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APPROACHES TO PHRASEOLOGY
IN POLYPARADIGMAL LINGUISTICS

Manual



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В книге рассматриваются насущные вопросы современной фразеологии с позиций когнитивистики, интертекстуальности и дискурса в широком смысле слова. Содержание учебного пособия строится вокруг полутора десятков ядерных тем современной фразеологической науки.

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PREFACE

The book is designed as a manual for the students who are going to get ready to sit for the examinations with the view of being awarded their master's degree. The manual is aimed at regular independent reading and discussion in class. The contents is built around sixteen most important and most debatable points of modern Phraseology. They are as follows:

- a) cognitive-semiological approaches in formation of phrasemes as the indirect-derivative signs,
- b) phraseological units and their stylistic effect,
- c) the problem of idiom variation in American English,
- d) the levels of phraseological abstraction,
- e) non-verbal representations of idioms as a challenge for language,
- f) cross-varieties of phraseology in Australia and new Zealand,
- g) phraseological units in standard varieties of English as indicators of cultural identity,
- h) lingual-didactic value of idioms, their origin and cultural background,
- i) the representation of phraseological metaphor in verbal and visual discourse: a cognitive approach,
- j) studies of animalistic idioms in non-related languages,
- k) semantic categories of collocation from the point of view of psychological reality in the mind of foreign language learners,
- l) referential scope of idioms and proverbs in fiction,
- m) the issue of innocuousness of widespread idioms,
- n) the relations between widespread idioms and proverbs,
- o) some new tendencies in development of communicative phraseological units, etc.

Post-Graduate students who have chosen Germanic Languages as their specialization may also appeal to the Book. In particular the Book might be addressed to the post-graduates who are going to closely study English Phraseology as well as Phraseology of some other modern languages of Germanic and non-Germanic origin.

Theme 1
THE ROLE OF COGNITIVE-SEMIOLOGICAL PARADOXES
IN FORMATION OF PHRASEMES
AS THE INDIRECT-DERIVATIVE SIGNS

Introduction

The research is devoted to analysis of discursive-and-synergetic process of indirect nomination and analysis of the cognitive-semiological paradoxes as synergetics mechanism of phraseologization.

The phraseme which is formed on the basis of a discourse has the specific cognitive base – onomatopoetic concept. It is the cause of cognitive paradoxes. Nonconformity of phraseological sense and meaning of phraseological components is the cause of semiological paradoxes. The phraseme is the mark with asymmetry of its form and sense because syntagmatically organized sense of the phraseological significant is not a source of its significatum. The asymmetric dualism of the discursive marks is caused by its genetic nature: they are generated when speech-thinking needs the figurative-pragmatical means so as to explicate a synergy of feelings, emotions, ways of emotional influence, bright and neat characteristics of a person or an object.

The paradoxicality is characteristic of the plan of content of the indirect marks. However it is not correct to name this characteristic as negative because, as a rule, the paradox is point of crisis, moment of the conflict which frequently becomes the reason of development and modification. Hence, the paradoxes is a mechanism of creative linguistic thinking. The paradoxes become the cause of synergetics semantic-and-cognitive modification and formation new marks – phrasemes.

**1. Discursive-and-synergetic process of formation
of cognitive and semantic structures**

Cognitive linguistics refers to those scientific spheres in which such phenomenon as cognition is investigated. Complexity of this phenomenon has predetermined formation of different scientific directions. In spite of the fact that cognitive linguistics is young enough and it is a developing

branch of linguistics, it already has some independent fields such as cultural studies, logic studies, semiologic studies, semantic-and-cognitive studies (Popova, Sternin, 2007: 16). Cognitive semantics promptly develops within Russian linguistics which allows getting into secrets of interaction between language and conceptual systems. It also allows comprehending features of conceptual structurization by means of semantic analysis and, on the contrary, it allows studying specificity of different types of sign meanings with analysis of conceptual organization of knowledge. The results of numerous semantic-and-cognitive researches became the proof of indissoluble connection between cognitive (conceptual) and semantic structures during a cognitive act. Taking into consideration the fact that these results present great achievement, it is necessary to note nevertheless, that a lot of processes and mechanisms of interaction between proto-verbal and verbal structures remain insufficiently studied. One of such processes is a discursive-and-synergetic process of formation of cognitive and semantic structures during the process of indirect nomination.

2. From the synergetics of a discourse to the phraseme

In our opinion, the synergetics of a discourse is interaction between all factors which generate the discourse: it is “a connection and a combined action of energy” which is directed to ontological and functional “self-organization” of the discursive space and defines the semantic distribution of its components. Thereby in our view, sense-generating energy of the discourse has different energetic sources such as perceptive and sensory images, symbolical interpretation of primary images, an act of the transformed form in the text and, at last, extra-linguistic environment (situational, pragmatic and cultural contexts). The union of all energetic streams represents associative-derivational essence of a discourse owing to which some linguistic signs become phrasemes (fixed phrases) – the figurative signs of indirect nomination with semantics that is able to express not only the rational information but also the vast spectrum of human emotions, representing in unity understanding and emotional experience of the world by the person.

3. Secondary and indirect-derivative nomination

Depending on a way of reflection of the reality and reference of semantics to the object (Telia, 1977), indirect nomination distinguishes such types as secondary and indirect-derivative nomination. During the indirect-derivative nomination the connection between the name and the reflected object can be actualized only with a support of the semantics of another word. There are words with a fixed meaning and phrasemes in the group of the indirect-derivative marks, for example, *стена равнодушия, непонимания* (*a wall of indifference, misunderstanding*) *играть с огнем* (*to play with fire*). The indirect-derivative signs are studied in different aspects. Scientists revealed some semantic-and-cognitive features of these signs and named one of the causes of their origin: the process of indirect-derivative nomination is accompanied with formation of semantic-and-cognitive paradoxes that is anomalous combination of cognitive and semantic structures within the aspect of content of the indirect sign.

4. The biological basis of conceptual metaphors

Conceptual structuring of any linguistic sign is started with formation of a neuron object on “the screen of consciousness”. It can be direct or it can be mediated with “symbolical objects” during reflection of the cognizable object (Sokolov, 2004). The neuron object of the indirect signs can be referred to the symbolical objects because indirect-derivative nomination is an act of using nominative means in a new nominative function (Teliya, 1977). The “symbolical conceptualization” leads to formation of paradoxical (unusual) neuron connections that become the biological basis of conceptual metaphors.

5. The onomatopoetic concept

In modern linguistics the followers of G. Lakoff and M. Johnson are considering a conceptual metaphor as ability to understand and experience essence of the one object in terms of essence of the other object (Lakoff, Johnson, 2004: 27). The conceptual metaphor is one of ways that helps to identify and to make sense of information about the reflected object. This way has specificity – it is not only mental (proto-verbal). The conceptual

metaphor is formed with the help of conceptual structures and linguistic signs. The combination of conceptual structures becomes the conceptual metaphor owing to activation of the semantic structures of the linguistic signs which have been used by way of nomination of a “metaphorically cognizable” object. Such way of conceptualization leads to formation of a special type of a concept – the onomatopoetic concept that is aimed to explicate not only essential but also secondary characteristics of the object. The onomatopoetic concept, originating from a conceptual metaphor, is the cognitive base of the indirect-derivative signs. In spite of the fact that formation of the onomatopoetic concept is accompanied with integration of different cognitive structures (new structures and already existing in the conceptual system) their integration is partial and does not eliminate absolutely all semantic contradictions. Therefore the image of the indirect-derivative signs is paradoxical. It is “a hybrid picture” that consists of derivative image (image of the semiotic derivative base) and image of the reflected object. For example, metaphoric conceptualization during forming the indirect-derivative sign *муха воробьев* (*a cloud of sparrows*) leads to forming the paradoxical image: knowledge about quantity of the nominated object (*sparrows*) is interpreted in terms of conceptualized knowledge about *clouds*. As a result the unusual image (the integrated image of *clouds* and *sparrows*) is formed. Cognitive paradoxes are the sense-producing factors because their “overcoming” leads to forming new conceptual structures.

6. The mechanism of creative linguistic thinking

Thus, the paradoxicality is a characteristic of the aspect of content of the indirect signs. However it is not correct to name this characteristic as negative one because, as a rule, the paradox is the point of crisis, the moment of the conflict which frequently becomes the reason of development and modification. Hence, the paradoxes may be considered as a mechanism of creative linguistic thinking. The paradoxes become the reason of semantic-and-cognitive modification and formation new signs – phrasemes.

7. “A condensation of an idea”

The phraseme which is formed on the basis of a discourse becomes the sign with asymmetry of its form and sense because syntagmatically organized sense of the phraseologic significant is not a source of its significatum. The asymmetric dualism of the discursive signs is caused by its genetic nature: they are generated when speech-thinking needs the figurative-pragmatical means so as to explicate a synergy of feelings, emotions, ways of emotional influence, bright and neat characteristics of a person or an object. A. Potebnia was one of the first scientists who wrote (certainly in other terminology) about forming of discursive phrasemes. He named this process “a condensation of an idea” and he considered that during the process of phraseme formation a new inner form (produced on the base of discursive thinking inner form) condenses the image and substitutes all image elements with the only notion (Potebnia, 1999 [1929]). The inner forms of the lexical components of the phrasemes become weak or obliterated at that; that is why the lexical components are reconsidered. As a result of such discursive-and-cognitive transformations the discrepancy between significant and significatum of the linguistic signs develops.

8. Paradigmatic and syntagmatic asymmetry

The formation of the phrasemes is accompanied with the process of combining paradigmatic and syntagmatic asymmetry. Syntagmatic asymmetry is a realization of the integrated cogitative structures (concepts, gestalts) in figurative speech. This process can be implicit, for example, in the fixed phrases: *одним миром мазаны* – ‘одинаковы’ (about similar people); or this process can be explicit, for example, in the form of a metaphor: *Молния сверкала синей птицей* (the lightning sparkled as a blue bird) (B. Poplavskiy). Paradigmatic asymmetry of the discursive marks is formed with discrepancy of their associative sense and the meaning of the word-components. Compare paradigmatic asymmetry of phrasemes and metaphors: а) *открывать Америку* – ‘говорить, сообщать то, что всем давно известно’ (‘to tell about smth that is known to everybody’); б) *Свой гребень подняла волна Крылом*

нацелившейся чайки (P. Vasiljev) < гребень – крыло чайки (*The wave has lifted a crest as the wing of the seagull* < a crest – the wing of the seagull). Such asymmetry reflects all pragmatic spectrum of discursive synergy including intentional, deictic, presuppositional, expressive, subcode (functional-and-stylistic), modal, communicative components which define the communicative-and-pragmatic characteristics of the phrasemes.

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(after N. Alefirenko and K. Dekatova)

Questions for discussion

1. What phraseme has the specific cognitive base that is named *onomatopoetic concept*?
2. What concept is considered to be the cause of cognitive paradoxes?
3. Could you give any arguments in favour of the statement that nonconformity of phraseological sense and meaning of phraseological components is the cause of semiological paradoxes?
4. Why is the phraseme considered to be the mark characterized by asymmetry of its form and sense?
5. What factor is the asymmetric dualism of the discursive marks caused by?
6. Could you prove that they are generated when speech-thinking needs the figurative-pragmatic means so as to explicate a synergy of feelings, emotions, ways of emotional influence, bright and neat characteristics of a person or an object?
7. What plan of the indirect marks is the paradoxicality characteristic of?
8. Why do you think it is not correct however to name this characteristic as negative?
9. Will you supply a set of arguments to show that the paradoxes become the cause of synergetics semantic-and-cognitive modification and formation of new marks – phrasemes?
10. Could you prove that in spite of the fact that cognitive linguistics is young enough and it is a developing branch of linguistics, it already has some independent fields such as cultural studies, logic studies, semiologic studies, semantic-and-cognitive studies?
11. It is said that a lot of processes and mechanisms of interaction between proto-verbal and verbal structures remain insufficiently studied and one of such processes is a discursive-and-synergetic process of formation of cognitive and semantic structures during the process of indirect nomination. Do you agree here?

12. Could you argue pro and contra: during the indirect-derivative nomination the connection between the name and the reflected object can be actualized only with a support of the semantics of another word?

13. Why is the process of indirect-derivative nomination accompanied with formation of semantic-and-cognitive paradoxes that is anomalous combination of cognitive and semantic structures within the aspect of content of the indirect sign?

14. What connections do you think become the biological basis of conceptual metaphors?

15. In modern linguistics the followers of G. Lakoff and M. Johnson consider a conceptual metaphor as ability to understand and experience essence of the one object in terms of essence of the other object. What is your opinion on the point?

16. The conceptual metaphor is one of the ways that helps to identify and to make sense of information about the reflected object. Try and supply the statement with examples.

