that they are blessed with excellent night vision, a quality that might be



useful (P21). Even so, they might look more valuable than they really are (P22), thus it is better to not be deceived by appearances (P23). It is difficult to identify individuals if many cats are grouped together (P24), but neither of them is to be considered good company. A cat has many bad characteristics, so it comes as no surprise that it is considered the most worthless (P25).

- J11 *Neko no te o karitai* (lit. I want the cat to lend me a hand)  
 J12 *Neko o kaburu* (lit. put a cat on one's head)  
 J13 *Karitekita neko* (lit. a borrowed cat)  
 J14 *Neko ni kōban* (lit. gold coins to cats)  
 J15 *Neko ni katsuobushi* (lit. dried bonito fish to cats)  
 J16 *Neko nadekoe* (lit. cat's purring)  
 J17 *Neko no me no you ni kawaru* (lit. changes like a cat's eye)  
 P18 *Gato que corre atrás de dois ratos fica sem nenhum* (lit. a cat chasing two rats gets none)  
 P19 *Gato escondido com o rabo de fora* (lit. a hidden cat with its tail showing)  
 P20 *Olho de gato ladrão* (lit. burglar cat's eyes)  
 P21 *Tem olho de gato* (lit. s/he has cat's eyes)  
 P22 *Comprar gato por lebre* (lit. to buy a cat instead of a hare)  
 P23 *Cara de beato, unha de gato* (lit. a pious face, cat's claws)  
 P24 *Saco de gatos* (lit. a bag of cats)  
 P25 *Não vale o que o gato enterra* (lit. it is not worth what the cat buries)

### 3.1.3. Ox<sup>2</sup>

The ox is considered slow in Japanese culture (J26), so anything done following its pace would take a long time to conclude. Thus, switching to a faster ride like a horse (J27) is considered an improvement in life. Not only that, the ox is incapable of understanding the value of fine arts or good advice (J28). That said, even if it has some inherent demerits, trying to fix them (J29) would not only prove to be a waste of time, but would do more harm than good. For Brazilians, just because it is slow, misplacing the cart in front of them (P30) will do no good, so in every plan it is important to follow each step at its proper timing. On the other hand, appearances can be deceiving, so judging by looks (P31) can lead to trou-

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<sup>2</sup> In Japanese, the word “*ushi*” refers to either cow or ox. The author arbitrarily chose ox to match the Brazilian cases, but in all translations it is possible to assume either a cow or even a bull.

ble. In a group, the worst position is to be placed as a living sacrifice (P32), taking all the blame or loss so the others can get away unharmed.

- J26 *Ushi no ayumi* (lit. ox's pace)  
 J27 *Ushi o uma ni norikaeru* (lit. to ride a horse after riding an ox)  
 J28 *Ushi ni taishite koto o danzu* (lit. to play the koto harp to an ox)  
 J29 *Tsuno o tamete ushi o korosu* (lit. to kill an ox by straightening its horn)  
 P30 *Colocar o carro na frente dos bois* (lit. place the cart in front of the oxen)  
 P31 *Boi sonso é que arromba o curral* (lit. a sly ox forces open the corral)  
 P32 *Ser boi de piranha* (lit. being the ox for the piranhas)

#### 3.1.4. Horse

Just like the ox (J28), the Japanese do not consider the horse capable of appreciating good advice (J33). Also, being the last to arrive to an event makes it difficult to fully understand such event. But that does not mean one should simply follow the others without thinking (J34). Brazilians believe that, if someone gives you a horse or does you a favor you should appreciate the gesture (P35) instead of trying to measure its value. That said, as with the ox (P31), it is better not to judge by appearances (P36).

- J33 *Uma no mimi ni nenbutsu* (lit. sutras for horse's ears)  
 J34 *Shiriuma ni noru* (lit. ride the last horse)  
 P35 *Cavalo dado não se olha os dentes* (lit. you should not look the teeth of a horse given as a gift)  
 P36 *Cavalo manso é que derruba o cavaleiro* (lit. the meek horse throws down its rider)

#### 3.1.5. Birds<sup>3</sup>

For the Japanese, it is important to know when it is better to stay silent (J37), or there can be dire consequences. There are cases of bad behavior like ravens, which lack coordination when grouped, creating a great confusion (J38). On the other hand, some birds leave no trace of their presence, an example that should be followed (J39). In Brazil, catching a single bird might not be a great achievement, but it is better than not achieving many things (P40). Like the Japanese, Brazilians believe that silence is important

<sup>3</sup> Due to space restrictions, the author opted for grouping birds in a single category instead of dealing with specific cases in detail.

at times (P41). Finally, some birds are more rare than others, so rare events like seeing a green one might lead to happy surprises<sup>4</sup> (P42).

- J37 *Kiji nakazuba utaremai* (lit. had the peacock not squawked, it would not be shot)  
 J38 *Ugō no shū* (lit. a mass of ravens together)  
 J39 *Tatsu tori ato wa nigosazu* (lit. a bird that takes off leave no muddy tracks)  
 P40 *Mais vale um pássaro na mão que dois voando* (lit. a bird in hands is worth more than two flying)  
 P41 *Em bico fechado não entra mosca* (lit. a fly does not get inside a closed beak)  
 P42 *Fazer cara de quem viu passarinho verde* (lit. to make a face of someone who saw a green little bird)

### 3.1.6. Monkey

On the one hand, the Japanese perceive the monkey as an able creature, albeit acknowledging the possibility of failures (J43). On the other hand, they may be poor imitators, not being able to perform even close to the original (J44). For Brazilians, having the brain like an attic full of monkeys (P45) is a clear sign of madness. However, even for monkeys, it is important to know its own place (P46) and to value experience. Also, old monkeys learn very well from past mistakes (P47).

- J43 *Saru mo ki kara ochiru* (lit. even monkeys fall from trees)  
 J44 *Saru no hitomane* (lit. a monkey imitating a man)  
 P45 *Ter macacos no sótão* (lit. to have monkeys in the attics)  
 P46 *Cada macaco no seu galho* (lit. each monkey in its branch)  
 P47 *Macaco velho não trepa em galho seco* (lit. an old monkey does not climb dry branches)

### 3.1.7. Foxes

In Japan, the fox is a sly creature with the ability to outsmart much stronger beasts like the tiger (J52), so anyone deceived by a fox would end up astonished (J48). Also, the foxes' wedding (J49) is a rare event that

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<sup>4</sup> This proverb has its origins in Portuguese folklore and was incorporated into Brazilian tradition. In Brazil there is a large variety of green birds, including parrots and other psittacines as well as some types of hummingbirds, amongst others, thus being unlikely someone would be surprised for seeing a green bird.

might cause strange phenomena, like rain on a sunny day or even the appearance of *ignis fatuus*. Not boasting such supernatural powers in Brazil, the fox is simply sly and should never be trusted, despite its looks (P50) or its apparently good behavior (P51).

- J48 *Kitsune ni tsumamareru* (lit. tricked by a fox)  
 J49 *Kitsune no yome'iri* (lit. foxes' wedding)  
 P50 *Raposa muda de pelo, mas não de manha* (lit. a fox changes its fur but not its slyness)  
 P51 *Quando a raposa estiver fazendo sermão cuidado com sua criação* (lit. when the fox preaches watch out your chicken)

### 3.1.8. Tigers and Jaguars

Although certainly dangerous, some make use of their awe and pose as if they were the strong ones (J52). Nonetheless, it is important to be careful to not take unnecessary risks (J53, P55). On the other hand, the creature might just look dangerous (J54). It should be kept in mind that, if the creature seeks revenge (P56), there is no point in standing in its way.

- J52 *Tora no i o kariru kitsune* (lit. a fox borrowing a tiger's majesty)  
 J53 *Tora no o o fumu* (lit. to step on the tiger's tail)  
 J54 *Hariko no tora* (lit. a tiger-shaped toy)  
 P55 *Cutucar a onça com vara curta* (lit. to poke a jaguar with a short stick)  
 P56 *Hora da onça beber água* (lit. it is time the jaguar drinks water)

### 3.1.9. Wolves

A wolf is as threatening as a tiger in Japan, so having either of them surrounding an escape route (J57) becomes an unsolvable problem. In a sad comparison, violence against women leaves clear marks like the flower-bed where a wolf slept upon (J58). Brazilians have a cautious approach to wolves. Although true they may not be the greatest threat (P59), they are certainly a bad influence (P60) and may even disguise themselves as harmless creatures (P61).

- J57 *Zenmon no tora kōmon no ōkami* (lit. The tiger in the front gate, the wolf in the back gate)  
 J58 *Rakka rōzeki* (lit. fallen flowers, where the wolf slept)  
 P59 *Julga-se sempre o lobo maior do que ele é* (lit. the wolf is always considered bigger than it actually is)

- P60 *Quem com o lobo dorme aprende a uivar* (lit. who sleeps with the wolf learns how to howl)  
 P61 *Lobo em pele de cordeiro* (lit. a wolf in lamb's skin)

### 3.2. Semantic similarities

In this section, we attempt to identify which proverb in a given language has a semantic equivalent in the other. As in the first section, the starting point of each comparison will be with the Japanese proverbs. In cases where a perfect match is not found, we will comment on the differences found. The cases found will be tagged as in the first section. It is not always possible to match two proverbs with animals in order to find semantic equivalents.

Besides providing semantic equivalents, we hope to provide the student of proverbs with further hints on how each culture perceives the role of the animals involved.

#### 3.2.1. Cases of simple changes on the object and/or the animal, with strong semantic similarity

This is the case for the pairs J61-P62, J14-P63<sup>5</sup>, J04-P64, J57-P65 J69-P70<sup>6</sup>, and J53-P55. For the first two pairs, although there is the ellipsis of the verbs for the Japanese case, we consider them matching cases with a strong semantic similarity. The third and fourth pairs use a different way of expression<sup>7</sup>, but have the same semantic match<sup>8</sup>. Finally, the last pair shows no ellipsis and, although the compared actions are more different (i.e. stepping on a tail and poking with a stick), they retain semantic similarity representing an incautious attitude.

<sup>5</sup> This particular case stems from the Bible (Mota 1978:and, by the same source, has a direct translation in Japanese. Since it is one of the few examples of influence of the Bible on Japanese proverbs – and a direct translation, we considered it unnecessary to include the Japanese version, preferring instead a more representative example like J14.

<sup>6</sup> The proverb P30 has also a similar meaning. However, considering the terms inside each proverb, we preferred to introduce a new pair, thus J69-P70.

<sup>7</sup> The word “*naka*” is used to describe the quality of a relation, evaluated as either good or bad.

<sup>8</sup> The word ‘bicho’ from the Brazilian proverb of the pair J57-P65 can be used for describing almost any animal or insect. Since its possible to infer through the context that it is a dangerous animal, the author chose the term ‘beast’.

- J62 *Isseki nicho* (lit. One stone, two birds)  
 P63 *Matar dois coelhos com uma cajadada* (lit. to kill two rabbits with one swing of a club)  
 J14 *Neko ni kōban* (lit. gold coins to cats)  
 P64 *Dar pérolas aos porcos* (lit. to give pearls to pigs)  
 J04 *Ken'en no naka* (lit. the relation between dogs and monkeys)  
 P65 *Ser como cães e gatos* (lit. to be like dogs and cats)  
 J57 *Zenmon no tora kōmon no ōkami* (lit. The tiger in the front gate, the wolf in the back gate)  
 P66 *Se correr o bicho pega, se ficar o bicho come* (lit. if you run, the beast catches you, if you stay, the beast eats you)  
 J69 *Toranku tanuki no kawa zanyō* (lit. calculating the price of the pelt of an uncaught badger dog)  
 P30 *Colocar o carro na frente dos bois* (lit. place the cart in front of the oxen)  
 P70 *Contar com os ovos dentro da galinha* (lit. to count on the eggs inside the chicken)  
 J53 *Tora no o o fumu* (lit. to step on the tiger's tail)  
 P55 *Cutucar a onça com vara curta* (lit. to poke a jaguar with a short stick)

### 3.2.2. Case of close matches, with differences in semantics and / or evaluation

In this case, we have the pairs J67-P68, J37-P41, J02-P71, J72-P22 and J12-P61. The first pair, albeit very similar, has a negative connotation in Japanese while it may be interpreted either negatively or positively in Portuguese. The pair J37-P41, although possessing semantic similarity, uses different objects ('peacock' and 'beak'). The pairs J02-P71 and J72-P22 present different perspectives (i.e. betraying and being betrayed and selling and buying). Finally the J12-P61 pair presents a different ways of deceiving someone.

- J67 *Kaeru no ko wa kaeru* (lit. a toad's son is a toad)  
 P68 *Filho de peixe, peixinho é* (lit. a fish's son is a little fish)  
 J37 *Kiji nakazuba utaremai* (lit. had the peacock not squawked, it would not be shot)  
 P41 *Em bico fechado não entra mosca* (lit. a fly does not get into a closed beak)  
 J02 *Kaiinu ni te o kamareru* (lit. having the hand bitten by the dog you raised)  
 P71 *Morder a mão que alimenta* (lit. to bite the hand that feeds)

- J72 *Yōtō o kakagete, kuniku o uru* (lit. carry a lamb's head and sell badger dog's flesh)  
 P22 *Comprar gato por lebre* (lit. to buy a cat instead of a hare)  
 J12 *Neko o kaburu* (lit. put a cat on one's head)  
 P61 *Lobo em pele de cordeiro* (lit. a wolf in lamb's skin)

### 3.2.3. Case of semantic similarities found in non-animal related occurrences

In this case, we picked the pairs J68-P69 and J33-P70. Aside from the use of a non-animal proverb, the first pair differs in evaluation. While J68 conveys a negative connotation, J69 can be both negative and positive.

- J68 *Onaji ana no mujina* (lit. badgers from the same hole)  
 P69 *Farinha do mesmo saco* (lit. flour from the same bag)  
 J33 *Uma no mimi ni nenbutsu* (lit. sutras for horse's ears)  
 P70 *Falar para as paredes* (lit. to talk to the walls)

## 4. Conclusions

The primary objective of this paper was to act as a tool for those studying proverbs and, through them, the culture of either the Japanese or Portuguese languages. That said, it is impossible to fully complete such a task without many years of study and research, given the near-infinite plethora of expressions both countries exhibit. Therefore, this paper should be considered as a first step to further studies.

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## **Dobre i złe zwierzęta w japońskich i brazylijskich przysłowia**

### **STRESZCZENIE**

Dzięki badaniu przysłów możliwe jest zrozumienie ważnych aspektów języka i jego kulturowego tła. Przysłowia opisują doświadczenie zbiorowe wspólnoty językowej, przekazując tożsamość i ideologię grupy i oceny ludzkich interakcji i zachowania człowieka. Często za ich pomocą ludzie przedstawiają przykłady zachowań godnych pochwały lub zasługujących na krytykę i używają tych jednostek jako elementu dydaktyki codziennego życia.

Chociaż istnieje wiele kategorii uwzględnianych we frazeologii, niniejszy artykuł skupia się na przysłowia w szerszym sensie, bez wyróżniania maksym, aforyzmów itp. Takie ujęcie znajdujemy w badaniach nad japońskimi przysłowiami (Ukida 1992, Kaneko 1982, Tomimatsu 2003, 2004).

W niniejszym artykule porównane zostanie, jak zwierzęta są przedstawiane w brazylijskich i japońskich przysłowia. Analiza ma na celu wskazanie podobieństw i różnic między sposobami, w jaki każda z kultur postrzega analizowane przypadki. Badanie kontrastywne pozwoli również ustalić, czy dane przysłowie ma semantyczny ekwiwalent w porównywanym języku.

W tym celu zostaną zebrane dane dotyczące przysłów w obu badanych językach. Na potrzeby analizy jednostki zostaną podzielone na dwie grupy: przysłowia z tą samą nazwą zwierzęcia i przysłowia wykazujące podobieństwo semantyczne w obu językach. Kryteria oceny zebranych jednostek zostały opracowane na podstawie wcześniejszych badań nad przysłowiami dotyczącymi zwierząt (język portugalski: Dalgado 1922, Araújo 1950, Cascudo 1968, Mota 1978; język japoński: Honma 1999, Morimoto 1985 oraz słowniki przysłów).

Autor stawia sobie trzy cele: pierwszym jest rozwój badań porównawczych nad przysłowiami w ujęciu kulturowym; drugim – ułatwienie uczyć się obu języków lepsze zrozumienie tego, w jaki sposób język (a w konsekwencji każda kultura) odzwierciedla badane przypadki; trzeci cel stanowi przygotowanie opracowania, które może być wykorzystywane w badaniach nad przekładem.



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## **Einige Betrachtungen über die Entstehung der Phraseologismen**

**ABSTRAKT:** Phraseologismen gelten als ein universaler Bestandteil der Sprache, für alle Sprachen und Sprachstufe. Die Frage aber auf welche Weise diese Phraseologismen entstanden sind und welche Zielsprache und welche Ausgangsprache ist, bleibt noch unklar. Mit Hilfe der Sprache verständigen sich die Menschen über die sie umgebenden objektiven Realität. Dazu ist es notwendig, dass die Gegenstände, Erscheinungen, Prozesse dieser Realität sprachlich benannt werden. Diese Gegenstände, Erscheinungen werden von Zeit zur Zeit umgedeutet und infolge der Metaphorisierung etablieren sich als Phraseologismen. Von uns wurden manche von den lexikalischen Einheiten ausgewählt, die die Kernwörter zur Bildung der Phraseologismen ausmachen. Jedes Land hat seine individuelle Geschichte, seine Sitten und Bräuche und ist einer jeweiligen Kultur zugehörig. Trotz dessen, lassen sich beim Vergleich von Phraseologismen eine nicht geringe Anzahl unterscheiden, die in völlige Übereinstimmung miteinander stehen. Das zeugt davon, dass sie ein und dieselbe Entstehungsquelle haben. Der Vergleich der Phraseologismen verschiedener Kulturen verdeutlicht, dass die vollständige Übereinstimmung zwischen den Komponenten nicht nur in verwandten, sondern auch nicht verwandten Sprachen vorkommt, viel mehr können die genetisch nicht verwandten Sprachen identische Komponenten aufweisen, und umgekehrt, in den verwandten Sprachen können die Komponenten nicht immer zusammenfallen.

**SCHLÜSSELWÖRTER:** *deutsche Phraseologismen, georgische Phraseologismen, Entstehungsprozess, Ausgangsprache, Zielsprache*

## 1. Einführung

Phraseologismen, zwar die Redensarten sind schon seit dem Mittelalter in europäischen Einzelsprachen verbreitet, nicht nur als Bestandteile der Sprache, sondern zusammen mit einem verbreiteten Text. Die Frage aber Auf welche Weise diese Phraseologismen entstanden sind und welche Zielsprache und welche Ausgangsprache ist, bleibt noch unklar.

Mit Hilfe der Sprache verständigen sich die Menschen über die sie umgebenden objektiven Realität. Dazu ist es notwendig, dass die Gegenstände, Erscheinungen, Prozesse dieser Realität sprachlich benannt werden. Die Benennung kann sich entweder auf Klassen von Gegenständen, Erscheinungen, Prozesses beziehen oder umgekehrt – die sprachlichen Zeichen benennen nicht Klassen von Objektiven, Erscheinungen usw., sondern jeweils nur ein einzelnes Objekt oder einen einzelnen Menschen, einen einzelnen Gegenstand usw. Diese Gegenstände, Erscheinungen werden von Zeit zur Zeit umgedeutet, metaphorisiert, bekommen außer eine primäre Bedeutung eine sekundäre übertragene Bedeutung und etablieren sich als Phraseologismen. Wie geschieht das eigentlich? Die Wörter existieren in der Sprache gewöhnlich nicht isoliert, sondern in Verbindungen, nämlich in freien syntaktischen Verbindungen. Jede freie syntaktische Wortverbindung ist eine grammatisch zerlegbare Vereinigung von zwei oder mehreren Wörtern; diese syntaktische Wortverbindung kann auch vom semantischen Standpunkt aus analysiert werden, denn jede Komponente solch einer Wortverbindung ist selbständig und besitzt ihre eigene Bedeutung. Die Gesamtbedeutung der ganzen Wortverbindung fällt mit der Summe der Bedeutungen ihrer Komponenten zusammen. Solche Wortverbindungen werden frei im Prozess des Sprechens geschaffen und bilden den Gegenstand der Grammatik. Es kann auch vorkommen, dass freie Wortverbindungen in ihrem Gebrauch und in ihrer Form erstarren, ihre eigentliche Bedeutung verlieren und infolge einer Umdeutung zu stehenden Wortverbindungen werden. Der Prozess der Entwicklung einer freien Wortverbindung in eine stehende vollzieht sich allmählich, es ist zuweilen sogar schwer zu sagen, ob man es mit einer stehenden oder freien Wortverbindung zu tun hat. Den Entstehungsprozess einer stehenden individuellen Wortverbindung kann man im nachstehenden Text verfolgen:

...Es konnte nicht fehlen, dass Tony oftmals mit ihrer städtischen Bekanntschaft am Strande oder im Kurgarten verkehrte, dass sie zu dieser oder jener Réunion und Segelpartie hinzugezogen wurde. Denn saß

Morten „auf den Steinen“. Diese Steine waren seit dem ersten Tage zwischen den beiden zur stehenden Redewendung geworden. „auf den Steinen sitzen“, das bedeutete: ‘vereinsamt sein und sich langweilen’. Kam ein Regentag, der die See weit und breit in einen grauen Schleier hüllte, dass sie völlig mit dem tiefen Himmel zusammenfloss, der den Strand durchweichte und die Wege überschwemmte, dann sagte Tony: Heute müssen wir beide *auf den Steinen sitzen* ... das heißt in der Veranda oder im Wohnzimmer. Es bleibt nichts übrig, als dass Sie Ihre Studentenlieder vorspielen, Morten, obgleich es mich gräulich langweilt“ (Th. Mann, *Boddenbrooks*).

Unter bestimmten kommunikativen Bedingungen kann man indirekt etwas sagen. Die Wörter sollen nicht wörtlich verstanden werden. Ironie und Metaphorik stellen die häufigsten, wenn auch durchaus nicht einzigen Arten indirekten Sprachgebrauchs dar. Aber wenn auch Metaphern nicht im Gedächtnis aufgehoben sind, so gehören doch Muster indirekten Sprachgebrauchs zu unserem lexikalischen Wissen.

Leisi führt zwei Sätze an, deren Diskussion die Komplexität von Wortbedeutungen und die Kompliziertheit der Erklärung syntagmatischer Bedeutungsbeziehungen verdeutlicht (Leisi 1975: 72 ff.), *Die Steine reden*. „*Die Steine schweigen*“. Im ersten Satz ist *reden* metaphorisch gebraucht; *reden* setzt bei direkter Verwendung ein Subjekt voraus, das eine Person benennt. Da jedoch *reden* auch die Bedeutung „Auskunft geben“ hat, kann dieses Merkmal auch Steinen zugesprochen werden. *Die Steine reden* ist eine poetische Metapher. Im zweiten Satz sind *Steine* und *schweigen* semantisch kompatibel. Aber ein impliziertes Bedeutungsmerkmal (ein präsuppositives Sem) wird verbalisiert. Leisi bezeichnet diese Verwendung als „indirekte Metapher“

„Die direkte Metapher ist also der gleichzeitig (in Bezug auf die Aktbedingung) wörtlich realer und (in Bezug auf die Gegenstandsbedingung) übertragene Gebrauch eines Verbs“  
(Leisi, 73).

Er interpretiert die poetische Wirkung der indirekten Metapher: „Diese Zwischenstellung gibt ihr etwas Schillerndes [...] Wenn in unserem Beispiel die Steine durch das Wort *schweigen* als Lebewesen klassiert, ‚angeschaut‘ sind, so ist diese Anschauung zweifellos nicht so deutlich, wie bei einer direkten Metapher.... Diese *schweigenden* Steine in unserem Beispiel erscheinen lediglich in einer undeutlichen Weise

„fremd“ „feindselig“ oder doch mindestens geheimnisvoll, so wie der Wald in Claudius' Zeile: *„Der Wald steht schwarz und schweiget“* (ebd.).

„Mit indirekten Metaphern kann also Aufmerksamkeit behutsam erregt werden. Es wäre zu überprüfen, ob „man bei solchen Sprachhandlungen wie Anregen, Empfehlen nicht gerade diese indirekte Gebrauchsweise bevorzugt (Schippan 1992: 201–202).

Allerdings kann im Laufe der Zeit das Benennungsmotiv verblassen. Es treten die Prozesse der Lexikalisierung, Demotivation oder Idiomatisierung ein. Demotivation und Idiomatisierung vollziehen sich aufgrund sprachlicher und außersprachlicher Entwicklungen

## 2. Von der Lexikalisierung bis zur Demotivation und Idiomatisierung

Der Kernbereich des phraseologischen Bestandes einer Sprache ist durch Reproduzierbarkeit, Stabilität, Lexikalität und Idiomatizität gekennzeichnet. Phraseologismen können als nominative Einheiten sowohl Gegenstände als auch Handlungen, Sachverhalte und Situationen benennen.

Neben den oben erwähnten Merkmalen der idiomatischen Phraseologismen ist noch ein weiteres wichtiges Merkmal zu nennen: Das ist Expressivität. Eine sehr bekannte Tatsache ist, dass die nicht geringe Anzahl von Phraseologismen expressiv ist, dass Expressivität nur eines interaktiven und holistischen Ansatzes bestimmt werden kann.

„Phraseologismen werden häufig mit der expressiven Färbung gebracht“ Nicht ein sprachliches

Zeichen ist expressiv, sondern seine Verwendung in einer bestimmten Interaktionssituation.

Daher muss sich der Akzent der Analysen verschieben von der Betrachtung isolierter Phänomene

hin zu einer holistischen Sicht von Interaktionssequenzen“

(Drescher 1997: 67–70).

Ähnlich wie Drescher plädiert Burger (1998) für ein differenziertes Verständnis von Expressivität, indem er diesen Begriff den des „konnotativen Mehrwertes“ zu ersetzen vorschlägt.

Phraseologismen haben unter konnotativen Aspekten ein Plus gegenüber entsprechenden einfachen Wörtern bzw. gegenüber einer nicht –phraseologischen äquivalenten Formulierung. Zum Teil handelt es sich daher um latente Eigenschaften, die erst in bestimmten Kontexten wirksam werden (Burger 1998: 78).

Von uns wurden manche von den lexikalischen Einheiten ausgewählt, die die Kernwörter zur Bildung der Phraseologismen ausmachen: *April, Bach, Faust, Feuer, Fuß, Gürtel, Hut, Kulisse, Knigge, Lied, Salz, Zirkus*.

Beginnen wir mit Wort ‚**April**‘. Der April mhd. *aberelle*, ahd. *abrello* < lat. *aprilis* (*mensis*) – vierter Monat des Jahres: launische, unbeständige A.; Aus der Benennung entstand der Begriff „Aprilscherz“ – der Spaß, mit dem man jmdn. in den April schickt: auf einen April hinenfallen. Die Redensart also *jmdn. in den April schicken* – *jmdn. mit einem Aprilscherz reinlegen* „jmdn. am 1. April mit mit einem scherzhaften Auftrag o. ä zum Narren halten“. Man sagt auch: das ist doch wohl ein April! = kann doch nicht wahr sein, ist doch wohl nicht ernst nehmen.

Das Wort „**Bach**“ mhd. *bach*, ahd. *bah*. – kleiner natürlicher Wasserlauf von geringer Tiefe u. Breite; der Bach ist nicht nur das Wort für einen ganz kleinen Fluss, sondern ein Nachname. Der berühmteste Träger dieses Namens war sicher der Komponist Johann Sebastian Bach, der am 31. März 1685 in Eisenach zur Welt kam. Viele seiner Kompositionen gehören heute zu den beliebtesten im Repertoire der klassischen Musik aus der Zeit des Barock. „Bach“ als Kernwort finden wir in folgenden Phraseologismen: *einen Bachj[ein]Bächlein machen* („kinderspr“, „urinieren“) *den Bach runtergehen* „zunichte werden“; *etw. Bach schicken* „etw. besonders einen Antrag. ä. verwerfen / ablehnen“. *Bach gehen* „zunichte werden“; *Bach\ab* (schweiz.): „verloren“; „zunichte“; *Etwas bachab schicken* – „einen Vorschlag ablehnen“. Die Redensart ist in der Schweiz verbreitet. Besonders gebräuchlich, wenn die Bevölkerung bei einer Abstimmung einen Vorschlag der Regierung nicht akzeptiert hat.

**Faust** „ist das berühmte Werk und Theaterstück *von Johann Wolfgang von Goethe*, der am 28. August 1749 in Frankfurt am Main zur Welt kam. Mit dem Titel ist nicht die Faust gemeint, also die Hand mit eingebogenen Fingern, sondern Johann Faust, ein Magier und Astrologe aus dem frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Das Wort aber wird zur Quelle der Entstehung der Redensarten: *die Faust (die Fäuste) in die Tasche bellen* – „heimlich drohen“, „ohnmächtig seinen Zorn, seine Wut gegen jmdn. verbergen“ oder jetzt modifiziert *die Faust in der Tasche machen* – „seine Wut verstecken“.

z. B. – Hat er denn wenigstens protestiert gegen seine Entlassung? – Er doch nicht. *Er macht die Faust in der Tasche*, aber sagen tut er nichts“.

*Mit der Faust auf den Tisch schlagen / hauen* „energisch auftreten“ (sich energisch Gehör verschaffen, durchsetzen).

Ein Ziel unserer Arbeit ist die Ermittlung von Äquivalenzbeziehungen der Phraseologismen zwischen den verwandten und nichtverwandten Sprachen. „Unter Äquivalenz versteht man eine Gleichwertigkeit, die sich v. a. auf die Form, die Bedeutung und die Funktion von Sprachzeichen in zwei oder mehr Sprachen bezieht (Hallsteinsdóttir, E., K. Faró 2010: 140).

Die Redensarten mit dem Wort „Feuer“ geben uns gerade eine Vergleichsgrundlage der Phraseologismen, denn fast alle Phraseologismen mit dem Wort „Feuer“ haben strukturell – semantisch (der Form, der Bedeutung und der Funktion nach) vollständige Äquivalente sowohl in der Ausgangssprache als auch in den Zielsprachen.

**Feuer** – mhd. *viur*, ahd. *fiur* – nach Duden =Form der Verbrennung mit Flammenbildung, bei der Licht und Wärme entstehen. Das Feuer hatte für den Menschen immer etwas magisches. Es taucht in verschiedenen Phraseologismen auf: *mit dem Feuer spielen* – „leichtsinnig eine Gefahr missachten / heraufbeschwören“; **geo.** wörtlich: ცეცხლთან თამაში *cecxltaŋ tamaši*. *Feuer fangen* „in Brand geraten“, „in Flamme aufgehen“; „Von Begeisterung für etwas gepackt werden“; „sich in jmdn. zu verlieben beginnen“. *Feuer jmdm. unter den Hintern* (derb: Arsch) *machen* (salopp) „jmdn. nachdrücklich zur Eile antreiben“ **geo.** wörtlich: ცეცხლი შეუნთო *cecxli šeunto*; *aus dem Feuer reißen* „etwas, was schon sehr gefährdet, fast verloren war, durch noch Retten, zu einem guten Ende bringen“; **geo.** wörtlich: ცეცხლს გამოგლიჯა *cecxls gamoglija*.

z. B. schließlich haben sie das Spiel doch noch *aus dem Feuer gerissen*.

*Zwischen zwei Feuer geraten* „von zwei Seiten gleichzeitig bedrängt werden“, „in zwei Unannehmlichkeiten geraten“; **geo.** wörtlich: ორ ცეცხლს შუა ჩავარდნილი *or cecxls šua čavardnili*. *Für jmdn. durchs Feuer gehen* „jmdn. niemals im Stich lassen“, „jmdn. so sehr schätzen, dass man für ihn alles tun würde“, *Feuer und Flamme sein* (ugs.;) „ganz begeistert sein“. Auch kommt schon seit 19. Jahrhundert *Hand ins Feuer halten* z. B. Hagel-hans kann einen Menschen totschiagen, aber den Wurm zertritt er nicht. warum er es gut meint, weiß ich nicht, aber gut meinen tat er es, dafür wollte ich meine *Hand ins Feuer halten*“ (Jeremias Gotthelf: Uli der Pächter 1849).