17. Could you illustrate the following phrase: the combination of conceptual structures becomes the conceptual metaphor owing to activation of the semantic structures of the linguistic signs which have been used by way of nomination of a “metaphorically cognizable” object?

18. Why couldn't you but agree to the observation: such way of conceptualization leads to formation of a special type of a concept – the onomatopoetic concept that is aimed to explicate not only essential but also secondary characteristics of the object?

19. What discursive-and-cognitive transformations lead to the discrepancy between significant and significatum of the linguistic signs?

20. The formation of the phrasemes is accompanied with the process of combining paradigmatic and syntagmatic asymmetry. Could you explain the phenomenon?

Theme 2

PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS AND STYLISTIC EFFECT: THE CASE OF COSMETICS LEAFLETS¹

Introduction

The present study is designed to evaluate the stylistic effect of phraseological units in cosmetics leaflets, a type of text that is arguably a manifestation of the genre of advertising. In so doing we hope to contribute to a better understanding of the role of these multiword units in this special genre, as well as to reflect upon the difficulties of translating them into a foreign language.

1. Theoretical considerations

1.1. Phraseological units

This section sets out our approach to the concept of ‘phraseological unit’ (henceforth PU), a concept that, due to its fuzziness, is delicate to delimit and classify. It is widely acknowledged among researchers (Pawley & Syder, 1983; Fernando, 1996; Moon (2003 [1998]); Wray, 2002) that in language the presence of a large amount of more or less fossilised expressions indicates that the distinction between lexicalisation and productivity is in fact a matter of degree.

In this paper we shall assume, for working purposes, the definition of PU put forward by Gläser (2001 [1998]: 125):

A ‘phraseological unit’ is a lexicalised, reproducible billexemic or polylexemic word group in common use, which has relative syntactic and semantic stability, may be idiomatised, may carry connotations, and may have an emphatic or intensifying function in a text.

Our corpus of hand-collected samples does not abound with frozen examples, rather a high proportion of them appear to be rule-governed. Yet their phraseological relevance lies not only in the fact that they constitute recurrent word combinations in our corpus, but more interestingly in that

¹ This work has been the germ of a detailed study entitled “Phraseological units: persuasion and translation”, published by RAEI, Volume 22, in a special issue devoted to Persuasive Discourse.

they show a pragmatic specialization, in other words, they are fully interpretable within the particular communicative situation in which they occur.

From our point of view, a central issue in Gläser's definition is the inclusion of connotations as a characteristic feature of PUs, since this will allow us to account for their stylistic properties. She explains (2001 [1998]: 128) that connotations are "supplementary to the denotation of a word or phrase, (...) they enrich their cognitive content by means of emotive and/or attitudinal semantic markers". In the present work, stylistic connotations cover the well-known indicators of different stylistic levels ('formal', 'informal', 'literary', etc.) together with references to a particular field of discourse, otherwise called 'register markers'.

Previous to explore the stylistic potential of phraseological units, it is necessary to specify the type of text in which they occur.

1.2. Genre

The stylistic choices a writer makes during the writing process seem heavily constrained by the type of text he is creating, that is, by the 'genre' to which it belongs. Swales (1990: 58) has defined 'genre' as:

A class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognised by the expert members of the parent discourse community, and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre. This rationale shapes the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style.

Style, as Gläser observes (2001 [1998]: 131), is to be understood as the selection of linguistic means made by the sender of the message (be it written or spoken) in agreement with the communicative situation.

Advertising language researchers (Vestergaard & Schroeder (1992), Tanaka (1999), Cook (2000)) hold the belief that the ultimate purpose of an advertiser is to change people's mind and make them buy the advertised product. Cosmetics leaflets represent a special variety of advertising in that, being enclosed in the box that contains the beauty product, most of the times they are accessible only after the purchase has taken place. Nevertheless, while we participate of the opinion expressed above,

we strongly believe that cosmetics leaflets can be considered, on their own right, examples of advertising language because their aim is to convince the buyers that the choice they have made – or are about to make – is the best possible one. To achieve this aim, advertisers have to move their (potential) clients through language, among other possible strategies, giving way to persuasive techniques, and this point is common to all forms of commercial advertising.

Once we have explained our viewpoint with respect to cosmetics leaflets and advertising, the remainder of this section is devoted to some considerations about the translation of phraseological units.

1.3. Phraseological units and translation

Running parallel to the difficulty of its definition, the translation of phraseology is certainly another thorny aspect. This paper sides with those authors (Morvay (1996), Roberts (1998) or Corpas (2000)), who, aware of the risks involved, advocate, nevertheless, for its translatability.

In the translation of a phraseological unit from the source text (ST) into the target text (TT), Baker (1992: 72 – 78) suggests five different strategies:

a) Using a PU of similar meaning and form. She admits that this strategy can only occasionally be achieved because it is very demanding: it involves using a PU in the target language which conveys roughly the same meaning as that of the source language and, in addition, consists of equivalent lexical items.

b) Using a PU of similar meaning but dissimilar form. In this case the meaning is kept but the expression in the target language consists of different lexical items.

c) Translation by paraphrase. Since it is not always possible to find a match in the target language for the PU, this seems by far the most common way of translating phraseology.

d) Omission. The PU is omitted altogether in the TT because it has no close correspondence in the target language, its meaning cannot be easily paraphrased or stylistic reasons advise against it.

e) Compensation. It implies omission of the PU at the point where it occurs in the ST so as to introduce it elsewhere in the target text.

It can be concluded that the acceptability or non-acceptability of using any of the strategies just described will depend upon the context in which a given PU is translated, as well as upon stylistic questions. In the analysis of the examples that follow, we will examine which of these strategies is most commonly employed and why.

2. The analysis

The material studied consists of cosmetics leaflets whose source language is either English or French; this has been determined on the basis of the priority given to the language in each leaflet. Taking into account that it largely matched the firm's country of origin (i.e. Dior selects French, Estée Lauder English, etc.; excepting firms such as Shiseido, which systematically choose English instead of Japanese), we felt our choice to be correct. With a mind to give a broader scope to our analysis and be able to offer more varied and interesting conclusions, we decided to compare the translation of the source text into two target languages: English or French, respectively, (appearing immediately after the one selected as source language) and Spanish, being the present paper writer's mother tongue.

Let's now turn to the examination of the data.

A considerable amount, if not all, of the cosmetics leaflets collected open up drawing an alarming picture of the dangers that surround our skin. It is in this way that the noun phrase "skin / *peau* (in French)" becomes a nearly obligatory constituent of many expressions, to the extent that it can arguably be considered part of them. This happens in (1) and (2) where the phraseological units "cause damage to" and "be under attack" appear to have the otherwise unexpected constituent "skin". The presence of this 'new' element is supposed to bring uncertainty and uneasiness:

(1) Free radicals are tiny oxidising molecules that can cause damage to your skin. <Estée Lauder>

Les radicaux libres sont de micro-molécules oxydantes qui peuvent abîmer votre peau.

Los radicales libres poseen pequeñas moléculas oxidantes que pueden causar daños a su piel.

(2) ...all day, every day, your skin is under attack. <Estée Lauder>

Chaque jour, tout au long de la journée, notre peau est constamment agressée.

...durante todo el día, cada día, su piel es atacada por agentes externos.

The translation strategy adopted in (1) for the target texts in French and Spanish is the one labelled “a” in section 2.3 above, that is, the one that responds to the pattern of complete equivalence in meaning and form. These versions maintain the stylistic effects that have been created in the source text. It is worth mentioning, though, that in the case of the Spanish text the alternative option “*dañar su piel*” (‘cause damage to your skin’) would have sounded more natural than the literal translation chosen.

The French target text in (2) includes the adverbial form “*constamment*” (‘constantly’) in order to reinforce the temporal dimension of the attack: “*chaque jour*” (‘every day’), “*tout au long de la journée*” (‘all day’). Note that the order of the time references has been inverted with respect to the source text. The Spanish TT states the attackers in the form of the prepositional phrase “*por agentes externos*” (‘by external agents’) in an effort to round off the sentence and, above all, to complete the argument structure of the passive verb “*atacar*” (‘attack’).

The PU of the next English extract gives way to interesting target texts thanks to intelligent translations:

(3) ...healthy skin needs moisture. <Estée Lauder>

...une peau bien hydratée est une peau “en bonne santé”.

...una piel bien hidratada es una piel sana.

Both the French and Spanish versions have introduced the following changes: a) the verb “is” (“*est*”, “*es*”) for “needs”; b) the placement of the PU underlined in complement position instead of the subject position assigned to it in the source text; c) the creation of a parallel structure in subject position repeating lexical material (“*une peau*”/ “*una piel*”,

‘a skin’) followed by an adjective whose ending rhymes with the ending of the PU (in “é” in French and in assonant “a-a” in Spanish). The back-translations would read: “A well moisturised skin is a healthy skin”. All of these decisions have strengthened the stylistic effect of the phraseological unit, originating a more poetic text. Moreover, note that the French translation of “healthy” (“*en bonne santé*”) appears between inverted commas, since its meaning “having a sound body and mind” is to be taken figuratively. Its perhaps more accurate equivalent “saine”, however, would have spoiled the rhyme scheme. Finally, given the close similitude between the French and Spanish texts, there exists the suspicion that one used the other as source text.

We turn now to an example which makes use of the PU “to wreak havoc on” so as to evoke a powerful, alarming image of the devastation that can be caused on our skin:

(4) ...the sun’s UV rays can wreak havoc on skin’s appearance.
<Estée Lauder>

...le danger des rayons UV et ses conséquences néfastes sur la peau.
Los rayos UV pueden causar estragos sobre el aspecto de su piel.

The Spanish target text uses the PU that translates exactly the meaning of the English unit, thus preserving the stylistic effects of the source text. On the contrary, the French translation has rejected the PU “infliger des dégâts” in favour of a noun (“*danger*”, English ‘danger’) plus the noun and adjective sequence (“*conséquences néfastes*”, ‘harmful consequences’), a solution that, in our opinion, is not so evocative.

The interest of example (5) lies in the linguistic innovation represented by the expression “environmental stress”, a step forward that does not receive the warmest of welcomes:

(5) ...helps offset signs of environmental stress. <Shiseido>

...aide à effacer les signes de stress.

...ayuda a compensar las señales del estrés del día.

While the French version simply ignores the adjective “environmental”, thus losing the stylistic effects of informality arisen by the new combination, the Spanish target text goes completely off the rails. Inexplicably, the verb “offset” has been translated by “*compensar*”

(‘balance’); in addition, the word “signs” is translated by “*señales*”, instead of the more adequate terms “*marcas / signos*”. To cap it all, the phrase “*estrés del día*” (‘stress of the day’ *sic*) unsuccessfully attempts to account for “environmental stress”. An unfortunate choice that would have been otherwise convincingly solved by “*estrés medioambiental*” (‘environmental stress’), in keeping with the stylistic effects of the source text.

Let’s turn to the following:

(6) Teint brouillé, peau terne, déshydratée et sans éclat, par moments, notre rythme de vie marque trop notre visage, la peau ne se récupère plus. <Vichy>

A dull complexion, dehydrated and lifeless skin. Sometimes our lifestyle affects our skin too much and it is difficult for it to recover.

Cutis opaco, piel apagada, deshidratada y sin brillo. En ocasiones nuestro ritmo de vida marca demasiado nuestro rostro, la piel ya no se recupera.

The French text begins piling up expressions that collocate with “*peau*” (‘skin’) to convey the feeling of fatality that seems to lie in store for it, only to end with a PU to point at the terrible consequence of all this damage: “*la peau ne se récupère plus*” (‘your skin cannot get over it’).

In our opinion, the English target text is not so stylistically effective. Firstly, because by conflating the French adjectives “*brouillé*” and “*terne*” into “dull”, the cumulative effect disappears. Secondly, because the translated form “it is difficult for it to recover” is less impressive than the French original turn, in that it fails to convey the no-win situation reached by our skin. On the contrary, the Spanish TT does maintain the stylistic connotations coming from the last PU in the source text, partly due to the fact that the same expression is found in the two Latin languages. As for the string of adjectives, the original number is maintained, which guarantees the stylistic effect derived from it.

The following set of examples is headed again by French:

(7) Profondément destructeurs des atouts de la jeunesse, les aléas de la vie quotidienne (surmenage, tabac, stress, manque de sommeil, pollution, fatigue, rayons UV...) attaquent en première ligne la peau fine et mobile du contour de l’œil, particulièrement vulnérable. <Christian Dior>

The stresses and strains of daily life (overwork, smoking, stress, lack of sleep, pollution, fatigue, UV rays, etc.) are highly destructive to the physical assets of youth, and the fine, mobile skin of the eye area is especially vulnerable to attack.

Profundamente destructores de la juventud, el ritmo de nuestra vida cotidiana (agotamiento, tabaco, estrés, falta de sueño, polución, fatiga, rayos UV...) atacan en primera línea la piel fina e inestable del contorno de los ojos, particularmente vulnerable.