Öl ins Feuer gießen – „etw. noch schlimmer machen“ – **geo.** wörtlich: ცეცხლზე ნავთის დასხმა, *cecxlze navtis dasxma*. **russ.** wörtlich: подливать масла в огонь, *podlivat masla v ogon* „die Leidenschaften entfachen“, etw. noch schlimmer machen“ Hier gehört zum Weltwissen, dass man ein Feuer intensivieren kann, wenn man brennbare Flüssigkeit hineingießt. Analog kann ein Streit intensiviert werden, wenn weitere streitbare Argumente eingeführt werden. Durch häufige Verwendung des Ausdruckes entwickelte sich ein metaphorischer Phraseologismus. Einen Phraseologismus, der *metaphorisch* bzw. *bildhaft* / *bildlich* ist, definiert Burger wie „Ein metaphorischer Phraseologismus stellt einen abstrakten Sachverhalt in einem konkret vorstellbaren Modell dar“ (Burger 1989: 26).

z. B. **dt.** Hättest du dir diese hässliche Bemerkung nicht sparen können? Du hast damit nur Öl ins Feuer gegossen

**geo.** ნუთუ არ შეგეძლო ამ უშნო ხუმრობისაგან თავი შეგეკავებინა? ამით შენ მხოლოდ ცეცხლზე ნავთი დაასხი.

**Russ.** Неужели ты не мог удержаться от этого некрасивого замечания? Этим ты только подлил масла в огонь.

**Fuß-** mhd. *vuos*, ahd. *fuos-* durch das Sprunggelenk mit dem Unterschenkel verbundener unterster Teil des Beines beim Menschen u. bei Wirbeltieren. Der Fuß ist die Basis, er muss alles tragen- wohl deshalb taucht er auch in einigen Redewendungen auf. Erst einmal muss der Fuß aus gutem Material sein. Was „auf tönernen Füßen“ steht, wird nicht lange stehen bleiben. Eine Sache, die „Hand und Fuß“ hat, ist vollständig, da fehlt nichts. Wer „auf großem Fuß“ lebt, gibt viel Geld aus. Wenn man aber jemanden „auf dem falschen Fuß erwischt“, dann hat diese Person gerade keine Antwort bereit oder weiß nicht, wie sie reagieren soll.

*Auf großem Fuß leben* „aufwendig leben“ Der Phraseologismus hat im Georgischen ein Äquivalent, wo statt „Fuß“ das Wort ‚Hand‘. gebraucht wird; z. B. ხელგამლილად ცხოვრობს *xelgašlilad cxovrobs*. (lit. *xelgašlilad cxovroba* „mit offener Hand“leben). Im Russischen hat das Idiom auch ein Äquivalent, wo statt des Adjektivs „groß“ das Adjektiv „breit“ gebraucht wird; vgl.; жить на широкую ногу *jit na širokeju nogu*. (lit. *auf breitem Fuß leben*)

*Fuß fassen* (von Personen, Ideen usw.) „sich nach einer geraumen Zeit in neue Umgebung integrieren (durchsetzen)“, „sich einen festen Platz fassen“. Entspricht im Georgischen ein wortgenaues Äquivalent ფეხი მოიკიდა *fexi moikida*. im Russischen hat es kein Äquivalent und wird inhaltlich übersetzt =твёрдо стать на ноги, утвердиться, обосноваться, *tverdo stat na nogi, utverditsia, obasnovatsia*. (lit. *sich fest auf die Beinen stellen*).



**Gürtel-** mhd. *gürtel*, ahd. *gurtil*- festes Band (aus Leder), das um Teile od. Hüfte getragen wird: ein schmaler, breiter, lederner, geflochtener G; den G. weiter, enger schnallen. Allmählich wird der Ausdruck umgedeutet und etabliert sich als ein Phraseologismus und zwar in mehreren Sprachen: sowohl in den verwandten (im Englischen und Russischen) als auch in der nicht verwandter Sprache (im Georgischen). Vgl. dt. *den Gürtel enger schnallen* oder *den Schmachtriemen umschnallen* (enger schnallen, anziehen) „sich in seinen Bedürfnissen einschränken“; **engl.** *tighten one's belt* „to manage to spend less money, to use less of something“. **russ.** затянуть (по) туже пояс *satianut potudse pojās* „голодать“ **geo.** ქამრები შემოიჭირა *kamrebi šemoithiro*.

Da braucht keine **den Gürtel enger schnallen (nach Röhrich)**

**Hahn-** mhd. *hane*, ahd. *hano*, eigtl. =Sänger (wegen seinen charakteristischen Rufs besonders am Morgen). Der Ausdruck *Hahn im Korb* – der einzige Mann in einer Gruppe von Frauen ist. *Hahn im Korb* – die Redensart erinnert daran, dass auf einem Bauernhof gewöhnlich viele Hühner zu finden sind, aber nur ein Hahn; in dem ‚Korb‘ werden die jungen Tiere wohl auf den Markt gebracht. Der Ausdruck ist freundlich – ironisch gemeint. In dieser besonderen Situation kann dieser – ein Mann denken, dass er von allen Frauen in der Gruppe bewundert wird und deshalb stolz sein, wie der Hahn, der keinen Konkurrenten hat. Die Redensart kann auf Georgisch inhaltlich ausdrücken: ერთადერთი კაცი ქალთა საზოგადოებაში *ertaderti kaci qalta sazogadoebaši* (lit. der einzige Mann in der Gesellschaft von Frauen) **russ.:** общий баловень *obši baloven* (lit. von allen verwöhntes / verhätscheltes Kind, Liebling)

*Nach jmdm. (etw). kräht kein Hahn* **dt.** „niemand kümmert sich um jmdn., etw“. „fragt nach jmdm., etw“. **geo.** wörtlich: მას იქით მამალი არ ყოვბს, *mas ikit' mamali ar qivobs*, **russ.** wörtlich: ни один петух об этом (больше) не кричит, *ni odin petux ob etom bolše ni kričit*, auch inhaltlich: и думать об этом давно забыли, *i dumat ob etom dawno zabili*.

Der Phraseologismus hat sowohl im Deutschen als auch im Georgischen und auch im Russischen – eine gleiche Struktur, aber die georgische Variante des Phraseologismus unterscheidet sich dem Sinngehalt nach von den deutschen und russischen Varianten. So z. B. *Es kräht doch kein Hahn danach* bedeutet im Deutschen und im Russischen: „niemand kümmert sich danach“, „niemand fragt danach“ im Georgischen: „es ist zu weit“.

*Jmdm. den roten Hahn aufs Dach setzen* „Haus anzünden“. Der Phraseologismus hat im Russischen ein Äquivalent – пустить кому-л. красного



петуха (поджечь дом) *pustit komu-libo krasnogo petuxa (podječ dom)*. Der Phraseologismus hat kein strukturell-semantisches Äquivalent im Georgischen und findet auch keinen redensartlichen Gebrauch.

**Hut** – mhd., ahd. *huot*, eigtl. = der Schützende, Bedeckende u s. w. Kopfbedeckung.

Mit dem Wort „**Hut**“ sind viele Phraseologismen verbunden: *Ein alter Hut* „etwas altbekanntes, längst nicht mehr Neues“; **geo.** ძველი ამბავია *dsveli ambavia* (lit. alte Geschichte) **russ.** что-л. с бородой (уже старо), *čto libo s borodoi / udse staro* (lit. etwas hat schon einen Schnurrbart)...

Die Geschichte *aber ein alter Hut*; die hat mir mein Vater schon erzählt. (MDtI)

ეს ძველი ამბავია. იგი მამაჩემმა უკვე მომიყვა. Эта история с бородо, мне её ещё отец рассказывал.

*Jmdm. eins auf den Hut geben* „einen Verweis / eine Rüge erteilen“. Auch: *eins auf den Hut kriegen / bekommen* „einen Verweis / eine Rüge erhalten“, „jmdn. tadeln“, „jmdn. strafen“ – **geo.** უსაყვედურა, შეახურა, შეჯორა *usaqvedura, šaxura, šjora*; **russ.** дать подзатыльник кому-л. *dat podsatilnik komu libo*.

*Unter einen Hut bringen* „einigen“, „harmonisch vereinen“, „in Einklang, Übereinstimmung bringen“; **geo.** ინტერესი გაითვალისწინო, ერთ მადრამი მოაქციო *interesi Mgaitvaliascino, ert mapraši moakcio*; **russ.** увязать разнородные интересы, согласовать разные мнения *uviasat rasnarodnie interesi, soglasovat raznie mnenia*;

z. B. es ist schwer, so viele Menschen *unter einen Hut zu bringen*;

Auch: *Unter einen Hut kommen* „in Einklang / Übereinstimmung kommen“, „sich mit etw. harmonisch vereinen“, „einig werden / übereinkommen“; **geo.** ერთსულოვნებაში მოხვიდე, გაითვალისწინო, ერთ მადრამი მოექცე *ertsulovnebaši moxvide, gaitvaliascino, ert mapraši moakce*; (lit. in Einklang / Übereinstimmung kommen, -berücksichtigen); **russ.** прийти к единому к мнению, *priiti k edinomu mnenju* (lit. in einer Meinung kommen)

... Sie versuchten vergeblich *unter einen Hut zu kommen*

ტყუილუბრალოდ შეეცადნენ ერთსულოვანი ყოფილიყვნენ (შეთანხმებულოყვნენ), им так и не удавалось прийти к единому к мнению

*auf der Hut sein [müssen]* „bei, vor jmdm., einer Sache vorsichtig sein“, „sich in acht nehmen“; „misstrauisch sein, „sich vorsehen“; **geo.** ფხიზლობდე, თვალი ოთხი, ყური ექვსი გქონდეს, ორი თვალი ოთხად გქონდეს *pxizlobde, tvali otxi, quri ekvsi gkondes, ori tvali otxad gkondes*; **geo.**

(lit. vorsichtig sein, vier Augen und sechs Ohren haben); **russ.** быть начеку, быть настороже; держать ухо востро; *bit na čeku, bit nastoroje derjat uxo vostro* (lit. vorsichtig sein, Ohren spitzen).

Sie waren auf der Hut vor dem Prinzipal.

(H. Mann – Der Untertan)

უფრისტან ფიზლად იყვნენ (თვალი ოთხი, ყური–ექვსი ჰქონდათ, ორი თვალი ოთხად ჰქონდათ). С хозяином они держали ухо востро; *in (unter) j-s Hut sein* „in Schutz / Bewachung / Behütung / Obhut sein“ – **geo.** მფარველი გყავდეს, კარგად იყო მოწყობილი / მოკალათებული *mparveli gqavde, kargad iyo mocyobili / mokalatebuli*; **russ.** находиться под чьей – л. охраной / защитой / покровительством; быть под чьей – л. опекой. *naxoditsia pod čei – libo oxranoi, zašitoi, pokrovitelstvom*; Auch: *in guter Hut sein* (bei jmdm.) „in guter Schutz / Bewachung / Behütung / Obhut sein“ – **geo.** საიმედო ხელში იყო, მფარველი გყავდეს *saimedo xelši iqo, mparveli gqavdes*; **russ.** быть у кого-л в надёжных руках, по надёжной опекой *bit u kogo libo v nadiojnix pukax ili pod nadijnoi opekoi*. (lit. in jmds. Hand sein, der zuverlässig ist, einen Beschützer haben).

*sich etwas an den Hut stecken können* „etw. behalten können, weil der Sprecher es nicht haben will und verächtlich zurückweist“ – **geo.** (ironisch): შეგიძლია შეინახო *šegidslia šeinaxo*; (lit. du kannst es für dich bewahren); **russ.** возьми это себе, *vazmi eto sebe* (lit. nimm es für dich) – vielleicht nach der zu Ende des 19. Jh. s aufgekommene Sitte der jungen Männer, sich nach Ende der Militärdienstzeit eine Papierblumme an den Hut zu stecken.

...Das *kannst* du dir *an den Hut stecken* – შეგიძლია შენთვის შეინახო можешь взять это себе

*den / seinen Hut nehmen [müssen]* – (ugs); „aus dem Amt scheiden“, „zurücktreten müssen“; **geo.** საქმეს ჩამოცილდე / გაეცალო / წახვიდე *sakmes čamocilde / gaecalo / tsaxvide*; (lit. aus dem Amt scheiden / gehen); **russ.** уходить, убираться восвояси *uxodit, ubiratcia vosviasi* (lit. gehen, fortgehen).

Die deutschen Phraseologismen mit dem Wort “Hut” geben fast keine strukturell-semantischen Äquivalente weder im Georgischen noch im Russischen und werden meistens inhaltlich-durch freie Umschreibung übersetzt.

**Kulisse** (frz. *coulisse* =Schiebewand, eigtl. =Rinne zu: Couler, kulan- Teil der Bühnendekoration, bes. zusammen mit mehreren andern parallel od. schräg zur Rampe (mit Gängen) für die Auftritte angeordnete, verschiebbare bemalte Seitenwand, die (zusammen mit anderen) einen Schauplatz darstellt. Theater spielt man meistens mit Kulissen auf Stoff gemalte Zimmerwände oder Hausfassaden, die den Ort der Handlung deutlich machen. Aus dem Wort entwickelte sich eine Redewendung, was jetzt als ein universaler Phraseologismus gilt – *hinter den Kulissen* **geo.** კულისებს მობღბს *kulisebs migma*; **russ.** за кулисами, *za kulisami*; **engl.** *beyond the curtains, beyond the scene*; in allen diesen Sprachen bedeutet: „heimlich“, „was sich nicht von einer schönen Oberfläche tauschen lässt, sondern sieht, wie die Dinge wirklich sind, der blickt hinter die Kulissen“. Auf diese Weise entstand der Ausdruck *hinter die Kulissen führen*, der durch Umdeutung zum Phraseologismus geworden ist und gilt als durchsichtige, motivierte Wendung. z. B

“Was Fielding betrifft, so *führt* er uns gleich *hinter die Kulissen*, er zeigt uns die falsche Schminke auf allen Gefühlen“

(Heinrich Heine, *Die Romantische Schule* 1836).

Einen Blick hinter die Kulissen werfen (tun) **geo.** კულისებში შეიხედა *kulisebši šeixeda*, russ. заглянут за кулиси, *zaglianut za kulisi*.

**Knigge.** Ein gutes Beispiel wie von den Nachnamen eine Redensart entstehen kann, zeigt das Wort “Knigge“. „Der Knigge bedeutet so viel wie „gutes Benehmen“. Das Wort geht zurück auf das Buch „Über den Umgang mit Menschen“ von Adolph Freiherr Knigge (geb. 16. Oktober 1752). Darin gab er allerdings keine konkreten Regeln wie „welches Glas für den Rotwein?“, sondern beschrieb eher sociologisch den Umgang der Menschen miteinander. Die Regeln fügte später der Verlag hinzu (Werner Bönzli 2009). Die Redensart „Das entspricht aber nicht dem Knigge“ bedeutet: „Das ist nicht feine Art sich zu benehmen“, .

**Krone**, die; n (mhd. krōne, ahd. corōna<lat. corona =Kreuz, Krone <grisch. korōnē =Ring, gekrümmtes Ende des Bogens, zu: korōnós =gekrümmt; eine goldene, mit Edelsteinen besetzte, achtzackige K.; die Krone der deutschen Kaiser; sich die Krone aufsetzen, aufs Haupt setzen; der Kaiser legte die Krone nieder (dankte ab) und s. w.

Allmählich wurde der Ausdruck metaphorisiert, wird nicht nur in direktem, sondern auch in indirektem Sinn gebraucht, aber Zusammenhang mit den Benennungsmotiven noch deutlich empfunden wird: z. B. *der Sache die Krone aufsetzen* „alles an Unverschämtheit, Gemeinheit

o. ä. überbieten“, „das Maß an Frechheit o. ä. vollmachen“: jmdm. *in die Krone fahren* „jmdn. ärgern / verstimmen“; was ist *dir* denn *in die Krone gefahren?*; jmdm. *in die Krone steigen*; einen *in der Krone heben* „betrunken sein“.

Der Phraseologismus hat im Georgischen Äquivalente, die in der Übersetzung verschiedene konnotative Schattierungen haben, aber sie verhindern den Verständigungsprozess zwischen der Ausgangssprache und der Zielsprache nicht, z. B. *Krone der Schöpfung* 1. **geo.** შემოქმედების გვირგვინი *šemoqmedebis gvirgvini*; **russ.** венец, творения *weneč tvorenja*.

... Die Gelehrten sind sich noch immer nicht einig, wer *die Krone der Schöpfung* ist: der Mann oder die Frau (MDtI)

2. *Krone der Schöpfung* (scherz). Im Georgischen und im Russischen sagt man für eine Frau – მშვენიერი სქესი *mšvenieri skesi*, прекрасный пол *prekrasnji pol*; (lit. schönes Geschlecht),

einer Sache die Krone aufsetzen „das setzt allem die Krone auf (*fam*) „das ist die Höhe“, „das ist Gipfel der Frechheit“ – **geo.** დაავიჯინებს *daagvirgvinebs* (wörtlich: „*gvirgvini*“ im Georgischen „Krone“ wird hier mit einem metaphorisierten Verb in der dritten Person Singular *daagvirgvinebs* ausgedrückt); Der deutsche Phraseologismus *einer Sache die Krone aufsetzen*, *das setzt allem die Krone auf* hat auch andere ungenaue (aber phraseologische) Äquivalente im Georgischen: ნათელს მოფენს, ნათელს დაყენებს, ყველაფერს ხელს მოუთავებს, მეტისმეტია *natels mofens, natels daayenebs, yvelafers xels moutavebs, metismetia*; (*natels mofens, natels daayenebs*) **geo.** „wird klären“, „wird aufklären“, *natels daayenebs, yvelafers xels moutavebs* – im Sinn „vollenden“, vernichten“ *metismetia* „das ist zu viel“; **russ.** увенчать *uvenčat*, завершать *saveršat*, закончить *sakončit*. Это уж слишком *eto uje sliškom*.

...Ja, es hatte nur gefehlt, dass seine Person zum Gespött werde ... damit *allem die Krone aufgesetzt wurde* – ესლა აკლდა, რომ ქვეყნის სასაცილო გამხდარიყო...ეს დაავიჯინებდა ყველაფერს.

...Auch ihr die damals die Ursache so heftigen Zwists in der Familie gewesen war, *hatte der Tod* seine sührende und verklärende *Krone aufgesetzt* (Th. Mann, *Buddenbrooks*).

ეს ქალი ოდესღაც ოჯახური განხეთქილების მიზეზი გახდა, დღეს კი სიკვდილს მისთვის სამუდამო ნათელი დაეყენებინა.

In diesem Fall ist die georgische Übersetzung von „wird klären“, „wird aufklären“ *nateli daeyenebina* (wörtlich im Kontext: *samudamo nateli daeyenebina* „hat für immer geklärt) ein Euphemismus und wird in Verbin-

dung mit dem Wort, Tod' (**geo.** „სიკვდილი“, *sikvdili*) für Bezeichnung „sterben“ gebraucht.

**Das setzt allem (der Sache) die Krone auf!**, **geo.** მეტისმეტია! (*metis-metia*); **russ.** это уже слишком! *eto uje sliškom!*

Nun gar die Erkenntnis, dass ich mich nicht einmal in diesem Punkte auf Permaneder verlasse konnte! Das **hat allem die Krone aufgesetzt!** das hat dem Fass den Boden ausgeschlagen. (Th. Mann, *Buddenbrooks*)

იმის შეგრძნებამ, რომ აქაც არ შეეძლო პერმანდერზე დანდობა, ყველაფერს ხელი მოუთავა.

*Jmdm. in die Krone steigen; etw. ist jmdm. in die Krone gestiegen* – syn. „*etw. ist jmdm. zu Kopf gestiegen*“, „*jmd. ist überheblich*“, „*jmd. macht sich eingebildet*“; **geo.** თავში აუვარდა, თავზე ყ დიდი წარმოდგენა აქვს, *tavši auvarda, tavze didi carmodgena akvs.* **russ.** что – л. вскружило голову кому – л. (он о себе много возомнил) *čto – libo vkružilo golovu komu – libo (on o sebe mnogo vozomnil)*; **dt.** Der Ruhm ist ihm in die Krone (in den Kopf) gestiegen; **geo.** დიდება მას თავში აუვარდა, *dideba mas tavši auvarda* (lit. Der Ruhm ist ihm in den Kopf gestiegen); **russ.** слова вскружила ему голову, *slava vskrujla emu golovu* (lit. der Ruhm hat ihm den Kopf verdreht).

Alle Phraseologismen im Deutschen mit dem Wort „Krone“ haben im Georgischen und im Russischen phraseologische Äquivalente; sie werden wortgenau, äquivalent-genau, äquivalent-ungenau und in einigen Fällen auch durch freie Umschreibung übersetzt.

**Lied** – mhd. *lied*, ahd. *liod* – auf eine bestimmte Melodie gesungene (lyrisches) Gedicht. Ein Lied ist ein gesungenes Gedicht. Eine einfache Form davon ist das Volkslied. Eine sehr elaborierte Form sind dagegen die Kunstlieder der Romantik, zum Beispiel die Lieder von Franz Schubert. Vor allem durch sie das Wort „*lied*“ in andere Sprachen gelangt, etwa als „*le lied*“ ins Französische. Aus dem Wort entwickelte sich eine Redewendung *von etw. ein Lied singen können / zu singen wissen* – „über etw. aus eigener unangenehmer Erfahrung zu berichten wissen“ z. B. Es gibt nichts schlimmer als Nachbarn, die dauernd laute Partys feiern. Ja, **davon kann ich auch ein Lied singen.** Die Redewendung hat im Georgischen und im Russischen keine phraseologische Äquivalente und wird in beiden Sprachen inhaltlich (durch freie Umschreibung) übersetzt: **geo.** საკუთარ თავზე გამოსცადო, *sakut'ar t'avze gamosc'ado*; **russ.** испитивать на себе, *ispitivat na sebe* (lit. etw. unangenehmes selbst erfahren, selbst erleben).

Ein wortgenaues Äquivalent findet im Russischen der Ausdruck: *es ist immer dasselbe (das alte) – Lied* – это всё та же (старая) песня, *eto vscio ta*



*je staraja pesnia*; **geo.** მოძველებული ჰანგების *mojvebuli hangebia* (lit. das sind alte Motive)

“*Es ist immer dasselbe (das Lied), es ändert sich nichts zum Guten*“.

**Salz** – mhd., ahd. salzm, eigtl. =das Schmutziggraue; Salz ist lebenswichtig. Schon seit alter Zeit sind Menschen mit der Gewinnung, dem Transport und dem Verkauf von Salz reich geworden. Salz verwenden wir nicht nur für das Essen, im Winter wird es zum Beispiel auf die Straßen gestreut, damit das Eis schmilzt und die Autos sicher fahren können. Das ist allerdings schlecht für die Pflanzen links und rechts die Straße, deshalb streut man so wenig wie möglich. Aus dem Wort entwickelten sich mehrere Redensarten... attisches Salz“ fein scherzende scharfsinnige Rede; vgl. **russ.** Аттическая соль-тонкая (изящная) острота, *atičeskaia sol-tonkaia*, (*iziašnaia*) *ostrata*. Im Georgischen sagt man: უმარილო ხუმრობა, *umarilo xumroba* (lit. Scherz ohne Salz – „Rede, die nichts besonders scherzhaftes besitzt“).

*Salz auf die (in die Wunde) streuen* „jmdn. eine ohnehin schon als unangenehm ärgerlich o. ä. empfundene Situation durch eine Äußerung oder eine Mitteilung noch deutlicher, schmerzlicher empfinden lassen“. Im Georgischen wird der Phraseologismus durch Kalkierung-wortgenau übersetzt, was im Russischen nicht der Fall ist. **geo.** ჭრილობაზე მარილი მოაყარო, *chrilobaze marili miaqaro* vgl. **russ.** это ему нож острый, *eto emu noz ostri* (lit.: das ist ihm ein scharfes Messer).

Eine Rede ohne Salz und Schmalz – **geo.** უმარილო სიტყვა, მდორე, უღიძღამო მეტყველება, *umarilo sityva; mdore, ugimgamo metyveleba*; **russ.** бесцветная, скучная речь, *bescvetnaia, skuč'naia reč'* (lit. eine langweilige Rede).

*Jmdm. nicht das Salz in der Suppe gönnen* „jmdm. sehr mißgünstig sein“ (**geo.** wörtlich: წვნიანში მარილიც არ გაიმეტო, *čvnianši marili ar gaimeto*). Der Phraseologismus hat eine synonymische Variante im Deutschen – also ein Idiom mir derselben Bedeutung, aber mit einem anderen Etymon: *jmdm. nicht das Schwarze unter dem Nagel (unterm Fingernagel, unter den Nageln) gönnen*, „überhaupt nichts geben“ Diesen beiden Varianten entspricht im Georgischen und im Russischen ein Phraseologismus, der dem Sinngehalt nach sehr nah zum deutschen Phraseologismus steht, unterscheidet sich von ihm aber der Struktur nach., z. B. **geo.** ზამთარში თოვლს არ გაიმეტებს, *zamtarši tovs ar gainetebს*; **russ.** зимой снега не выпросишь, *simoi snega ne viprosiš* (lit. in beiden Sprachen bedeutet: er gibt jmdm. im Winter keinen Schnee). Darüber hinaus geben die georgischen und die russischen Phraseologismen der Form, der Bedeutung und der

Funktion nach gleichwertige Äquivalente, was dem deutschen Phraseologismus gegenüber nicht der Fall ist.

**Zirkus (der).** unter engl. u. frz. Einfluss < lat. *circus* = Kreis; Ring; Arena, wohl griech. *kirkos* = Ring). Auch im Zeitalter von Kino und Internet ist Zirkus immer noch beliebt. Er hat sich allerdings etwas verändert, seine Vorstellungen haben mehr Show-Elemente erhalten. In Deutschland reisen etwa 250 Zirkusse umher, große, kleine und ganz kleine. In Österreich und in der Schweiz sind es dagegen nur wenige.

Der Phraseologismus: *Mach doch nicht so einen Zirkus wegen dieser Kleinigkeit* „reg dich nicht so auf“, „beschäftige dich nicht so intensiv damit“ hat wortgenaue Äquivalente sowohl im Georgischen als auch Russischen; **geo.** ცირკებს ნუ აწყობ, ცირკო ნუ მოაწყვე, *Cirkebs nu aqob, cirki nu moaqqve*; **russ.** не устраивай цирк, *ne ustraivai cirk*.

### 3. Historische Phraseologismen

Der Wortschatz einer Sprache und insbesondere Phraseologismen spiegeln manche Besonderheiten der Entwicklung des betreffenden Volkes, manche seiner Sitten und Bräuche wider. In allen Sprachen kommen die Phraseologismen vor, deren Bedeutungen sich nur durch die historische Analyse erklärt werden lassen. Der deutsche Phraseologismus *auf die Bärenhaut liegen* „faulenz“ geht ebenfalls auf die Lebensweise der alten Germanen zurück. Die Hauptbeschäftigung Männer war damals die Jagd, in der übrigen Zeit taten sie nichts. (sie lagen so zu sagen die ganze Zeit auf der Bärenhaut), während die Frauen die Arbeit im Feld und Haus besorgten).

In der modernen russischen Sprache kommt das Wort *баклуши*, *bakluši* im selbständigen Gebrauch nicht mehr vor. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieses Wortes war „ein Stück Holz“, woraus verschiedene Dinge gefertigt werden konnten; diese Arbeit gilt als eine der leichtesten Arbeiten, deswegen bedeutete der Ausdruck *быть баклуши*, *bit bakluši* „es sehr leicht haben“, „fast gar nichts tun“, und so entwickelte sich allmählich die jetzige Bedeutung, nichts tun, „faulenz“. die der deutschen idiomatischen Wendung *auf die Bärenhaut liegen* „faulenz“ (syn. *sich auf die faule Haut legen* (fam) – „nicht arbeiten“, „faulenz“, „nichts tun“) entspricht; **geo.** მხარტედოზე წამოწოლა, *mxartedsoze čamočola* (lit.: auf der Achsel und Hüfte liegen); der Kompositum *mxartedsoze* besteht aus zwei Komponenten: *mxari* (Achsel) und *tedso* (die Hüfte, der Schenkel). Es gibt noch

eine synonymische Variante des georgischen Äquivalents კოდალასავით სტვენა, *kodalasavit stvena* (lit. wie der Specht pfeifen).

Im Georgischen gibt es auch viele Idiomatiche Phraseologismen, die als sprachliche Denkmäler der konkreten Geschichte des georgischen Volkes betrachtet werden können: კაკას ხიდი გაიარა, *kakas xidi gaiara* „verschwand“, „ging verloren“ (lit. über die Brücke-Kaka gehen); Nach Angabe von Thedo Sachokia, dem berühmten georgischen Reisenden und und Forscher, kann man die Entstehung des Idioms so erklären: die aus Imereti (einem Gebiet in Westgeorgien) entführten Gefangenen wurden in die Türkei über die Kaka-Brücke geschleppt. Jener Festgenommene, der schon diese Brücke überquert hatte, galt schon als Verlorener. Gleichen Inhalts ist das synonymische Idiom *čailuris zxali dalia* (*Cailuris wyali dalia*), dessen direkte Bedeutung = hat das Wasser von čailuri getrunken und die idiomatiche Bedeutung = verschwand, ohne jede Spur zu hinterlassen ist. Dieses Idiom ist ebenfalls mit der Geschichte des georgischen Volkes verbunden. Der Fluß čailuri fließt durch Qiziki (Dorf in der Provinz Kacheti in Ostgeorgien). Der Festgenommene, der dieses Fluß schon hinter sich hatte galt als verloren. Später erweiterte sich die Bedeutung zu =schon verstorben) (Stambolishvili 2011: 209).

Um die semantischen Merkmale der Lexikalisierung darzustellen schreibt Römer: „Die Bedeutung eines Phraseologismus bildet eine Einheit, die durch eine Bedeutungsvereinigung der Wörter, aus denen er besteht, entstanden ist“ (Römer 2003: 159). Die Bedeutungsvereinigung bsw. Bedeutungsverschmelzung der Komponenten kann dabei lose oder fest, idiomatiche, teilidiomatiche oder wörtlich sein. Sowohl die Bedeutungsverschmelzung als auch die Idiomatizität ist eine graduelle Erscheinung. Lose Verschmelzungen der Komponenten kommen durch usuellen Gebrauch, die gemeinsame Verwendung, zu Stande.

Die Themen der idiomatiche Phraseologismen geben Auskunft über die geistige Welt und Geschichte einer Sprachnation. Es gibt sogar Sprachwissenschaftler, für die die Idiomatik das Allerheiligste einer Nationalsprache ist. Gerade in Idiomen manifestieren sich der Geist und die Eigenart jeder Nation. Sie sei unwiederholbar (vgl. Babkin 1995). Trotzdem verdeutlicht der Vergleich der Phraseologismen, dass viele Phraseologismen in völlige Übereinstimmung miteinander kommen. Das zeugt davon, dass sie eine und dieselbe Entstehungsquelle haben.

Was die Frage der Übersetzung der Phraseologismen betrifft, können sie in anderen Sprachen übersetzt werden, ja sogar die Phraseologismen mit nationalen Spezifika. Die Besonderheiten der Übersetzung werden



durch die Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Phraseologismen bedingt. Eigentlich ist hier die Rede von der Wiedergabe des Inhalts, genauer gesagt, vom dem Aussuchen passenden Äquivalente und seltener von der Übersetzung im eigentlichen Sinne. Es ist sehr wichtig die Eigentümlichkeit, Bildhaftigkeit, Emotionalität des Ausdrucks zu bewahren, damit der eigenartige Reiz der Phraseologie nicht verlorengeht.

Die von uns angeführte Phraseologismen wurden übersetzt: wortgenau-durch Kalkierung. Diese Übersetzungen werden manchmal durch die Modifikation einiger Komponenten begleitet; *äquivalent-genau*- wo in anderen Sprachen mit derselben Bedeutung ein passendes Äquivalent ausgesucht wurde, wobei dieses Äquivalent nicht nur der Bedeutung nach, sondern auch dem Etymon nach dem zu übersetzenden Phraseologismus entsprach. *äquivalent-ungenau*. Sie besteht auch im Aussuchen einer Äquivalenten des Phraseologismus mit derselben Bedeutung, aber mit einem anderen Etymon; *inhaltlich* – durch *freie Umschreibung*. Das fand bei uns auch eine Anwendung, wenn kein passendes Äquivalent für den deutschen Phraseologismus gab.

#### 4. Fazit

Es gibt viele Beispiele in allen Sprachen, die und zeigen, wie eng die Sprache mit der Geschichte des betreffenden Volkes verbunden ist.

In verschiedenen Sprachen findet man eine große Anzahl von Phraseologismen die dem inneren Sinngehalt nach sehr nah zueinander stehen, obwohl sie strukturell und lexikalisch einander nicht vollkommen entsprechen.

Die angeführten Beispiele zeugen davon, dass ein beliebiges Wort, ein beliebiger Begriff und auch freie syntaktische Wortverbindung, die in unserem Gedächtnis, in unserem Sinn und Geist und dementsprechend in unserer Existenz eine wichtige Rolle spielen, auf diese Weise entstanden sind: Sie sind aus dem alltäglichen Leben entnommen, dann allmählich umgedeutet und so in unserem Gedächtnis gespeichert worden.

Der Vergleich der Phraseologismen verschiedener Kulturen verdeutlicht, dass die vollständige Übereinstimmung zwischen den Komponenten nicht nur in verwandten, sondern auch nicht verwandten Sprachen vorkommt, viel mehr können die genetisch nicht verwandten Sprachen identische Komponenten aufweisen, und umgekehrt, in den verwandten Sprachen können die Komponenten nicht immer zusammenfallen.

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## O powstawaniu jednostek frazeologicznych

### STRESZCZENIE

Frazeologia odzwierciedla ducha danego narodu. Dzięki analizom historycznym, porównawczym i kontrastywnym możliwe jest pokazanie jak odzwierciedlają one zarówno ponadnarodowe, jak i narodowe pochodzenie omawianych związków. Jedno z wyzwań, które stoją przed współczesną frazeologią kontrastywną, to zbadanie wzajemnych relacji frazeologizmów występujących w poszczególnych językach.

Język pomaga człowiekowi kontaktować się z otaczającą go rzeczywistością. Przedmioty, wydarzenia, fakty i wszystkie procesy muszą być nazwane. Z biegiem czasu nazwane przedmioty i wydarzenia podlegają metaforyzacji i uzyskują status wyrażen frazeologicznych.

W niniejszym artykule wybrane zostały jednostki leksykalne, które można łatwo przekształcić w związki frazeologiczne, odzwierciedlające cechy narodowe i elementy ludzkiego myślenia o charakterze uniwersalnym. Z powodu dystyngtywnych cech mentalnych poszczególnych wspólnot językowych dane znaczenie mogą być wyrażane przez rozmaite związki w porównywanych językach. Identyczne leksykalne znaczenie frazeologizmu jest wystarczającym powodem istnienia jednostek o charakterze uniwersalnym. W takim przypadku struktura gramatyczna nie jest zbyt istotna. W przypadku niektórych związków frazeologicznych struktura jest inna, a znaczenie identyczne.

Frazeologiczne uniwersalizmy w językach niespokrewnionych charakteryzują się podobnym znaczeniem leksykalnym i różną strukturą gramatyczną – są one eksponentami cech typowych dla każdego z języków. Trzy aspekty ludzkiego myślenia: indywidualny, narodowy i uniwersalny mają wpływ na powstawanie związków frazeologicznych.

Indywidualne, narodowe i uniwersalne cechy języków tworzą językowy obraz świata, który charakteryzuje się zarówno swoistymi, jak i uniwersalnymi cechami. Ten fakt wyjaśnia istnienie frazeologizmów o charakterze uniwersalnym w niespokrewnionych językach.

Analiza kontrastywna niemieckich, gruzińskich i rosyjskich związków frazeologicznych wykazała, że mimo braku genetycznych związków wiele frazeologizmów ma tę samą strukturalno-semantyczną formę i te jednostki mogą być traktowane jako ekwiwalenty absolutne. Innymi słowy, wiele niemieckich, rosyjskich i gruzińskich frazeologizmów to połączenia wyrazowe o tożsamym pochodzeniu. W perspektywie porównawczej widoczne są różnice we frazeologizmach, ponieważ każdy naród ma swoją historię, własne zwyczaje i tradycje, które tworzą jego tożsamość i wyjątkowy charakter.

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## **L'étude comparée des unités phraséologiques animalières du français et du géorgien**

**ABSTRACT:** Notre recherche est consacrée à l'analyse comparative des unités phraséologiques animalière, à l'étude de leur image dans les langues non-parentées. La phraséologie exprime le mieux possible le caractère du peuple, leur ethnopsychologie car chaque langue possède ses traits particuliers, mais une image qui est la base des unités phraséologiques, permet de déterminer l'équivalent neutre et d'expliquer son sens.

Les unités phraséologiques comparatives se forment à la base de la comparaison imagée. Donc, la source génétique de ces unités est la comparaison imagée concrète. C'est pourquoi la comparaison imagée par sa fonction et par les traits lexicaux et sémantiques est plus proche aux unités phraséologiques qu'à la comparaison concrète.

L'interprétation métaphorique est l'une des formes de la transformation sémantique des idiomes comparatifs. Alors les mots composants des locutions phraséologiques perdent leur sens propre et prennent une autre signification.

**MOTS-CLÉS:** *expressivité, comparaison imagée, nomination, zonymes, phraséologie*

### **1. Introduction**

Grâce aux animaux et à leurs noms, l'homme peut inventer une langue de raison et d'expérience, dont le principe est la *représentation*, des expériences, et d'une histoire de cette représentation. En somme, l'homme a besoin de l'animal pour caractériser sa vision des choses et nommer un nouveau sujet de discours – et, précisément, tout se joue dans la concomitance de ces deux activités cognitives.

L'élément troublant est que c'est le même homme qui invente les noms des animaux, des zonymes, en discours scientifique savant, pour désigner des référents empiriques, dans une articulation de la représentation et de l'analyse puis des locutions familières à base de ces noms d'animaux pour caractériser ses frères humains (têtu comme une mule, un caractère de cochon, une cervelle de moineau) (Mellet 1997: 105). Donc : l'homme invente des noms pour les animaux, qui lui servent ensuite à dire une représentation de l'homme ; or les noms d'animaux posent, comme tous les noms, le problème de leur motivation, cette motivation qui est celle que prétendent justifier, par l'exemple, les minis paraboles des locutions animalières – qui racontent toujours une histoire justifiant leur invention et leur application circonstanciée, plus ou moins métaphorique (**avalier des couleuvres, subir un temps à ne pas mettre un chien dehors, ne pas attacher son chien avec des saucisses**). Les locutions (animalières) sont, ainsi, un peu la réponse du populaire au choix des noms (d'animaux) des savants (Becq, Bordas, 2010 : 15).

## 2. Partie principale

Notre recherche est consacrée à l'analyse comparative des unités phraséologiques animales dans les langues non-parentées. La pensée linguistique créative place l'homme et la bête sur la même surface, en utilisant les mêmes moyens lexicaux. Il montre la description des sentiments et comportements émotifs, l'image intérieure de l'homme par l'activité ou par l'attitude de l'animal. En comparant des systèmes phraséologiques des langues contrastives, il faut particulièrement prévoir les aspects sémantico-fonctionnels, car leur coïncidence structurelle est très rare.

Dans le système phraséologique le rôle principal jouent les facteurs extralinguistiques. Selon sa fonction, le lexique sert au domaine intellectuel de la langue, tandis que la phraséologie au domaine émotif. Un mot se forme pour nommer une notion et des unités phraséologiques pour sa caractéristique expressive. Comme la phraséologie est étroitement liée avec les émotions et les sentiments de l'homme, elle est plus mobile renouvelable que des unités lexicales (Lossev 1982: 25).

La phraséologie exprime le mieux possible le caractère du peuple, leur ethnopsychologie car chaque langue possède ses traits particuliers, mais une image des unités phraséologiques, permet de déterminer l'équivalent neutre et d'expliquer son sens.

Les unités phraséologiques comparatives se forment à la base de la comparaison imagée. Donc, la source génétique de ces unités est la comparaison imagée concrète. C'est pourquoi la comparaison imagée par sa fonction et par les traits lexicaux et sémantiques est plus proche aux unités phraséologiques, qu'à la comparaison concrète.

L'interprétation métaphorique est une des formes de la transformation sémantique des idiomes comparatifs. Alors des mots composants des locutions phraséologiques perdent leur sens propre et prennent une autre signification. Ces types des unités présentent plutôt les unités unilatérales et plus rarement – les idiomes.

Au cas de la comparaison imagée on compare deux objets dont le mot composant principal est représenté par le sens usuel. Ce sens peut être :

- Sens direct : rouge comme une écrevisse.
- Sens dérivé : sec comme une trique - « être excessivement maigre ».
- Sens figuré : fauché comme les blés (fam.) – « être sans un sou ».

Par rapport à la sémantique, le composant des ces types des zoonymes est caractérisé par la fonction expressive. Ce composant n'exprime pas un nouveau sens, mais il ne caractérise que les traits de la comparaison.

Comme les idiomes similaires ont leurs propres particularités, il est raisonnable de les étudier. Les comparaisons des unités phraséologiques animalières adjectivales expriment la haute qualité des traits indiqués par l'adjectif. Leur élément comparatif d'intensité est présenté par la fonction adverbiale : très, fort, extrêmement.... (Nazariyan 1976: 211).

Les unités phraséologiques comparatives verbales formées à la suite de l'affaiblissement du sens lexical des composants, expriment la haute qualité d'intensité de l'action indiquée par le verbe étant le membre principal. Cette partie comparative est représentée par la fonction adverbiale.

Dans ce cas le composant comparatif donne un nouveau caractère qualificatif à l'adjectif ou à l'adverbe jouant le rôle de l'adverbe circonstanciel de manière.

En comparant des zoonymes phraséologiques nous pouvons constater qu'ils expriment en français : une action physique, une apparence, un comportement amoral, un état physique, un résultat fatal ou réussi, des caractéristiques mesurables. En géorgien ils expriment des états psychologiques ou physiques, un comportement amoral, l'état matériel, des qualités morales et intellectuelles, un résultat fatal ou réussi.

Donc, en analysant des systèmes phraséologiques des langues opposées il faut particulièrement prévoir les aspects sémantico-fonctionnels, car leur coïncidence structurelle est très rare.

La spécificité des idiomes sont étroitement liés avec l'image du monde normatif du peuple donné, où crée l'expérience historique des gens, leur pensée nationale et particulière, plus souvent semblable et rarement différent.

A la base de l'étude de ces types des comparaisons des unités phraséologiques animalières ils se sont classés par la thématique suivante dans la langue française:

- I. Les zoonymes comparatifs verbaux nomment:
  1. L'interdépendance : **s'accorder (s'entendre, être, vivre) comme un chien et le chat.**
  2. La dépendance rivale : **guetter sa proie comme un chat guette la souris.**
  3. Le résultat positif : **retomber comme un chat sur ses pieds.**
  4. Les qualités psycho-émotionnelles : **s'acharner sur qch comme deux chiens sur un os; agir comme un chien fouetté.**
  5. Un état matériel : **tuer qqn comme un chien.**
  6. L'influence physique : **courir comme un chien dératé.**
  7. La qualité intellectuelle : **il est sorcier comme une vache.**
  8. L'indifférence : **s'en soucier comme un chien d'une botte de rose.**
  9. Le défaut : **manger comme un loup.**
  10. La situation de santé : **être enrhumé comme un loup.**
  11. L'activité physique : **travailler, piocher comme un bœuf.**
  12. Le défaut physique : **marcher comme un pardessus à un canard.**
  13. Les qualités psycho-physiques : **bavarder (jacasser, jaser) comme une pie, comme un merle.**
  14. La situation matérielle : **être chargé d'argent comme un crapaud de plumes.**
  15. L'appréciation hédoniste : **être la comme rat en paille ; être (vivre) comme un coq sur son fumier.**
  16. Le résultat positif : **retomber comme un chat sur ses pattes.**
  17. La qualité : **vivre comme un ours ; avoir les yeux ouverts comme un lièvre.**
- II. Les zoonymes comparatifs adjectivaux nomment:
  1. L'apparence : **maigre comme un chien.**
  2. L'appréciation sensorielle : **friande comme un chat ; roux comme une vache.**
  3. Le moral : **ingrat comme les chats.**
  4. Le défaut physique : **droit comme la jambe d'un chien.**
  5. La situation de santé : **malade comme un chien.**



6. L'état spirituel : **malheureux comme un chien qui se noie.**
  7. L'appréciation intellectuelle : **bête comme un jeune chien.**
  8. La qualité : **entêté comme un âne.**
  9. L'état émotionnel : **méchant comme un âne.**
  10. L'état physique : **fort comme un bœuf.**
  11. La caractéristique paramétrable : **légère comme un papillon.**
  12. La qualité psychologique : **triste comme un tigre ; triste comme un hibou ; ivre comme un porc.**
  13. La qualité physique : **vif comme une potée de souris.**
  14. Le moral : **glorieux comme un paon ; peureux comme un lièvre.**
  15. L'appréciation sensorielle : **noir comme un corbeau.**
  16. L'état intérieur : **sobre comme un chameau.**
- III. Les comparaisons des unités phraséologiques animalières se sont classées par les thématiques suivantes et nomment en géorgienne :
1. La qualité psychologique : La solitude – ტოროლა ჩიტვით დარჩა; [torola chitiviT darcha] ; **rester seule comme une alouette.**  
La malchance – თევზივით ნაპირზე გარიყულიყო ; [TevziviT napi-  
rze garikuliko] ; **être jeté au bord comme un poisson.**
  2. L'état affectif : მამლის ბიბილოსავით გაწითლებული; [mamlis  
bibilosaviT gatsitlebuliko] ; **rouge comme une crête de coq.**
  3. L'état spirituel: განწირული მოზვერივით აბღავლდა; [gantsiruli  
mozveriviT abgavlda]; **mugir comme un bœuf condamné.**
  4. L'apparence: შავი დედალივით გაკეთდა; [shavi dedaliviT  
gakeTda] ; **être belle comme une poule noire.**
  5. L'appréciation sensorielle : სვავებივით მძორ-ლემით დამძღარ-  
დარინდებულები; [svavebiviT mdzor-leshiT damzgar-darindebu-  
lebi]; **être assouvi de charognard comme des vautours.**
  6. La caractéristique paramétrable : ჯორის კუდივით არც გრძელდება,  
არც მოკლდება - სულ ერთი ზომისაა; [Djoris kudiviT arc grdzel-  
deba, arc mokldeba-sul erTi zomisa] ; **n'être ni longue et ni courte  
comme une queue de mule.**
  7. Le caractère: მამალი ინდაურივით იბერება; [mamali indauriviT  
ibereba] ; **gonfler comme un dindon.**
  8. La forme et la couleur: კნენები აივანზე გამოლაგდნენ და  
მტრედებივით დალაგდნენ; [kneninebi aivanze gamolagdnen da  
mtredebiviT dalagdnen] ; **les dames sont sorties sur le balcon et  
elles se sont installées comme des colombes.**
  9. La qualité : ვაჟი ვიყავ.....ფოცხვერივით მარდი, კატასავით  
მოქნილი, მგელივით შეუპოვარი; [vaji vikav..... focxveriviT mardi,  
katasaviT moqnili, mgeliviT sheoupovari]; **être rapide comme un  
léopard, être souple comme un chat, être obstiné comme un loup.**



### 3. Conclusion

La phraséologie est la nomination indirecte, elle est l'un des moyens de créer des nouvelles unités lexicales. L'étude de "l'image phraséologique" afin d'interpréter ses fonctions sémantique et fonctionnelle nous a permis de classer les thématiques des idiomes animaliers sur le plan nominatif dans les langues comparées. Il est à noter que le nombre des zoonymes employés au sens négatifs sont plus nombreux (14% en français et 12,8% en géorgien) que les zoonymes positifs (5,4% en français et 4,8% en géorgien).

La recherche typologique des idiomes est importante pour se rapprocher de la réalité conceptuelle du monde communicatif. Ils expriment l'expérience importante du peuple, leur coutume, leur culture, leur tradition et les moyens de leur pensée imagée.

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## **Analiza kontrastywna jednostek faunicznych w językach francuskim i gruzińskim**

### **STRESZCZENIE**

Artykuł poświęcony jest związkom frazeologicznym z komponentem faunicznym w językach niespokrewionych. Frazeologia wyraża charakter danej wspólnoty językowej, a etnopsychologia każdej grupy ma swoiste cechy, które wpływają na obrazowość związków frazeologicznych. Sfrazologizowane porównania powstają na podstawie zestawiania pewnych desygnatów, odnoszenia ich względem siebie. Źródłem omawianych stałych połączeń wyrazowych są porównania o charakterze konkretnym. Z tego powodu jednostki te funkcjonują – jeśli weźmie się pod uwagę cechy leksykalne i semantyczne – bliższe frazeologizmom niż porównaniom konkretnym. W wyniku interpretacji metaforycznej dochodzi do transformacji semantycznej idiomów porównawczych. Wyrazy tworzące dany związek frazeologiczny tracą swój dosłowny sens i nabierają innego znaczenia.

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## Phraseological Gaps as a Translation Problem

**ABSTRACT:** Phraseological units pose various problems in the process of translation due to their linguistic properties as well as cultural markedness. Interlinguistic equivalence is a complex notion, used to name various relation between units of language. In a contrastive perspective one can distinguish full equivalents, partial equivalents, phraseological parallels and non-equivalents. The fixed expressions existing only in the source language, i.e. not having phraseological equivalents, constitute phraseological gaps, also called lacunary units. The lack of given source language units in the target language means that they have to be translated non-phraseologically. Their equivalents are either words or loose strings of lexical items; moreover, in some contexts the units may be omitted. The paper deals with the translation of such units, focussing on selected techniques, such as literal translation, substitution, innovation and omission.

**KEY WORDS:** *gap, lacuna, phraseological unit, equivalent, translation*

### 1. The notion of phraseological gap

The term *lacuna*<sup>1</sup> refers to a gap (Wipprecht 2005), which can occur in various spheres of human activity, for example: communication, translation (Sorokin, Markovina 1989), advertising (Grodzki 2003). In Russian linguistics the concept of gaps can be traced back to the 19<sup>th</sup> c. However, it should be emphasized that it became a central concept in Russian intercultural communication studies only after the development of ethno-

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<sup>1</sup> Latin *lacuna*, German *Lakune*, French *lacune*.

psycholinguistics in the 1970s and 1980s. It is worth adding that Kenneth L. Hale, American linguist, presented a similar gap concept. In his paper titled *Gaps in Grammar and Culture* (Hale 1975) he described the absence of numerals and colour designations in the language of Australian aborigines, referring to them as gaps.

It was in the Russian psycholinguistics, primarily developed by Jurij A. Sorokin, that the lacuna model was developed. The model allows for a systematic characterization, operationalization and classification of cultural difference in communication (Schröder 2006: 73). It is applicable to translations from one language and culture to another (cf. Sorokin, Markovina 1989). Thanks to the implementation of the model one can discuss the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural aspects of texts and their translations.

Since the notion of lacunarity refers to various phenomena, it is defined in a number of ways, depending on what it describes. As to language, generally speaking, it can be said that

a lacunae is a "language gap" discovered in Language A when/if it is compared with Language B where this gap is adequately filled in by one or two words. Lacunae are potential lexical units, lexical units without visible form, zero lexemes, or, to put it poetically, soul without body  
(Zhelvis 2006: 35).

Therefore, it can be expected that if two or more natural languages are compared, gaps will appear (Zhelvis 2006: 35). The presence of lacunae results from differences between particular ethnic groups and their vision of the world reflected in language. It should be stressed that the phenomenon of gap concerns not only linguistic aspects, but also cultural features.

In the broad perspective two main types of lacunae can be distinguished, i.e. language lacunae (lexical, grammatical, stylistic etc.) and cultural lacunae (ethnographic, psychological, behavioural, kinesic etc.). The broad categories may be subdivided further. The cultural gaps encompass subjective or "national-psychological" lacunae (character lacunae, syllogistic lacunae, cultural-emotive lacunae, lacunae of humour), lacunae of communication activity (mental lacunae, behavioural-specific lacunae), lacunae related to cultural space (perceptive lacunae, ethnographic lacunae, lacunae of cultural stock), textual gaps (Schröder 2006: 74–75)<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The book *Lakunen-Teorie. Ethnopsycholinguistisches Aspekte der Sprach – und Kulturforschung* contains the bibliography on ethnolinguistics and lacunae (Panasiuk, Schröder 2006: 328–347). Special attention has been paid to identifying lexical gaps (Bentivogli, Pianta 2000) and their translation (Dagut 1981; Cvilkaitė 2006).

As to language gaps, they can be classified on the basis of various criteria (Schröder 2006: 75–78). Depending on their intensity, they comprise absolute and relative lacunae. Moreover, gaps can be divided into intralinguistic, which originate through communication between different levels in one culture, and interlinguistic lacunae, which come into existence in the process of intercultural communication. Taking into consideration the recipient's awareness of gaps, one can distinguish explicit lacunae (the recipient perceives the gap as a strange phenomenon, which needs to be interpreted) and implicit lacunae (the recipient is not conscious of the gap). From other point of view, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of them, i.e. linguistic and referential (Dagut 1981).

This division is very important for the present discussion of the translation of phraseological units. From the point of view of translation it is possible to distinguish linguistic phraseological gaps and referential phraseological gaps. The units of the former kind, i.e. linguistic phraseological gaps, occur when the unit does not exist in another language, but its meaning is known to target language users. In the case of the latter, referential phraseological gaps, the meaning carried by the source language unit is not known to the target language users.

The aim of the present paper is to discuss the problems of the translation of lacunary fossilized units in two perspectives, i.e. theoretical and practical. The units chosen for the analysis belong to absolute gaps from a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural point of view. First, the stages and techniques of the translation of fixed expressions will be discussed from a theoretical point of view, with a special focus on phraseological gaps. Then, the techniques will be exemplified with the translation of selected Polish idiomatic phrases of lacunary character into English. The translation proposals will be presented so that the solutions to the problem of lacunarity of the phraseological units could be analyzed.

## 2. Translation Equivalence

It is an undeniable fact that the term *equivalence* is one of the key words in both literature and linguistic analyses. In a contrastive perspective equivalence of phraseological units can be discussed at two levels, i.e. at the level of the system and the one of the text (Mellado Blanco 2010). Respectively, it is possible to distinguish two main kinds of equivalence, i.e. systematic equivalence and translational equivalence. In the case of

research on idioms it is of particular importance for lexicography and translation studies.

From the point of view of dictionary-making process the analysis systematic equivalence, i.e. the relationship of the source language unit and target language unit on the level of the language system, renders it possible to determine which target language unit corresponds with a given source language unit. In a contrastive perspective four main classes of equivalents are distinguished, i.e. full equivalents, partial equivalents, phraseological parallels, non-equivalents (Dobrowol'skij 2011: 7)<sup>3</sup>. It is worth mentioning one more kind of equivalents, pseudo-equivalents, i.e. false friends, which apparently similar units of two languages, expressing different meanings (Szerszunowicz 2006, 2008).

Translational equivalence can be defined as the relationship of the target language and its target language translation in a given text. Consequently, translational equivalents are "lexical items of both the source and target language (L1 and L2) which are correspondingly used in authentic L1-texts and their L2-translations, e.g. in parallel corpora" (Dobrowol'skij 2011: 9). The equivalents in question depend to a great extent on the context in which they are used.

From the point of view of translational equivalence discussion, another important notion is the one of unit of translation. According to Burkhanov (2003: 98), "the introduction of the category of 'unit of translation' into translation theory has inevitably modified the concept of translation equivalence". Depending on the approach, the translation unit can vary from a morpheme to the text as a whole. In general, the basic unit of trans-

<sup>3</sup> Full equivalents, also called absolute equivalents, are idioms of the source language and the target language which have identical meaning, lexico-syntactic structure and imagery. The following units are examples of full equivalents: English: *to rest on one's laurels* – Polish: *spocząć na laurach* – Italian: *dormire/riposare sugli allori*.

More precisely, they can be called quasi-equivalents, since correspondence of all the parameters of two units is not likely to occur (cf. Fiedler 2007: 118; Szerszunowicz 2009). Partial equivalents have identical or very similar meanings and show subtle differences in lexico-syntactic structure or imagery, like the following units Polish: *wstać lewą nogą* – Italian: *alzarsi col piede sbagliato* – English: *to get out of the bed on the wrong side*. Phraseological parallels are idioms of two languages which have the same meaning, but employ different imagery, for instance, English: *to take a sledgehammer to crack a nut* – Polish: *strzelać z armaty do wróbli*. If a source language idiom has no corresponding phraseological unit in the target language, the relation is described as non-equivalence (cf. Dobrowol'skij 2011: 7–8). The English unit the *Barbour brigade*, meaning 'members of the rich upper class, especially those who like hunting and shooting and walking about in the countryside in all kinds of weather' (PDEI: 231), is an example of a phraseological gap, as it has no equivalent in, for instance, Polish or Italian.

lation is the informational one, which means that the translation tends to be conducted on the utterance level (Dobrowol'skij 2011: 9). Therefore, the translation of a given phraseologism depends on how the unit of translation is treated.

It should be said that the translator aims to find a functional equivalent, which can be either of phraseological or non-phraseological character. Some units which have full equivalents, such as those of biblical origins, may be substituted by a similar target language unit, especially if used canonically. However, it is worth adding that even if the corresponding units exist in the target language, they are the systematic equivalents of given units, which are not the most adequate translation equivalents in all contexts. Taking into consideration the fact that there are units which do not have phraseological equivalents, their equivalents have to be single words or loose strings of lexical items.

It is worth adding that single words do not constitute a homogenous group: while using many of them as translational equivalents means the reduction of imagery conveyed by the source language unit, introducing some words allows for the retention of it. For instance, the Polish idiom has a lexical equivalent *scapegoat* in English, which can be treated as a close equivalent in terms of imagery component (cf. Dobrowol'skij 2011: 12–13).

### 3. Stages of translation of gap units

Translating phraseological units is a very difficult task because of their language properties (Gläser 1984, Naciscione 2001: 199–210) as well as cultural markedness (Mieder 2007; Piirainen 2007, 2008; Szerszunowicz 2011a)<sup>4</sup>. The translation of fossilized expressions, which can be analyzed from various perspectives (Krysztofiak, Kaszyński 2004; Krysztofiak 2011: 170–181; Laskowski 2003: 137–149; Pławski 2006; Rejakowa 1982, 1988, 1994; Taylor 1998: 26–29), is of complex nature. It has a processual character, in which the translator analyzes a given text in order to find the most adequate equivalent of the unit used in the original text.

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<sup>4</sup> Although cultural aspects of phraseology have been discussed by many linguists, adopting various perspectives, the methodological background need to be constantly improved. It is worthy of note that a more rigorous description of culture-boundness of phraseological units has been proposed by Sabban (2008).



According to Ewa Łabno-Fałęcka (1994: 261), the process comprises four stages. The first of them is the identification of a given phraseological unit in the source language, the second consists in analyzing the phraseological meaning, i.e. conducting a source language paraphrase. The next stage is the translation of the phraseological meaning, i.e. target language paraphrase, the last one – the substitution of a phraseological unit in the target language. The stages of the translation process distinguished by Łabno-Fałęcka will be discussed with a special on gap units.

The first step – as stressed by Sabine Fiedler (2007: 121) – is not to be underestimated. Many mistakes, which occur in translations of various kinds of texts result from the fact that translators do not realize that a string of lexical items is fossilized and is used in a figurative sense (cf. Kozłowska 2001). It is especially important in the case of non-equivalent phraseological units, which translators may not associate with any fixed constructions in their mother tongue. Moreover, many of the units are not included in lexicographic sources, which makes it more difficult for the translator to know them.

The analysis of the phraseological meaning consists in expressing it in a non-phraseological way. The translator should analyze the unit contextually, taking into consideration that some units are polysemous. Moreover, there are units which have a complex meaning, encompassing a number of components, like the Polish expression *polskie piekło/piekielko*. The expression, literally translated Polish small hell/Polish hell, means ‘negative characteristics of the Polish, such as envy, self-interest in being patriotic, tendency to complain, the lack of the ability to find a compromise, being quarrelsome’. It is in a given context that the unit gains its concrete meaning, i.e. particular elements are activated.

The analysis is followed by the next step, which is the translation proper, i.e. finding an equivalent. Some units have close equivalents, similar in terms of constituents and structure, while other equivalents employ different imagery. However, in the case of the gaps there are no ready-made equivalents available, i.e. equivalent fixed units do not exist in the target language, which means that the source language units are translated non-phraseologically. They can be translated either by a word (cf. Rejakowa 1994, 1998) or a combination of words.

The final step is the creation of a corresponding text in the target language, i.e. a text which has similar qualities on various planes. In order to analyze the relation, one should refer to the equivalence typology by Werner Koller (1997: 216; 228–272) who distinguishes the following kinds

of equivalents: denotative/referential equivalence, oriented towards the real world, connotative equivalence, referring to stylistic and expressive qualities of a given text, pragmatic equivalence, concerning the communicative effect a given text produces, formal-aesthetic equivalence centred on aesthetic features of a text, text-normative equivalence, focused on the properties of a particular text type. In the case of gap units it is exceptionally difficult to find linguistic means to create a text which is equivalent to the original.

#### 4. Selected techniques of translation of phraseological gaps

Gap units are especially problematic in translation due to a number of factors. First of all, they do not have phraseological equivalents in the target language, which means that their stylistic features as well as some other characteristics, such as evaluative markedness are lost (Szczesunowicz 2010). Second, the meanings of referential gaps are not known, which makes the translation more complicated, as in many cases it is connected with the introduction of elements of cultural knowledge the source language users possess. Moreover, the lack of lexicographic description, especially in bilingual phraseographic works, does not facilitate the work of the translator.

As mentioned before, the translator analyzes the unit of translation, not the occurrence of the idiom on its own. Whether and how the fixed expression is represented in the translation depends on the target language means necessary to realize a given source language unit of translation. In order to translate phraseological units the following techniques can be implemented: literal translation, substitution, innovation, omission. In the case of lacunary units it can be assumed that the loss occurs in the process of translation, irrespective of the technique chosen<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> Bednarczyk (2008: 65) draws attention to the reception of connotations in the source language reader and the target language reader of a given literary text, stating that the simple associations may be identical in the receiver of the original and the translation, while some complex associations are evoked in the receiver of the translation in the reduced form in comparison to those in the native user of the original with some other complex associations evoked only in the native language user. These observations are important for translating intracultural winged words, which are rich in connotations.

#### 4.1. Literal translation

The first technique, which can be implemented to translate the source language phraseological unit of lacunary character, is the literal translation of the fixed combination into the target language. First of all, it should be emphasized that the application of the technique is limited to some contexts only. The receiver of the translation has to be prepared for the effect of foreignness in the text and the context should explain the phrase at least to some extent.

For example, the Polish phrase *Alleluja i do przodu!* is often used in the texts, which refer to its meaning and origins. The unit was coined in the first half of the nineties of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. by the Redemptorist rector doctor Tadeusz Rydzyk, called Father Director by his followers<sup>6</sup>. He is the founder of Radio Maryja – a conservative, anti-post-Communism and pro-life Roman Catholic radio station and media group<sup>7</sup>. The unit was used to finish longer speeches by Father Rydzyk as a phrase supposed to express moral teaching and to encourage his listeners to act. Thanks to its rhetoric value, it summarizes the life attitude promoted by him.

The unit at issue is composed of two parts: *Alleluja* ('Alleluia'), an element of religious language, and *do przodu* ('forwards') of colloquial character. The stylistic contrast between these two parts of the phrase ensures its stylistic attractiveness, which is reflected in its popularity on television, the radio, the Internet as well as in press. On the other hand, a high number of occurrences enhance the familiarity among language users, which is corroborated by numerous modifications.

As mentioned before, the unit is often used in the context which contains some references to its meaning and origins. If set in such a text, the phrase can be translated literally, as in the following excerpt:

Dzieło ojca Tadeusza Rydzyka [...] jest już trwałą duchową własnością Polaków, jego czytelników, ważną częścią polskiej kultury i – co jeszcze

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<sup>6</sup> Father Tadeusz Rydzyk is a person known to the vast majority of Poles, considered by many to be controversial. He is very active: in 1991 he set up the Catholic radio station Radio Maryja and a High School of Social and Medial Culture in the city of Toruń. He has been accused of anti-semitism. In fact, he has both many supporters and many opponents in Poland.

<sup>7</sup> It was founded in the city of Toruń in 1991 by Father Tadeusz Rydzyk. The station was criticised by Polish and international media for misconceived patriotism and using Catholic teaching as a political tool. Since its beginnings it has been at the centre of controversy with both numerous critics and supporters (cf. [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radio\\_Maryja](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radio_Maryja)).

ważniejsze – niezmiennie przypomina o nadziei, której źródłem jest dla nas Chrystus. Dlatego *Alleluja i do przodu!*"

(W. Reszczyński, [www.radiomaryja.pl](http://www.radiomaryja.pl); SPP: 30)

The work of Father Tadeusz Rydzyk [...] is a long-lasting spiritual property of Poles, his readers, an important part of Polish culture – and what is more important – constantly reminds us of hope, the source of which is Christ. Therefore, *Alleluia and forwards!*

What is lost in the process of translation is the fixedness of the unit. In the original the phrase is of idiomatic character, whereas in the translation its meaning is expressed by means of a loose string of words. Therefore, it is also possible – and even advisable – to employ an introducer indicating its fixed character (cf. Čermák 2004; Rozumko 2011). The sentence can be translated, for example, in the following way: Therefore, *Alleluia and forwards*, as the saying coined by Father Rydzyk goes.