To be faithful to the aim of this paper, we are going to restrict the comment to the translation of the PUs underlined, disregarding other lexical aspects of the ST and TTs that may arise from the lengthy passages. The stylistic effects relating to the battle our skin is engaged in are brought about by the two PUs, that is, “*les aléas de la vie quotidienne*” (‘the hazards of daily life’), successfully translated into English as “the stresses and strains of daily life”, and “*attaquent en première ligne*” (‘attack from the front/ first line’). The latter is omitted in the English ST, which adopts the compensation strategy in translation, joining the victim of the attack (i.e. the eye contour skin) to its vulnerable condition, thus rendering “is especially vulnerable to attack”. A decision that is not as striking as the PU. As far as the Spanish text is concerned, the suggestion for the first expression, “*el ritmo de nuestra vida cotidiana*” (‘the rhythm of our daily life’), misses the point because the item “*ritmo*” (‘rhythm’) is far from the idea of danger meant by “*aléas*” (‘hazards’). The second expression, “*atacan en primera línea*” (‘attack from the first / front line’) is a perfect equivalent of its French counterpart. Therefore, in spite of a problem of subject-verb agreement arising from other inadequate choices, the stylistic effects are largely preserved.

As could be expected in the genre of advertising, after the initial alarming phase, a second major step in the writing of a cosmetic leaflet is to offer the solution in the form of the advertised product. We are going to see how this aim is achieved.

(8) Clarins leur [vos lèvres] donnera en plus la douceur, le confort et le soin dont elles ont besoin. <Clarins>

Clarins offers your lips the care they need to remain soft and comfortable.

Clarins le ofrecerá además la suavidad y el bienestar que [sus labios] necesitan.

The French source text contains three nouns “*la douceur, le confort et le soin*” (‘the softness, comfort and care’) followed by the PU “*ont besoin*” (‘have need’) in such a way that the trade mark, “Clarins”, the last noun (“*soin*”) and the last element of the PU (“*besoin*”) rhyme in nasal /e/. The stylistic effects that derive from both the rhyming and the accumulation of nouns are treated differently in the two target texts. Although the English translation has transformed the succession of nouns into a structure where two of them have become adjectives (“soft and comfortable”), thus destroying the cumulative effect, it is able to create internal rhyming, in English /i/, among three items: the trade mark “Clarins”, the noun “lips” and the verb “need”.

The resulting Spanish target text offers no interest. It does not make any deliberate attempt to elicit any of the stylistic effects present in the source, even omitting the noun “*soin*” (‘care’) in the noun string.

Consider next:

(9) Daywear Plus guards against this damage with a unique, skin-friendly UVA/UVB screen. <Estée Lauder>

DayWear Plus est un puissant bouclier SPF 15/30 anti-UVA/UVB.

DayWear Plus se defiende de estos daños con una exclusiva pantalla contra los rayos UVA/UVB.

The source text recovers the idea of danger by means of the items “guards against”, “this damage” and “screen”, presenting the product as the optimal solution that works effectively but softly (“skin-friendly screen”). It is a pity that all these stylistic effects are lost in the two TTs. In the French text, the decision to translate the PU “guards against” by the adjective “*puissant*” (‘powerful’) together with the omission of “skin-friendly”, has the undesirable effect of reinforcing the power of the remedy in detriment of its gentleness, features so nicely conveyed in the source. The Spanish version is not much better. The translation of the PU as “*se defiende*” (‘defends itself’) distorts its meaning, since the reflexive use of

the verb implies that it is the product – not the skin – that is defended from the damage, thus yielding the back-translation “DayWear Plus is defended from this damage by an exclusive screen against UVA/UVB rays”. As can be appreciated the sequence “skin-friendly” is ignored altogether.

3. Conclusion

We have tried to demonstrate how the language of cosmetics leaflets serves the purpose of advertising, namely, to move the buyer to action. This task is accomplished thanks to the stylistic effects brought about by the use of PUs, initially linked to a moment of alarm about the state of our skin, followed by a second stage characterised by the pursuit of the excellences of the product. The PUs range from frozen sets to linguistic innovations, without forgetting rule-governed examples.

As for the stylistic effects created in the source texts, the TTs have behaved unevenly. While it is obvious that in some cases there has been a conscious effort to keep the stylistic effects, adapting the source PUs to the target language, at other times the translations appear to be completely oblivious of such effects. It has been noted, however, that the French and English target texts take more care than the corresponding translations into Spanish, comparatively weaker both stylistically and lexically.

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(after Marisa Diez Arroyo)

Questions for discussion

1. In what sphere is the present study designed to evaluate the stylistic effect of phraseological units?

2. It is a type of text that is arguably a manifestation of the genre of advertising, is it not?

3. What does the author's approach to the concept of 'phraseological unit' (henceforth PU) consist in?

4. To what extent it is acknowledged among researchers that in language the presence of a large amount of more or less fossilized expressions indicates that the distinction between lexicalization and productivity is in fact a matter of degree?

5. Whose definition of the phraseological unit does the author assume for working purposes in this paper?

6. The definition of PU put forward by Gläser reads as follows: A ‘phraseological unit’ is a lexicalised, reproducible bilexic or polylexic word group in common use, which has relative syntactic and semantic stability, may be idiomaticised, may carry connotations, and may have an emphatic or intensifying function in a text. What are pro and contra here?

7. What does the author mean putting the following: Our corpus of hand-collected samples does not abound with frozen examples, rather a high proportion of them appear to be rule-governed?

8. Could you comment on the declaration: “Yet their phraseological relevance lies not only in the fact that they constitute recurrent word combinations in our corpus, but more interestingly in that they show a pragmatic specialization, in other words, they are fully interpretable within the particular communicative situation in which they occur”?

9. What is the central issue in Gläser’s definition, from the point of view of Marisa Diez Arroyo, that he was sure would allow the author to account for the stylistic properties of phraseological units?

10. Will you supply arguments to prove that the inclusion of connotations as a characteristic feature of PUs was helpful in that point?

11. Would you maintain the author’s position claimed as “To achieve this aim, advertisers have to move their (potential) clients through language, among other possible strategies, giving way to persuasive techniques, and this point is common to all forms of commercial advertising”?

12. What means does the author use to make it evident that running parallel to the difficulty of its definition, the translation of phraseology is certainly another thorny aspect?

13. What five different strategies does the author suggest, after Baker, for the translation of a phraseological unit from the source text (ST) into the target text (TT)?

14. Do you agree to the conclusion of the author that the acceptability or non-acceptability of using any of the five strategies just described will depend upon the context in which a given PU is translated, as well as upon stylistic questions?

15. Did Marisa Diez Arroyo succeed to examine which of these strategies is most commonly employed and why (in the analysis of the examples that follow)?

Theme 3

IDIOM VARIATION IN AMERICAN ENGLISH²

Introduction

Empirical corpus research on idiom variation is seriously lacking. One of the reasons is the need for a large corpus and serendipity in finding variants. This paper examines several idiomatic expressions of the V + NP pattern to reveal what variants occur in a very large corpus of American English. The examples throw light on both established and instancial variation and the range of variation potential of expressions. In the cognitive linguistic literature, claims of the relationship between variation and other properties such as decomposability and motivation have been made, but so far very little corpus evidence has been offered to support those claims. This study aims at redressing the situation and hopes to be a valuable contribution to an empirical analysis of idioms. The size of the corpus enables a systematic study of primarily syntactic variants, but lexical substitution will also be discussed.

1. Background

Idioms used to be treated as long words, but current phraseological theories no longer equate idioms with words. Several studies have revealed that “fixed expressions” display properties that are inexplicable if these expressions are simply treated as fossilized phrases. Highly frozen word-like expressions do occur, but the evidence collected so far shows some variability among idioms. Unfortunately, part of this evidence comes from native speaker intuition tests, rather than corpus studies. Gibbs and his colleagues examined a total of forty-seven V + NP and V + PP idioms by eliciting native speaker judgment on the variability of expressions (Gibbs and Nayak, 1989; Gibbs et al., 1989). In one experiment, subjects were presented with syntactically manipulated idioms in sentential contexts and

² The research reported here was supported by a Fulbright Research Grant (Grant Number 1207202) administered by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State (ECA) with the cooperation of the Hungarian-American Commission for Educational Exchange (Fulbright Commission) in Hungary and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) in the United States.

were asked to judge the similarity in meaning between these sentences and sentences containing idiom paraphrases on a scale from 1 to 7. Lexical variation was assessed in a similar way. The two experiments aimed at examining the relation between decomposability and variation in idioms, and these two notions were found to be related, i.e. idioms whose individual constituents have autonomous figurative meanings (*pop the question* ‘propose marriage’) are more flexible than those without such semantically autonomous constituents (*chew the fat* ‘talk aimlessly’). The use of intuition data is characteristic of not only psycholinguistic but also generative approaches seeking to gauge the variation potential of idioms, such as Fraser (1970) or Nunberg et al. (1994).

A more reliable measure of variability can be obtained by studying naturally occurring sentences embedded in authentic discourse situations. In accordance with the usage-based spirit of cognitive linguistics, we claim that empirical data in the form of corpus citations can throw more light on idiom variation, provided the corpus is large enough. Before the advent of the computer, examples had to be collected and checked manually, which imposed limitations on the size of the corpus. Nevertheless, studies by Akimoto (1983) and Cowie et al. (1993) provide valuable insight into the range of variation. Akimoto (1983) uses his corpus to supplement intuition data gathered from his informants with a detailed analysis of the transformational deficiencies of a number of V NP (P) idioms, while Cowie et al. (1993) explore the variant forms of idioms in written fiction and non-fiction texts from a lexicographic perspective.

The past few years have seen an increase in studies of idiom variation based on electronically stored corpora, though the limited size of these corpora is a problem that remains a serious challenge. Idioms being relatively infrequent, a size of 100 million words is insufficient to draw quantitative conclusions (see Langlotz, 2006a: 226), let alone corpora of 18 million (see Moon, 1998) or 45 million words (see Cserép, 2002).

2. Data

This paper is based on a search for idioms in a 350-million word corpus of American English with a view to test claims of relatedness

between decomposability and syntactic modification. Only corpora of this size can ensure robust statistical evidence. The size is a major shortcoming at the same time, since manual search is impossible, while a non-manual search for lexical variants presupposes knowledge of those lexical items that can replace the idiom components, except for idioms with highly infrequent constituents (*upset the applecart*), as Langlotz (2006a: 228) points out. Therefore, one of the limitations of the present study is that it is confined to syntactic alternants. The corpus is unbalanced, restricted to a single genre: journalism. However, it is this genre that is strongly associated with variation (Moon, 1998: 121, 177). On the other hand, journalism is especially prone to repetition, because journalists working for different newspapers use partly the same sources and because an idiom used in an article or headline can reappear in a short heading or summary printed elsewhere in the same issue of the paper. We made an attempt to strike a balance between tampering with the corpus and leaving the original source texts intact by searching for keywords in a limited span of 160 characters and removing duplicate concordance lines. The concordancing software was WordSmith Tools Version 5.0.

The idioms selected for analysis are taken from Gibbs and Nayak (1989), Gibbs et al. (1989), and Langlotz (2006c), since the purpose of this study is to supplement earlier findings of variation as related to semantic analyzability. Most of them conform to the V + NP pattern, and all of them have two lexical constituents, a verb and a noun. One idiom contains an additional adjective (see Table 1). To extract examples, we searched for one lexical idiom component within a span of 10 words to the left or right of the other lexical component. Both entrenched and instantial stylistic uses have been recorded.

Table 1. Idioms

Entrenched use	Stylistic use
button one's lip	a bitter pill to swallow
lose one's grip	grease the wheels
miss the boat	pass the buck
rack one's brains	chew the fat

3. Determiner (other than quantifier) variation

The examples below illustrate the use of the definite article or other definite determiners instead of the canonical determiner of the base form.

(1) The National Association of Securities Dealers has settled government charges of cheating clients on millions of trades. Now it is trying to button *the* lips of foulmouthed traders.

(2) As the economy appears to be softening, many firms are now likely to take a more cautious approach and try to gauge consumer spending before greasing *their* wheels and pumping up production, analysts said.

(3) They've led the West for much of the season, but have lost *that* grip by going 11 – 8 since the All-Star break and 3 – 4 in their last seven games.

(4) In South Africa, the prima donnas may get the headlines, but the team players make *the* headway.

In (1) the definite article has cataphoric use, the referent is uniquely identifiable through the complement *of*-phrase. In (2) the possessive determiner *their* ensures unambiguous interpretation. It is firms that are mapped onto machines or vehicles, rather than economy or consumer spending. Citation (3) is a case of anaphoric reference, the demonstrative refers back to a previous stretch of the discourse (*They've led the West for much of the season*). Finally, the definite article in (4) is justified by the parallelism between *get the headlines* and *make the headway*, and this parallelism is further enhanced by *head* in both compound nouns. Indefinite determiners or the zero article substitute for the canonical definite determiners in (5) – (6).