#### 4.2. Innovation

Another technique, which can be implemented in order to translate a lacunary unit, is innovation, i.e. the creation of word combination in the target language which has the quality of novelty. From the point of view of the receiver it is a surprising phrase, which can allude to some extent to the unit used in the original. The technique will be illustrated by the example of the Polish phrase *Nie chcem, ale muszem* (lit. I want not, but I have to), known to the vast majority of Poles, is considered to have been coined by Lech Wałęsa, ex-President of Poland. It is used jocularly in a situation when the speaker does not want to do something, but he has to.

In fact, the actual utterance *Nie chcę być prezydentem. Będę musiał być prezydentem* (lit. I don't want to be the President, I will have to be the President) did not constitute a unit likely to become a fixed element of language (Zimny, Nowak 2009: 165). Therefore, it was modified immediately and two characteristics typical of Wałęsa's idiolect were introduced into the phrase, i.e. asynchronic pronunciation of nasal vowels and the predilection for provocative semantic combinations. The unit in its present shape contains two verb forms (*chcem, muszem*) which resemble dialectal variants in terms of phonetics. Therefore, the translation of the phrase is difficult because of both linguistic and cultural reasons (cf. Szerszunowicz 2011b), although it should be admitted that the meaning is relatively easy in terms of translation.

The unit was used in the article about the election of the President of the City Council in Świdnica titled *Nie chcę, ale muszę, czyli jest przewodniczący*,

which can be literally translated as *I don't want to, but I have to, i.e. there's the President*. The phrase also appears in the interview with the newly elected President:

Dlatego wskazanie padło na 70-letniego Michała Ossowskiego, który od dawna chciał na polityczną emeryturę. [...] Powtórzę za prezydentem Wałęsą "Nie chcę, ale muszę" – skwitował wybór Michał Ostrowski.  
([www.swidniczka.com/news,single,zapisz,article,1308](http://www.swidniczka.com/news,single,zapisz,article,1308))

In the English translation an innovation which alludes to the linguistic qualities can be implemented. The defective grammar can be recreated by means of creating incorrect verb forms, as shown below:

That is why a seventy-year-old Michał Ossowski, who had intended to go on a political retirement, was appointed. [...] I will repeat after President Wałęsa, "I wants not, but I has to".

It should be added that the phrase is well grounded in Polish culture and evokes numerous connotations. It is perceived by native language users as one of phrases coined by Wałęsa, belonging to so-called *wałęsizmy*. Therefore, an introductory phrase (cf. Čermák 2004), giving additional information, could appear: [...] *I will repeat after President Wałęsa, famous for his characteristic sayings, "I wants not, but I has to"*. The introduction of such a phrase enables explaining the innovative character of the phrase and provides the information on the origins of the phrase.

#### 4.3. Substitution

In some contexts the substitution of a lacunary phrase can be the best solution. For instance, in such texts in which the cultural connotations are of little importance. The implementation of the technique will be discussed on the example of the Polish unit *moherowe berety* (lit. mohair berets 'a phrase describing persons of extreme right-wing beliefs' (SPP: 154)). Defining the unit more precisely, it can be said that it is a depreciative phrase referring to the elderly or middle-aged persons, who support strongly the beliefs expressed by the conservative-national fraction of the Polish Catholicism, the representatives of which are for instance the media connected with the Redemptorist Father Tadeusz Rydzyk ([www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moherowe\\_berety](http://www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moherowe_berety)).

The unit is motivated by the stereotype of the persons who participate in mass and political meetings, according to which the participants tend to be elderly women wearing berets. The phrase alludes to military lexis

as well: the names, such as red berets and blue berets are names of military formations.

Although the unit is rich in connotations, they are evoked in various texts to a different degree. In the texts in which connotations are not so strong, the unit may be translated by means of substitution. For instance, in the text below the persons described as „mohair berets” are contrasted with families, young couples and teenagers, which means that the dominant element is the age, which, in turn, may be associated with loneliness and the tendency to be sanctimonious.

Tymczasem zaczyna się msza. Stali uczestnicy, wiedząc, że będzie tłok, przywieźli składane krzeselka. Nie można powiedzieć, że przyjechały same moherowe berety. Są całe rodziny. Są młode małżeństwa, nastolat-kowie. (NKJP: *To nie są ręce, które leczą*, „Życie Podkarpackie”, 19.03.20088)

The above excerpt is an example of a text, in which it is possible to translate the phrase by substituting it with a loose string of words.

At the same time the mass begins. Regular participants, knowing that there will be a crowd, brought folded chairs with them. One cannot say that only elderly devotees came. There are whole families. There are young couples and teenagers.

The substitution allows for the creation of a corresponding text in terms of semantics. The contrast between different age groups is retained. As connotations do not play such an important role as in other contexts, it seems that the technique is adequate. It should be admitted that translation loss is observed on the stylistic plane.

#### 4.4. Omission

The last technique of translation of lacunary units is omission, which consists in excluding the unit from the translated text. It should be admitted that the implementation of the technique results in translation loss. Yet, in some context not including a given lacunary phrase may be an adequate method. It can be implemented if the translation of the unit, due to its complicated character, is likely to create problems in the reception of the translation.

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<sup>8</sup> The healing practice of Father Józef Witko is presented in this text. [www.zycie.pl/informacje.php?region=Inny&nr=559](http://www.zycie.pl/informacje.php?region=Inny&nr=559) [4.08.2012].

In the text selected for the analysis the unit Polish *Polak potrafi*, literally a Pole can [do it], is used. The phrase carries a double evaluation, which reflects the autostereotype of Poles who evaluate themselves positively in terms of personal qualities (brave, proud, intelligent, educated, wise), at the same time assess themselves critically in the existential aspect (laziness, profligacy, irregularity) (Bartmiński 2003: 73). The evaluative potential of the unit at issue is used in two headlines<sup>9</sup>. The first of them contains the phrase as a carrier of positive evaluation:

*Polak potrafi – łazik marsjański Magma na pudle*

Netia gratuluje sukcesu drużynie Magmy. Skonstruowany przez polskich studentów łazik marsjański Magma stanął na podium prestiżowych międzynarodowych zawodów University Rover Challenge. Ekipa, której głównym sponsorem jest Netia, zajęła wysokie, trzecie miejsce.

(<http://www.telix.pl/artukul/polak-potrafi-lazik-marsjanski-magma-na-pudle-3,34866.html>)

*A Pole can do it – a Mars rover on the box*

Netia congratulates the Magma team on their success. The Mars rover constructed by the Polish students climbed the podium at the prestigious international University Rover Challenge competition. The team, whose main sponsor was Netia, won the high third place.

The other text exploits the unit discussed used to convey a strongly negative evaluation. The function of the phrase is to show how ridiculous the behaviour of a farmer was.

*Polak potrafi, czyli absurdy 2009*

Pięćdziesięcioletni rolnik Marek D., wracając z ciężkiej pracy na polu, nie poniósł pługą. W rezultacie jego rodzinna wieś Glinny Stok na Lubelszczyźnie straciła 40 metrów drogi. Rolnikowi udało się „położyć skibę” takiej długości na wiejskiej asfaltowej szosie. Mężczyzna nie potrafił wyjaśnić zdumionym policjantom, dlaczego zerwał asfalt z drogi. Wyjaśniło to badanie trzeźwości. Rolnik miał prawie trzy promile alkoholu we krwi. Straty są dopiero szacowane. Rolnik odpowie teraz za zniszczenie drogi i za jazdę w stanie nietrzeźwości. Będzie też musiał pokryć koszty naprawy zdewastowanej drogi. (www.polakpotrafi.pl.)

<sup>9</sup> The example was discussed by J. Szerszunowicz in a presentation titled *The autostereotype reflected in phraseological units as a translation problem. Polak potrafi: a case study*. The focal issue was how the presence of lack of the stereotype of a Pole affects the translation technique in each case. The presentation was delivered at Colloque International de Parémiologie “Tous les chemins mènent à Paris Diderot”, 29.06-2.07.2011, Paris.



*A Pole can, i.e. Absurds of 2009*

A fifty-year-old farmer Marek D., coming back after hard work on the field, did not lift the plough. As a result, the village of Glinny Stok in the region of Lubelszczyzna lost 40 metres of road. The farmer managed to "leave ridges" of such a length on the asphalt country road. The man could not explain to the surprised policemen why he tore asphalt off the road. It was explained by the BAC test. The farmer had a blood alcohol level of almost 0.3 per cent. The damage is being estimated. The farmer will be held liable for the road damage and for drunk driving. He will have to cover the costs of the repair of the destroyed road.

Both titles are composed of two parts, which can be clearly distinguished: *Polak potrafi / łazik marsjański Magma na pudle; Polak potrafi / absurdy 2009*. Therefore, the omission of the first part results in the creation of two phrases, which are acceptable as headlines.

The translation of the phrase in both cases is difficult due to a number of reasons. First of them is the connotative potential of the unit and its double evaluation, which is context-dependent. Another is the brevity of the headline, which makes it hardly possible to include a descriptive phrase in it. It should be admitted that the omission of the phrase causes the loss on the stylistic plane, which should be compensated for in the body of the text.

## 5. Conclusions

The properties of phraseological units make them elements which are important for the text, its meaning and stylistics. Therefore, finding adequate means of translating them is particularly important. Among all group of equivalents the units of lacunary character seem to be the most problematic group: first, they may not be perceived by the translation as fixed phrases; second, they do not have phraseological equivalents, which means that they have to be translated by means of either words or a combination of words created ad hoc for the needs of the translation.

The translator faced with such a unit has to conduct a multi-aspectual analysis of translation unit to choose the most adequate translation technique. The translation of a particular phraseological unit in a given text tends to depend on how the translation unit is realized in the target language. As to the choice of the translation technique of the lacunary idiom, it is context-dependent: in some texts the literal translation is the most effective method, in others – innovation, substitution or omission. Addi-

tionally, some intra- or extratextual amplifications can be introduced into the text to facilitate its comprehension in the target readers.

To sum up, it should be emphasized that in the contrastive perspective the phenomenon of lacunarity is bound to be connected with loss, which in the case of translation should be compensated for by means of some other elements. Therefore, although the translation of absolute gap units is extremely difficult, all efforts have to be made to lessen the effect of loss in the translated text.

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## Luki frazeologiczne w przekładzie

### STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł poświęcony jest tłumaczeniu lakunarnych jednostek frazeologicznych, tzn. stałych połączeń wyrazowych, które nie mają frazeologicznych odpowiedników w języku przekładu. Autorka omawia zjawisko lakunarności na tle ekwiwalencji międzyjęzykowej i charakteryzuje etapy procesu tłumaczenia związków frazeologicznych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem luk absolutnych, zarówno językowych, jak i referencyjnych. Następnie przedstawia takie techniki tłumaczenia idiomów bezekwiwalentnych, jak: tłumaczenie dosłowne, substytucja, innowacja i opuszczenie. Materiałem ilustracyjnym są wybrane polskie idiomatyczne połączenia wyrazowe.



4.

Literature /  
Cultural Studies /  
Education & Phraseology





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## **Cultural Impacts on Comprehension of Known Words at Phrase Level**

**ABSTRACT:** In learning English as a second or foreign language, one obstacle facing learners is that there are single words and multiword lexical units that, mistakenly, they think they know. Believing that words carry certain meanings, learners may frequent a comfort zone and progress to interpret the text based on perceived knowledge or/and experience. Another possible hindrance to their learning is that the meanings of words could be culturally bound. The English monolingual learners' dictionaries (MLD) are the common reference books these students consult when in need. This study explores how cultural characteristics of a particular linguistic group (non-native learners of English) impact its comprehension of multiword units. The findings indicate that phraseological units pose problems to this group of students. It is suggested that MLD could offer help by giving phraseological units a more fundamental role in the dictionaries than in the past – as headwords, with definitions and illustrative examples.

**KEY WORDS:** *phraseology, monolingual learners' dictionaries, culture, mental association, English as a second / foreign language*

### **1. Introduction**

In learning English as a second or foreign language (ESL/EFL), one obstacle that learners face is that there are single words and multiword lexical units that they think they know (Laufer 1997). Believing that words carry certain meanings, learners may frequent a comfort zone and progress to interpret the text based on perceived knowledge or/and expe-

rience. In such circumstances, they may misinterpret the text where the words are used.

Even though non-native learners (NNL) of English may recognize a word in its single word form, they may still misconstrue the meaning when the word is used in combination with another to form phrasemes such as compounds, phrasal verbs or idioms. The non-compositionality characteristic of phrasemes, which is fundamental to the study of phraseology, could obstruct learners' understanding of the text. Granger and Paquot (2008: 31) explain, "A lexical item is said to be non-compositional if its global meaning is different from the sum of its individual parts". In other words, constituents that are present in compounds (in solid, hyphenated or open form), phrasal verbs and idioms usually cannot be referred to for understanding or predicting the meaning of the whole. For example, the meaning of the compound *monkey business* does not imply doing business with the animal, while the phrasal verb *horse around* meaning "to play in a very lively or rough way" (Macmillan Dictionary of English 2007) carries no meaning from either the noun *horse*, or the adverb *around*. As for the idiom *to chase the dragon*, the expression does not literally mean running after the mythical animal but "to take the drug heroin, by smoking it" (Cambridge Dictionaries Online). Although all the words that made up the three sample phrasemes are from general vocabulary, the phraseological units that they form are not as transparent as most NNL of English might assume.

Another possible hindrance the NNL of English might face in understanding the meaning of such multiword units could be rooted in one's culture – both the learners' and the native English speakers'. For example, some animals, such as dolphins, enjoy a positive, straightforward or universal appeal suggesting intelligence and gregariousness; however, this may not be the case with the legendary dragon. The association or imagery that the animal evokes may vary according to people's cultural backgrounds. Another example: while most Chinese would pride themselves as 'sons of the dragon', this legendary animal is very often depicted in European folklore as being slain by heroic knights to save a princess or a kingdom. In short, words can be culturally bound; Dalgish (1995) argues that deceptively transparent cultural-loading words might create many problems of English in reading comprehension for NNL who are unaware of the nuance(s) of such words.

When learners feel the need to look up meanings of words, dictionaries are the common tool they will use. The most popular typology of

dictionaries serving the NNL of English is the monolingual learners' dictionaries (MLDs). Since Hornby's *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (1948), five other publishers have issued such a typology of dictionary to serve a large number of potential users. Indeed, in the past three decades, MLDs have undergone tremendous changes to match users' demands based on data collected from research disciplines including pedagogical lexicography, computing technology and needs analyses. Most of the MLDs have been bilingualized to serve particular linguistic groups. For example, except for the *Merriam-Webster's Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (1<sup>st</sup> edition 2008), all the MLDs have published bilingualized English-Chinese versions such as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's English-Chinese Dictionary* (7<sup>th</sup> edition 2008). The bilingualized version of the MLD offers both the original features of the English dictionary and those which are usually given in a bilingual dictionary, including translation equivalents of headwords and/or examples (Hartmann & James 1998).

To adapt the dictionary further to meet the needs of a particular linguistic group of NNL of English, lexicographers have been adding information and features which local users of the dictionary find valuable. Generally, these include usage notes giving information on distinctive common language errors found among a particular linguistic group of NNL of English, and pictorial illustrations which show culturally specific items of the target-language speakers which learners may not share or comprehend.

This paper discusses findings of an empirical study aimed at investigating the impact of cultural characteristics of a particular linguistic group of NNL of English on their comprehension of multiword units. The findings will be used to inform what current MLDs can include to provide assistance to this group of learners in acquiring the language. This paper adopts the notion of polylexicality as the base of a phraseological unit; hence, here, open compounds, phrasal verbs and idioms will be recognised as phrasemes.

## 2. Research design

This study postulates that language learners' cultural distinctions may impact their comprehension of known words appearing as constituents in multiword lexemes such as compounds, phrasal verbs and idioms of the target language. The target linguistic subject group is made up of Hong

Kong Chinese<sup>1</sup> university students who would have studied English either as a subject at school (since kindergarten) or completed their schooling by studying learning through English<sup>2</sup>.

The twelve Chinese auspicious animals were selected for the test because they would be familiar to the subjects and these animals should entail some cultural association among them. In Chinese custom, every calendar year is represented by an animal and the twelve animals presented form a cycle, like the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Everybody is born to a calendrical animal attachment and the traits of the animals are customarily used to predict, describe and/or explain the personality, behaviour and fate of a person.

The choice of multiword lexemes for this paper was restricted by several factors:

- (1) The phrasemes contain the word, which is one of the twelve auspicious Chinese animals
- (2) Meanings of the phrasemes are not transparent for students to interpret since the focus of the test is to check if students' mental association to the animal(s) would impact their interpretation of the multiword units
- (3) The phrasemes are presented in a monolingual learner's dictionary

The study intends to reveal the mental associations formed by a particular linguistic group to the target animals and to examine if the form(s) of association the subjects demonstrated affect(s) their understanding of the phrases where the word (the name of the animal) is a constituent. Year-one and year-two students who are studying at a university in Hong Kong were asked to complete a questionnaire in their respective English language classes. Only answers from Hong Kong students of ethnic Chinese background were included and 204 questionnaires were collected for analysis. Data were then tallied for comparison.

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<sup>1</sup> The Chinese language encompasses many varieties and Hong Kong Chinese people mostly speak one called Cantonese. Although syntactically the writing system is uniform throughout the country, the Hong Kong official Chinese orthographic system is different from the standard in mainland China.

<sup>2</sup> The English language is regarded as one of the two official languages in Hong Kong but its use is mainly confined to education, government and some business sectors. Schools using English as a medium of instruction should use the language to teach content-subjects such as mathematics and science.

The first set of questions was designed to discover students' impressions of certain animals. The animals chosen were the twelve auspicious Chinese animals and the aim of these questions was to examine if the subjects' cultural traits have any influence on the association they form with the animals. The animals were presented in random order, masked by dummy animal choices. The twelve Chinese animals include cock, cow, dog, dragon, horse, monkey, pig, rabbit, rat, sheep, snake and tiger; and the four dummies are dolphin, lion, cat and bear. The second set of questions asked students if they could recognize phrases which were formed with the name of each animal. Each auspicious Chinese animal appeared in two separate phrases and students were asked to check if they knew, or did not know the meaning of the phrases. The third set of questions tested students' comprehension of the phrases when used in sentences. Students were asked if they agreed with the statement provided.

The focuses for analysis include:

- (1) Are there some animals that are predisposed to elicit positive, negative or neutral responses by people of a particular cultural background?
- (2) Do students' choices indicated in the first set of questions on animal connotation affect students' choices of answers in the third set of questions?

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Question One

The twelve Chinese auspicious animals and four other dummies were listed in a table in random order and students were asked to assign numbers 1-3 to indicate the association they form to the animals with #1= positive, #2=negative and #3=neutral. Similar to the result in the pilot trial with 76 students of comparable background, the dragon received the top positive association of 67.6% (82.2% in the pilot test). The snake scored the highest negative association with 77.5%, followed by the rat at 74%. In the pilot test, it was the rat that obtained the highest negative association with a 69.7%, and the snake ranked second with a 68.4%. Selective scores of the animals with highest positive, negative and neutral associations are as follows:

**Table 1. Names of the three animals ranked top in the three mental associations offered in Question One – positive, negative and neutral. n=204**

Associations and ranking	Animal names	Responses collected in percentage
<i>With positive association</i>		
Ranked 1 <sup>st</sup>	Dolphin*	82.4%
Ranked 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Dragon	67.6%
Ranked 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Horse and Rabbit	62.3%
<i>With negative association</i>		
Ranked 1 <sup>st</sup>	Snake	77.5%
Ranked 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Rat	74%
Ranked 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Pig	49.5%
<i>With neutral association</i>		
Ranked 1 <sup>st</sup>	Cock	52.5%
Ranked 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Bear*	47.1%
Ranked 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Sheep and Tiger	39.2%

\*Dummy animals used in the question

### 3.2. Question Two

Students were presented with phrases which included the twelve Chinese animals in random order and they were asked to indicate if they knew the phrase or not by checking the box *Yes* or *No*. Each animal appeared in two different phrases as a constituent; for example, the dog appeared in two phrases – *a dog's dinner* and *to turn out to be a real dog*. In general, students appeared to be unfamiliar with the phrasemes presented in the task. The average percentage of all the phrases receiving 'don't know the meaning' was 78.9%. Relatively more students said they recognised the phrases with tiger and sheep. 65.2% of students responded that they knew the phrase *to fight like a tiger* and 84.3% recognised *a paper tiger*. Around 49% of students said they knew the phrase *like sheep* and it was 29.4% with the phrase *to separate the sheep from the goats*. The rest of the phrases generally recorded low recognition results with the two lowest at 4.9% and they were *to buy a pig in a poke* and *to rabbit on about something or somebody*. With the phrases containing the mythical animal dragon, 77.9% of students responded that they did not know the phrase *dragon lady* and 79.9% did not recognise the phrase *chase the dragon*.

### 3.3. Question Three

The Pearson Chi-Square test was conducted to examine if there was any difference in students' answers in Q.3 if they answered that they *know* or *did not know* the phrases presented in Q.2. For example, if students answered they knew the phrase *from the horse's mouth* in Q.2, the study examined if these students chose the correct remark *Agrees* with the statement in Q.3:

Jane definitely obtained the result *from the horse's mouth* on that question.

- She probably would get the right answer.       Agrees    Disagrees

The test was conducted with the three animals scoring for highest positive and three for highest negative associations in Q.1. The results indicated that there was no significant difference (all p-values are greater than 0.05) between students who answered they knew the meaning of the phrases shown in Q.2 and the accuracy of their answers in Q.3. Thus, students' perception of knowing or not knowing the phrases in Q.2 had no correlation with the chance of their obtaining the right answers in Q.3. Hence, students' answers obtained from Q.3 will be treated collectively in the following analysis.

Q.3 required students to indicate whether or not the two statements given to them in each sub-question agreed with each other. In general, the first statement contained the tested phraseme and the statement either presented, or commented on, a situation; the second statement was a remark on the first. While the first statement used words which were unmarked with an aim not to provide any contextual clues to students, the remark given in the second tried to stay positive to avoid students drawing any inferences. For example:

The final year students *made a pig's ear* of their assignment.

- They would be awarded a good grade.       Agrees    Disagrees

The high percentage of students answering that they did not know this phrase in Q.2 did not correlate with the findings shown in Question 3. The average correct percentage point of the 24 sets of sub-questions in Q.3 was 63.4%. The data thus demonstrated that while three quarters of the phrases were apparently unknown to students, almost two-thirds of the answers in Q.3 were correct.

### 3.4. Question One and Three

One of the questions this study set to investigate was whether the positive or negative associations students formed in Q.1 had any correlation



with their answers in Q.3. Based on the data received, regarding the three animals with the highest ranking of negative associations found in Q.1, results obtained were relatively more consistent when compared to the three animals with highest ranking of positive association. The majority of students attached a negative inference when they answered all six sub-questions in Q.3 which contained the animals snake, rat and pig.

**Table 2. Names of the three animals ranking highest in negative association in Q.1 and students' answers to the six sub-questions with the same three animals as constituents in Q.3**

Animals with the highest negative association	The percentage of students forming this association	The sentences in which the phrase appeared	The percentage of students answering <i>Disagrees</i>
Snake	77.5%	That scientist is certainly <i>a snake in the grass</i> among his colleagues. ▪ He is popular.	79.9%
		Joan bought a <i>snake oil</i> treatment. ▪ Her doctor at the hospital supported it.	75%
		Disagreeing with both phrases	61.8%
Rat	74%	Mr Wong is an honest man. ▪ He will support a friend who <i>rats</i> on his promise.	66.2%
		He <i>smells a rat</i> in the business deal. ▪ He will invest more money.	64.7%
		Disagreeing with both phrases	44.1%
Pig	49.5%	To Mr Chan, buying the house was like <i>buying a pig in a poke</i> . ▪ He examined the house carefully before paying for it.	62.9%
		The final year students <i>made a pig's ear</i> of their assignment. ▪ They would be awarded a good grade.	72.5%
		Disagreeing with both phrases	45.6%

As regards the three animals ranking highest in positive association, there seems to be an agreement in the positive association formed of the

rabbit and the positive supposition of the two statements with the animal in Q.3. In both statements with the rabbit, the majority of students gave an approving answer. An average of 44.1% of students gave a position supposition to both statements with the phrases *pulled a rabbit out of the hat* and *rabbit on*.

However, this was not the case with the horse. This animal was perceived to be positive by the majority of students in Q.1. However, the conclusions of the majority of the students formed with the two statements *horse around* and *from the horse's mouth* in Q.3 were both disapproving. Hence, the results recorded conflicted with the supposition of this test that students might follow the mental associations they have formed with a particular animal to guess the meaning of unknown phrases with the animal being a constituent.

Answers obtained from the two Q.3 sub-questions with the dragon were inconclusive. A great majority of students (75.2%) thought a *dragon lady* had admirable traits, thus suggesting that these students were following their positive association formed with the animal as revealed in Q.1. However, only 38.4% of students followed this pattern of offering a positive supposition to the statement which contained the phrase *chase the dragon*.

**Table 3. Names of the three animals ranking highest in positive association in Q.1 and students' answers to the six sub-questions with the same three animals as constituents in Q.3**

Animals with the highest positive association	The number of students forming this association (percentage)	The sentences which the phrase appeared in	The percentage of students answering <i>Agrees</i>
Dragon	138 (67.6%)	<i>Chasing the dragon</i> was popular among villagers living in this area in the past. ▪ The villagers had a healthy life.	38.4%
		Judy is a <i>dragon lady</i> . ▪ Her staff finds her highly admirable.	75.2%
		Agreeing with both phrases	31.9%

Horse	127 (62.3%)	Jane definitely obtained the result <i>from the horse's mouth</i> on that question.	38.9%
		▪ She probably would get the right answer.	
		The little boy fell off while <i>horsing around</i> on the merry-go-round in the park.	36%
		▪ The merry-go-round had a mechanical problem.	
		Agreeing with both phrases	12.6%
Rabbit	127 (62.3%)	With no money remaining for her work, she <i>pulled a rabbit out of the hat</i> at semester's end.	57.1%
		▪ She skilfully announced the closure of the project to everyone	
		Mr. Wong would <i>rabbit on</i> about his political views with his neighbour.	64%
		▪ He would talk about politics indirectly.	
		Agreeing with both phrases	44.1%

#### 4. Discussion

The first matter this study seeks to investigate is to determine whether there is a predisposition of animals' association among people of a particular cultural background. While it is safe to assume that the dolphin enjoys a universal acceptance as a gregarious and loving animal, and hence it scored highest in positive association in the test, the high score that the dragon received could have been culture-specific. The *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2003) has the following description of the dragon:

Legendary monster usually conceived as a huge, bat-winged, fire-breathing, scaly lizard or snake with a barbed tail.... In Greece the word *drakōn*, from which the English word was derived, was used originally for any large serpent ...whatever shape it later assumed, remained essentially a snake. In general, in the Middle Eastern world, where snakes are large and deadly, the serpent or dragon was symbolic of the principle of evil. ...

The Chinese dragon, *lung* (*q.v.*), represented yang, the principle of heaven, activity, and maleness in the yin-yang (*q.v.*) of Chinese cosmology. From ancient times, it was the emblem of the Imperial family ...

The excerpt presented here illustrates two contradicting images of the dragon – a monster which symbolizes the principle of evil and a representation of the principle of heaven (yang), enjoying both divinity and supremacy of earthly power. The primal root of the dragon that most Chinese people share is undoubtedly positive, in accord with the latter part of the description. According to *Shuowen Jiezi* (說文解字), one of the most important reference sources for the study of ancient Chinese published in 100 A.D. in China, the dragon was the leader of all animals with scales, having the power to make the land bright or dark. In addition to its association with leadership and power, the dragon has been the source domain of many Chinese idioms, proverbs, folklore and cultural festivities, comparable to the impact of taurine phraseology in Spanish which is “an all-pervasive reality in the minds of Spanish speakers” (Pirainen 2008: 216). Many Chinese would refer to themselves as descendants of the dragon; all the emperors in Chinese history were considered to be the dragon’s representation on earth, holding both supreme divinity and earthly power; the dragon is the emblem for royalty, etc. The word 龍 dragon generally evokes positive images and/or connotations in the Chinese language. For example, in a book on Chinese idioms published by Hong Kong Commercial Press (2010), of the nineteen idioms presented with dragon as a constituent, twelve, such as, 龍馬精神 (dragon horse vigour, to mean full of vigour) and, 龍鳳呈祥 (dragon phoenix bringing peace/prosperity) carry positive connotations. In the remaining seven idioms, the animal represents the positive component of the phrase and is used to make a contrast with other animals, such as, a snake 蛇, which is always used to represent the dark side of the universe. For example, the idiom 龍蛇混雜 literally means ‘a mix of dragons and snakes’, its figurative meaning describing a situation with a mix of good (dragon) and bad (snake) people. In this article, although the dragon was presented orthographically in English (a representation of Western culture), the semantic interpretation of the animal shown by the subjects followed a Chinese root. The top ranking the dragon received in terms of positive association among the twelve auspicious animals in Q.1 exemplifies the Hong Kong Chinese subjects’ reverence for this animal.

The second question this research asks is whether students might follow the mental associations they have formed with a particular animal

when they are conjecturing the meaning of unknown phrases, with the animal being a phrase constituent. The aim of Q.2 was to differentiate phrases that students might or might not know to facilitate the investigation of students' mental associations with unknown phrases. Students were informed of the research purpose of the test and there was no vested interest in providing any particular answer on their part, therefore no reason existed to question the genuineness of their answers. The data indicated that the phrases selected were mostly unknown to the subject students with a high average of 78.9% of students answering that they did not know the phrases. Since the Pearson Chi-Square result indicating students' perceptions of knowing or not knowing the phrases in Q.2 had no correlation with the chance of them obtaining the right answers in Q.3, all the phrases are treated as unknown to the subject students in the following discussion.

With this understanding as the backdrop, it is reasonable to suppose that in order for students to tackle the sub-questions asked in Q.3, they would have to apply certain foreign language learning strategies and employ their own knowledge (general, world, cultural, etc.) and/or personal experiences. Since all the sentences formed with the tested phrases in Q.3 were unmarked and void of linguistic clues for drawing inferences, as intended in the design of the questions of this paper, it should be possible to trace the impact of mental association formed with the animals to the students' choices of answers in Q.3. Indeed, high correlations were found with the three animals snake, rat and pig having the highest negative mention association in Q.1 and in the students' answers in Q.3 (refer to Table 2).

An agreement in the positive association and supposition of the two statements on the animal rabbit may also be drawn. Similar agreement could also be identified with the dragon and the statement formed with the phrase a *dragon lady*. Indeed, the impact of mental association on subjects' choices of answers was most profound in the statement containing a *dragon lady*. The statement was 'Judy is a *dragon lady*', and students were asked to state whether they agreed or disagreed with the remark 'her staff finds her highly admirable'. With 77.9% of students saying that they did not know the phrase and 75.2% agreeing with the remark, it is logical to infer there was a transfer of positive association that students formed with the animal dragon to the personality trait that they thought, incorrectly, signified a *dragon lady*.

Such transference, however, did not occur with the phrase *chase the dragon* presented in Q.3. The statement given was 'Chasing the dragon was popular among villagers living in this area in the past' and students were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the remark 'the villagers had a healthy life'. The majority of students chose the correct answer by disagreeing with the remark, thus rendering only 38.4% of respondents accepting the positive association formed with the animal. With no obvious contextual clue or words used in the two sentences that might have conjured a negative figurative image, it might be possible that some students in fact knew the meaning of the phrase *chase the dragon*. The phrase was rooted in Hong Kong in the 1950s and in Cantonese. The phrase 追龍, literally meaning chasing the dragon, refers to a form of smoking heroin by inhaling the vapours resulting from when the drug is heated – typically on tin-foil above a flame (Strang et.al. 1997). The vapours are compared to a dragon moving in the air and the inhaler will 'chase the dragon' in the drug-consuming process. Metaphorically, the dragon here may mean that the euphoric high the inhaler intends to pursue with the drug. Such a form of heroin taking or drug-taking in general has undergone major changes since the 1950s, and the use of the term has gradually diminished in the local community. While it would be rather surprising for students to recall the term and know its English form, it was also odd that they could not identify the term when it appeared in isolation in Q.2, with 79.9% of the respondents saying they did not know the term. In fact, many similar cases were found in the overall results obtained when answers from Q.2 and Q.3 were compared. The data demonstrated that while three quarters of the phrases were unknown to students, as indicated in answers for Q.2, almost two-thirds of the answers in Q.3 were correct. Students seemed to experience a mental block when phrases were presented to them in isolation, which is in fact the usual way that phrasemes are shown under the headword concerned in dictionaries. However, when the 'unknown' phrases were presented in complete sentences as in Q.3, a high success rate of students correctly interpreting the meaning of the phrasemes was recorded. When sentences in Q.3 were unmarked and provided no contextual clues, one of the possible reasons why students had a higher success rate of obtaining the right answers when the phrasemes are presented in complete sentences is that the textual environment helps students utilize their tacit knowledge necessary for conceptualization or comprehension of the phrasemes. This is a valid point that should draw the attention of lexicographers in presenting phrasemes in dictionar-

ies. In the case of *chasing the dragon*, it is possible that the phrase 'a healthy life' used in the remark might have prompted students to recall hearing the term in Chinese and they thereafter followed this contextual clue, or hunch, and chose the right answer.

Results received with the two phrases relating to the horse are intriguing. The animal was perceived to be positive by the majority of students in Q.1, however, the conjecture the majority of the students formed with the two statements *horse around*, and, *from the horse's mouth* in Q.3 resulted in disapproval. The two sub-questions are as follows:

(1) Jane definitely obtained the result *from the horse's mouth* on that question.

- She probably would get the right answer.       Agrees  Disagrees

(2) The little boy fell off while *horsing around* on the merry-go-round in the park.

- The merry-go-round had a mechanical problem.  Agrees  Disagrees

One may suggest that 'the little boy' used in the second statement might have conjured an image of an active or rascally young child playing riotously on the merry-go-round, and therefore students decided to blame him for the accident instead of a mechanical problem as suggested. However, the girl's name *Jane* and the nouns *results* and *questions* found in the statement are unmarked. One comment received on the phrase *from the horse's mouth* was that the mouth of a horse is an unpleasant sight and it could be that a negative association is formed because of the mouth of the animal.

## 5. Conclusion

The existing data provide inconclusive evidence to determine whether students might confirm the mental associations they have formed with a particular animal to guess the meaning of unknown phrases when the animal is used as a constituent. There were cases such as in a *dragon lady* and a *snake in the grass* which confirm such a prediction, but there are other cases as in *horse around* and *chase the dragon* that contradict it. More data are needed to determine how students arrived at their decisions on questions in Q.3. A post-test interview of some subjects and adopting an



oral-protocol to collect instant feedback while students are working on the questions are some of the future possibilities. However, both methods can be labour- and time-intensive and thus the subject size might have to be reduced. It is clear, however, that there is a pattern of mental associations formed with the twelve chosen animals among Hong Kong Chinese subjects, with the animal dragon ranking as the top most positive. The result could be verified by presenting the same set of animals to subjects of different ethnic and cultural origins.

## 6. Implications for MLDs compilers

A pedagogical concern regarding how NNL learners of English might misinterpret multiword units compounded with simple words was raised in the introduction of this paper. Such misunderstanding has a higher chance of occurrence when students know the single form of the words which constitute the phrasemes, and use that knowledge as the basis to form their understanding of the multiword unit. In this study, this supposition was tested with phrasemes which were made of simple words and names of twelve selected animals. The test results reveal that students' mental associations with the animals have certain effects on their interpretations of the unknown phrasemes. In other words, students' inferences of unknown multiword units have been shaped by their understanding of words in their single word forms. NNL of English should be made aware of such erroneous interpretation. One possible suggestion is to include the teaching of the basic principles of phraseology in structured EFL/ESL curricula. English dictionaries for NNL of English like the MLD could also offer help in this area through expanding the dictionary coverage of multiword units and making the information accessible to users. Moon (2008: 338) asserts that

Particularly crucial is the function of phraseological information in relation to the needs and interests of the target users. The lexicological task here is to second-guess what users might want to know about the phraseology of an individual lemma, form, or sense, as well as identifying which patterns to record.

The target users of the MLD are advanced learners of English and it is reasonable to suppose that this level of students would have needs to seek



information of words beyond their simple and single forms. For example, the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (8<sup>th</sup> edition, 2010) has recorded three senses for the headword horse as a noun, giving definitions, examples and cross-reference information which take up a total of ten lines of the left-hand column of the dictionary. Under the same headword, idioms (*straight*) *from the horse's mouth*, *hold your horses*, *horses for courses*, *a one, two, three*, etc. *horse race*, *you can lead /take a horse to water, but you can't make it drink*; and the phrasal verbs *horse about/around* are listed with definitions, some with style labels and cross-references, but none of them offers any illustrative examples. While it is debatable that example sentences like *He mounted his horse and rode off* (sense 1) and *He lost a lot of money on the horses* (sense 2) are essential references for learners at an advanced English language proficiency level, a similar doubt applies to the collocation information *mount* and *ride* given for horses. Instead, the space would have been better used to provide exemplifications of non-transparent idioms such as (*straight*) *from the horse's mouth*, *hold your horses*, *horses for courses*, *a one, two, three*, etc. *horse race* and the phrasal verbs *horse about/around*. These phraseemes are more likely to pose problems to this group of learners, with the difficulty of the first idiom and the phrasal verb being proven in our test. The same dictionary gives the compound *monkey business* only a phrasal definition and style labels; similar information is given for *snake oil* but with a phrasal example, *a snake-oil salesman*, this time to provide collocation information. *Dragon lady* is neither presented as a compound nor as a headword in the dictionary; instead, its meaning is given in sense two of the headword *dragon* as follows:

**Dragon 2.** (*disapproving, especially BrE*) a woman who behaves in an aggressive and frightening way

If students read *a dragon lady* in a text and decide to look it up from this dictionary, they will need to apply some association to connect the meaning offered in sense two of the headword *dragon* to the compound *dragon lady*.

Granger and Meunier (2008: xx) assert that “phraseology is now taking centre stage in a wide range of fields, from natural language processing to foreign language teaching” and its development necessitates changes from related disciplines like pedagogical lexicography to complement it. There is a growing need for MLDs to review their decisions on the functions that phraseological units serve in their target users’ acquisition of

the English language. While including collocation information in MLDs in recent years is a step toward the proposed direction, a paradigm shift with phraseological units playing a more fundamental role in the dictionaries than in the past – as headwords, with definitions and illustrative examples – would be desirable. The advent of computing technology in lexicography has allowed the space that offers lexicographers unprecedented freedom to diversify and specialise the product. The one-size-fits-all MLD model is out-dated and the future of the dictionary centres on the concept of ‘customisation and personalisation’ (Rundell 2010). On this note and following the findings of this paper, in addition to bilingualizing MLDs, the dictionaries could provide elaborate support on phrasemes which have been found to be problematic for Hong Kong Chinese learners of English.

This paper does not intend to generalise the knowledge and ability of Hong Kong Chinese in recognising multiword units, nor does it mean to stereotype the subjects’ inferences on the twelve chosen animals based on their ethnic and linguistic identities. Within the limitations of this research study, the test design and subject size, there are findings indicating that phraseological units pose problems to this group of NNL of English who are at advanced English proficiency level. MLDs with target users at the same proficiency level could offer support by including more information on phrasemes other than collocation which can be seen abundantly in most current MLDs.

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## Wpływ kultury na rozumienie jednostek frazeologicznych

### STRESZCZENIE

Przeprowadzone badanie empiryczne miało na celu zbadanie wpływu cech kulturowych wybranej grupy językowej, tj. uczących się języka angielskiego jako obcego, na ich rozumienie wielowyrazowych kombinacji. Test przeprowadzono w grupie studentów uniwersytetu o tym samym pochodzeniu, aby wskazać skojarzenia, jakie u respondentów wywołują wybrane nazwy zwierząt. Ankieta również badała, czy skojarzenia respondentów wpływały na ich rozumienie wyrażeń zawierających terminy fauniczne. Zebrane dane pozwalają na sformułowanie pewnych wniosków. Skojarzenia, jakie u studentów wywołują nazwy zwierząt, wpływają na ich interpretację nieznanych frazeologizmów. Innymi słowy, rozumienie poszczególnych słów może mieć wpływ na interpretację połączeń wyrazowych. Wyniki badania wykazały, że respondenci byli w stanie zrozumieć nieznanne połączenia wyrazowe we względnie dużym stopniu, jeśli wielowyrazowe jednostki były elementami zdań. Jednym z czynników, które przyczyniły się do tego, mógł być fakt, że otoczenie tekstowe pomogło studentom wykorzystać ich wiedzę konieczną do konceptualizacji koniecznej dla zrozumienia tych

wyrażeń. Autorka zaleca uwzględnianie w większym stopniu jednostek frazeologicznych w słownikach języka angielskiego. Obecnie informacje o frazeologizmach, na przykład o kolokacjach, są liczne w większości tych opracowań leksykograficznych, jednak proponuje się, aby stałym połączeniom wyrazowym poświęcić więcej uwagi – powinny się one pojawiać jako osobne hasła, z definicjami i przykładami. Taka informacja, jak pokazuje niniejsze badanie, jest konieczna dla nierodzimych użytkowników języka angielskiego, którzy znają ten język na poziomie zaawansowanych.

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## **Some Theoretical Aspects of Processes Behind the Meanings of Proverbs and Phrases**

**ABSTRACT:** This article examines the process that makes proverbial utterances meaning-carrying units. The aim is to show why proverbial utterances are used and understood in everyday speech, focusing particularly on their context-connected aspects. Context is understood as a cultural matter, as a matter of an individual experience, and as offering a frame for interpreting an utterance. The examples of Finnish utterances included are taken from both the past and present.

The theoretical background of this study stands on the view that language structures reality. Grice's cooperative principles, Frege's deviation of lexical and implicated meaning, and Hintikka's and Sandu's manner of understanding possible world semantics create a framework for understanding the process by which utterances become meaning-carrying expressions. In everyday life, proverbs and phrases are relatively permanent expressions but the meaning of an utterance may change when moved from one context to another.

**KEY WORDS:** *proverb, phrase, proverbial utterance, meaning, interpretation*

### **1. Introduction**

This article examines the meanings of proverbs and phrases in everyday use from the perspective of folkloristic paremiology and of the philosophy of language. I aim to clarify the phenomena bound to everyday proverbs and to highlight the nature of proverbs and phrases as carriers of meaning. My focus is on meaning in particular. When considering proverbial utterances in the contexts in which those utterances have been used, it appears obvious that context adds to what is said and understood.

The examples given in this article concern proverbs in particular. The processes of interpretation and the acquirement of meaning become more visible with proverbs in context than equivalent processes with phrases do. Although proverbs are used in the examples, the process with regards to phrases remains the same. The interpretation process is the basis for understanding particular meanings linked to these types of expression. Most of the older and traditional proverbs in context are from the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki; the material consists of life stories concerning everyday life in Finland before World War II (PE85). The examples given of modern proverbs from the beginning of the twenty-first century consist of newspaper material (SSS) and of texts concerning the meaning of proverbs (Q-2000). As my focus is on meaning, the study is based on utterances in my mother tongue, Finnish. All the examples in this text are translations.

## 2. Proverbs and phrases

‘Proverb’ and ‘phrase’ are multiform, varying concepts; in principle, a proverb may be a fixed phrase in literature or a part of an oral tradition. A phrase also has two living contexts, a **literal** and an **oral** context. The term ‘proverb’ has never been defined to perfection because no particular features exist that indicate that a sentence is a proverb (Dundes 1994: 44). The only current consensus focuses on the relative brevity of proverbs and on the traditionality or familiarity of proverbs. I concur with Wolfgang Mieder in his agreement with Archer Taylor’s statement that “[...] a definitive definition of the genre is an impossibility” (Mieder 2004: 2–3). The same is true of phrases that are part of figurative speech. This article understands a proverb as a short, independent statement that is or has been familiar within the frame of a particular time and place. A phrase is a construction of a minimum of two words. As phrases, proverbs have a basic form that appears most often in one or more variations. The possibility for variation is larger among proverbs and the most important feature for distinguishing a proverb from a phrase is that a proverb is a statement other than a phrase.

Both proverbs and phrases are signs that connect thinking to emotions and feelings (Bruner 1986: 65), and are a part of language and tightly bound to everyday culture. Inside their own cultural context, it is possible to use proverbs and phrases to handle topics hitherto unknown to

a listener. Traditional proverbs and phrases are still used in everyday language, as are their modern counterparts.

### 3. Contexts

The context remains for all types of situation in which it is possible to use a proverb or a phrase. Context has three dimensions: a situational context, a cultural context, and a research context. Situational context combines the meaning of an utterance with individual experience, while cultural context – such as historical era, geographical area, and language – combines meaning with time and place. Research context has a special feature: both the researcher and the phenomena in question are situated in the same frames of a world, sharing a common comprehension of that world (Kusch 1988: 102–103). It is important to examine how a proverbial utterance is interpreted, how that proverbial utterance receives meaning in the contexts described, and how to describe the process in question. This article understands context as both a cultural matter and as a matter of an individual experience brought into the context of research.

In everyday use, both proverbs and phrases occur orally and in a colloquial written form. Written colloquial language, as – for example – on the internet, in newspapers, and in opinion columns, is part of an everyday context. It is worth noting that in the examples given in this article, the episode of the proverb was just a short moment in the narrator's life or a part of a message to a newspaper editorial. All the contexts are quite small events from the perspective of a lifetime. The presumption is that the events in narrators' life stories are to be believed and the reasons stated for commenting in a newspaper are to be accepted.

The situation differs when utterances occur in literary texts; for example, in novels and speeches. In literature and formal use, proverbs resemble fixed phrases that are most often translated by giving an equivalent expression known in a certain language and cultural area; the same is true of phrases. Also, in this manner, meaning disappears and translation stands on the assumed standard proverbial interpretation (SPI) that is understood as the universal, 'correct' interpretation (Norrick 1985: 109–117). The SPI presupposes universality and is often seen as a 'correct' interpretation when cultural prejudices are involved. According to Hilary Putnam (1975), universality of features among languages means universal

structures, not universal meanings. Also, similarity in intention, at a micro level, does not mean similarity in extension, at a macro level.

The situation supplements words, and words supplement the ongoing action. As the references are events, actions and phenomena, a proverb always has a practical role in all environments (Krikmann 2010: 51; Granbom-Herranen 2008: 223). A speaker and listener participate in the situation with their life experiences, forming the 'micro context', which is a part of a cultural, social, and economical space in a particular era, or the 'macro context.' That space is entitled a 'world.' Around worlds exists a universe one step wider than the macro context. The most important factor, I contend, is **how** a proverb is anchored in those existing worlds. Section 5 – in which I focus on meaning in particular – will examine how the line of meaning is drawn and how a proverb is anchored to its reference.

The context for proverbs and phrases has changed over a period of one century. Everyday communication in Finnish no longer occur using spoken language only: a significant part of interaction between people now takes place in written form. In everyday language, proverbs and phrases now appear in colloquial written language as well as in the oral tradition. Nevertheless, despite many changes in living conditions and everyday practices, proverbs and phrases are still used in colloquial language; in particular, for argumentation in the case of proverbs, or to characterise a situation in the case of phrases (Granbom-Herranen 2008; Baran 2007: 99). Proverbs and phrases only occur alone in dictionaries and hardly ever occur alone in other circumstances. In everyday use, proverbs and phrases are utterances that are always combined with simultaneous action. When focusing on the features of such an utterance in everyday life use, it is easy to notice that no fundamental differences exist between oral use and use in colloquial written language. The presentational characteristic does not disappear when such utterances are moved to new surroundings; namely, from speech to colloquial writing.

#### 4. Interpretation

If proverbs and phrases are understood as fixed utterances, the interpretations of those proverbs and phrases are taught and learned for literature and translation. Moreover, the interpretations and meanings of proverbs and phrases are bound to the SPI. In everyday life however, con-



text offers a frame to an utterance and adds something to what is said. The identification of the SPI stands on an assumption of socio-cultural knowledge even if it is much easier to recognise a cultural connection in place than in time. If utterances are a part of learning, at issue are 'right' and 'wrong' ways of using and understanding proverbs. The influence of teachers, schools, and education is strongly present in the teaching and learning of proverbs. In the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, Finnish proverbs were – researchers report – learnt mostly at school and via literature, which may be one reason why the meanings of Finnish proverbs have been understood as universal phenomena. However, books have been the source for Finnish proverbs to a much smaller extent than has been assumed (Granbom-Herranen 2009b: 86). In everyday use, discussion of the capability to understand proverbs and to understand interpretative possibilities other than one's own is part of a response to the question, 'How do we accept truths besides our own?' The 'right way' to understand proverbs is tied to a demand to understand proverbs as 'civilized' people understand them. 'Civilized' in this case might mean individuals in one's circle, or adults, or the majority, or English speaking people, or Christian people, or whatever else the speaker may decide.

The implicated use of an utterance can be understood as a performance whose aims relate to the performance itself, to ongoing action, and to the words of the utterance. As proverbs and phrases are common knowledge in a society, innovativeness is also included with intention, functioning as a rhetorical tool. Both proverbs and phrases are knowledge anchored in a performance framed by time and place. To understand proverbs, phrases, and their meanings, one should understand the overall context (see Finnegan 1994: 19; Seitel 1994: 136–137). Proverbs and their meanings rely on combinations of socio-cultural contexts, people, emotions, and information in various situations. Nowadays, the use of proverbs with an oral background and proverbs from written sources has merged, particularly in colloquial written language; proverbs have also been utilised in everyday language.

Most often, when a person uses especially a traditional proverb, the authority of the earlier speaker of that proverb is also present. As a meaning-carrying utterance, an expression involves a link to the owner or speaker of the utterance, who is not necessarily the actual user of the utterance, but someone indicated in the beginning of the sentence. A sentence might very often begin, "As my granny says/used to say ..." The

owner in question may also be an abstraction; for example, 'folk' is quite often the declared owner of proverbs, as 'prevalent custom' is frequently the declared owner of phrases. The presence of an earlier authority has been verified in particular within pedagogical discourse (Briggs 1988, Granbom-Herranen 2008); however, the contention that an earlier authority is present is problematic in an urban tradition that is not pedagogically oriented. The user of a proverb is often nowadays an anonymous person. In colloquial written text, in comments on the internet, and in comments published in newspapers, the user of a proverb is typically unknown.

## 5. Various ways of identifying 'the meaning'

The significance of an utterance has three basic starting points. The first is that language is not understood only as an instrument of communication but as connected to thought (Vygotski 1967). The second starting point is Gottlob Frege's (2000) principle of context. Thirdly, in order to be understood and interpreted, an utterance should follow Paul Grice's (1975) 'cooperative principles.' Grice's cooperative principles, Frege's deviation in lexical and implicated meaning, and Jaakko Hintikka's and Gabriel Sandu's (1994) manner of understanding possible world semantics (PSW) create a framework to comprehend the process of how utterances become **meaning-carrying** expressions.

When focusing on language, some special challenges arise, one of which is that language is always defined in a language using language; therefore, all ideas must receive meaning in language before we can use language to define the phenomenon in question (Ricoeur 2005: 149). Language transforms thoughts into spoken or written words. On the other hand, it is impossible to consider things, phenomena, or acts that are not already conceptualised. The importance of understanding the mechanism behind interpretation lies in the fact that the language with proverbial utterances is a part of constructing an individual's social reality. Language is a tool of cultural expression, which controls all the life through its concepts (Devitt & Sterelny 1987: 116–117, 172). To adopt utterances or a system of symbols is to adopt a way of understanding reality.

Frege contends that the meaning of an utterance is definable either by the principle of **contextuality** or by the principle of **compositionality** (Rott 2000: 627). The principle of contextuality states that the meaning of an expression is always bound to the context in which it is used; the

situational or wider context of a sentence gives the meaning of the words. The principle of compositionality requires that the meaning of a sentence arise from the meanings of words and be determined by the meanings of its constituent expressions; the focus is therefore on words and on the interpretations of words (Harman 1975). Even scholars considering the theories of Frege have not been able to tell which principle – contextuality or compositionality – Frege himself preferred (Pelletier 2001). In any case, it is more than questionable to interpret meanings by mixing these principles or changing the focus from one principle to another in one study (Granbom-Herranen 2012).

The use of proverbial expressions is a part of communicative speech that follows Grice's cooperative principles of 'quantity', 'quality', 'relation', and 'manner' (Granbom-Herranen 2008: 174–175). Each category includes maxims at various levels. The 'quantity' category states that a contribution should be as informative as required for the current purpose, but should not be more informative than is required; quantity is related to how much information is provided. The 'quality' category tells us not to say anything we believe to be false or for which we lack adequate evidence: most important is to attempt to keep oneself true when speaking. The category of 'relation' requires that a speech act be relevant; however, the difficulty in this requirement is that relevance is a variable concept. The fourth, the category of 'manner', guides us to avoid obscurity and ambiguity in an expression, and to be brief and orderly; 'manner' is related to well-aimed speech. (Grice 1975: 45–46.) These principles may be violated consciously or subconsciously. When making a pause in the discourse the use of the proverb violates one or more of the above-mentioned categories and as a violating element brings in some new aspects<sup>1</sup>. To say too much or too little constitutes violence against the category of quantity.

Grandpa-41. Cars cannot be paid with the study grant. So those who have a car get money from parents. Everybody does not have the possibility to get the generous support from parents – *pappa betala* ['dad pays']<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Grice's maxims and their violations have also been seen as a possibility in folkloristic research focusing on humour (Krikmann 2004, 88–95).

<sup>2</sup> SSS, sent 2.9.2006. The proverb is *pappa betalar* ['dad pays (for everything)', 'isä maksaa' in Finnish]. Also in Finnish speech the proverb always occurs in Swedish, the Finnish translation is never used. This SMS-message refers to the discourse considering study grant that the state gives in Finland. The proverb refers to Finland-Swedish population and to its possession for example in economic life which status is based on the his-

The category of quality is violated – for example – when a speaker lies or tells something that cannot be true.

Man! That is just red-blooded desire of a normal man. Keep an eye on your wife. She plays away, *ehkä kaipaa "vihreää ruohoa" aidan toisella puolella* [‘might hunger for “greener grass” on the other side of the fence’]. – betrayed woman<sup>3</sup>.

Violence against the category of relevance is linked to events and utterances like in the next example.

*Moni kakku päältä kaunis.* [‘Many cakes look good’]. Cars rust away under the plastic cover. How is it possible to know the conditions of body in modern plastic cars? – Sepi<sup>4</sup>.

Speech behaves ‘against’ the category of manner when a speaker does not voice his or her own opinion but offers one hint after another.

The victims ought to be demanded to be present at a court session on pain of the penalty payment. The victims are nothing less than escaping. – *Silmä silmästä* [‘An eye for an eye’]<sup>5</sup>.

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tory of Finland. Among Swedish-speaking Finns the standard of living has been, and in many cases still is, higher than among Finnish-speaking Finns. Swedish was the official language until the independence. However, in 1863 it became possible to use also Finnish in official matters focusing on Finland. Only every tenth of ordinary people were Swedish speaker before the World War II (f. ex. Granbom-Herranen 2010a: 105).

<sup>3</sup> SSS, sent 8.9.2006. Actually not a person hungers for grass as cows, horses and other animals do. The sentence is referring to the proverb *Ruoho on vihreämpää aidan toisella puolen* [‘The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence’] and the writer says something that is not true to awake the reader to see the main point of her message. She knows because her husband (if we trust that the pseudonym is telling the truth) has betrayed her with somebody who wanted a new or better company.

<sup>4</sup> SSS, sent 23.12.2006. The cited proverb refers to the traditional Finnish proverb *Moni kakku päältä kaunis, vaan on sillkoa sisältä* [‘Many a cake looks good but the inside is just rubbish’]. When starting the message with a sentence like this, the reader might ask what cakes actually have to do with cars. The proverb in the message is sent when the quality of used cars was topical. The context clarifies the connection. The meaning of the sentence still remains unclear if the reader does not know that the proverb continues with “but”, which stresses the opposite quality of the object.

<sup>5</sup> SSS, sent 2.9.2006. Proverb *Silmä silmästä ja hammas hampaasta* [‘An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth’] in Finnish it is known as the Code of Hammurabi and it is also to be found in Bible, both in The Old and New Testaments in various texts. Actually it does not become clear if the threat in proverb is directed towards the accused person or the victim.

The use of a proverb or phrase violates one or more of the above-mentioned categories and makes an utterance to differ from the ongoing discourse; proverbs and phrases per se also conflict with one or more of Grice's cooperative principles (Granbom-Herranen 2011: 49.) However, the use of a proverb or the proverb itself adds value to a speech event. A conventional meaning consists of common knowledge and of tacit knowledge in the context of a particular time and place (Grice 1975: 44–46; Frege 1984: 42). Interpretations of proverbial expressions most commonly stand on similarity or on continuity that is real, assumed, or associated; meaning is constructed by linking interpretation with context. Discrepancies in meaning between paremiological schools might be made concrete in terms of how two entities find each other. The metaphoric feature of utterances such as proverbs and phrases complicates that link even further. The best known and most important models for connecting abstract and concrete are the metaphor theories: comparison theory (see for example Fogelin 1988), interaction theory (Black 1981), intention theory (Searle 1981), and the model of literal interpretation (Davidson 1981)<sup>6</sup>.

However, when similarity or comparison between two entities is insufficient to link those entities (as in Fogelin 1988 and Black 1981), when a speaker's intention is generally unclear (as in Searle 1981), and when a literal interpretation is insufficient to understand a proverb (as in Davidson 1981), Hintikka's and Sandu's (1994) handling of possible world semantics offers an additional alternative for understanding the process of meaning (Granbom-Herranen 2011: 50–52). Focus is in this case on the **world line** and on the **meaning line**. The world line is seen as connected to reality; it restates that two individuals are in two different worlds counted as identical. One finds the lexical meaning of an utterance by drawing the world line and the reference point is the lexical meaning. The meaning line simply indicates what is meant; it connects an expression to a reference that exists in another world or is a point inside the same world. A reference point is anchored in different ways in different eras; the same is true of place. An important aspect of drawing a meaning line is the anchoring or mooring of that line; the line begins and ends somewhere. The expression operates in such a way that both the speaker and listener recognise the worlds used. (Hintikka & Sandu 1994: 155–156.) Novels and films are a part of contemporary fairy-tale reality and often function as an anchoring point. Nowadays, the lexical meaning of a proverb no longer

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<sup>6</sup> Contrasting different theories of metaphor, see Granbom-Herranen 2011, 50–52.

functions as the most important reference point: even the terms used in traditional proverbs and phrases are from the contemporary world. When a proverb is interpreted, that proverb becomes an artefact of a particular space, a particular time and place. The interpretation of an utterance is linked to at least two possible worlds, the first of which is the world in which that utterance is used, and the second of which is the world of the interpretation itself. In the background may exist both the world of the recording and the world of the birth of the utterance in question. Interpretations made in the new space do not always meet previous meanings in other worlds, either past or parallel to the present time.

Proverbs as utterances have been relevant for hundreds of years. The constellation of Finnish proverbs is quite permanent. According to Matti Kuusi, only one third of proverbs change over one hundred years (Kuusi 1994: 117–118), meaning that the proverbs used in the twenty-first century are much the same as those used in the beginning of the twentieth century and quite the same as those used in the mid nineteenth century. It is possible for example to trace some Finnish proverbs to when those proverbs were used in speech only. For instance, the proverb *Sitä kuusta kuuleminen, jonka juurella asunto* [lit. You must listen to advice given by the spruce you live next to]<sup>7</sup> dates to a time approximately one thousand years ago when inhabitants of Finland earned some of their living through agriculture but to a greater extent by hunting and fishing. I refer to that time in this study as world number one or W1. The proverb in question is still in use but instead of referring to spirits of nature, now often refers to secular events.

Next the focus is on the model based on possible world semantic, combining it with one Finnish proverb, *Sitä kuusta kuuleminen, jonka juurella asunto*. In the older material from the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (a collection entitled *Perinne elämässäni* [Tradition in my life] from the year 1985) the proverb was found in two contexts. I refer to the era when life stories telling about the narrators' childhoods were written, the 1980s, as world number two or W2.

- (1) In the 1930s, elderly people remembered their childhood and, in particular, how children were brought up. At that time, parents' words were law and a child brave enough to try to disprove them heard *Sitä kuusta kuuleminen, jonka juurella asunto*<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> This proverb is expected to be the oldest Finnish proverb.

<sup>8</sup> PE85, woman, born 1922.

- (2) Work had to be done so well that you'd get more later. You'd only earn your living when working. (...) The bible, the book of books, offers that advice; so do old sayings such as *Sitä kuusta kuuleminen, jonka juurella asunto*<sup>9</sup>.

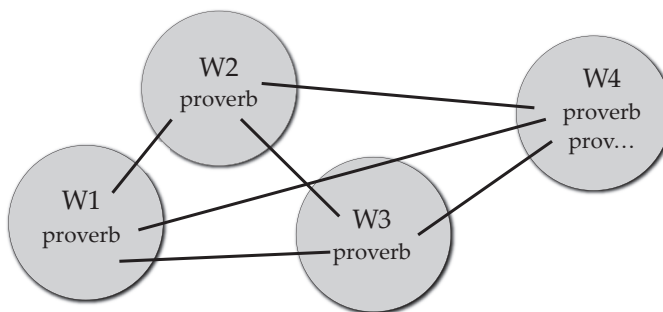
In 2000, I became familiar with an element of the use of this proverb in contemporary life (Granbom-Herranen 2001). I refer to the very beginning of the twenty-first century as world three or 'W3.' Three persons offered three different interpretations of the proverb.

- (3) If you're a worker, you are to side with your employer<sup>10</sup>.  
 (4) It's a reminder. We all have roots somewhere and they shouldn't be forgotten<sup>11</sup>.  
 (5) If you want to keep a job and income, it's better when speaking to have the same opinion as one's employer: '*Kenen leipää syöt, sen lauluja laulat*' [lit. Whose bread you eat, his or her songs you sing]<sup>12</sup>.

The proverb occurs once in the contemporary material consisting of the SMS messages sent as short letters to a newspaper editorial. The era in question, the fourth world or W4, is approximately ten years later than that of the previous example.

- (6) It is wrong to support political parties, perhaps not in a juridical sense but in a moral sense, as similarly, all bribery is wrong – '*Sitä kuusta kuuleminen...*'<sup>13</sup>

**Figure 1. The world lines connect the proverbs**



<sup>9</sup> PE85, man, born 1937.

<sup>10</sup> Q-2000, man, born 1938.

<sup>11</sup> Q-2000, woman, born 1952.

<sup>12</sup> Q-2000, woman, born 1955.

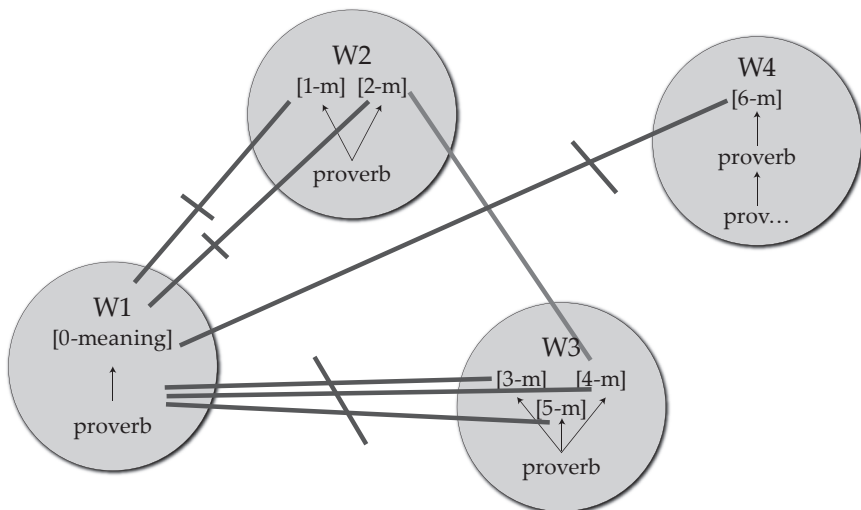
<sup>13</sup> SSS sent 16.6.2009.



As Figure 1 shows, the world lines connect the sentences – that is, the proverb ‘*Sitä kuusta kuuleminen, jonka juurella asunto*’ – between worlds W1, W2, W3, and W4. This is reasonable even if in W4 is seen only at the beginning of the proverb. Strictly speaking, the meaning line in W4 links ‘*Sitä kuusta kuuleminen...*’ to the entire proverb, ‘*Sitä kuusta kuuleminen, jonka juurella asunto*’, and the reference point becomes a starting point for the meaning line anchored with the intended meaning. The utterance as a phenomenon is the same in all of these worlds and it is possible therefore to connect the world lines in the diagram to any of the other worlds. These worlds are a part of a common space, a common universe. The outer line is the universe, in this case Finland, and the worlds are connected through time and space, which presumes a shared common comprehension of the world.

The same is not true when the focus is on the meaning lines. The meaning lines cannot be drawn equally, as the anchor points of meaning lines are not equivalents.