(5) Ruling PRI May Lose ***Grip*** on Mexico Congress.

(6) “The Amazing Panda Adventure” which was directed by Christopher Cain loses *an* emotional grip that was only tenuous in the first place.

Sentence (5) is a newspaper headline, while in (6) the indefinite article introduces a new, abstract referent into the discourse (*grip* ‘control’).

No variant determiners have been found in the concordance lines of *chew the fat* and *rack one's brain*, and only a few tokens show instantial determiner use in *miss the boat* and *pass the buck*. Following Langlotz (2006a: 232, 244), we assume that determiner alternation is blocked in these idioms due to opacity (*chew the fat*, *pass the buck*), recognizability (*miss the boat*, *pass the buck*) or grammaticality (*rack one's brain*). In *miss the boat* the definite article introduces human institution in the literal source domain, while *pass the buck* is either unmotivated for a speaker or – if they are familiar with the origin of the expression – the highly specialized literal scenario implies the uniqueness of the entity denoted by *buck*.

4. Quantifier variation

Quantifiers are inserted before nouns with autonomous figurative meanings:

(7) Yet the Clinton administration has *many* squeaky wheels to grease.

(8) The move comes as Toyota begins to lose *some of* its grip on the Japanese auto market.

In (7) the literal source domain of VEHICLE/MACHINE is mapped onto the target domain of GOVERNMENT, and the meaning of the idiom variant can be paraphrased as ‘many problems to be resolved’. The quantifier is used before an uncountable noun in (8), and a likely paraphrase is ‘some of its control’ or ‘some of its dominance’. Little, if any, variation is found in the use of *button one's lip*, *chew the fat*, *miss the boat*, *pass the buck*, *rack one's brain*, and *swallow the bitter pill*. The scarcity of quantifiers is surprising in the case of *swallow the bitter pill*, since the idiom is analyzable and both the literal and figurative senses of *pill* are countable. The nouns in *miss the boat* and *pass the buck* also possess figurative meanings, but typically no quantifier is used. The reason can be found partly in the constraint on the well-formedness of the literal meaning, partly in the characteristic use of these expressions to talk about opportunity or responsibility in a particular situation.

5. Number variation

The noun varies for number in *rack one's brain/ brains* and *button one's lip/ lips*, but number variation is rare in the other expressions. Note that the two above-mentioned idioms are not fully analyzable. Although the lips and the brain are metonymically related to speech and thinking, respectively, the expressions are blends of two input domains. Langlotz (2006b) argues that *rack one's brains* can be analyzed as a blend of TORTURE and the MENTAL DOMAIN. Similarly, we claim that *button one's lips* is a blend of the CLOTHING and SPEAKING domains. The number of the noun is preserved in the unanalyzable idiom *chew the fat*, and in cases where a change in the number would destroy the conceptual motivation (Langlotz 2006a: 245). In the source domain of travelling, we use the singular *boat* to refer to the means of transport, and the plural would modify this scenario and weaken or destroy the motivating link. Similarly, the source domain of VEHICLE/ MACHINE normally evokes more than one wheel. Only two citations have been found with the singular *wheel*.

(9) Money, after all, is what greases the economic *wheel*.

(10) Yet even as regulators focus on greasing the money *wheel* for smaller companies...

When a particular situation is described metaphorically with the idiom *grease the wheels*, a vehicle is mapped onto an abstract entity such as government, politics or economy. The development of this abstract entity is compared to the forward movement of the vehicle. In this mapping, the wheels correspond to the development through the part-for-whole metonymy, since the wheels are part of the vehicle, and the object-in-motion-for-motion metonymy. The singular *wheel* favours an interpretation where the wheels correspond to different aspects that are crucial to development, such as financial resources. Thus *money wheel* in (10) implies that small businesses are complex configurations whose development and progress depend on several factors, one of them being financial. This interpretation fits the passage, which is about how regulators can make it simple for small companies to attract investors. The context of (9), however, does not admit of a similar interpretation. The example is taken from an article discussing economic growth, and the

given expression maps VEHICLE onto ECONOMY. It is possible that (9) is an accidental slip of the pen.

In some cases changing the number could lead to a change in meaning. *Grip* in the sense ‘power, control’ is a singular noun, while *grip* is countable when it means ‘hairgrip’, or ‘part of an object with special surface’.

6. Premodifier variation

Ernst (1982) distinguishes three types of modifiers, while Stathi (2007) establishes five types.

(11) Carter doesn’t have an *economic* leg to stand on.

(12) ...ins *heimatliche* Gras beissen... (*lit.* bite into the *homeland* grass) ‘die in the homeland’³.

(13) ...ins *nach-saisonale* Fettnäpfchen zu treten... (*lit.* step into the *after-season* grease pot) ‘disgrace oneself after the football season’

In external modification, the modifier is syntactically linked to the noun but modifies the whole expression, functioning as a domain delimiter (11), locative (12), temporal (13), or causal adverbial. Another type of modification can be seen in (14) – (15).

(14) ...many people were eager to jump on the *horse-drawn* Reagan bandwagon.

(15) ...den *provokativen* Wind aus den Segeln zu nehmen... (*lit.* take the *provocative* wind out of the sails) ‘weaken [the] provocative character’

The adjective which modifies the idiomatic noun is compatible either with the literal meaning of the modified noun (14) or with the figurative meaning (15). Stathi (2007) restricts the term “internal modification” only to examples such as (14), when the adjective modifies the noun in its literal meaning, and uses “intermediate level modification” for cases such as (15), while Ernst (1982) does not make this distinction. In this paper, we will follow Ernst (1982). The noun in (14) can also be interpreted figuratively; in Langlotz’s (2006c) paraphrase *bandwagon* means ‘a fashionable movement/ activity’. In conjunction modification, the modifier combines with the literal meaning of the noun, just as in (14). However, no figurative

³ Some of the examples in this section are German idioms taken from Stathi (2007).

meaning can be attached to the nominal component, and therefore the idiom is interpreted holistically with the modifier denoting a property of the referent:

(16) Klaus-Dieter Fischer drove his manager across the *already half-opened* mouth. ‘cut his manager short’

Stathi (2007: 102) also mentions metalinguistic modifiers, which signal the use of idioms in the text (*bite into the proverbial grass* ‘die’).

Internal modifiers either evoke and elaborate the metaphorical image (*horse-drawn*) or introduce target-domain concepts that collocate with the figurative meaning of the noun (*provocative*). External modifiers usually serve to anchor the idiomatic expression to the context by specifying the topic of the text. Simple though this sounds, internal and external modifications are difficult to distinguish (Ernst 1982: 63; Langlotz 2006a: 268).

(17) Often, what helps most to grease the *merger* wheels is an aging chief executive.

(18) ...parents who are worried that their toddlers will miss the *digital* boat sometimes take them to one of Score Learning Corp.'s learning centers.

(19) *Salon* also boasts a popular “Table Talk” section where readers chew the *cultural* fat.

(20) ...the one with curls, a *buttoned* lip and a two-handed firearm of a backhand ...

Merger in (17) at first sight seems to function as a domain delimiter, linking the idiom to the context, which is a discussion of what aspects of mergers play an important role in merger deals. The same meaning could be expressed as *with respect to mergers* or *in the field of mergers* or simply *in mergers*. These are, however, not the only possible paraphrases. *Merger* can be analyzed as an appositive modifier, since the wheels stand for the vehicle via the PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, and the vehicle at the literal level corresponds to the merger at the figurative level. Thus, *merger* and *wheels* refer to corresponding entities in the source and target domain, and this strongly favours an internal interpretation. Appositive modifiers are treated as internal modifiers for the purpose of statistics. Sentence (18) is

taken from an article discussing how useful it is to expose preschool children to computers. *Digital* serves as a type of context anchor, but it can easily be interpreted internally as well ('the chance of learning the computer'). Internal interpretation is said to be impossible with unanalyzable idioms, since the noun does not have semantic autonomy. Although *chew the fat* is unanalyzable, citation (19) is the first sentence of a paragraph from an article about web publications. *Fat* in this context has a kind of autonomy that enables the interpretation 'chat about cultural topics'. Finally (20) is a case that does not easily fit into the available categorizations, since *buttoned* seems to modify the noun, not the whole idiom, but it cannot be interpreted literally or figuratively. As has been mentioned, *button one's lips* is a blend of the CLOTHING and SPEAKING domains.

Most of the modifiers of *grip* are temporal words (*a nearly four-decade grip*) or intensifiers (*their iron grip*), functioning as internal modifiers of the semantically autonomous noun *grip*. We would expect more frequent use of modifiers with *miss the boat*, since it is analyzable and fairly motivated. However, the modifiers occurring in our corpus do not give new information and can often be dropped, which means that the writer may usually not feel motivated to supply a modifier. For example, there is no meaning loss resulting from the omission of *buyout* from *it would mean they have probably missed the buyout boat forever* in the context of buyouts. Most of the modifiers in *pass the buck* fulfill a similar function to complements. For example, the interpretation of *passed the briefing buck to the Office of Personnel Management* as 'shifted the responsibility for briefing to the Office of Personnel Management' clearly shows the parallel between premodifiers and complements.

7. Postmodifier variation

Several types of postmodifiers are added to the nominal constituent analyzable idioms:

(21) ...the legendary bribes that grease the wheels *of Mexican bureaucracy*.

(22) ...Russia has had to swallow the bitter pill of *NATO enlargement*.

(23) ... the Suns have lost the grip *they had in this series* when they went up 3-1 on Sunday.

(24) ... the bitter pill *soaps have had to swallow* in recent years.

Prepositional *of*-phrases are commonly found in idiom variants. In (21), the vehicle or machine corresponds to Mexican bureaucracy via the WHEELS-FOR-VEHICLE/ MACHINE metonymy, and the wheels are parts of this vehicle/ machine. More typically, *of*-phrases function as appositives, denoting the target-domain counterpart of the source domain entity that the idiomatic noun refers to. In (22), *the bitter pill* and *NATO enlargement* can thus be considered co-referential. The relative clause in (23) modifies the noun *grip*, the one in (24) modifies the noun *pill* and contains the same verb that the idiom has.

8. Other types

(25) Assad may miss *again* the boat...

(26) This arrangement lends itself to shoulder-shrugging and *buck-passing*.

(27) The only thing left is to swallow the pill.

Various changes of the canonical form are illustrated above: interruption (25), nominalization (26), and deletion of an idiom constituent with predicalization of the postmodifying infinitive *to swallow* (27).

9. Summary

The degree of variability is measured in this paper on the basis of the proportion of variant tokens compared to the total number of tokens (see the percentage figures in the last column of Table 2), as well as the number of variation types. Where a particular type does not occur, the relevant box in the table is crossed out. Idioms are arranged below in order of decreasing flexibility.

Table 2. Idiom variation – an overview

Idiom	Det	Quan	Num	Prem	Postm	Pron	Pass	Other
a bitter pill to swallow	32/118 27 %	2/118 2 %	1/118 1 %	22/118 19 %	18/118 15 %	3/118 3 %	1/118 1 %	61/118 52 %
grease the wheels	6/59 10 %	3/59 5 %	2/59 3 %	10/59 17 %	24/59 41 %	1/59 2 %	1/59 2 %	5/59 8 %
button one's lip	6/21 29 %	–	7/21 33 %	1/21 5 %	6/21 29 %	–	–	5/21 24 %
pass the buck	1/139 1 %	1/139 1 %	–	6/139 4 %	10/139 7 %	1/139 1 %	1/139 1 %	33/139 24 %
lose one's grip	37/255 14 %	7/255 3 %	1/255 0 %	43/255 17 %	183/255 72 %	–	2/255 1 %	1/255 0 %
miss the boat	2/229 1 %	1/229 0 %	–	9/229 4 %	34/229 1 %	–	–	2/229 1 %
rack one's brains	–	–	23/36 64 %	–	–	–	1/36 3 %	–
chew the fat	–	1/32 3 %	–	2/32 6 %	–	–	–	2/32 6 %

Idioms that permit a range of variation types are considered more flexible than those that permit only one or two types, even if there are a large number of tokens displaying those few variation types. A high proportion of the tokens of *rack one's brain* and *button one's lip* are variants of the canonical form, but they instantiate only a few patterns, mostly pluralization of the noun and determiner variation or postmodifier insertion. It is these two idioms that can be analyzed as blends of two domains, as has been pointed out above. The only fully unanalyzable idiom (*chew the fat*) is the most fixed expression.

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(after Attila Cserép)

Questions for discussion

1. Are you of the same opinion on the author’s remark that empirical corpus research on idiom variation is seriously lacking and that one of the reasons is the need for a large corpus and serendipity in finding variants?