**Figure 2. The meaning lines anchor to meanings**



In Figure 2, the reference point in W1 is the spirit of the forest, religion [0-m]. The meaning lines in W2 and W3 have more than one anchor point. In W2 the meaning in example (2) [2-m] and in W3 the meaning in example (5) [5-m] are more or less the same. In both examples, the meaning focuses on work and on an oppressed position. In W2 [1-m] the other



meaning of the proverb anchors to the relationship between parents and children. In W3, in addition to the declared [5-m] meaning, one meaning anchors to the idea of solidarity towards an employer [3-m] and the other to the need for roots, for something everlasting [4-m]. In the W4, the meaning is bound to corruption [6-m]. In Finland, all political parties receive party subsidies, which in this short letter to a newspaper editorial, is equated with bribes. A commonality can be seen in the reference points of the meaning lines. In all the given meanings, a phenomenon exists 'above' life, a something that offers a frame for what to do or not to do. In these examples, that something is a sacred spirit, parents, employer, homeland, or money.

As seen above, although proverbs are relatively unchanging, their meanings do change in both everyday speech and colloquial written language. Proverbs and their meanings are not everlasting elements for ordinary people and in everyday life. The meaning of a proverb alters with changes occurring in the use of proverbs and the everyday context. Nowadays proverbs are found in all types of context in which they might receive quite extraordinary connections when compared to an assumed standard proverbial interpretation.

Context is the space or universe surrounding an individual, including the life experience of a person and an entire society with its culture. The life experience linking an individual and utterance creates the meaning of an expression. Meaning, it should be noted, is not necessarily identical for speaker and listener. To understand the meaning of a term, one should understand the extension of that term under the concurrent circumstances and other types of circumstance (Hintikka & Sandu 1994: 152): a contention linked to the idea that no person can know the meaning of a term if all one can know is the actual extension of that term. Interpretation – in short – is possible only if one knows the contexts involved; however, as with terms, that is hardly ever possible. Knowing all contexts is really only a theoretical possibility, even if one presumes the existence of micro-universal or macro-universal and common knowledge. The narrative material of this study demonstrates that common knowledge is not standardised. Common knowledge resides instead inside a socio-cultural frame. It (common knowledge) is connected to an individual level of maturation and growth, relating to how a person uses and can use language and thereby conceptualise abstract and concrete phenomena and acts. (Granbom-Herranen 2008: 172–173, 201).

## 6. Conclusions

Language structures reality with ideas (concepts) that are possible to use in language. In the use of proverbial utterances, it is important – I contend – not only to understand the words involved, but to examine the situational circumstances. A basis for the idea of a proverb is constructed when a proverb is heard for the first time, giving that proverb a basic meaning when met again later. In ordinary life and in everyday use, the interpretation of a proverb is a matter of a situational and individual experience. Besides everyday words and meanings, proverbs are combinations of socio-cultural context, people, emotion, and all types of information over various situations. In connecting individual interpretations, one can construct a picture of the shared experienced reality. For that reason, oral proverbs differ to literary proverbs, which are taught and learnt and towards which an expectation of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ use – and a need for translation and universalism – exist. However, the manner in which an individual gives meanings to phenomena is seldom entirely random; it is directed by the opinions accepted in a society.

That intended meaning of a proverbial utterance differs from the understood meaning of that proverbial utterance remains true even if the speaker or writer and listener or reader share a common language and socio-cultural background. The intention of the speaker and the interpretation of the listener are not the only valid effects; some ‘supplementary’ content from the context enters into an utterance in use. Examined from an outside perspective, as in the study of proverbs and phrases in archives, interpretations of meaningful utterances often stand on a basic ground meaning. In that manner, the situational effect of the meaning in question is left out without any specific notions. The meaning approaches that in literature when an utterance is not used in any defined context. However, that basic literary meaning may include much more than words only: some communal, time-and-place-based elements may be combined with the expression.

This article shows that the meaning given to an utterance cannot be interpreted entirely outside the context of its use, and that the meaning of an utterance changes when moved from one space – from one time and place – to another. I contend that the time for assuming that a proverb has a common, universal, and multipurpose meaning has passed. However, scholars have a key role as interpreters, whatever a study might focus on. The requirement to avoid one’s own prejudices to manifest themselves

becomes emphasised in studies dealing with interpretations and with meanings.

Nowadays, proverbs are not primarily transmitted orally or from one generation to another; rather, transmission occurs primarily in written form and quite often within a single generation only; those outside a generation are also outsiders to the utterances. A proverb is created by somebody, by an unknown or a well-known person. The proverb has been invented and used, by which means it has become a part of everyday language and in that manner has become meaningful. In summary, proverbial utterances are not mere tradition without message, passed on by the elderly; rather, proverbs and phrases are sentences with meanings. Those meanings might be hidden as readily as they may be intended by the speaker. They may also be utterances without hidden meaning when used in particular as literary phrases.

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Q-2000 = Questionary in 2000. Research material, in the possession of the author.

SSS = SMS-messages sent as letters to editors in *Salon Seudun Sanomat*, 2004–2010 (a Finnish daily newspaper). Research material, in the possession of the author.

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## **Teoretyczne aspekty procesów kształtujących znaczenia przysłów i połączeń wyrazowych**

### **STRESZCZENIE**

Niniejszy artykuł poświęcony jest znaczeniom powszechnie używanych przysłów i połączeń wyrazowych w ujęciu wielodyscyplinarnym. Objasnione są zjawiska związane z przysłowiami dotyczącymi codziennego życia. Jednostki te ukazane są jako rodzaj nośników znaczenia. Przysłowia i wyrażenia są znakami, które łączą myślenie z emocjami i uczuciami. Konteksty są rozumiane jako trójwymiarowe zjawiska: kontekst sytuacyjny łączy znaczenie wypowiedzenia z doświadczeniem indywidualnym, podczas gdy kontekst kulturalny łączy znaczenie z czasem i miejscem; trzeci kontekst to kontekst badawczy. W artykule przyjęto następującą definicję przysłowia: krótkie, samodzielne stwierdzenie, które jest lub było znane w ramach danego czasu i miejsca. Połączenie wyrazowe rozumiane jest jako kombinacja co najmniej dwóch wyrazów. Przysłowia i połączenia wyrazowe to jednostki mające znaczenie, które może być oczywiste lub ukryte; mogą to też być wypowiedzenia z ukrytym znaczeniem lub pozbawione go. Założenia teoretyczne oparte są na poglądzie, że język porządkuje rzeczywistość. Zasady kooperacji Paula Grice'a, dewiacja leksykalnego i implikowanego znaczenia Gottloba Frege, sposobu rozumienia światowej semantyki (PSW) Jaako Hintikkasa i Gabriela Sandu tworzą podstawy rozumienia procesu, w wyniku którego wypowiedzenie staje się wyrażeniem będącym nośnikiem znaczenia. Nawet jeżeli przysłowia są ustabilizowane w języku, zakładanie, że powszechne lub uniwersalne wielofunkcyjne znaczenie jest przypisane do przysłowia, jest nieadekwatne. Znaczenie wypowiedzenia zmienia się, kiedy przeniesione jest ono z jednej przestrzeni – z jednego czasu i miejsca – do innego, podobnie jak zakładana standardowa interpretacja przysłowia. W codziennym użyciu znaczenie wypowiedzenia zawsze jest związane z kompetencją w zakresie rozumienia.

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*“Between a rock and a hard place”  
or “Entre la espada y la pared”.*

**Equivalence and Divergence across Continents.  
Contrastive Study of Spanish and English Phraseology**

**ABSTRACT:** Generalmente las expresiones idiomáticas son consideradas como uno de los escollos difíciles de superar en el aprendizaje de una lengua extranjera. Esto se debe a la complejidad resultante de su fijación, como característica sintáctica, y de su idiomatidad, como característica léxica. Con frecuencia se mantiene que su significado arbitrario y el carácter específico hacen percibir la fraseología como un área del lenguaje reservada para los aprendices más avanzados. Sin embargo, todos los aprendices podrían beneficiarse de la contribución de la fraseología a su competencia lingüística si basamos la enseñanza de la fraseología en un análisis contrastivo y en las equivalencias funcionales.

**KEY WORDS:** *fraseología, equivalencia, divergencia, transparencia, idiomatidad*

## **1. Introducción**

Dadas las peculiaridades de la fraseología española y la fraseología inglesa, es lógico pensar que esta disciplina atraería el interés de los investigadores y docentes de lenguas extranjeras. Sin embargo no ha sido así y durante décadas ha sido objeto de muy poca atención en el campo de la enseñanza de segundas lenguas. Este trabajo tiene como objetivo plantear una serie de consideraciones metodológicas para el tratamiento de las expresiones idiomáticas en el aula de español como lengua extranjera partiendo de un análisis contrastivo de la fraseología en ambas lenguas. Más específicamente, este artículo se concentra en la búsqueda de equivalencias fraseológicas agrupando las unidades en funciones comunicativas, analizando algunas de sus características pragmáticas y teniendo en cuenta los

elementos que componen la expresión. El objetivo es, gracias al análisis contrastivo y la comparación, aprovechar las posibilidades de aprendizaje de las expresiones idiomáticas en español como lengua extranjera.

El léxico se considera uno de los pilares fundamentales en cada una de las etapas del proceso de aprendizaje de una segunda lengua. De acuerdo con Aitchison (1987) el lexicón mental es una red enorme en la que las palabras son nudos y estos están conectados entre sí por numerosos hilos. Estas redes flexibles y dinámicas forman la base para adquirir el dominio de un amplio vocabulario y el manejo de las estructuras gramaticales. Sin embargo, el vocabulario que se debe enseñar no se reduce a palabras sueltas sino que abarca también las combinaciones sintagmáticas fijas, idiomáticas y de uso frecuente. De hecho, un alto porcentaje del léxico de una lengua lo constituyen estas expresiones y son uno de los aspectos más ricos y creativos de la comunicación. Curiosamente, a pesar del interés que estas expresiones despiertan en los aprendices y de la importancia de su conocimiento, en general, estas expresiones no tienen un lugar ni en los materiales ni en las aulas. Sin lugar a dudas, es un área compleja tanto para el profesor como para el estudiante. Varios han sido los autores que han puesto de relieve las dificultades de la enseñanza de la fraseología: Ruiz Campillo y Roldán Vendrell (1993), García-Page (1996), Forment Fernández (1997), Penadés Martínez (1999), Ruiz Gurillo (2000), Pérez Bernal (2004), González Rey (1998; 2006), entre otros. Un estudio comparativo de la fraseología española y la fraseología inglesa con orientación didáctica y que dé cuenta de las unidades fraseológicas equivalentes, divergentes y transparentes puede aclarar algunos aspectos a tener en cuenta por el profesor a la hora de presentar las unidades y diseñar actividades para su comprensión, memorización y utilización.

## **2. Análisis contrastivo de la fraseología en español e inglés con objetivos didácticos en el aula de español como lengua extranjera**

La lingüística contrastiva ha dado como resultado importantes avances en el campo de la fraseología comparada. Los estudios de pragmática, la lingüística cognitiva y los estudios sobre la adquisición de lenguas que se han llevado a cabo a partir de la década de los setenta llevaron a la consideración del léxico como parte esencial en la adquisición de lenguas, léxico que debe incluir las unidades fraseológicas, como elementos repre-



sentativos de la repetición, la fijación, la institucionalización y la creatividad lingüística<sup>1</sup>.

Al hablar de fraseología comparada, es necesario tener en cuenta los aspectos estilísticos, discursivos, textuales y pragmáticos de la fraseología de ambas lenguas así como la base cultural y metafórica. Este estudio debe concentrarse en la comparación de unidades fraseológicas en español e inglés agrupadas según la función comunicativa y tratando de establecer las relaciones de equivalencia o divergencia. Los parámetros semánticos, morfosintácticos y pragmáticos son las bases en las que debe sustentarse el estudio contrastivo.

Dentro de la fraseología comparada, una línea de investigación es el establecimiento de los universales fraseológicos a partir de las regularidades observables dependiendo de la tipología estructural de las lenguas. De este tipo de estudios se han encargado autores como Dobrovol'skij (1988; 2009), Corpas Pastor (1995; 2000), Martínez Marín (1996), Wotjak (1984; 1988; 1998). Según Corpas Pastor "existe una relación proporcional entre el grado de analiticidad de una lengua y la regularidad de su sistema fraseológico". Estos autores coinciden en la afirmación de que la presencia de palabras diacríticas, la formación de series con cierta variación que tienen en común una misma base, la existencia de idiomatidad en mayor o menor grado y la fijación constituyen los denominados universales fraseológicos.

El objetivo de la comparación fraseológica es, en primer lugar, encontrar la equivalencia funcional de las unidades fraseológicas. Un análisis contrastivo de fraseología en inglés y español con objetivos didácticos debe sustentarse en dos pilares: la dimensión icónica de las unidades fraseológicas y el conocimiento metafórico y fraseológico que los aprendices han adquirido en su lengua materna. Según afirma Pérez Bernal (2004) cuando un estudiante extranjero se halla ante la labor de aprender la fraseología de una segunda lengua, no nos encontramos ante *un territorio fraseológicamente virgen*. Es decir, estos estudiantes ya tienen unos patrones de comparación y de metaforización heredados de su comunidad lingüística. Estos patrones facilitan la comprensión de las unidades fraseológicas de la lengua meta cuando son equivalentes en ambas lenguas y la dificultan cuando son divergentes.

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<sup>1</sup> Según Aitchison (1987) y Kielhöfer (1994: 211-220) la información no se almacena aleatoria ni aisladamente. Tampoco se ordena alfabéticamente sino estableciendo relaciones con la información ya existente. Nuestra forma de pensar está determinada por dos procesos fundamentales: asociar y clasificar.



Está demostrado que una de las estrategias para enseñar y aprender fraseología en un entorno de lenguas extranjeras es la referencia a la lengua materna especialmente cuando se presenta una realidad basada en similitudes idiomáticas que ponen de manifiesto la universalidad de una buena parte de la fraseología<sup>2</sup>. Esta estrategia contrastiva ha sido matizada por algunos lingüistas aludiendo que a los alumnos de nivel más avanzado se les plantarán más dudas cuando recurren a su lengua nativa para adquirir fraseología extranjera. Kellerman (1978), citado en Boers y Demecheleer (2001). Esto último es comprensible si tenemos en cuenta que los contenidos fraseológicos que se incluyen en los cursos más avanzados son también más complejos.

Teniendo en cuenta que las expresiones idiomáticas forman imágenes literales y figuradas que plantean semejanzas y diferencias en todas las lenguas, el análisis contrastivo que se plantea más adelante en este artículo va más allá de la traducción, como vehículo de transmisión y comprensión de significados de las expresiones, y aprovecha la base cognitiva de los aprendices para comprender y memorizar la combinación fija e idiomática, vinculando esta con la interpretación metafórica correspondiente en ambas lenguas, español e inglés. Gracias a la cercanía entre dos lenguas, el proceso de transferencia fraseológica se ve favorecido pues el aprendiz es consciente de los paralelismos que le permiten vincular las dos expresiones en dos niveles: semántico e icónico, por un lado; literal y metafórico por otro. La lingüística cognitiva ha hecho importantes aportaciones al campo de la fraseología y propone como recurso poderoso la presentación de comparaciones explícitas entre metáforas fraseológicas que den como resultado paralelismos evidentes que estimularán la memorización de la imagen de una expresión idiomática extranjera cuando esta imagen se corresponda con la nativa<sup>3</sup>. A través de este tipo de actividades, el aprendiz será consciente de las diferencias y similitudes existentes entre las expresiones españolas e inglesas y como consecuencia sacará partido de la transferencia positiva y evitará errores de interferencia lingüística<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Irujo (1986b y 1993); Boers y Demecheleer (2001); Cooper (1998).

<sup>3</sup> Algunos autores han propuesto actividades basadas en el contraste fraseológico: Irujo 1986a/b; Lennon 1998; Deignan et al. 1997; Boers y Demecheleer 201; Littlemore 2001; Ruiz Gurillo (1998, 2000), Penadés Martínez (1997, 1999, 2002); Dante (2003)

<sup>4</sup> Para una comparación fraseológica entre estos dos idiomas veáse el estudio comparativo de unidades fraseológicas en español e inglés con fines didácticos de Leal Riol (2011).

Es tarea del docente guiar a los estudiantes a través de la reflexión contrastiva y comparativa. El diálogo puede conducirlos por el camino que los lleva a (1) vincular las expresiones en las dos lenguas y a percibir las semejanzas y disparidades; (2) encontrar expresiones sinónimas y antónimas; (3) recibir contextos para tener claridad y seguridad sobre el registro de tales expresiones. Existen diversos tipos de conexiones icónicas entre idiomas extranjeros que proporcionan equivalencias y divergencias fraseológicas.

En un análisis contrastivo de las unidades fijas e idiomáticas se pueden dar diferentes situaciones:

1. Las expresiones en las dos lenguas comparten una imagen literal idéntica y tienen una lectura metafórica similar. Este es el caso de las equivalencias totales que se presentan a continuación, las cuales tienen la función comunicativa de describir el carácter de una persona: *tener la cabeza sobre los hombros / to have a good head on one's shoulders*; *creer que el mundo gira alrededor de uno / to think the world revolves around oneself*; *ser incapaz de matar una mosca / would not kill a fly*; *ser todo corazón / to be all heart*; *tener un corazón de oro / to be heart of gold*; *no ver más allá de sus narices / not to see beyond the tip of one's nose*; *vivir en las nubes / to live on cloud nine*. Otros ejemplos de unidades fraseológicas equivalentes cuya función es la descripción física de una persona: *ser la viva imagen / to be the spitting image of someone*; *ser el patito feo / to be the ugly duckling*; *estar en pañales / to still in diapers*; *ser un saco de huesos / to be a bag of bones*; *ser la piel y los huesos / to be skin and bones*; *ir vestido de domingo / to go in one's Sunday best*.
2. Las expresiones presentan similitudes en la imagen literal, tiene un parentesco en la selección léxica que forma la expresión y el significado idiomático coincide totalmente. Ejemplos de equivalencia parcial de expresiones idiomáticas que expresan miedo y/o preocupación: *estar al descubierto / to be in a plain sight*; *esconder la cabeza bajo el ala / to hide one's head in the sand*; *caminar en la cuerda floja / it is like walking in a tightrope*; *ponerse la carne de gallina / to get goose pimples*; *dar un susto de miedo / to scare the life out of one to death*; *estar acorralado / to be cornered*; *estar con el agua al cuello / to be up to one's neck*; *estar con la soga al cuello / to have a knife at one's throat*. Otro grupo de ejemplos de equivalencias parciales cuya función es hacer referencia al dinero: *estar por los suelos (los precios) / to be rock bottom*; *andar / estar por las nubes (los precios) / prizes are sky high*; *buscarse la vida / to make a living*; *un robo a mano armada / armed robbery*; *vivir al día / to live from day to day*; *rascarse el bolsillo / to dig deep*; *no*

*tener ni cinco / not to have a red cent / a thin dime; no tener ni para pipas / not to have peanuts; mirar la peseta / to watch the pennies / pennywatcher.*

3. Las expresiones comparadas presentan similitudes debido al uso de metáforas similares construidas generalmente a partir de elementos léxicos diferentes pero que pertenecen a campos semánticos familiares o cercanos. Ejemplos de expresiones cuya función es expresar la facilidad o dificultad sobre algún asunto: *creer que todo el monte es orégano / to think everything is beer and skittles / it is not a piece of cake; poner el carro delante de los bueyes / to put the cart before the horse.* Las comparaciones que se realizan en dos lenguas diferentes evidencian la forma diferente de conceptuar la realidad. Algunos ejemplos de comparaciones: *ser más feo que un dolor / to be as ugly as a sin; vender como rosquillas / to sell like hot muffins; vender como churros / to sell like hot cakes; beber como una esponja / to drink like a fish; lento como una tortuga / slow as a snail; tener buena mano / to have a good touch; cuatro ojos ven más que dos / two heads are better than one.*
4. La iconicidad de las expresiones no coincide y no tienen nada en común. Aquí hay que hablar de una subdivisión de unidades fraseológicas: las transparentes y las opacas. En el caso de las primeras, el significado puede deducirse. Ejemplos: *eso es otra canción / that is a horse of another color; hacer borrón y cuenta nueva / let bygones be bygones; en pocas palabras / to put it in a nutshell; ir derecho al grano / to go directly to the point; no tener pelos en la lengua / not to bite one's tongue; ser un bocazas / to be a chatty Cathy; no tener dos dedos de frente / not to be the brightest crayon in the box; ser un aguafiestas / to be a wet blanket; ser un rabo de lagartija / to be with ants in one's pants; hablar para el cuello de su camisa / to talk under one's breath; quitar la venda de los ojos / to see the light; dar en la diana / to hit the target; dar en el blanco / to hit the bull's eye; alegrarse como unas castañuelas / to feel as happy as the day is long.* La transparencia de la imagen facilita su comprensión, retención y actualización. Por otra parte, su base metafórica diferente resulta sorprendente y motivador para el aprendiz. En el caso de las segundas, las opacas, su significado no puede deducirse porque el origen está en la historia, la literatura, la cultura y demás, o porque en la combinación se hallan palabras diacríticas o inventadas, usadas únicamente en esa expresión. Estas expresiones resultan extremadamente complejas en el aprendizaje de una segunda lengua y requieren una explicación sobre su origen. La complejidad idiomática está conectada con la motivación que dio origen a la expresión y, si bien son muy interesantes y aportan gran riqueza cultural, pueden

conducir a la frustración. Algunos ejemplos de expresiones opacas en cuanto a la imagen esquemática de la unidad fraseológica y cuya función es expresar sorpresa: *dejar con un palmo de narices / slip in the face / kick in the teeth*; *llevarse una plancha / to get a slap in the face*; *quedarse con los ojos a cuadros / to be great astonished*; otras expresiones divergentes que expresan satisfacción: *ir viento en popa, ir de perlas / to go swimmingly*; *comerse el mundo / the world is his oyster*; *salir a pedir de boca / you could not ask for more*; *salir bien parado / to come out smelling like roses*; *salir bordado / to nail it*.

Las asociaciones entre equivalentes fraseológicos totales no plantean dificultades a los estudiantes. Sin embargo, los otros tipos en los que las asociaciones no son tan obvias sí conllevan una complejidad considerable. Entre las dificultades que se pueden mencionar aquí son fundamentalmente de dos tipos: léxicas y sintácticas, a saber: las derivadas de la comparación metafórica que implican las equivalencias parciales y, por otra parte, la agramaticalidad de algunas expresiones y la fijación de la fraseología que no permite cambios de género, de número, de orden de las palabras<sup>5</sup>. En definitiva, los rasgos que caracterizan la fraseología, es decir la fijación y la idiomatidad, son precisamente los retos que surgen ante unidades fraseológicas que tienen un significado idiomático y que no encuentran equivalentes totales desde el punto de vista de su composición y registro. De ahí la necesidad de orientar a los aprendices para ayudarles a descubrir las posibles semejanzas metafóricas y matices que conllevan las expresiones idiomáticas. Por ejemplo, en el caso de *cuatro ojos ven más que dos / two heads are better than one*, el aprendiz debe darse cuenta de que esas dos unidades fraseológicas presentan ciertos componentes iguales: (1) las dos están relacionadas con una parte del cuerpo humano (*ojos / heads*); (2) tienen el mismo significado: es mejor que dos personas emitan su opinión o analicen una situación para llegar a una conclusión de consenso; (3) tienen semejante fijación: no podríamos decir *seis ojos* ni *three heads*; (4) comparten la misma función: expresar opinión. Difieren en la imagen, aunque son imágenes cercanas, y también en el verbo que actualiza la expresión. En el caso de *cuatro ojos ven más que dos*, el verbo *ver* no puede conmutarse con otros como *mirar, observar*, por ejemplo. En el caso de *two heads are better than one*, la fijación verbal tampoco permite

<sup>5</sup> Para profundizar en el tema sobre las dificultades que plantea el aprendizaje de la fraseología en español como lengua extranjera ir a: Ortega y Rochel (1995); Leal Riol (2011).

variaciones y utilizar otros verbos como: *to think, to perceive*. En el caso de expresiones que no son equivalentes pero sí son transparentes, el profesor y los aprendices tendrán que reflexionar y pensar en semejanzas conceptuales con tal de encontrar el vínculo que les permita encontrar el mismo significado idiomático para dos imágenes diferentes y sacar partido del juego contrastivo.

Por tanto, este enfoque comparativo es eficaz no sólo para la motivar a los aprendices sino que también es útil para el profesor quien, en general, debe evitar el uso de la lengua nativa del estudiante. En el caso de la fraseología, se puede considerar como recurso positivo hacer referencias al inglés, si el grupo de aprendices comparte la misma lengua. La comparación contrastiva no se reduce a un mero contraste lingüístico sino que es un vehículo que conduce al descubrimiento de similitudes y diferencias existentes entre la idiomatidad de las dos lenguas. Además, cabe decir que también pone de manifiesto la cultura de ambas dado que la fraseología conlleva el saber popular de una comunidad lingüística que conceptúa la realidad de una manera similar o diferente, dependiendo de la expresión que estamos confrontando. La red que crea la comparación proporciona asociaciones interlingüísticas e interculturales que constituyen un recurso cognitivo muy poderoso y eficaz para fomentar la comprensión, memorización y actualización lingüística de las expresiones idiomáticas en el aula de español como lengua extranjera. Las unidades fraseológicas pueden tener un papel fundamental en la actualización del discurso y en la comunicación. Los contenidos pragmáticos de la fraseología<sup>6</sup> son los que caracterizan esta disciplina llena de connotaciones diversas y variopintas, portadoras de un gran conocimiento enciclopédico y el saber popular. Su riqueza expresiva y la carga cultural que conllevan han hecho que esta disciplina, la fraseología, sea considerada particularmente compleja en la enseñanza del español. Sin embargo, la dimensión de las expresiones idiomáticas no se puede dejar a un lado por cuestiones de dificultad de enseñanza y aprendizaje. El enfoque debe ser el acercamiento breve, sencillo y eficaz a las características pragmáticas de las unidades fraseológicas a partir de un estudio contrastivo de la fraseología en las

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<sup>6</sup> Zuluaga (1980) fue pionero en investigar la dimensión pragmática de la fraseología en la década de los 80 y habló de "fijación pragmática" (1980: 207-208). Sus estudios explicaron la complejidad de la dimensión significativa en el discurso de las unidades fraseológicas. Otros lingüistas han hecho importantes aportaciones al aspecto pragmático de las combinaciones fijas e idiomáticas, como por ejemplo Lattey (1986); González Rey (1999); Strassler (1982).

dos lenguas: la lengua nativa de los aprendices y la lengua meta. Por una parte, la selección de las unidades debe responder al criterio de frecuencia de uso y facilidad para la memorización. Por otra, la presentación de las equivalencias en la lengua meta (el español), y la lengua nativa (el inglés) facilitan este enfoque contrastivo que selecciona las expresiones más útiles desde un punto de vista comunicativo<sup>7</sup>.

La fraseología se caracteriza por la fuerza expresiva y esta proviene de las imágenes, de las metáforas y las comparaciones. De acuerdo con González Rey (1998: 70), la fraseología de una lengua basa su fuerza comunicativa en el uso de un lenguaje que tiene un gran valor icónico, es decir, se caracteriza por “la presencia de imágenes cuyo sentido literal, veraz o no, contribuye a la construcción del sentido figurado”. Si pensamos en la imagen que proyecta la unidad fraseológica *estar entre la espada y la pared / to be between a rock and a hard place* se puede decir que la combinación fija en ambas lenguas de palabras crea una imagen fraseológica que se encuentra en un punto intermedio entre la literalidad y la idiomatidad en el que se asienta el proceso metafórico que hace posible la transposición de significados y la posterior descodificación de la metáfora. La unidad fraseológica *hacer una montaña de un grano de arena / to make a mountain out of a molehill* son equivalentes totales por lo que la descodificación que va de la literalidad a la idiomatidad, manteniendo la fijación, será relativamente sencilla en el aula de español como segunda lengua.

La iconicidad de la fraseología es un rasgo aprovechable en la enseñanza del español sobre todo cuando nos encontramos ante unidades fraseológicas para las que no hay una equivalencia. Si la expresión idiomática es transparente, este rasgo fraseológico de la iconicidad puede ser de gran provecho. Un buen método para transmitir información semántica de las expresiones idiomáticas es el aprovechamiento del canal visual pues este activa la memoria y fomenta la reflexión alrededor de la conexión metafórica que existe entre la imagen literal y la interpretación figurada. A la larga, la imagen que queda después del proceso mental de la inferencia de significados va a contribuir a la interpretación y memorización. Es cierto que la complejidad icónica de las expresiones idiomáticas no facilita su representación y ello conduce a la ilustración del sentido literal únicamente. Si a partir de estas ilustraciones los aprendices comprenden el significado compositivo de las expresiones, al menos se habrá alcanzado

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<sup>7</sup> Penadés Martínez ha realizado aportaciones muy relevantes respecto a este tema.



el primer nivel para llegar a la comprensión del significado idiomático<sup>8</sup>. Lo ideal para los estudiantes sería contar con la ayuda de ilustraciones que reflejen el sentido literal y también el sentido figurado. En general, las expresiones idiomáticas cuentan con un homófono literal que refleja un hecho factible. Se pueden ilustrar expresiones del tipo: *buscar una aguja en un pajar / to look for a needle in a haystack*, por mencionar un par equivalente total; *matar dos pájaros de un tiro / to kill two birds with a stone*, como ejemplo de equivalente parcial; *ser un aguafiestas / to be wetblanket*, para ilustrar dos unidades fraseológicas divergentes y transparentes; *estirar la pata / to kick the bucket*, como ejemplo de dos unidades fraseológicas divergentes y opacas. Esto ayudará a la interpretación y memorización de la expresión por parte de los aprendices y a la vez facilitará la tarea del docente. Si la expresión no cuenta con un homófono literal, entonces se producirá un desajuste semántico y una ausencia de factibilidad de la acción denotada, por lo que la ilustración no cumpliría con el objetivo.

Es útil proporcionar a los aprendices explicaciones sobre las particularidades de uso de las expresiones más frecuentes. Las restricciones discursivas de las combinaciones fijas se pueden abordar presentándolas en un contexto que permita inferir y comprender su significado. Hay expresiones que solamente pueden utilizarse en forma afirmativa como: *que me quiten lo bailao; me importa un pepino*; en forma imperativa: *déjame en paz*; el registro (coloquial: *irse al otro barrio*; culto: *pasar a mejor vida*; vulgar: *espi-charlas*) en el que ciertas expresiones frecuentes suelen utilizarse para que el discurso de los aprendices sea el adecuado a la situación comunicativa.

El análisis contrastivo de la fraseología en español y en inglés facilita la comprensión de la imagen literal y la formulación de hipótesis sobre su interpretación figurada. Cuando la unidad fraseológica tiene una equivalencia total o parcial en su lengua (*ver de color rosa / to see with rose colored glasses*; *ser la gota que colma el vaso / the straw that broke the camel's back*; *irse por las ramas / to beat around the bush*), cuando la expresión es transparente<sup>9</sup> para el aprendiz porque entre sus elementos aparece una palabra que orienta la interpretación (*ahogarse en un vaso de agua / to make a tempest in a teapot*; *ser más falso que Judas / as phony as a two dollar bill*; *tener las espaldas anchas / to have a thick skin*), en resumen, cuando la expresión forma una imagen

<sup>8</sup> Es esencial comprender el significado literal para captar la metáfora que subyace a la expresión y para procesar el significado idiomático de una expresión desconocida. Para profundizar en el tema véase Belinchón (1999).

<sup>9</sup> La facilidad o dificultad en la inferencia del significado idiomático de las unidades fraseológicas depende del grado de transparencia u opacidad de las expresiones.



literal cuyo valor metafórico es bastante claro, los aprendices no tendrán problemas en la descodificación y se sentirán motivados en cuanto a su aprendizaje. En cambio, con unidades más opacas, el alumno tendrá ciertas dificultades para inferir el significado idiomático y será necesaria la contribución del profesor. Es en este último caso en el que la presentación de la equivalencia tiene un papel fundamental. Lakoff y Johnson (1980) plantean que muchas metáforas conceptuales existen en varias lenguas y no plantean problemas de comprensión. En este estudio nos interesa la búsqueda de metáforas conceptuales que dan lugar a equivalentes fraseológicos en inglés y español ( *echar chispas / to breathe fire*). Pero no se deben olvidar las metáforas culturales para las que es más complejo encontrar equivalencias. Las expresiones que contienen imágenes basadas en realidades propias de la cultura con las que se identifican los hablantes nativos son las más opacas y difíciles de presentar en un análisis contrastivo, por ejemplo las que metaforizan aspectos del mundo taurino:  *echar un capote; cortarse la coleta; clavar una banderilla; ver los toros desde la barrera; echar la bronca; ponerse el mundo por montera*. Es interesante que exista un par de equivalencias totales en inglés y en español:  *agarrar el toro por los cuernos / to take the bull by the horns*. El origen o la motivación que dio lugar a las expresiones idiomáticas culturales generalmente aporta recursos para que los estudiantes comprendan y memoricen la expresión<sup>10</sup>.