2. Why does this paper examine several idiomatic expressions of the V + NP pattern?

3. What object for his analysis does the author choose to reveal what variants occur in a very large corpus of American English?

4. How would one prove that the examples throw light on both established and instantial variation and the range of variation potential of expressions?

5. In the cognitive linguistic literature, claims of the relationship between variation and other properties such as decomposability and motivation have been made, but so far very little corpus evidence has been offered to support those claims, the author states. Do you agree here? Why?

6. Could you prove that this study aiming at redressing the situation succeed in becoming a valuable contribution to an empirical analysis of idiom?

7. Has Attila Cserép managed to show that the size of the corpus enables a systematic study of primarily syntactic variants?

8. Attila Cserép states that current phraseological theories no longer equate idioms with words? In what way does the author describe the previous attitude to the structure of phraseological units by linguists?

9. What studies (and linguists) could be cited that have revealed that “fixed expressions” display properties that are inexplicable if these expressions are simply treated as fossilized phrase?

10. How many phraseological unit of the structure V + NP and V + PP did R.W. Gibbs and his colleagues examine by eliciting native speaker judgment on the variability of expressions?

11. The two experiments aimed at examining the relation between decomposability and variation in idioms, and these two notions were found to be related. The question arises: what does the revealed relation consist in?

12. Who was the author of the statement that idioms whose individual constituents have autonomous figurative meanings (*pop the question* ‘propose marriage’) are more flexible than those without such semantically autonomous constituents (*chew the fat* ‘talk aimlessly’)?

13. The use of intuition data is characteristic of not only psycholinguistic but also generative approaches seeking to gauge the variation potential of idioms, such as Fraser (1970) or Nunberg et al. (1994). Would you agree to the statement? Why?

14. Do you agree with Attila Cserép who is of the opinion that A more reliable measure of variability can be obtained by studying naturally occurring sentences embedded in authentic discourse situations? Prove your point of view with a set of arguments.

15. Did Attila Cserép managed to demonstrate that empirical data in the form of corpus citations can throw more light on idiom variation, provided the corpus is large enough?

16. The past few years have seen an increase in studies of idiom variation based on electronically stored corpora, though the limited size of these corpora is a problem that remains a serious challenge. Could you develop the idea taking into consideration your own experience in research?

17. Why did the author insist on a search for idioms in a 350-million word corpus of American English with a view to test claims of relatedness between decomposability and syntactic modification.

18. Why was he sure that only corpora of that size can ensure robust statistical evidence?

19. Could one qualify that as an innovation: We made an attempt to strike a balance between tampering with the corpus and leaving the original source texts intact by searching for keywords in a limited span of 160 characters and removing duplicate concordance lines?

20. What variant determiners have been found in the concordance lines of *chew the fat* and *rack one's brain*?

Theme 4

PHRASEOLOGICAL ABSTRACTION

Introduction

The problem of phraseological abstraction was raised by Vladimir L. Arkhangelsky who introduced the term ‘phraseological abstraction’ itself. As Vl. Arkhangelsky pointed out, different degrees of phraseological abstraction testify to phraseological asymmetry. Developing these ideas, Alina M. Melerovich singled out three types of phraseological abstraction: 1) abstraction from the lexical and grammatical meanings of PU components, 2) abstraction from the original meaning of the words – constituents of the PU prototype, 3) abstraction from the typical meaning of the syntactic construction of the PU. Alexander V. Kunin extended the classification to include one more type of phraseological abstraction, i.e. the complicated one. Following the linguist, I maintain that phraseological abstraction is closely connected with language motivation of phraseological meaning: these two categories stand in reverse ratio to each other. Abstraction of isolation and abstraction of identification as well as the four levels of phraseological abstraction with their sub-groups and degrees are presented in the paper: the highest level, the high level, the middle level, the low level and their full and non-full forms.

1. Abstraction of isolation & abstraction of identification

The encyclopaedic dictionary reads as follows “Abstraction is a form of cognition which is based on mental singling out essential characteristics and relations of the object without taking into consideration its other, minor peculiarities and relations”.

That is, if we mean “the man in general”, “the animal in general”, “the book in general”, we deal with abstraction, i.e. with mental diversion from a very large number of people, animals, books, etc. In reality there exists no man in general, no animal in general, no book in general, but there is a concrete man, a concrete animal, a concrete book, etc.

There are two types of abstraction in cognition: abstraction of isolation and abstraction of identification. Both types are to be found within the frame of phraseology.

Abstraction of isolation, or analytical abstraction, is observed when the properties denoted by a certain name are mentally extracted from the object and from some other features connected with it. Such extraction results in abstract general notions, e.g. *the green-eyed monster* – jealousy, *the never-ending sleep* – death, etc.

Abstraction of identification is observed when initial features of differentiation in the objects are mentally neglected and some general feature of the objects under study is simultaneously singled out, i.e. a kind of identification of the two subjects takes place. That does not mean, of course, that the objects under study are completely identical: partial identity is enough for abstraction of identification. This type of abstraction may be exemplified by metaphorical and metonymical phrases, e.g. *the king of beast* – the lion, *the ship of the desert* – the camel, *a cup that cheers but not inebriates* – tea, etc.

All the given phraseological units have lexical (one-word) equivalents: *jealousy*, *lion*, *camel*, *tea*. These words are non-motivated in modern English. They express general notions and contain no evaluation.

The corresponding phraseological synonyms are evaluative, they are characterized by imagery motivating them. The matter is that these PUs do not only denote the corresponding object but describe one of its features as well. That leads to the conclusion that such phraseological units have a lower degree of abstraction as compared to their lexical synonyms. But there are cases when a phraseological unit and its lexical synonym are both non-motivated, they both then have a high degree of abstraction, e.g. *to send smb to Coventry* – to ostracise smb.

Analogous regularity is observed while correlating phraseological units. Non-motivated PUs of the type *to send smb to Coventry* have a much higher degree of abstraction than those motivated of the type *a cup that cheers but not inebriates*. The fact is explained by a ‘longer distance’ from the meanings of PU components in the former PU as compared to the latter one.

2. The problem of phraseological abstraction

The problem of phraseological abstraction was first pointed out by Vladimir L. Arkhangelsky who introduced the term *phraseological abstraction* itself into the metalanguage of linguistics (Arkhangelsky, 1964: 61). The basic statements put forward by Vladimir L. Arkhangelsky are as follows:

1) phraseological abstraction consists in the diversion from the meanings of the words performing the part of PU components; phraseologisms are able to generally express emotions, wishes, relations of modality, e.g. *my Lord! by George! not by a long chalk, not for the world(!)*;

2) there are different degrees of phraseological abstraction which testifies to its asymmetry, e.g. to play second fiddle – a) a professional term of musicians, b) to have a lower or less important position (when compared with another person) (Urdang, 1996: 111).

Phraseological abstraction is closely connected with language motivation of phraseological meaning. More than that, these two categories stand in reverse ratio to each other. The availability of some type of motivation of phraseological meaning testifies to the absence or to the partial character (non-fullness) of the correspondent type of phraseological abstraction; and vice versa – the fuller the phraseological abstraction is, the weaker the motivation of the correspondent type becomes (Melerovich, 1980: 128).

The following basic types of phraseological abstraction are pointed out by Alina Melerovich:

1) abstraction from the lexical and grammatical meanings of the PU components,

2) abstraction from the prototypical combination of words which serve as the basis of phrase formation,

3) abstraction from the typical meaning of the PU syntactic construction.

One more type of phraseological abstraction is added to the list by Alexander Vl. Kunin (1996: 159), i.e. complicated abstraction which consists in various combinations of the types of abstraction mentioned.

3. Degrees of phraseological abstraction

The first type of abstraction has two degrees: full and non-full ones. Full abstraction is revealed in cases when the meaning of the phraseological units is simultaneously abstracted from lexical and grammatical meanings of its components, e.g. *in one's cups* meaning 'not in control of oneself after drinking alcohol', *not a shot in the locker* meaning 'having no ideas, materials, etc., left that one can use, esp. having no money', *tooth and nail* meaning 'with great determination and effort', etc.

Non-full abstraction takes place in two cases:

Case 1. When the phraseological meaning is abstracted from the lexical meanings of the PU components, and the PU category meaning is motivated by the word that plays the grammatically leading part in the basic (prototypical) combination of words: *birds of a feather* meaning 'often derog. people who have the same interests', *Adam's ale (or less common wine)* meaning 'water'. The categorical meaning of the grammatically leading component determines the class / subclass of the phraseological unit, i.e.: 1a) nominative PU class (substantive PU subclass): *the man on horseback, a Roman holiday, a white elephant*, 1b) nominative PU class (adjectival PU subclass): *dry behind the ears, high and mighty, long in the tooth*, 2) verbal PU class: *bite off more than one can chew, bear one's cross, kill the goose that lays the golden eggs*, 3) interjectional PU class: *oh, my eyes! bless my heart and soul! goodness gracious!* 4) communicative PU class: *Fine words butter no parsnips, The rotten apple injures its neighbours, Constant dropping wears away a stone*, etc.

This type of abstraction is mostly characteristic of the PUs having the partial transfer of meaning: *safe as the Bank of England, to talk to smb like a Dutch uncle, to leave smb in the lurch, A new broom sweeps clean*, etc.

Case 2. When the phraseological meaning is abstracted from the grammatical meaning of the word that plays the grammatically leading part in the basic (prototypical) combination of words and at the same time it is motivated to a certain extent by the lexical meaning of some components: *hand over fist, by leaps and bounds, by fits and starts, in the twinkling of an eye*, etc.

4. The highest level of abstraction

The highest level of abstraction is observed in phraseological fusions. It may be full and non-full. Full abstraction is observed in phraseological intensifiers of adjectives (underlined): *as they come*, *as the day is long*, e.g.:

The little Devon town of Totnes is about as English *as they come* (S. O'Casey, "Deep in Devon").

'A real... albino?' Shaw asked. 'As real *as the day is long*.' (E. Caldwell, "God's Little Acre").

These phrases have full transfer of meaning and they appeared as a result of abstraction from both lexical and grammatical meanings of the components *they*, *come*, *day*, *long*. Complete absence of semantic relations between the PUs and their prototypes turns them into homonyms.

Full abstraction is also observed in interjectional expressions: *my foot!* *sakes alive!* *a pretty kettle of fish!*

Non-full abstraction is observed in those fusion that have all types of abstraction except the abstraction from the grammatical meaning of the structurally leading component, e.g. *to pull smb's legs*, *to blow one's own trumpet*, *to sow dragon's teeth*, *to dance attendance on somebody*, *to make bricks without straw*, *to cook smb's goose*, *to steal a march on smb*, etc.

5. The high level of abstraction

At the highest level of abstraction the two-facetness of phraseological meaning cannot be found because of the breakage of the ties between the meaning of the phraseological fusion and the meaning of its prototype. As to the high level of abstraction, such ties are always evident and, consequently, no homonymy is observed. The meaning of the prototype is 'beaming' through the meaning of the phraseological unit and it results in two-facetness of phraseological meaning. Such implicit connection of meanings is named *polyphrazosemia* by Alexander V. Kunin (1996: 161). Polyphrazosemia weakens phraseological abstraction but does not destroy it. Here we are also to distinguish between full and non-full abstraction.

Full abstraction can be exemplified by the PU *lock, stock and barrel* meaning ‘the whole of smth already named, or understood; complete with all parts, items, possessions, etc.’ (Cowie, 1984: 361), e.g.:

‘Ten dollars buys me, *lock, stock and barrel*’ He winked at me and asked, ‘Is that a bargain, kid, or not?’ (J. Updike, “The Centaur”).

Here we observe the abstraction from the lexical and grammatical meanings of the components, from the prototype and from the typical meaning of the syntactic construction. The adverbial PU is formed on the basis of the word combination containing enumeration which has no grammatically leading word. The PU *hook, line and sinker* meaning ‘*coll.* completely, in every way’ (Urdang, 1996: 168) exemplifies the same type of abstraction.

Non-full abstraction is found in motivated PUs which have all the mentioned types of abstraction except abstraction from verbleness, thingness, quality, i.e. from grammatically leading components. Such leading components can be expressed by:

a) verbs: *break the ice, burn one's fingers, quarrel with one's bread and butter,*

b) nouns: *a hard nut to crack, a red rag to bull, small fry,*

c) adjectives: *dead to the world, quick on the trigger, deep as well* (meaning ‘difficult to assess or understand’) (Cowie, 1984: 19), etc.

6. The middle level of abstraction

The middle level of abstraction is observed in PUs having partial transfers of meaning, i.e. in phraseological units in which some components are used in direct meanings and the other components are used in transferred meanings.

Here belong one-literal PUs in which one component is used in its literal meaning and all the other components are non-motivated ones. That means that the relation of the literal meaning in the grammatically leading component, on the one hand, and of the meanings in the other PU components, on the other hand, is non-motivated, e.g.:

fight like Kilkenny cats – to *fight* fiercely

grin like a Cheshire cat – to *smile* widely

pay through the nose – to **pay** a very high price (for something)

talk through one's hat – to **talk** without real knowledge.

Here also belong one-literal PUs in which one component retains its literal meaning and all the other components are semantically transferred and motivated. That means that the relation of the component having a literal meaning with the other PU components is motivated, e.g.:

(as) **busy** as a bee – *coll.* very **busy**, active

(as) **silly** as a goose – very **silly**

(as) **proud** as a peacock – *not fml.* very **proud**

run like a hare – to **run** very quickly

smoke like a chimney – to **smoke** heavily

swim like a fish – to **swim** very well.

Here also belong PUs in which one component is semantically transferred and all the others are used in their literal meanings. Such linguistic phenomenon is observed in proverbs which are considered as communicative phraseological units (Fedoulenkova, 1999: 41), e.g.:

*Necessity is the **mother** of invention* (Fergusson, 1995: 168)

*Procrastination is the **thief** of time* (Fergusson, 1995: 59)

*The wish is **father** to the thought* (Fergusson, 1995: 259)

*Brevity is the **soul** of wit* (Fergusson, 1995: 234)

*War is the **sport** of kings* (Fergusson, 1995: 246)

*Time is a great **healer*** (Fergusson, 1995: 238)

*Familiarity **breeds** contempt* (Fergusson, 1995: 88).

Abstraction from numerals is possible at the middle level as well: *put two and two together* meaning ‘*not fml.* to make a guess, esp. a correct guess from what one already knows or has seen’, *talk nineteen to the dozen* meaning ‘*coll.* to talk a great deal and in an informal way, often very quickly’, etc. In such PUs the actual quantity indicated by the numeral does not matter much which is proved by the possibility of changing the numeral components for some other numerals occasionally used by the narrator, cf.:

One of these regular London chaps, he is, *talks fourteen to the dozen* (J.B. Priestley. “They Walk in the City”, ch. VI).

They walked towards Marble Arch... *talking fifteen to the dozen* (J.B. Priestley. “They Walk in the City”, ch. XII).

Lawson was in great form. *He talked sixteen to the dozen* (W.S. Maugham. “Of Human Bondage”, ch. XCVI).

He found Rose in the study ... *talking eighteen to the dozen* with half a dozen who were sitting on whatever there was to sit on (W.S. Maugham. “Of Human Bondage”, ch. XVIII).

Only further usage will show which of the numerals will become equal in their stability to the numeral ‘nineteen’.

7. The low level of abstraction

The low level of abstraction is characteristic of phraseological units with complicated semantics, all the components of which are used in their literal meanings. This type of abstraction is observed in such phrases as: *brown paper, short story, red box, the black cap, Dutch courage* (meaning ‘false courage acquired by drinking’) (Gulland & Hinds-Howell, 1994: 189), etc.

The structure of abstraction in such set expressions with non-transferred meaning is much less complicated than in the former three types. This is the so-called ‘colorless abstraction’ as it was put by L.P. Smith (1959: 171).

Thus, the more complicated the semantic structure of the PU is, the higher the level of the phraseological abstraction and the higher the degree of PU non-motivation becomes.

Beside the described types of abstraction, there is mixed abstraction in polysemantic phraseological units:

a) combination of the middle and the high level of abstraction (non-full subtype), e.g.: *(as) sober as a judge – not fml.* 1) not drunk at all, 2) very calm and serious (Urdang, 1996: 305);

b) combination of the low and the high level of abstraction (non-full subtype), e.g.: *(as) sharp as a needle –* 1) very sharp, 2) quick-witted; having plenty of perception (Cowie, 1984: 28), cf.: How the boys admired that knife, the vicious shape of it and its shininess, the point was *as sharp as a needle* (J. Steibeck) & I know a solicitor here – he's a patient of mine – of the name of Gooch, a fat fellow bur *sharp as a needle* (J.B. Priestley).

Different types of abstraction are connected with each other. One type of abstraction can turn into the other which is found by means of diachronic analysis. For instance, the phraseological fusion *send smb to Coventry* is now referred to *the highest level* of abstraction. But there was time when this PU was motivated and the relation between the phraseological meaning and the situation, generated the PU, retained and this PU, consequently, was characterized by *the high level* of abstraction.

The opposite direction in the development of phraseological abstraction – i.e. from the highest level to the high one – can also be traced in English phraseology. For instance, in the set expression *tit for tat* meaning ‘a trick, injury, etc. in exchange for one received’ the components *tit* and *tat* have completely lost their meaning. But they are re-motivated and comprehended as *blow for blow*, as the definition shows in “Oxford Advanced Lerner's Dictionary of Current English” (Hornby, 1970: 1060).

Such opposite tendencies in the development of PU abstraction present one of the phraseological antinomies.

The study of phraseological abstraction initiated by Vladimir Arkhangelsky, developed by Alina Melerovich and further extended by Alexander Kunin is still far from its final stage and is sure to be continued as there are still many questions in the field to be answered.

The most urgent question that arises now is: In what way is phraseological abstraction connected with the inner form of the PU? We argue that the inner form of the PU is the meaning of the PU prototype with which phraseomatic meaning is connected by means of derivation.

The other questions of no less importance are: What is the difference between the live and non-live inner form of the PU? Does the inner form present the significative or the connotative aspect of PU meaning? What is the correlation between transparency/ non-transparency of motivation and the level of phraseological abstraction?

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(after Tatiana Fedulenkova)

Questions for discussion

1. What linguist was the problem of phraseological abstraction raised by? What research papers can serve as an evidence of the fact?
2. Who and when introduced the term ‘phraseological abstraction’ itself?
3. Why did Vl. Arkhangelsky pointed out that different degrees of phraseological abstraction testify to phraseological asymmetry? What was his idea based on?
4. How many types of phraseological abstraction were singled out by Alina M. Melerovich who developed those ideas of Vl. Arkhangelsky?
5. What linguist revealed the following levels of phraseological abstraction: 1) abstraction from the lexical and grammatical meanings of

PU components, 2) abstraction from the original meaning of the words – constituents of the PU prototype, 3) abstraction from the typical meaning of the syntactic construction of the PU?

6. In what way did Alexander V. Kunin extend the classification of the levels of phraseological abstraction?

7. Do you maintain that phraseological abstraction is closely connected with language motivation of phraseological meaning and those two categories stand in reverse ratio to each other?

8. In what way can one differentiate abstraction of isolation and abstraction of identification in phraseology?

9. Abstraction of isolation, or analytical abstraction, is observed when the properties denoted by a certain name are mentally extracted from the object and from some other features connected with it. Such extraction results in abstract general notions. Would you developed the author's idea and give examples for that?

10. What are the pro arguments for the statement: abstraction of identification is observed when initial features of differentiation in the objects are mentally neglected and some general feature of the objects under study is simultaneously singled out, that is a kind of identification of the two subjects takes place?

11. Does that mean that the objects under study are completely identical or partial identity is enough for abstraction of identification?

12. May that type of abstraction be exemplified by metaphorical or metonymical phrases?

13. In what way is phraseological abstraction connected with language motivation of phraseological meaning?

14. Could you prove that the fuller the phraseological abstraction is, the weaker the motivation of the correspondent type becomes?

15. Would you enumerate and exemplify the degrees of phraseological abstraction?

Theme 5

NON-VERBAL REPRESENTATIONS OF IDIOMS – A CHALLENGE FOR LANGUAGE LEARNERS

Introduction

The creative use of idioms is a ubiquitous feature in a variety of genres and has been at the core of phraseological studies for some time. As a contribution to phraseological research in functional and stylistic terms, this paper throws some light on non-verbal representation of idioms. This phenomenon is particularly salient in caricatures, cartoons, illustrations and photographs in newspaper articles and advertisements. Authors commonly employ this technique for four distinct purposes: i) argumentative, ii) emotive, iii) illustrative, and iv) humorous effects. Taking into consideration that non-verbal representations are both cognitively and linguistically challenging for foreign language learners, a survey among German university students of English (81 respondents) was conducted and revealed that they could identify 78.4 % of the non-verbal representations in L1 texts and on average 24.35 % in English as a foreign language (e.g. *The pen is mightier than the sword* and *eat one's words*). The respondents scored significantly higher for English idioms when they were embedded in a text. The paper describes the survey, reports on the findings and proposes a number of suggestions for the teaching of phraseology.

1. The creative use of idioms

The stylistically marked use of phraseological units (PUs), especially idioms, is a ubiquitous feature in a variety of genres today. It has therefore been at the core of phraseological studies for some time. Research has focused on text-related modifications of idioms (cf. Fiedler, 2007: 90 – 97; Naciscione, 2001), including the substitution of phraseological elements (cf. 1 and 2), creative expansions by means of semantically related lexical units (cf. 3 and 4), the reordering of phraseological constituents (permutation) (cf. 5 and 6), and the deletion of elements (reduction) (cf. 7 and 8). Other mechanisms employing idioms in innovative ways are the play with the two readings of an idiom (its figurative and its literal

meaning), called phraseological pun by A. Naciscione (2001: 79 – 90) (cf. 9 and 10) and the playful combination of PUs (cf. 11) up to deliberate overuses of idioms (accumulation) as in the well-known *Monty Python* sketch “The dead parrot” (cf. 12).

(1) *It’s raining facts and fossils* (*The Times* 6 December 2007) (title of an article about the large variety of books on trivial facts offered for Christmas; base: *it’s raining cats and dogs*).

(2) *She came, they saw, she conquered* (*The Sunday Times* 30 March 2008) (article on Carla Bruni-Sarkozy’s visit to Britain; base: *I came, I saw, I conquered*).

(3) *Hillary, not curiosity, killed the cat* (*Sunday Independent* 11 November 2007) (Hillary Clinton was accused of having killed a cat).

(4) *Smells like pre-teen spirit* (*The Age* 12 February 2005) (article on an Australian band, *The Flairz*, whose members are 11 and 12 years old; base: *Nirvana* song *Smells like teen spirit*).

(5) *Your Oyster is their world* (*The Guardian* 17 November 2007) (article on credit cards and hi-tech pickpockets; base: *the world is your oyster*).

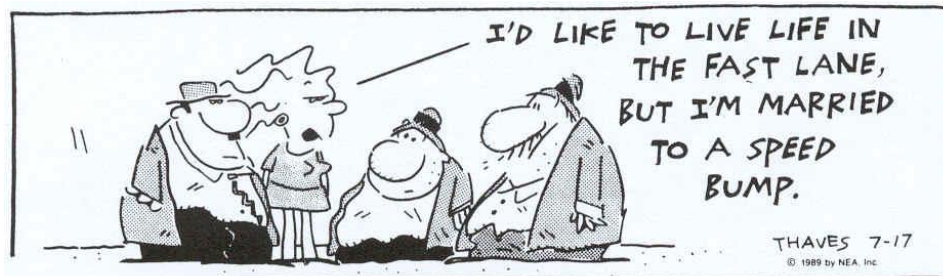
(6) *horting China: There’s a Will, But Which Way?* (*The Wall Street Journal* 25/26 August 2007) (base: *Where there’s a will there’s a way*).

(7) *Why writers want to swap pens for swords* (*Irish Independent* 10 November 2007) (article on the strike launched by the Writers’ Guild of America).

(8) “*More of the iceberg is being revealed, but we haven’t seen it all yet,*” says [...] (*The Wall Street Journal* 25/26 August 2007).

(9) *Don't get your fingers burned by repair bills* (*The Guardian* 17 November 2007) (article on boilers).

(10) *The shape of things to come* (*The Straits Times* 16 December 2002).



(11)

(*Frank and Ernest* by B. Thaves, 17 July 1989 © 2005 Thaves/ Dist. By NEA Inc.).

(12) *This parrot is no more. It has ceased to be. It's expired and gone to meet its maker. This is a late parrot. It's a stiff. Bereft of life, it rests in peace. If you hadn't nailed it to the perch, it would be pushing up the daisies. It's rung down the curtain and joined the choir invisible. This is an ex-parrot.*

As example 10 shows, visual elements can contribute to phraseological punning, for example, by activating the literal meaning of a unit. In addition, they are often used to illustrate the content of a PU, as in example 13.