En un principio la fraseología como disciplina independiente se centró fundamentalmente en la investigación morfológica, semántica y pragmática de la fraseología. La lingüística cognitiva y los estudios contrastivos de las lenguas aportaron análisis teóricos que condujeron a un estudio más profundo de la fraseología como reflejo de la cultura de un pueblo. Está generalmente aceptado que el lexicón de una lengua ejerce una influencia en los patrones culturales de pensamiento y percepción de una comunidad lingüística. La frecuencia de uso de un vocablo determinado o la existencia de combinaciones de palabras revelan valores culturales que evidencian esta relación entre lengua y cultura. Si se analizan las unidades fraseológicas cuyos componentes pertenecen al campo semántico de la religión católica, lo dicho anteriormente queda aclarado e ilustrado con ejemplos:  *ser más viejo que Matusalén / older than Methuselah; ser más falso que Judas / to be more wrong than the devil; decir en cristiano / to say something in plain English; irse el santo al cielo / to slip one's mind; ser un*

<sup>10</sup> Sobre el tema de la explicación sobre el origen y motivación de la fraseología véase Bower (1992); Lazar (1996); Cooper (1998).

*alma de Dios / to be an angel; ser como Dios manda / to have a good head on one's shoulders; ser de la piel del diablo / to be a little devil; haber hecho la boca un fraile / to beg for too many things; la edad de Cristo / to be 33 years old; estar en el quinto infierno / to be in the other side of the world; quedarse para vestir santos / to be single; por el amor de Dios / for the love of God; por los clavos de Cristo / for Christ shake; colocar en un altar / to put on a pedestal; estar más contento que unas pascuas / to be as happy as a clam; ojo al Cristo que es de plata / to ask someone to be very careful; eso va a misa / it is set in stone; ir de Herodes a Pilatos / to go from bad to worse; meterse en un belén / to be in a tangle; hacer milagros / it would take a miracle; pasar las de Caín / to go through hell; pasar las penas del purgatorio / this must be purgatory; para mas INRI / to make things worse, as if that were not enough; armar la de Dios / to raise hell; llegar y besar el santo / beginners luck; hacer algo en un santiamén / in a flash; no hay Dios que lo entienda / no even God would understand; no ser santo de mi devoción / not my cup of tea; lavarse las manos como Pilatos / to wash one's hands of it; dejar de la mano de Dios / to be like a zoo; pagar religiosamente / to pay on time; llevar más razón que un santo / to have all the reason in the world; decir amén / to approve without discussion; no saber de la misa la media / to not know half of the information. Hay muchos ejemplos más que evidencian la conexión entre cultura y lengua cuya manifestación final es la fraseología, expresiones que requieren una lectura idiomática a la que se llega partiendo de la interpretación literal.*

### 3. Conclusiones

Con este trabajo he pretendido destacar las posibilidades que ofrece un análisis contrastivo de la fraseología en inglés y en español para su utilización en el ámbito de español como lengua extranjera. Por un lado, es esencial un enfoque metodológico que clasifica las unidades en funciones comunicativas para facilitar su comprensión. Por otra parte, el análisis contrastivo es muy eficaz para poner de manifiesto las equivalencias y las divergencias existentes entre los sistemas fraseológicos del inglés y español, facilitando así la clasificación y selección de las unidades fraseológicas apropiadas al nivel de los aprendices. El objetivo es, primero, visualizar y comprender la imagen literal de cada expresión seleccionada y presentada; segundo, relacionarla de forma no arbitraria con la interpretación figurada que le corresponde. Finalmente, hallar la equivalencia funcional para facilitar el aprendizaje de estas expresiones.

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*"Between a rock and a hard place"  
lub "Entre la espada y la pared".*

**Ekwiwalencja i różnorodność w ujęciu międzykontynentalnym.  
Studium kontrastywne hiszpańskiej i angielskiej frazeologii**

**STRESZCZENIE**

Metoda kontrastywna ocenia uniwersalizm wyrażen idiomatycznych w perspektywie międzyjęzykowej i międzykulturowej. Językoznawstwo kontrastywne i analiza błędów są wykorzystywane jako metody wyjaśniania, dlatego niektóre cechy języka docelowego są trudniejsze do przyswojenia niż inne. Trudność w opanowaniu filologii jako drugiego języka zależy od różnicy między językiem ojczystym uczącego się i językiem, którego się dana osoba uczy. Artykuł poświęcony jest nauczaniu i przyswajaniu frazeologizmów hiszpańskich i ich znaczeniu dla nauczania języka hiszpańskiego jako obcego.

Te wyrażenia, charakteryzujące się idiomatycznością i stałością, wzbudzają zainteresowanie wśród uczących się z kręgu kultury anglosaskiej, ponieważ są nośnikami ekspresji i treści kulturowych. Nauczycielom zazwyczaj sprawia trudność wyjaśnienie znaczenia i zastosowania tych wyrażen właśnie z powodu ich dwóch wymienionych cech, tj. idiomatyczności i stałości. Ogólnie mówiąc, nauka omawianych jednostek językowych jest ograniczona do uczących się języka hiszpańskiego i poznających kulturę tego obszaru językowego na poziomie zaawansowanym z powodu jego syntaktycznej i semantycznej złożoności. Jednak możliwe jest włączenie nauczania frazeologii na wszystkich poziomach przy wykorzystaniu odpowiedniej metodyki. Semantyczne, morfosyntaktyczne i pragmatyczne parametry są podstawą analizy kontrastywnej stosowanej w badaniu frazeologii, w którym celem jest ustalenie relacji ekwiwalencji / różnorodności związków frazeologicznych w dwóch językach: północnoamerykańskim angielskim i hiszpańskim. Zgodnie z koncepcją, że student jest w centrum procesu nauczania i uczenia się, ten artykuł przedstawia podejście do nauczania rodzimych użytkowników języka angielskiego frazeologii hiszpańskiej na wszystkich poziomach nauczania hiszpańskiego jako drugiego języka. Ekwiwalencja, wyrazistość i funkcje komunikacyjne to są trzy główne założenia omawianego podejścia.

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## Phraseology Across Continents

**ABSTRACT:** Phrasemes appear in many forms of discourse, and it is often assumed that native speakers of the same language in different countries will recognize, and probably use, the same phrasemes (Svensén 2009). It is also assumed that native speakers will interpret the same phrasemes in the same way. This view, however, fails to consider regional differences and age, frequently neglected in the literature. The following study examined phraseme familiarity, interpretation and use by different age groups in the UK and Australia over a nine month period in 2008. The data revealed that while there were many differences in phraseme familiarity and use, there was more similarity within age groups than within the same country. Interpretation also varied between age groups. A generational model of phraseme recognition and use is thus more accurate than a regional model, and reflects the differing cultures of varying speech communities.

**KEY WORDS:** *phraseme, age, location, use, familiarity*

### 1. Introduction

While the United States and the United Kingdom are often described as “two countries separated by a common language”, the same sentiment is often true, though less frequently expressed, of the relationship between the United Kingdom and its former colony of Australia. English is the official language of both countries (Commonwealth of Australia 2006; Home Office: UK Border Agency 2007) and they continue to have close economic and cultural ties, with over one million UK migrants in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011a). It is often assumed that, because of the

close links between the two countries, people in the UK and Australia speak exactly the same form of English, albeit with a different pronunciation. However, this is not always the case, as the following study of phraseological items demonstrates.

Australia has at least 228 Indigenous languages spoken at home by 52,000 people (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2011b). The English language only became commonly used in Australia over the last 200 years, after the First Fleet from England arrived in New South Wales in 1788. The term “Australian English” was not introduced until the 1940s, by Alexander George Mitchell (Delbridge 2001: 311), and is described as “that form of English that originated early in the nineteenth century among those children of British settlers who were born and raised in the new colony” (Delbridge 1983: 36). Australian English is distinct from British English especially in terms of its pronunciation, and also in its semantic range, which addresses the landscape, climate and emerging culture in which the new settlers found themselves (Blair & Collins 2001). It is often marked by informality (Peters 2007: 251) and has many abbreviated and contracted forms (such as *barbie* for *barbecue*). There is an increasing American English influence, in both pronunciation (*vase*, *route*) and terminology (*raincheck*), largely due to television and the Internet (Taylor 2001). It has even been claimed that American English now has a greater vocabulary influence than British English in Australia (Butler 2001: 154). There are also about 400 words borrowed from 80 Indigenous languages (Dixon et al. 1980 in Moore 2001), as well as loans from other languages (e.g. *yiros* from Greek, *wagyu* from Japanese).

It will be evident from this, then, that Australian phrasemes (a term used here to include idioms, similes, proverbs and sayings, and discussed in greater detail below) have their own particular features and may differ from phrasemes used in other varieties of English. Four characteristics highlighted by Peters (2007) in regard to Australian similes may be applied to Australian phrasemes in general. First, many are based on puns. For instance, in the phraseme *done like a dinner*, meaning that someone has been swindled, the word *done* can mean both *cooked* (referring to a dinner being ready to eat) and *tricked*. Secondly, many phrasemes, again like *done like a dinner*, mention ways of someone being poorly treated. Thirdly, there is a tendency for phrasemes to mention negative ideas, as in *no work at Bourke*. Fourthly, many phrasemes, like *no work at Bourke*, refer to places or concepts linked with remote, rural Australia. (Bourke is a town in out-back Australia and is often referred to as the epitome of an isolated place.)



Such rural expressions are now giving way to urban phrasemes, however, as the population moves away from rural isolation.

Phrasemes are used in many different situations, often to create an atmosphere of informality or humour, or to add imagery to a verbal text (Fernando 1996: 15). Advertisements and newspapers, for example, frequently include phrasemes, or puns on phrasemes. For example, a Kleenex tissue campaign in Australia depicted a woman with a sore red nose using a piece of sandpaper for a handkerchief and contrasted this with an image of soothing Kleenex tissues, with the caption "Soften the blow this winter" (Kimberley-Clark Worldwide, Inc. 2009). Such a caption is a pun on the phraseme *soften the blow*, meaning *make a hard situation easier to bear*. Phrasemes are not just, however, "an amusing marginal linguistic phenomenon" (Fellbaum et al. 2006: 349). They make an important contribution to language, as Fellbaum says, and appear also in more formal contexts such as academic writing (Howarth 1996).

Many different speech communities use phrasemes. Hymes defines a speech community as "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety" (2003: 36). While it might be assumed that native speakers of a language in a particular country would share the same rules, this is not always the case. Speech communities may be large or small, based on age, location or social status. It is true generally that "colloquial and idiomatic language is an important component of Australian English and Australia culture" (Rochecouste et al. 2010: 73). However, not all speech communities in Australia necessarily share the same idiomatic language.

Phrasemes may, for example, mean different things to different age groups (Peters 2007: 239), often depending on familiarity with the figurative meaning. For instance, the phraseme *to have a good innings*, meaning that someone had a long and fruitful life, may be interpreted figuratively by older people familiar with the expression, but interpreted literally by a younger person, who might restrict it purely to its use within a cricket match (where it means that someone played a good game). Even the word *innings* has a particular frame of reference, and would probably only be understood by those familiar with the game of cricket. The phraseme may thus be restricted not only generationally but also regionally within the English-speaking world.

Until now, no research has examined which age groups in Australia know or use certain phrasemes, nor whether phrasemes based on British English are still widely used in Australia by any group. It is possible that

the same phrasemes may be interpreted differently in the different continents, and that younger people in the UK and Australia may have greater similarity to each other in phraseme use than to their elders, regardless of which continent they live on, due to increased use of the Internet and other media. The question of a speaker's age as a variable in phraseme use has hitherto been under-researched in the literature, but is addressed in a thesis by Miller (2011) and is the subject of this paper. By comparing phraseme familiarity, interpretation and use across continents and age groups, it can be established whether a regional or generational model of phraseme use is more applicable, at least in the case of the UK and Australia. These two models are outlined in Figure 1, where the arrow represents commonality in regard to familiarity and frequency of use.

**Figure 1. Two models of commonality in phraseme familiarity and use**

**1. Regional model**

Younger people in the UK



Older people in the UK

Younger people in Australia



Older people in Australia

**2. Generational model**

Younger people in the UK



Younger people in Australia

Older people in the UK



Older people in Australia

The regional model hypothesises that people in the same geographical location will use and be familiar with the same phrasemes, regardless of age. The second, generational, model hypothesises that age has a greater influence than location, so that one would expect to find greater similarities in phraseme familiarity and use among age groups, rather than within a country. Such a study of phrasemes is important not only for sociolinguistic knowledge and for lexicographers, but to inform those teaching and learning English, so that learners of English as an additional language (EAL) can communicate in language which is used and understood by their peer group.

## 2. Phrasemes

The issue of terminology is often a vexed one. It cannot be assumed that “where a single term is used by commentators in more than one field, it actually refers to exactly the same phenomenon” (Wray & Perkins 2000: 3). Even when researchers are working within the same field, there is often a multiplicity of terms for the same concept (Cowie 1998: 210). The use of the word “idiom”, therefore, is not a simple choice. Even the term “fixed expression” is questionable, since many “fixed expressions” are actually variable, and not all researchers would include idioms under their umbrella. To avoid these dilemmas, this study has chosen to use the word “phraseme”, widely used in French and German phraseological terminology (Dobrovolskij & Piirainen 2005: 30). This term addresses both figurative and non-figurative conventional multiword units, including restricted collocations, idioms, proverbs and other formulae. The phrasemes in this study include idioms (simply put, those expressions of at least two words which are non-literal in meaning), similes (which compare one thing to another, usually with the formula *as . . . as . . .*), proverbs and sayings.

The frequency of phrasemes in spoken or written corpora has been studied previously (see, for example, McCarthy 1998; O’Keeffe et al. 2010), but detailed information on use by different age groups has not been examined (Liu 2008). Neither has the question as to who uses certain phrasemes, how frequently and with what meanings (Doyle 2007: 196, writing with respect to proverbs, but raising questions which can equally well be applied to other types of phrasemes). Such information has many applications, not the least in terms of English language curricula and learner’s dictionaries.

## 3. Methodology

The methodology adopted in this study is both intralingual (within a language variety), or emic, and interlingual (between different language varieties), or etic (Pike 1971: 37). The study addresses knowledge and use of phrasemes in different age groups in the UK and Australia (an emic approach) and compares this knowledge and use (an etic approach). Pike highlights the importance of the emic/etic distinction, because the view from within a system sheds light on it for outsiders, and the combination of the emic and etic views makes it possible to gain a wider perspective

on the same information (1971: 39, 41). Such a combined approach provides empirical evidence on phraseological usage not available elsewhere.

In this study, the participants were divided into groups aged 16-22, 23-30, 31-40, 41-60 and 61+. The youngest group was set at 16-22 because this range encompasses most of those of tertiary education age in Australia, which was the group particularly investigated in the original study. The oldest group, 61+, represents those who have retired or who are nearing retirement age. As Eckert says, "ways of speaking at any life stage are part of the community structuring of language use" (1998: 157). The division of findings in this study according to age groups thus has a bearing on the communicative needs of language learners who wish to engage with their peers, and provides teachers and lexicographers with data to inform the teaching of relevant expressions to different learners.

Eighty-four phrasemes were chosen for the study, using the 'Idiom finder' at the back of the *Cambridge advanced learner's dictionary* (2003) as a starting point. The phrasemes represent five categories of reference or origin: Biblical (e.g. *as old as Methuselah*); literary/historical (e.g. *to burn one's boats*); Australian (e.g. *done like a dinner*); UK (e.g. *to send someone to Coventry*); and older in reference (e.g. *to let off steam*). These five categories characterise phrasemes which might be expected to have varying degrees of familiarity for different age groups in different locations. A complete list of the 84 phrasemes appears in Appendix 1.

The phrasemes were the central subject of an online questionnaire, which was divided into six smaller surveys, each containing questions relating to 14 phrasemes. These surveys were completed by native speakers of English in the UK and Australia who had lived most of their lives in one of these locations. The number of completed surveys analysed was 2085. Participants could complete up to 6 surveys each, so it is not known exactly how many individuals took part, but from the demographic information it is clear that at least 869 different people participated. The findings are not statistically generalisable, as the sample was a non-random one of people who were largely interested in language, and is not large enough to represent the entirety of each country's population. Nevertheless, the results do give a useful indication of phraseme usage that could provide a starting point for a much larger survey if resources became available.

For each item, a picture prompt was given, together with a word from the phraseme. For instance, for the phraseme *time flies*, used as an example for all participants, a picture was given of a clock with wings, followed by

the question “What idiom(s) using the word ‘time’ does this picture make you think of?” (The word “idiom” was used for simplicity, as participants could not be expected to be familiar with the intricacies of phraseological terminology.) This question was designed to elicit as many phrasemes as possible from each participant. On the following page of the survey, participants were given a suggested answer, in this case *time flies*, and asked if they had heard this phraseme before and, if so, where they had heard it. Multiple choice questions were then given to see whether the participants knew the meaning of the prompt phraseme. Four possible answers were given: the meaning intended by this researcher, based on a dictionary definition (e.g. time can go very quickly); an antithetical answer (e.g. time can go very slowly); an alternative, often literal, answer (e.g. clocks can fly); and an opportunity to reject all the other options (i.e. none of these). The order of these answers was randomised by the computer software used for the survey, and the option “none of these” was then moved to the end of the randomised list. Participants were not aware which answer was intended by the researcher to be the “correct” version.

The completed surveys were analysed in terms of familiarity; interpretation (based on agreement with the suggested answer); frequency of use (never, almost never, sometimes, often, very often); and phrasemes most commonly elicited. For each phraseme, the average number of participants aged over 23 was 123 in Australia and 99 in the UK, while the average number of participants aged 16-22 was 45 in Australia and 104 in the UK. The number of younger people in Australia was lower due to recruitment difficulties. Additionally, most of the participants in the 16-22 age group came from South Australia or North Yorkshire (UK), meaning that the data may not accurately represent the countries as a whole.

## 4. Findings

### 4.1. Familiarity

In both locations, familiarity rose with age, showing that older participants were more familiar with all the phrasemes (see Table 1). Greater exposure to phrasemes obviously comes with age (Curtain 2001: 266), but may not be the only reason why the younger age group were less familiar with certain categories of phraseme. It is also possible that some phrasemes, particularly those linked to a region, may be fading from use, and so may be less familiar to younger people. It is hard to pinpoint precisely

when a term disappears (Sinclair 1991: 37), but the findings of this study reveal that Australian phrasemes in particular seem to be less used nowadays.

**Table 1. Average familiarity with the different categories of phraseme used in the study, according to region and age group**

Order	Category	Australia 16-22	UK 16-22	Australia 23+	UK 23+
1	Older reference	64	75	93	94
2	Literary/Historical	44	39	79	92
3	Biblical	41	35	84	89
4	UK	19	29	73	84
5	Australian	18	7	70	16
	Overall average	37	37	80	75

The main exception to this pattern was the phraseme *an albatross around the neck*, which was most familiar to the Australian 16-22 age group. It is not clear why this phraseme should have been most familiar to them, unless they had been studying Coleridge's poem *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (from which the phraseme originated) at school. The Australian phraseme *not to have a bar of something* was also more familiar to the UK 16-22 year olds (average 65%) than to the average of the older groups in the UK (40%), although the level of familiarity with this phraseme in the UK altogether was very small. (Three in the youngest group in the UK were familiar with it, compared to one in the 31-40 group and one in the 41-60 group.)

The most familiar phrasemes were those in the older reference category, indicating that although steam, inches and miles may no longer be commonly used for engines or for measurements in the UK or Australia, their figurative meanings are still alive and well. Next most familiar were the literary/historical phrasemes, except in the case of the participants aged over 23 in Australia, who appeared to be slightly more familiar with the Biblical phrasemes. Biblical phrasemes were also known by at least a third of the youngest participants, and by most of the older participants, despite fairly low figures of church attendance in the general population. (In 2001, roughly 8% of the population in Australia attended church (NCLS Research 2009), and 6.8% of the UK population attended church in 2005 (Brierly 2005 in WhyChurch 2010)). As Dobrovolskij and Piirainen

(2005: 231) suggest, however, “most biblical idioms are unobtrusive, have no special ‘biblical’ contents and are so familiar that they are used with no conscious reference to the original context.” Church attendance is thus not a pre-requisite for familiarity with Biblical references.

The regional phrasemes provided the greatest differences in familiarity. While most of the older participants in both locations were familiar with the UK phrasemes, these expressions were not familiar to the younger participants. In the case of Australian phrasemes, only the older Australian participants evidenced much familiarity. For the regional phrasemes, therefore, the greatest similarity was within age groups, rather than inside regions.

#### 4.2. Interpretation

For each phraseme, there was a choice of three interpretations or the option “none of these”. The findings on interpretation are illustrated in Table 2, where agreement with the suggested answer is expressed as a percentage of each age group’s responses.

**Table 2. Percentage agreement with the suggested answer for the phrasemes in the questionnaire by age group and region**

Order	Category of reference	Australia 16-22	UK 16-22	Australia 23+	UK 23+
1	Older reference	72	76	89	92
2	Literary/Historical	70	74	83	90
3	Biblical	71	68	85	84
4	UK	57	62	81	93
5	Australian	63	58	81	62
	Overall average	69	69	84	84

As with the familiarity ratings, the easiest phrasemes for the participants to interpret were those in the older reference category, and the hardest to understand were those in the Australian reference category. Generally, familiarity accorded with interpretation, but there were some surprises. Only 11% of the Australian 16-22 year olds concurred with the suggested answer for *a wolf in sheep’s clothing* (meaning *someone is deceitful*), although they gave it a familiarity rating of 55%. Half the group preferred the alternative meaning, *someone looks like an animal*. Although these participants may have been providing humorous responses, it is clear from



other research (Arnaud 1992) that familiarity is not always linked to understanding. Conversely, other phrasemes had high interpretation rates in spite of lower familiarity. For example, 100% of the youngest group in Australia interpreted the phraseme *in the land of Nod* (meaning *someone is asleep*) correctly, but the familiarity rate was lower, at 89%. Some phrasemes may thus be relatively transparent to native speakers, even if these speakers are unfamiliar with them. In this case, the accompanying picture of someone sleeping and the associations of the phrasal verb *to nod off*, meaning *to fall asleep*, would have aided comprehension.

From the findings on interpretation, therefore, the generational model is again more evident than the regional model.

### 4.3. Usage

Participants were given five boxes to check, indicating whether they would use a phraseme 'very often', 'often', 'sometimes', 'almost never' or 'never'. This scale was obviously imprecise, but at the start of the study it was not known what frequency would emerge, nor whether participants would be aware of how frequently they used phrasemes. Usage figures varied, but most participants said they would use the phrasemes in the study 'sometimes', 'almost never' or 'never'. Based on the results of this study, it is recommended that future studies use a scale including rates such as 'more than once a day', 'once a day', '3 times a week', 'once a week', 'once a month', 'once a year' and 'never'. The figures in this section are based on percentages for 'sometimes' responses (see Table 3), which was the most common average rate of usage.

**Table 3. Average percentage for which the phrasemes in the questionnaire are used 'sometimes', by age group and region**

Order	Category of reference	Australia 16-22	UK 16-22	Australia 23+	UK 23+
1	Older reference	20	24	32	42
2	Literary/Historical	13	12	26	29
3	Biblical	10	9	25	28
4	UK	4	10	20	27
5	Australian	4	2	20	4
	Overall average	11	11	25	27

Several participants who were not familiar with a certain phraseme nevertheless indicated that they would use it, perhaps interpreting this question in the conditional sense that they would use it in the future now they had heard it.

In accordance with the rates of familiarity and interpretation, the older reference category is again the most popular, and the Australian phrasemes are least used. There is thus a clear link between familiarity and frequency of use, highlighted by Doyle (2007) and Liu (2008) but previously untested.

Age appears to be a major factor in the use of these phrasemes, with the 23+ group much more likely to use them than the youngest group in every case. Again, this points to a generational model of phraseme use. In fact, there were 51 phrasemes which three quarters of the youngest group would never use, including all the Australian and all but one of the UK phrasemes. *To kill the fatted calf* (meaning *to celebrate*) is never used by 98% of the youngest participants, and 97% said they would never use *to come a gutser* (meaning *to fail*), *a dog in the manger* (referring to selfishness) nor *to get a guernsey* (referring to success).

It is important to consider the under-researched question of which phrasemes are used by certain age groups, as the findings have implications for lexicographers, teachers and EAL learners (Liu 2003: 674). For example, most of the phrasemes in the CANCODE corpus are not used by people aged under 25, and so are less relevant for younger learners of English (McCarthy 1998: 145). In the study presented in this chapter, over half the phrasemes in the questionnaire were almost never used by the 16-22 age group, and so should not be taught as productive vocabulary to EAL learners.

Those phrasemes most used by the 16-22 age group in both locations followed the pattern of usage shown by the other groups, with older reference items the most popular, followed by literary/historical, biblical, UK and Australian. Younger people in the UK tended to use Biblical and Australian phrasemes less than other categories in the survey, and those in Australia generally used literary and Australian phrasemes least of all. A generational pattern of usage therefore predominates over a regional pattern, especially in terms of Australian phrasemes.

#### 4.4. Place of use

One of the most popular phrasemes in the questionnaire, *full steam ahead* (meaning *make good progress*), gives an indication of where the phrasemes

in the study are likely to be used. All participants said that they would mostly use it when talking to friends of their own age. They would then use it most commonly when talking to older people and parents, and then when talking to younger people and work colleagues. Informal conversation is thus a prime occasion for phraseme use, supporting the findings of O'Keeffe et al. (2007), but phrasemes are used less in writing, in contrast to the findings of Moon's study (1998), and such information should be passed on to EAL learners. There appears to be no difference in the situations of phraseme use, regardless of age or location.

## 5. Conclusions

This study set out to test the hypotheses that in regard to phraseme familiarity and use (1) region is more important than age, or (2) age is more important than region. The findings reveal that the second hypothesis is more accurate, and that age has more effect than geographical location in terms of how people recognise and use phrasemes. The youngest age group was less familiar with the regional phrasemes, contrary to Svensén's suggestion that location is the main controlling factor in familiarity (2009).

Familiarity and frequency of use appear to be connected, as one might surmise. While the most frequently used phrasemes were the most familiar, however, the most familiar phrasemes were not necessarily used most often. For instance, only 61% of participants said they would use the phraseme *to have someone's guts for garters* (meaning *to be very angry with someone*), but 91% said they were familiar with it. Of course, it is hard to measure the durability of a phraseme (Arnaud 1992; Doyle 2007), but the study reveals that many phrasemes are still in use, despite their reference to older forms of measurement (*inches, miles*) or transport (*steam*) with which younger participants may be unfamiliar.

The study reveals that phrasemes are still used by different age groups, especially in informal situations, but that younger people in a country may not use the same phrasemes as their elders and may not understand the meanings of many figurative expressions. Within and across continents, phraseology may therefore be a uniting force, but such unity is more likely to be based on a speaker's age than on their geographical location. With the increase of online social networking and the breaking of geographical and even age-related boundaries caused by the Internet, it

will be instructive to see what future studies reveal about commonality of phraseme use in English speaking countries around the world.

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## Appendix 1

### Phrasemes used in the study by category

Phraseme	Category
A wolf in sheep's clothing	
An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth	
As old as Methuselah	
To beat / turn swords into ploughshares	
To hide your light under a bushel	
To cast pearls before swine	
To fall on stony ground	
To rain fire and brimstone	
To gird up one's loins	
To give up the ghost	
To have feet of clay	
To hide / cover a multitude of sins	
In the land of Nod	
To kill the fatted calf	
Like a lamb to the slaughter	
To live off the fat of the land	
Man cannot live by bread alone	<i>Biblical origin or reference</i>
Not to know someone from Adam	
Out of the ark	
To quote something chapter and verse	
To reap what you sow	
To rob Peter to pay Paul	
To separate the sheep from the goats	
To separate the wheat from the chaff	
The blind leading the blind	
A land of milk and honey	
The road to Damascus	
The salt of the earth	
The scales fall from someone's eyes	
The spirit is willing but the flesh is weak	
To turn the other cheek	
Sackcloth and ashes	
Something went out with the ark	

An albatross around someone's neck	
All that glitters is not gold	
As mad as a March hare	
Birds of a feather flock together	
Brave new world	
To burn your boats	
To cry wolf	
The cupboard is bare	
Discretion is the better part of valour	
A dog in the manger	<i>Literary or historical origin</i>
Fools rush in where angels fear to tread	
To gild the lily	
Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned	
An iron fist in a velvet glove	
Jam tomorrow	
Look before you leap	
The milk of human kindness	
A pound of flesh	
Some are more equal than others	
The back of Bourke	
To be a box of birds	
To be up a gum tree	
To come a gutser	
Done like a dinner	
Don't come the raw prawn with me	<i>Australian reference or origin</i>
To get a guernsey	
In the box seat	
Like a shag on a rock	
Not to have a bar of something	
Up the mulga	
To carry / take coals to Newcastle	
To grasp the nettle	
It's not cricket	<i>UK reference or origin</i>
The man / woman on the Clapham omnibus	
To send somebody to Coventry	
Somebody had a good innings	



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A pretty / fine kettle of fish
Full steam ahead
To have somebody's guts for garters
To get somewhere under your own steam
Give somebody an inch and they'll take a yard / mile
Inch by inch
To let off steam
To look / be every inch sth
Two a penny
The penny drops
To pick up steam
Within an inch of something
To run out of steam
To spend a penny
Not to budge / give / move an inch

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*Older reference*

## Frazeologia w ujęciu międzykontynentalnym

### STRESZCZENIE

Frazemy są częścią języka i występują w wielu formach dyskursu, od codziennej mówionej interakcji, poprzez telewizyjne programy i akademickie wykłady do nagłówków prasowych, reklam i wielu form literackich. Frazemy mają wysoką frekwencję, więc często przyjmuje się, że rdzenni użytkownicy danego języka mieszkający w różnych krajach znają te same frazemy i prawdopodobnie również używają je (Svensén 2009). Zakłada się również, że rodzimi użytkownicy języka będą interpretować dany frazem w ten sam sposób. To stanowisko nie uwzględnia jednak różnic regionalnych. Choć Internet sprawia, że dzielenie się informacjami jest łatwiejsze i szybsze, granice kulturowe nadal istnieją, i nie możemy zakładać, że użycie frazemu jest identyczne w poszczególnych wspólnotach językowych. Wspólnoty językowe pozostają pod wpływem wielu czynników, do których zalicza się region i przynależność do grup społecznych. Na uwagę zasługuje fakt, że do tej pory wiek użytkownika języka jako zmienna był zaniedbywany w badaniach. Porównanie znajomości frazemów, ich interpretacji i użycia z uwzględnieniem rozbicia na kontynenty i grupy wiekowe może pokazać, czy region i wiek są ważnymi czynnikami w rozpoznawaniu frazemów i ich użyciu, oraz czy model regionalno-generacyjny wskazuje owe różnice.

Analiza przedstawiona w artykule poświęcona jest znajomości frazemów, ich interpretacji i użyciu w różnych grupach wiekowych w Wielkiej Brytanii i Australii. Materiał badawczy został zebrany w ciągu dziewięciu miesięcy w 2008. Dane empiryczne wykazały, że jest wiele różnic w znajomości frazemów i ich

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użyciu, przy czym więcej podobieństw zaobserwowano w poszczególnych grupach wiekowych w danym kraju. Interpretacja również różni się w zależności od grup wiekowych, chociaż w mniejszym stopniu niż od znajomości omawianych jednostek i ich zastosowania. Model generacyjny znajomości i użycia frazemów jest więc dokładniejszy i odzwierciedla różnice kulturowe zmieniających się wspólnot językowych.

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## **Phraseological Meaning as a Mechanism of Cultural Memory<sup>1</sup>**

**ABSTRACT:** One of the questions that arise within the framework of linguocultural studies is what enables phraseologisms to be a store of a huge amount of cultural knowledge or cultural information. Proceeding from the notion of “cultural memory” we set out to show that the phraseological meaning is a complex structure including semantic information and its conceptual basis. Such two-facet structure is capable of storing historical experience of world-cognition gained by a linguocultural community in the course of its development. Special attention is paid to the elaboration of adequate methodology helping to model the formation and functioning of phraseological meaning.

**KEY WORDS:** cultural information, phraseological image, conceptual model, cultural memory, concept

### **1. Introduction**

One of the main distinctive features of modern phraseology is its interdisciplinary character. The study on phraseologisms has advanced greatly since the time of the first structuralistic typologies of multi-word expressions. Extensive work in the field of phraseology has led linguists to explore the boundaries of their discipline with the neighboring fields

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of science such as sociology, philosophy, psychology, computer science, semiotics, cognitive science, anthropology and some others. As a result, phraseology has been equipped with new theories and new successfully applied methods of research, with many different kinds of data prompting a new outlook on classical or traditional issues in phraseology as well as casting light on the problems that remained controversial and / or unresolved for quite a long time.

Phraseology has always been developing as a discipline of many interconnected approaches and the 1990s saw the rise of a new, very promising but at the same time quite challenging approach to the investigation of phraseologisms – the linguoculturological study of phraseology. Nowadays the research on phraseology as a culture-bound phenomenon unites linguists from all over the world: Piirainen (2008, 2011), Colson (2008), Sabban (2008), Pamies (2011), Szerszunowicz (2011), Holandi (2011), Al Jallad (2011), Arboe (2011) and many others. Recent international phraseological conferences held by EUROPHRAS are quite indicative of the growing interest in the approach in question, for instance, “Cross-linguistic and Cross-cultural Perspectives of Phraseology and Paremiology” (Granada, 2010), “Phraseology and Culture” (Maribor 2012).

It is of importance to note that the origins and much of current practice in analyzing phraseology in a culture-oriented perspective reside in the linguoculturological approach developed in the works by Veronika Teliya and her proponents and followers (Kovshova, Krasnykh, Beliaevskaya, Zykova, Oparina, etc). In the introduction to the book “Phraseology: Theory, Analysis, and Applications” Cowie writes:

A second strand can be described as broadly anthropological and is represented here by the contribution of Veronika Teliya and her colleagues, which proposes an extension of the Russian phraseological tradition to embrace the cultural dimension. They argue persuasively that this element must be elaborated in all its richness and complexity if the phraseology of a language is to be fully described and understood. (Cowie 1998: 2)

Drawing upon an exceptionally wide range of Russian examples, Veronika Teliya and her colleagues develop a conceptual framework for describing cultural data as represented in the meanings of multiword units. They argue that phraseology is a particularly fruitful point of focus for ‘linguocultural’ analysis. (Cowie 1998: 8)

Prof. Teliya (1996, 2004, 2006) contributed to phraseology such fundamental notions as cultural connotation, cultural codes, cultural-linguistic

competence, cultural layers of phraseology and worked out an innovative lexicographic principle of culturological description of phraseologisms.

The linguoculturological approach to phraseology means studying different ways and forms of interaction between culture and language resulting in the formation of phraseologisms as embodiments and generations-long transmitters of cultural information. Making the knowledge about the process of this interaction explicit and in this way finding and understanding how cultural information is translated into phraseological meaning is one of the main concerns of the linguoculturological approach to phraseology at present.

Thus, following this line of enquiry, we intend to pay special attention to what enables phraseologisms to act as a store of cultural knowledge. Proceeding from the notion of “cultural memory” we set out to show that the phraseological meaning is a complex semantic-conceptual formation which is capable of reflecting different historical modes of world-cognition and, therefore, of retaining the corresponding types of cultural information (such as archetypal, mythological, religious, philosophical, scientific) (Zykova 2010, 2011). The main assumption advanced in the paper is that **the process of storing cultural information in phraseologisms is possible owing to the conceptual structures underlying phraseological meaning**. To verify the assumption the methods of conceptual analysis of phraseologisms will be applied as well as the logical inference method and the culturological interpretation of the data obtained in the course of research.

## **2. Phraseological meaning with reference to the notion of “cultural memory”**

Memory refers to phenomena of complex higher cognitive functions and for a long time the term resided mainly in psychology and its various trends of interdisciplinary character. Memory as an object of a keen scientific interest has quite a long-lasting history. The term “cultural memory”, however, is a rather recent coinage. It appeared in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century owing to joint scientific efforts of representatives of different sciences, such as semiotics, anthropology, sociology, philosophy and some others (for instance, investigations by Halbwachs, Moles, Duby, Namer, Trubetsky, Cassirer, Lotman, Assmann). Work in this field has changed the entire conception of the nature of memory giving way to its investi-

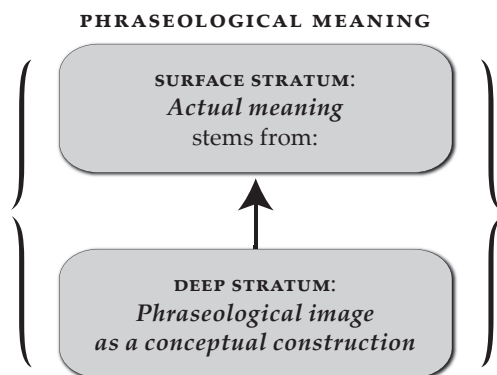
gation as a **supra-individual phenomenon** described as group, collective, social, national, historical, cultural and even world memory. The variation in terminology (group memory, collective memory and so forth) in some researches may be of principal character and counts much. For instance, Halbwachs (2005) makes a clear distinction between collective memory and historical memory. However, it is not like that in all cases, and some investigators use the terms interchangeably.

A great contribution to the elaboration of the notion of “cultural memory” has been made by Lotman (2001). According to the scientist, culture is a collective intellect and collective memory, i.e. a supra-individual “mechanism” of keeping and transmitting some messages or some information as well as a “mechanism” of generating new messages or new information. In his works Lotman especially emphasizes the regenerative character of cultural memory which makes it possible to not just keep cultural information but augment or multiply it by continuous adding new cultural information to the store obtained earlier. Such approach actually depicts the process of cultural memory in action as a **process of storing cultural information layer by layer**. We adopt this idea as a point of departure in our research to further develop it in the course of our linguistic investigation (see Section 3). It is also noteworthy that resting on Turner’s division of symbols into simple and complex ones, Lotman takes up the problem of the degree of information density in different signs. He comes to the conclusion that simple signs, such as, for instance, language signs, have far greater degree of information density than complex signs of culture, such as, for instance, statues (or sculptures). Thus, according to Lotman (2001), language units, being the result of human activity, are capable of actually storing and transmitting the greatest amount of cultural information, or, in other words, of possessing **the largest extent of cultural memory**.

Many linguists who are engaged in research on culturological aspects of language could agree with the latter point. However, as far as phraseology is concerned, a set of such related questions as what makes phraseologisms an element of cultural memory and what kind / type of information they store hasn’t yet found acceptable theoretical and adequate methodological solutions. We suppose that possible solutions are most likely to be found in a profound study of the nature of phraseological meaning, in the way the phraseological meaning is formed and structured as well as in the way it functions.

Methodologically, the tasks set might be solved if we view the meaning of both words and phraseologisms as a two-strata structure including **the surface stratum** and **the deep stratum** (see: Beliaevskaya 2007). The surface stratum is constituted by the semes forming what is known as “the meaning” of language units, and might be called the actual (lexical or phraseological) meaning registered in dictionaries. The peculiarities of the actual meaning stem from the deep stratum which structures the actual semantic set-up. The deep stratum is a conceptual stratum; it is formed by various conceptual constituents. We claim that it is to the deep (conceptual) stratum that the phraseological image belongs (see Diagram 1).

**Diagram 1. Phraseological meaning: stratification**



Thus, as provided by this approach, the phraseological image is in essence a conceptual formation. Such a view on the nature of the phraseological image seems to give reliable grounds for relating it to cultural memory. It is primarily the conceptual character of phraseological images that makes them operative “instruments” or “cells” of cultural memory. Therefore, in research on the problem of phraseological meaning with respect to cultural memory the study of the deep – conceptual – stratum as the stratum of phraseological images comes to the fore.

In recent years, image as a mental-visual representation (of knowledge, of some experience) has been comprehensively explored in different linguistic trends, and especially in cognitive linguistics, for instance, in the works by Langacker, Lakoff, Johnson, Turner, Fauconnier, Kovecses, Moon and many others. Resting on current results in the field we will dwell on



some of the relevant points of understanding phraseological images as conceptual formations.

It should be especially emphasized that the mental-visual representation of some knowledge or experience by the phraseological image has one significant implication: after acquiring certain stability it lasts over time (without much change). This factor is logically indicative of the fact that the process of representing some knowledge or experience by the phraseological image actually transforms into the process of storing (or “memorizing”) information in it. Moreover, the storing process opens up the opportunity for another cognitive operation – accumulation of what is stored. In general, it is possible to say that the conceptual nature of the phraseological image provides actual retention and accumulation of cultural information in the phraseological meaning. However, in the processes in question much depends, as we claim, on the conceptual complexity of phraseological images and this aspect deserves special attention.

As far as the conceptual complexity of phraseological images is concerned, it can be traced even in the tentative investigation of a few English phraseologisms, such as, for instance: *sing someone's praises* – ‘commend a person exuberantly’; *beat one's drum* – ‘immodestly publicize one's own attributes’; *change one's tune* – ‘alter one's publicly expressed views’; and *make overtures to someone* – ‘make suggestions to a person, inviting further negotiations’. The analysis makes evident the synthesized and structured inner conceptual arrangement of the images of the given English phraseologisms. There are several conceptual constituents which are joined together in a particular way to construct the images in question. These conceptual constituents are defined and differentiated by a number of ideas they render, which are: the idea of communicants as musical (vocal / instrumental) performers and as an audience, the idea of communication as a musical play / concert, the idea of words as musical instruments that are skillfully played or objects that can be skillfully used to produce a particular (favourable / unfavourable) musical effect on the audience. Besides, it is important to note that the above described conceptual organization of the images makes another significant fact obvious. All the images turn out to be built up according to one and the same model, in other words, they refer to one and the same model which can be called a **macro-metaphorical conceptual model**. In fact, these images are generated by the macro-metaphorical conceptual model of VERBAL COMMUNICATION AS MUSICAL PLAY-PERFORMANCE.

It seems quite logical to deduce that a macro-metaphorical conceptual model that produces different phraseological images can be considered a structured conceptual medium which integrates all the cultural information about some phenomena that is “captured” and stored in each individual image. Therefore, research on the amount and variety of cultural information that is preserved in phraseological meanings and is continuously multiplied through time rests, for the most part, on the establishment and investigation of macro-metaphorical conceptual models that generate images underlying the phraseological meanings.

Macro-metaphorical conceptual models may be discovered in the course of conceptual analysis. The conceptual analysis conducted in our investigation was based on the theory of metaphorical concepts (by Lakoff and Johnson) and was accompanied in a number of cases by etymological analysis of the semantics of phraseologisms and words constituting them. We have analyzed about 2000 English phraseologisms related to different aspects of communication in its broadest sense, for example: *a full-dress debate* – ‘complete in every respect’; *beyond / without question* – ‘definitely true’; *a conspiracy of silence* – ‘an agreement to say nothing about an issue that should be generally known’; *name names* – ‘tell people who is involved in a secret or illegal activity’; *nothing to write home about* – ‘not exciting or special’; *not breathe a word* – ‘keep something a secret’; *lie through one’s teeth* – ‘tell an outright lie without remorse’; *a pat on the back* – ‘praise’. As a result of the conceptual analysis 11 macro-metaphorical conceptual models producing images of the English phraseologisms under consideration were discovered. They are as follows:

- COMMUNICATION IS PLAY-PERFORMANCE & PLAY-GAME (music, dance, etc performance; sport, war, children’s and other games), e.g.: *as clear as a bell* – ‘very easy to hear’; *meet one’s match* – ‘encounter someone who can equal, or perhaps outdo, one in combat, argument, strength of will, etc’; *piggy in the middle* – ‘someone who is between two people or groups who are arguing but who does not want to agree with either of them’;
- COMMUNICATION IS SOCIAL & LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITY, e.g.: *the King’s / Queen’s English* – ‘the English language as written and spoken correctly by educated people in Britain’; *the talk of the town* – ‘be the person or subject that everyone is talking about and interested in’; *read the riot act* – ‘reprimand’;

- COMMUNICATION IS RELIGION-RELATED ACTIVITY, e.g.: *read a sermon to someone* – ‘reprimand’; *a sacred cow* – ‘anything that is beyond criticism’; *gospel truth* – ‘something that is completely true’;
- COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT, e.g.: *mend fences* – ‘try to become friends again with someone you have argued with’; *lay it on with a trowel* – ‘to praise someone too much’; *a left-handed compliment* – ‘an ambiguous compliment’;
- COMMUNICATION IS TRADE / COMMERCE, e.g.: *be lavish in one’s praise(s)* – ‘commend someone exuberantly’; *return the compliment* – ‘say something nice to someone after they have said something nice to you’; *take someone’s name in vain* – ‘criticize someone or talk about someone without respect, especially when they are not there’;
- COMMUNICATION IS JOURNEY, e.g.: *talk in circles* – ‘waste time by saying words that don’t mean very much’; *a standing joke* – ‘something that is always funny even though it is often repeated’; *better the foot slip than the tongue* – ‘it is better to take a bad step in walking than to say the wrong thing in talking’;
- COMMUNICATION IS HUNTING, e.g.: *call off one’s dogs* – ‘stop attacking or criticizing someone’; *rise to the bait* – ‘react to something in the way that someone wants you to, especially by becoming angry’; *take a pot shot* – ‘criticize someone suddenly’;
- COMMUNICATION IS EATING / COOKING, e.g.: *call bitter names* – ‘verbally abuse someone, use offensive epithets’; *language that will fry bacon* – ‘swearing; curse words’; *sweet talk* – ‘flattering or pleasing words used to persuade somebody’;
- COMMUNICATION IS MEDICINE-RELATED ACTIVITY, e.g.: *blind someone with science* – ‘confuse or trick someone by using complicated language’; *talk ad nauseam* – ‘repeat something so many times that it becomes very boring or annoying’; *be thin-skinned* – ‘easily hurt by criticism’;
- COMMUNICATION IS PAINTING, e.g.: *paint with a broad brush* – ‘describe something in a very general way without giving any details’; *in black and white* – ‘written down’; *a thumbnail sketch* – ‘a short general description’;
- COMMUNICATION IS HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITY, e.g.: *mop / wipe the floor with someone* – ‘speak very angrily to someone after they have done something wrong’; *sweep something under the carpet* – ‘try to keep something a secret, especially something you have done wrong’; *air /*

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*wash one's dirty linen in public* – 'discuss private subjects or problems in public'.

Thus, the eleven macro-metaphorical conceptual models, as it was established, generate about 2000 English phraseologisms related to various aspects of verbal communication. Summarizing, it is worth mentioning that each macro-metaphorical model being a shared conceptual foundation for some number of phraseological images (the amount may vary) becomes an aggregate resource storing cultural information that each phraseological image retains and transmits.

The next task in our research is to deal with the questions concerning cultural information itself in relation to phraseological meaning: it is necessary to determine the criteria for its typology as well as the main layers / types of cultural information that are fixed and stored in the phraseological meaning.

### **3. On layers or types of cultural information “memorized” in phraseological meaning**

In our monograph on culture as an information system (Zykova 2011) we put forward and provided with appropriate theoretical grounds the assumption that one of the main driving forces in information processing in culture are three modes of world-perception – emotional, ethical and aesthetical, and five modes of world-cognition – archetypal, mythological, religious, philosophical and scientific. Taking into account these modes, a corresponding typology of cultural information has been elaborated. According to our research, the main types of cultural information are as follows: emotional, ethical, aesthetical information, on the one hand, and archetypal, mythological, religious, philosophical and scientific information, on the other hand.

In the present paper we are going to dwell only on the latter five types of cultural information which will be considered in relation to English phraseologisms whose images are generated by the macro-metaphorical conceptual model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT (about 180 units). In the course of research two methods have been applied – the logical inference method and the method of culturological interpretation of phraseological images.

To begin with, five main modes of world-cognition are regarded primarily as **historical forms** that have evolved through the elaboration of the human intellect. Hence, their historical relatedness to each other can be depicted through the following hypothetical sequence: archetypal → mythological → religious → philosophical → scientific. Each mode is distinguished from the others by specific mental tools used to cognize reality (that will be described in the corresponding subsection below). However, evolving in the course of time these modes of world-cognition become permanent ways of comprehending various phenomena of life. It means that they are at the same time **the actual forms of modern thinking** about things in the world. This assumption logically suggests two basic claims. Viewed historically, the modes of world-cognition disclose the process of gradual accumulation of cultural information. Viewed synchronically, they point at the synthetic matching of different kinds of cultural information. It follows that cultural information in the phraseological meaning is stored in the form of overlapping layers and is transmitted as an integral whole. It is these facts that determine the principle of the consideration and description of cultural information contained in the English phraseologisms under analysis, i.e. the English phraseologisms the images of which are generated by the macro-metaphorical conceptual model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT.

### 3.1. Archetypal information in phraseological meaning

As a first step it should be pointed out that mental tools that characterize the archetypal way of thinking are archetypal binary oppositions, such as up / down, inside / outside, left / right, close / distant, big / small, light / dark, clean / dirty etc. (see: Teliya 2006). They give rise to the formation of primary or basic conceptions of movement, structure, direction, number, border, identity, etc. These basic conceptions can be referred to as archetypes. It seems quite reasonable to claim that archetypal binary oppositions and archetypes as cognitive entities result basically from the immediate physical contact with reality in the course of which they are endowed with certain primary cultural implications. In fact, they prove to lay down not only the conceptual basis for macro-metaphorical conceptual models but also the information basis which is the source of connotative and semantic potential of phraseologisms.

As far as the English phraseologisms under consideration are concerned, the study of their images has shown that the archetypal information is revealed through the repertoire of interdependent archetypal

binary oppositions which convey certain experience in creating something as made, produced, built, erected, constructed, designed, shaped, clothed, etc by means of some tool in a particular way. These archetypal binary oppositions pertain to such archetypes, as structure and quality: inside / outside, left / right, part / whole, top / bottom, open / closed, simple / complex, short / long, solid(firm) / soft, similar / different, suitable / unsuitable. For instance, the archetypal binary oppositions part / whole, inside / outside, top / bottom serve as conceptual foundations for the images of such English phraseologisms, as: **part / whole**: *make words* – ‘talk about something; mention something’; *make conversation* – ‘say things to someone whom you do not know well, in order to be polite’, *not the whole story* – ‘not all, only part, of what there is to be known, learned, about something’; **inside / outside**: *hedge one’s bets* – ‘try to avoid giving an opinion or choosing only one thing, so that whatever happens in the future you will not have problems or seem stupid’, *put something into words* – ‘express something such as your feelings in words’, *lay it on thick* – ‘exaggerate or over-state praise, excuses, or blame’; **bottom / (top)**: *basic English* – ‘a simplified form of English limited to 850 selected words, intended for international communication’, *lay down the law* – ‘tell people what they should do, without caring about how they feel’, *get down to brass tacks* – ‘start talking about the most important or basic facts of a situation’.

The elementary conceptual constructs contain and render some bits of relevant cultural information. For instance, **inside** entails the implication of something ‘safe’, ‘protected’, ‘not risky’ (in *hedge one’s bets*), ‘come to be known’, ‘private’ (in *put something into words*); **bottom** implies the idea of ‘simple’, ‘easy (for understanding)’ (in *basic English*), ‘steady’, ‘immovable’, ‘unbreakable’ (in *lay down the law*), ‘start’ (in *get down to brass tacks*). It is necessary to note that all these information elements are indicative of assessment scaling within the range of such oppositions, as ‘good / bad’, ‘effective / ineffective’, ‘useful / useless’ and, in general, ‘approved / disapproved’.

Thus, cultural implications of archetypes and archetypal oppositions as elementary conceptual constructs of phraseological images form the archetypal information layer of meanings of the phraseologisms under consideration.

### 3.2. Mythological information in phraseological meaning

One of the main mental tools of the mythological mode of world-cognition is anthropomorphism. Anthropomorphism, in its turn, gives rise



to such elementary beliefs as animism, fetishism, totemism, magic, etc. Within this mode of world-cognition human consciousness is syncretic as man perceives himself as an inseparable element of the universe. Besides, the mythological way of thinking contributes much to the sacralization and ritualisation of human activity.

The mythological mode of world-cognition is a higher cognitive form of comprehending reality that actually gives rise to metaphorical thinking (see, e.g.: Cassirer 1992). Within this way of thinking archetypal binary oppositions and archetypes are combined in such a way as to build composite conceptions of verbal communication as a process of creating something. In the images of the English phraseologisms in question verbal communication may be presented as handicraft in general (e.g. *make words, make a living with one's pen*), as a builder's work (e.g. *basic English*), as a carpenter's work (e.g. *be on the square, nail a lie*), as a plasterer's work (e.g. *lay it on (thick) with a trowel*), as a blacksmith's work (e.g. *strike a bargain, hammer something home*), as a stone-cutter's work (e.g. *(words, proposals etc) carved in stones, sermons in stone*), as a fitter's work (e.g. *suit the action to the word*), as a tailor's work (e.g. *a lie out of the whole cloth, lose the thread of something*), as a cutter's work (e.g. *cut someone down to size*), a florist's work (e.g. *say it with flowers!, the flowers of speech*), an interior designer's work (e.g. *paper over the cracks*). As a result, owing to this mode of world-cognition the integral conceptual construction – the macro-metaphorical model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT – actually comes into being.

The mythological information that is conveyed by the given macro-metaphorical conceptual model finds its way into numerous phraseological images it generates, and it can be discovered in these images as traces of anthropomorphism and animism. For instance, in the image of the English phraseologism *one lie makes many* a lie is viewed as a human being or as an animate object. The phraseological images under analysis also retain references to such ancient elementary beliefs as fetishism and magic-making according to which inanimate things as spiritual beings are endowed with supernatural powers and become objects of worship. For instance, the image of the English phraseologism *sermons in stones* is based on cultural information to the effect that stones for a long time were regarded as sacred objects of rites. In general, it can be said that mythological information is concerned with the depiction of different aspects of verbal communication as a ritualized craft activity. However, the cultural implications may come to be different. This is obviously connected with two opposite ancient processes that are equally peculiar to the mythologi-



cal mode of world-cognition, i.e. sacralization and de-sacralization. The traces of sacralization are retained in the phraseological images which discover a high relevance of this or that craft or high value of certain craft skill, and, therefore, render positive cultural connotations (e.g. *hit the nail on the head* – ‘describe exactly what is causing a problem’). Lack / absence of skill in some craft and improper way of making something that find their reflection in the phraseological images are indicative of traces of the de-sacralization process. In the latter case the mythological information becomes the source of negative cultural implications (e.g. *a left-handed compliment* – ‘a remark that seems approving but which is also negative’).

All bits of mythological information conveyed by the individual images of the English phraseologisms are merged and come to present the mythological information layer (or the mythological type of cultural information) of the macro-metaphorical conceptual model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT, and, further on, of the meanings of the phraseologisms under consideration.

### 3.3. Religious information in phraseological meaning

The religious mode of world-cognition is characterized by a human’s awareness of himself as something opposed to nature. As a result the world comes to be divided into the natural and the supernatural. The relations between these two worlds are understood through the idea of God. As a result, various polytheistic, henotheistic, monotheistic and other religious beliefs or religions appear. They can be regarded as special mental tools peculiar to the religious way of thinking.

As far as the religious information is concerned, the English phraseologisms under consideration reveal one of the core Christian conceptions of God as the Creator or the supreme Craftsman which creates by His Word all the things in the world: “And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.” (Genesis 1: 3), “And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters” (Genesis 1: 6), “And God said, Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together unto one place, and let the dry land appear: and it was so” (Genesis 1: 9), etc. (King James Version).

This fundamental biblical view on communication gives rise to a great deal of correlated religious implications concerning moral aspects of communication as a process of creation (or craft) in which man is the individual who expresses his creative personality, manifests his (considerable

or insignificant) skill in reasoning (that may be good or bad / evil) and is capable (or otherwise) of achieving certain perfection in his verbal craft. All these religious senses that come about in the Christian tradition can be found in the images of the English phraseologisms under analysis, for instance<sup>2</sup>: *coin a phrase* – ‘invent a new expression’, *put into words* – ‘express something such as your feelings in words’, *the operative word* – ‘the most important word in a phrase, which explains the truth of a situation’, *a likely story* – ‘an improbable version, account, of something that has happened’, *a hatchet job* – ‘a false accusation of an offense or a malicious misrepresentation of someone’s words or actions’, *counsel of perfection* – ‘advice that is ideal but not feasible’.

Thus, the religious information is part and parcel of the information resource of the macro-metaphorical conceptual model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT and, consequently, can be regarded as another information layer or information type in the meanings of the English phraseologisms in question.

### 3.4. Philosophical information in phraseological meaning

The mental tools of the philosophical mode of world-cognition are the logical analysis, rational deductions, arguments, proofs, etc aimed at the critical thinking of fundamental problems of existence. Speculative, or theoretical, constructions that are characteristic of this mode of world-cognition enable people to reveal the most intimate regularities and laws of the universe and the essence of human life.

The core phenomenon the philosophical form of thinking is aimed at cognizing in a comprehensive perspective is the relationship of man with the world. The global opposition ‘Man – World’ takes different shapes within the philosophical mode of world-cognition. One of most prominent is the conception about the world as man’s workshop. WORLD IS A WORKSHOP OF MAN is a concept that is peculiar to cultures of many communities and to the English-speaking community, in particu-

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<sup>2</sup> It should be especially emphasized that here we proceed not from the etymological data referring a phraseologism to religious sources but from the conceptual analysis of imagery underlying a phraseologism. It is the macro-metaphorical conceptual model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT that enables different types of cultural information (archetypal, mythological, religious, philosophical and scientific) to be stored and accumulated through time. Every phraseological unit possesses information of all the five types enumerated above, and further on we give the phraseologisms where, in our opinion, the type of cultural information discussed comes to the fore with all other types of information, though present, receding into the background.

lar. The roots of this multicultural concept lie deep in the past. Since the time of ancient thinkers it has been the backbone of profound philosophical speculations (see, e.g., works by F. Bacon). It seems quite reasonable to claim that COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT can be regarded as one of its conceptual derivatives. The philosophical view on communication as craft or creative activity offers important insights into the essence of communication and multiplies the information resource of meanings of the English phraseologisms under analysis by means of various philosophical implications. In fact, the philosophical information specifies the original metaphoric concept adding to it philosophical overtones bringing out the (im)perfect forms language can acquire in the process of communication depending on the skills of those who participate in its creation, on the accurateness with which communication can represent or reflect the essence of the existing things, the manifestation of the inner intentions of an individual who is capable of thought and of self-expression, etc. These philosophical implications are incorporated in the images of the English phraseologisms under consideration making up the philosophical information layer of their meanings, for instance, *strike a bargain* – ‘agree to terms’; *spin a yarn* – ‘tell an amusing or unlikely story’, *stretch the truth* – ‘say something which is not completely true in order to make someone or something seem better than it really is’, *tie oneself (up) in knots* – ‘become very confused when one is trying to explain something’.

### 3.5. Scientific information in phraseological meaning

The mental tools of the scientific mode of word-cognition are theories elaborated on the basis of unbiased observations and systematic experiments.

The scientific information that is stored in the meanings of the English phraseologisms under consideration due to the macro-metaphorical conceptual model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT has much to do with a number of important issues in linguistics and other sciences which linguistics is integrated with. It can be said that the scientific information layer of the macro-metaphorical conceptual model under study reveals mainly the scientific understanding of verbal communication elaborated through different scientific conceptions, approaches, hypotheses, theories, trends as well as through scientific terms and notions. The scientific cognition of communication as a craft activity may be traced in all ‘mainstream’ scientific trends of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – structuralism, generativism, functionalism as well as in scientific (interdisciplinary) approaches to lan-

guage. For instance, in the structuralistic perspective language is understood as a structure and a system, as an organized in a particular way formation produced or manufactured in accordance with strict rules. Besides, one of the scientific trends that nearly literally refer to communication as craft is calligraphy which for a long time has been developing both as an art form and as a traditional craft (see, e.g.: Johnston 1906; Mahoney 1981).

Interestingly, proponents of different scientific trends profile different aspects of the “craft idea” of communication. For instance, the view on communicants as “members of some craft guild” seems quite evident in Grice’s model of communication based on the notion of co-operative principle, i.e. the collaborative efforts of participants in directing conversation towards attaining a common goal. By observing the co-operative principle the participants follow a number of specific conversational maxims, such as ‘be informative’, ‘be truthful’, ‘be relevant’ and ‘be clear’ (Grice 1975, 1999). This scientific principle can be found in the English phraseologisms under study. In their images it is preserved in the form of particular cultural prescriptions, for instance: *say one’s piece* – ‘say what you really think about something’, *make one’s point* – ‘prove that you are right about something’, *in plain English* – ‘in clear language’, *in a manner of speaking* – ‘as could be said’, *in short* – ‘as directly as possible’. Moreover, the terms themselves, such as “construction”, “reconstruction”, “architecture”, “instrument” (of social interaction), “framework”, “network”, “design”, “skill”, “creativity” and the like that are applied in communication (or language) scientific studies as the core ones (see, e.g., the works by Jakendoff (1997) *The architecture of language faculty* and Landau (2001) *The art and craft of lexicography*) are indicative of the rapid and prolific scientific development of this “craft-related” comprehension of communication (or language). This development amplifies the information resource of the model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT providing it with new scientific information and, thus, forming a scientific information layer of the meanings of the English phraseologisms under consideration.

#### 4. Conclusions

In the present paper we have set out to elaborate the problem of phraseological meaning within the framework of the notion of cultural memory. Proceeding from the stratificational approach to phraseological meaning considerable attention in the research has been paid to its deep – con-

ceptual – stratum as the stratum of the conceptual construction of phraseological images. The conceptual nature of phraseological images has proved to be a reliable criterion for relating them to cognitive mechanisms of cultural memory. The close consideration of the principles of the formation of phraseological images has testified to their similarly / identically patterned conceptual organizations. Thus, one of the significant results of the study has been the establishment of 11 macro-metaphorical conceptual models that generate images of all the English phraseologisms under analysis (about 2000 units). The further research verified the assumption that it is these models that ensure the process of storing cultural information in phraseology as well as rather high information capacity of phraseological meanings. The results of the analysis have shown that owing to the macro-metaphorical conceptual models phraseological meanings contain a variety of types of cultural information, namely archetypal, mythological, religious, philosophical and scientific information. The cultural information of various kinds is stored in phraseological meanings forming overlapping information layers which are realized in the context as an integral whole.

Thus, any phraseologism built on the macro-metaphorical conceptual model COMMUNICATION IS CRAFT necessarily reflects the English language view of communication as the creative process of sacred significance and of communication as part of the workshop of man together with information of archetypal and mythological nature. All these types of information, in their turn, give rise to modern theories of language and communication which indirectly relates any phraseologism of the set studied to at least some well-known scientific trends.

In general, it should be emphasized that it is **the conceptual stratum of phraseological meanings** that provides the retention, accumulation and transmission of cultural information through time and generations in phraseologisms and makes them **operative cognitive mechanisms of cultural memory**.

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## Znaczenie frazeologiczne jako mechanizm pamięci kulturowej

#### STRESZCZENIE

W celu znalezienia odpowiednich rozwiązań jednego z głównych problemów językowo-kulturowego podejścia do frazeologii, tzn. określenia, co sprawia, że frazeologizmy są „instrumentami” lub „komórkami” pamięci kulturowej, opracowana została koncepcja znaczenia frazeologicznego rozumianego jako ustratyfikowana formacja składająca się z dwóch zależnych od siebie warstw: warstwy powierzchniowej (inaczej semantycznej) i głębokiej (inaczej konceptualnej). Au-



torka przedstawia argumenty mające uzasadnienie teoretyczne, aby udowodnić konceptualną naturę obrazowości frazeologizmu, a zatem jego odniesienie do głębokiej (konceptualnej) warstwy znaczenia frazeologicznego. Przyjęto założenie, że z powodu złożonego konceptualnego charakteru obrazowość frazeologizmu ma zdolność zatrzymywania i kumulowania informacji kulturowych w czasie. O ile chodzi o informacje kulturowe, typologię opracowano, przyjmując kryterium historycznych sposobów poznawania świata. Według tego kryterium można wyodrębnić następujące typy informacji występujących w znaczeniu frazeologicznym: archetypiczne, mitologiczne, religijne, filozoficzne i naukowe. Aby potwierdzić założenia badawcze, konieczne było opracowanie odpowiedniej metodologii, której podstawami są: analiza konceptualna, metoda inferencji logicznej i metoda interpretacji kulturowej. Zastosowanie tej metodologii pozwoliło udowodnić, że: 1) obrazowanie frazeologizmów jako złożony konceptualny twór jest syntetyzowane i porządkowane jako przedstawienie makrometaforycznego modelu konceptualnego; 2) każdy makrometaforyczny model konceptualny zatrzymuje i kumuluje pięć typów informacji kulturowej (archetypiczne, mitologiczne, religijne, filozoficzne i naukowe), które tworzą niezależne, ale nakładające się na siebie warstwy. Przeprowadzone badanie i uzyskane dzięki niemu dane pokazały, że makrometaforyczne modele konceptualne obrazowości frazeologizmów będących podstawą znaczeń frazeologicznych sprawiają, że znaczenia te są jednym z efektywnych mechanizmów pamięci kulturowej.