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(13)

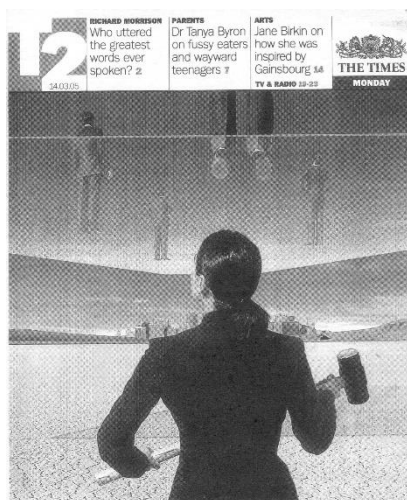
The visualisation of a literal meaning of a figurative expression or of one of its elements, which can be increasingly observed in television news programmes (cf. Burger, 1999) and documentary films to entertain the viewer is another variety of this use. Verbal-visual combinations in phraseology have provided a wealth of pedagogically relevant data recently (cf. Burger, 2008; A. Naciscione, 2005; Mieder, 2005). The current study is interested in the special type of creative use of PUs in which visual elements play the most important role in evoking effects: non-verbal representations of idioms.

2. Non-verbal representations of idioms

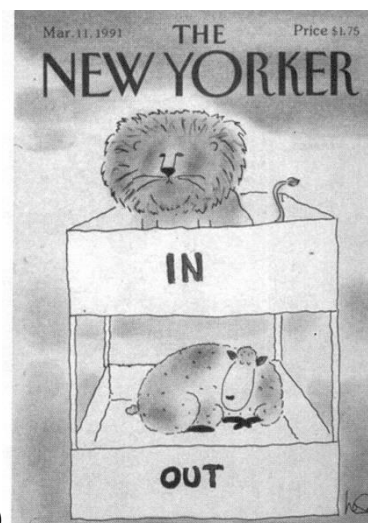
2.1. Types of realization

Non-verbal realizations of idioms can be found in a number of different forms. The gestural and bodily presentation of figurative expressions is a popular party game and recurrent element of comedy programmes (cf. Fiedler, 2005). To present the actual content of an expression that is normally understood only figuratively makes people laugh. Suddenly they become aware of the bizarre image or situation. The more detached something seems to be from reality, the funnier it is when we suddenly see it happen.

Other domains of application are semiotically complex printed genres such as comics and cartoons (cf. Fiedler, 2003: 123), caricatures, illustrations and photographs in newspapers and advertisement. Non-verbal representations of PUs have a long tradition. A classic example is Pieter Bruegel's painting *The Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559). Most of the PUs illustrated there have equivalents in many European languages (cf. Mieder, 2004).



(14) WOMEN: HOW TO GET TO THE TOP



(15)

The material found can be subdivided into two groups: (a) visual representations that are totally non-verbal, which do not contain any words or letters referring to the PU and (b) those that include verbal constituents of the PU which can function as clues. Picture (14) (*The Times* 14 March 2006) is an example of the first group. It depicts the PU *the glass ceiling*, an expression that refers to the invisible barrier formed by tradition that

prevents especially women from being promoted to the most important positions. Example (15) (*The New Yorker* March 1999)⁴, referring to the proverb *March comes in like a lion and goes like a lamb*, includes the two constituents *in* and *out*, which are of importance, in combination with the depicted lion and lamb, to decipher the authentic proverb. Investigations have to show whether the working hypothesis that the visual representation of idioms which contain linguistic elements are easier to identify can be verified.

2.2. Functions

In 2.1 entertainment and especially the creation of humour were mentioned as main functions of non-verbal representations of idioms. These seems to be relevant especially to comedy and comics. In newspaper and journals, illustrating pictures such as shown in (13) often work as additional eye-catchers to attract the reader's attention. The age-old wisdom of a picture that "is worth a 1000 words" is true here again. The picture in (14) really showing a woman below a glass ceiling in a helpless position inferior to her male colleagues is telling.

In addition, in political caricatures non-verbal representations of idioms can have the function of argumentative comments. Example (V) in chapter 3, a cartoon by Peter Till, expresses the content of the article it accompanies in a very clear and at the same time economical way: the politician had to admit that what he said was wrong.

3. Non-verbal representations and foreign language learning

3.1. Phraseology as an object in language classes

When the role of phraseology in language teaching and learning is discussed, two different attitudes are usually brought forward, neither of which can be denied. On the one hand, phraseology seems to be sheer luxury when we consider all the other objects and difficulties language classes have to deal with. Especially with a rather difficult language like English, it does not seem to be reasonable to teach idiomatic phrases in

⁴ I found this example in Mieder (2005: 225).

a situation where the pronunciation of words and grammatical structures cause problems. Even in advanced phases of foreign language teaching, at university level, there is often no real necessity to include them. The foci are put on essay writing and oral academic presentations, and students are able to do very well in these fields without using a single idiom. The Bologna process, which leads to a further reduction of practical language classes, is another motivation to concentrate on core subjects.

On the other hand, it is a well-known fact (and the linguistic examples given in this paper illustrate it) that phraseology is widely used and ignoring it or not being able to understand it means a loss, a loss of information, of insight, of pleasure. Therefore, at least in terms of receptive skills, it should not be neglected. In addition, as we have seen, the creative use of PUs, as language play in general, evokes humour and intellectual joy, which stimulates learners. This can help to increase motivation and enliven lessons.

With regard to phraseology as a linguistic discipline taught at universities significant progress has been made. A growing number of institutions of higher education in Germany offer phraseology courses, which gives the field a more inclusive profile in language teaching and improves the cooperation with other linguistic disciplines. Hopefully, the publication of the university coursebook *English Phraseology* (2007) will support this development.

3.2. The knowledge of L2 phraseology: a survey

3.2.1. Presentation of the PUs investigated and overall results

Due to their frequently unpredictable meanings and their connotations PUs are problematic for language learners. To gain further insight into the state of knowledge of phraseology a survey among German university students of English was conducted (81 respondents). In one part of the questionnaire students were asked to paraphrase the meaning of the PUs

- I *a piece of cake*
- II *the last straw*
- III *to go cold turkey*
- IV *(the chickens) come home to roost*

and, if possible, to note where or how they had learned them.

The knowledge of the four units is very poor (see table 1). The best known idiom (*a piece of cake*) could be paraphrased correctly only by 19.7% of the students. Of these, 56.2 % were students in the second cycle (*Hauptstudium*, third year and above), and 62.5 % had spent a period of at least 9 months in an English-speaking country. Those who knew it, gave the following situations as sources:

Television/movies/sports/games (4 respondents)

Friends/picked it up/heard it often (3 r.)

Phraseology course (3 r.)

School (2 r.)

My host mother in the UK always said so

Job environment

Can't remember (2 r.).

Table 1. Correct paraphrases (%) of verbally and non-verbally presented PUs (context-isolated)

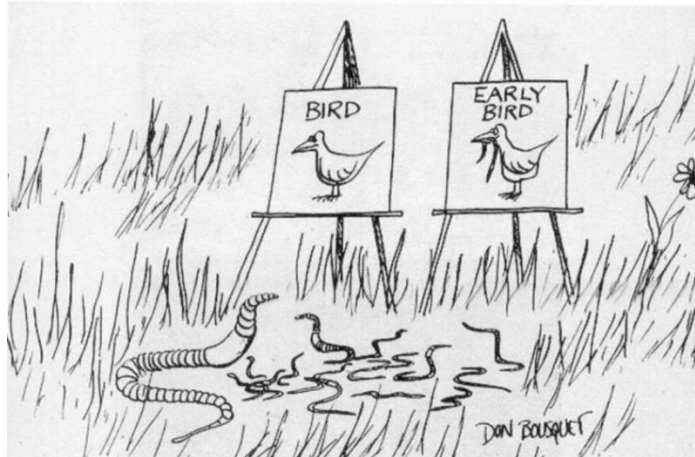
No	PU	All students (81)	Students having been abroad (26)	Students in year 3 and above (30)
I	<i>a piece of cake</i>	19.7	34.6	30.0
II	<i>the last straw</i>	12.3	19.2	10.0
III	<i>To go cold turkey</i>	16.0	23.1	13.3
IV	<i>(the chickens) come home to roost</i>	1.2	0	0
V	<i>To eat one's words</i>	1.2	3.8	3.3
VI	<i>The early bird catches the worm</i>	79.0	88.5	92.3
VII	<i>An apple a day keeps the doctor away</i>	53.1	65.4	56.7
VIII	<i>The pen is mightier than the sword</i>	12.3	3.9	6.7

In the second part of the survey, the following non-verbal representations of PUs were given to the students:⁵

⁵ Examples VI, VII and VIII were taken from an article by W. Mieder (2005).

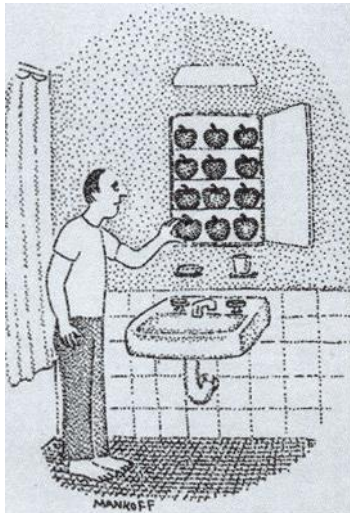


V



VI

(Guardian Weekly 29 April 2004)



VII



VIII

Prior to this part of the questionnaire, students were given two pictures with non-verbal representations of German idioms (see appendix 2). The first of these, which alludes to the German *PU für'n Appel und 'n Ei* ('for an apple and an egg', i.e. cheap), was correctly paraphrased and understood in the context of the advertisement by 82.4 %. The second one, which toys with the phrase *Die Weisheit (auch nicht) mit Löffeln gefressen haben* ('(to [not] have eaten wisdom with spoons', i.e. to be stupid but convinced to be wise), was known by 74.5 % of the respondents. This result reveals that non-verbal representations of figurative expressions are both cognitively and linguistically challenging. The first step is probably the identification of the whole picture as an advertisement. This process is connected with the activation of general experience and knowledge which

lead to an assumption of what might be expected in this text type. Secondly, the students have to analyse the objects presented in the picture and to identify them as elements of a PU. Thirdly, the figurative meaning of the PU must be found and related to the other visual and the verbal elements in the picture (especially to the product that is promoted) to understand the message of the advertisement. These are demanding tasks for students, even in their mother tongue, as the results show.

Out of the four visually presented English PUs *The early bird catches the worm* (VI) and *An apple a day keeps the doctor away* (VII) were very well known to the students, with percentages of 79.0 and 53.1 (see Table 1). As for (VI), one might assume that the phraseological elements given in the cartoon (*bird, early bird*) worked as cues. The main reason for the high score, however, seems to be the fact that the loan translation of the English proverb *Der frühe Vogel fängt den Wurm* is very popular in German.

As table 1 shows, those students who had spent some time in an English-speaking country achieve better results. In 6 out of the 8 PUs they scored higher, which is significant as we have to consider that one of the remaining two (IV) was known to only 1 respondent. As expected, older students knew more PUs than younger ones. However, the difference is not as significant as the one between the total number of students and those who had been abroad.

3.2.2. *Mother tongue interference*

For some of the little known idioms, a relatively large number of wrong answers is worth mentioning (see Table 2). These figures show that students tried hard to find answers and to explain the PUs and pictures for themselves. Instead of simply noting “Don’t know”, they did produce paraphrases. In doing so, they mainly relied on their mother tongue. For example, the cartoon presenting the PU *to eat one’s words* (V) was paraphrased as:

- *to eat one’s endings/doesn’t speak intelligently* (influenced by the L1 expression *Endungen verschlucken* ‘to swallow an ending’)

- *don't speak when you are eating* (influenced by the L1 phrase *Mit vollem Munde spricht man nicht* 'don't speak with your mouth full')
- *to put one's words into another one's mouth* (influenced by the L1 idiom *jemandem Worte in den Mund legen* 'to put words into somebody's mouth', i.e. to tell somebody what he is to say).

Wrong interpretations of *a piece of cake* (I) included *to get something/ a bit/ a part/ a piece of something positive*, which must have been influenced by the German PU *seinen Teil vom Kuchen abbekommen* ('to get one's share of the cake', i.e. to receive one's just rewards'). Native language influence was especially significant for *the last straw* (II), as the figures show. Wrong paraphrases comprise *the last chance/ hope/ possibility/ the only help/ the only thing that helps/ if nothing else works/ the last thing you can cling to* (obviously going back to the German literal counterpart *der letzte Strohalm (an den man sich klammert)* (with the meaning 'to clutch at any straw'), which might be called a false friend.

Table 2. Wrong paraphrases (%) (of the total number of answers)

No	PU	Wrong paraphrases
I	<i>a piece of cake</i>	35.8
II	<i>the last straw</i>	46.9
III	<i>to go cold turkey</i>	11.1
IV	<i>(the chickens) come home to roost</i>	8.6
V	<i>to eat one's words</i>	29.6
VI	<i>The early bird catches the worm</i>	4.9
VII	<i>An apple a day keeps the doctor away</i>	4.9
VIII	<i>The pen is mightier than the sword</i>	9.9

3.2.3. Phraseology in context

The third part of the survey is referred to the role that context can play when PUs are processed (Before solving the tasks in this part students had to hand in their solutions to parts 1 and 2). The PUs II (*the last straw*),

III (*to go cold turkey*), IV (*[the chickens] come home to roost*), and VIII (*The pen is mightier than the sword*) were now once more presented embedded in authentic texts (see appendix 1). The survey reveals that the students scored significantly higher in this part (see Table 3 and Fig. 1).

Table 3. Correct paraphrases (%) for selected PUs embedded in texts

No	PU	Results (context-isolated)	Results (embedded)
II	<i>the last straw</i>	12.3	40.7
III	<i>to go cold turkey</i>	16.0	44.4
IV	<i>(the chickens) come home to roost</i>	1.2	28.4
VIII	<i>The pen is mightier than the sword</i>	12.3	74.1

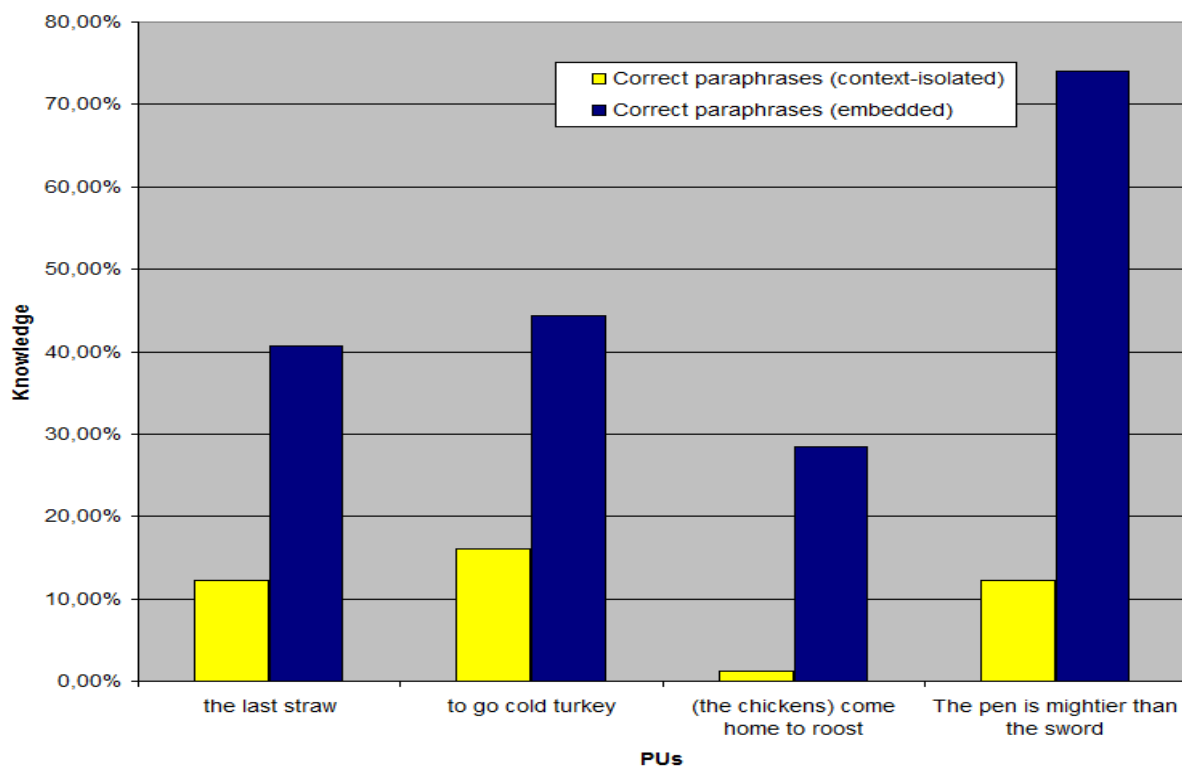


Fig. 1. Correct paraphrases (context-isolated and embedded)

The context (to be understood as the immediate co-text, the words and phrases used together with the PU) can help the reader to understand the meaning of an unknown idiom. This is obvious especially in the case of

The pen is mightier than the sword (VIII). The high score for this proverb can be attributed to its self-explanatory character and the use in a report that illustrates it. The explicit phrase *to reduce violence in America* will have been understood by all students. Even in the case of a little known and opaque idiom, *(the chickens) come home to roost*, however, a suitable context made more than a quarter of the students infer the correct meaning. Nevertheless, context should not be overestimated. In none of the examples was it possible to reach a score of more than 75 % for an embedded PU. Reasons for this might be that students were not able to understand all lexical items in the given texts or that they were lacking socio-cultural background knowledge to interpret the textual situation adequately.

Another possible explanation can be found in our behaviour. It is a frequent observation that people, once convinced to have found the correct meaning, tend to keep to it. Therefore, a number of those students who gave wrong answers to the questions in parts 1 and 2 due to mother tongue interference (for the PU *the last straw* these were no less than 46.9 % – see Table 2) probably did not check whether their interpretation stands up to the use in the given text.

4. Summary and conclusions

Despite the limited number of respondents the survey on phraseological knowledge conducted among German university students of English has revealed a number of interesting results. The overall knowledge of idioms has to be regarded as insufficient. Widely used PUs such as *a piece of cake*, *the last straw*, *to eat one's words*, and *The pen is mightier than the sword* are known by less than 20 %.

Students in the second circle (from year 3 on) reach slightly higher scores than students in the first cycle (years 1 and 2). It is hard to find where and how exactly phraseology is acquired. Sources mentioned by the students are talks with friends, the media, but also phraseology courses. A stay in an English-speaking country seems to improve the knowledge of phraseology considerably.

Mother tongue influences are an important factor in phraseology. There is positive transfer for PUs that are known as loan translations; interference (negative transfer) can be observed when idioms with similar constituents have different meanings in L1 (false friends). Understanding and processing non-verbally presented idioms is a challenge in both mother tongue and foreign language communication. It demands, in addition to the knowledge of a PU, intellectual abilities, linguistic experience and intuition.

When a PU is embedded in a text its meaning can often be inferred correctly even if it is unknown. We should keep this in mind when we teach phraseology. Further investigations might focus on the question if and to what extent a suitable context can also be helpful for the successful memorization of PUs.

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(after Sabine Fiedler)

Questions for discussion

1. The creative use of idioms is a ubiquitous feature in a variety of genres and has been at the core of phraseological studies for some time. Would you name the papers or monographs dealing with the creative use of idioms?

2. As a contribution to phraseological research in functional and stylistic terms, this paper throws some light on non-verbal representation of idioms. Could you supply your examples here?

3. The phenomenon under discussion is particularly salient in caricatures, cartoons, illustrations and photographs in newspaper articles and advertisements. The task is to illustrate it with a new set of caricatures, cartoons, illustrations and photographs.

4. Would you illustrate the text-related modifications of idioms the research has focused on, i.e. including the substitution of phraseological elements, creative expansions by means of semantically related lexical units, the reordering of phraseological constituents (permutation), and the deletion of elements (reduction)?

5. Will you explain some other mechanisms employing idioms in innovative ways, namely: the play with the two readings of an idiom, i.e. its figurative and its literal meaning, (called phraseological pun by A. Naciscione) and the playful combination of PUs (cf. 11) up to deliberate overuses of idioms (accumulation) (as in the well-known *Monty Python* sketch “The dead parrot”) and exemplify them?

6. In what way can visual elements contribute to phraseological punning (for example, by activating the literal meaning of a unit, etc.)?

7. Non-verbal representations of PUs have a long tradition. A classic example is Pieter Bruegel’s painting *The Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559). Most of the PUs illustrated there have equivalents in many European languages. Could you suggest your personal illustrations for them?

8. The material found can be subdivided into two groups: (a) visual representations that are totally non-verbal, which do not contain any words or letters referring to the PU and (b) those that include verbal constituents of the PU which can function as clues. Could you comment on the stylistic and pragmatic effects of the both?

9. Picture 14 depicts the PU *the glass ceiling*, an expression that refers to the invisible barrier formed by tradition that prevents especially women from being promoted to the most important positions. What details might you improve in the picture?

10. Will you try and prove that in political caricatures non-verbal representations of idioms can have the function of argumentative comments?

Theme 6
HISTORICAL CORE VOCABULARY EVOLUTION
IN AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND ENGLISHES:
CROSS-VARIETIES ANALYSIS OF PHRASEOLOGY

Introduction

Core vocabulary is investigated within various paradigms, in this study being treated as the corpus of lexemes that have been part of English since Old English. This research focuses on the study of the semantic evolution of core lexemes being the components of phraseology formed in English national varieties. I hypothesize that core vocabulary has the status of the pivot of evolutionary processes in the lexicon in the course of English expansion world-wide since all adaptive processes taking place during its adaptation to the altered environment penetrate into its lexicon and are immediately projected into its core vocabulary. To verify the hypothesis, the semantic structure of core lexemes when used as components of Australian and New Zealand phraseology was investigated. The method applied consisted in 1) the selection of the corpus of phraseology (with core lexeme being constituents) formed in Australian and New Zealand Englishes; 2) the analysis of the semantic domains their semantics embraces; 3) the examination of amplitude of the semantics transformations core vocabulary underwent contributing to the new cultural space exploration in terms of the native language conceptual system.

1. The expansion of English world-wide and its lexicon evolution

English language has evolved into polycentric after its transplantation outside the British Isles in the course of colonization of the territories of North America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand. Endemic culture, way of life, nature of the new territories as well as specific socio-economic relations, atypical to the perception of Anglo-Saxons, who settled in these regions, stipulated language changes, triggering its adaptive mechanisms to the altering milieu.

The course of English language dissemination is accompanied by the formation of ethno-specific language conceptual system which specificity is the most explicit on the lexical level. Consequently the result of adaptive processes in the lexical system is the influx of borrowings from autochthonous languages and innovations based on language inner resources. The latter embraces the products of semantic change, word-formation and phraseology-formation processes which involve all chronological layers of English lexicon (cf. Gorjaynova, 2005; Skybina, 1996: 97 – 104).

This paper focuses on the research of the role of core layer of the English lexicon in the processes of its adaptation to the altering environment after territorial dissemination of English and the regularities of semantic evolution of core lexemes being the components of phraseology formed in English national varieties.

2. Approach to core vocabulary research

Core vocabulary is investigated within numerous paradigms (Carter, 1992; Hughes, 2000: 360 – 393; Kretov, 1987; Modiano, 1999:11; Peyawary, 1999; Quirk, 1982; Stein, 1978; Stubbs, 1986; Vinogradov, 1951). In this article it is treated as the corpus of lexemes dating back to the earliest stages of the language history, i.e. which have been part of English since Old English and are represented in the lexicons of all native varieties of English. The list comprises 2166 lexemes (Skybina, 1996:105).

The results obtained of our previous research of this chronological layer of two Germanic languages – English and German – attested high functional, structural and evolutionary significance of core vocabulary in the lexicon (Skybina & Galutskikh, 2007; Galutskikh, 2007a) and sustained the idea that lexicon evolution is guided by internal impulses generated by the processes taking place in its historical core due to its exceptional role in lexicon structure, communication and, consequently, evolution. Moreover it proved the correlation between core vocabulary evolution and that of the entire lexicon (Galutskikh, 2006; Galutskikh, 2007b; Galutskikh, 2008).

From this assumption proceeds the hypothesis of this research. I hypothesize that core vocabulary has the status of the pivot of evolutionary processes in the lexicon in the course of English expansion world-wide since all adaptive processes taking place during its adaptation to the altered environment penetrate into its lexicon and are immediately projected into its core vocabulary. In other words all changes in cultural, socio-economic and other spheres of life Anglo-Saxon settlers faced on the new territories are mirrored in English lexicon and infiltrate into its historical core. Such changes result in semantic transformations of core lexemes, which “absorb” culturally marked connotations. It ends up covering vast semantic continuum and verbalizing significant concepts of the culture-recipient.

The aim of the research consists in the verification of the above-stated hypothesis. For such purpose lexical material of two English native varieties – Australian and New Zealand, which are the youngest ones, having started to be shaped in the XVIII – XIX cent. – were chosen, that allows to trace the intensity of changes in the core vocabulary semantics which took place in a relatively short time span of these varieties evolution.

The method applied consisted in three stages. First, the selection of the corpus of phraseology (with core lexeme being constituents) formed in Australian and New Zealand Englishes out of regional dictionaries (Orsman & Orsman, 1994; Ramson, 1988) was carried out. Second, the analysis of the extralinguistic background of the phraseological units formation in Australian and New Zealand varieties was performed with special accent made on the semantic domains embraced by the core lexemes’ semantics being reinterpreted in the context of socio-economic, cultural, historical, etc. aspects of Australian and New Zealand varieties evolution. Third, the examination of amplitude of the semantics transformations core lexemes underwent contributing to the new cultural space exploration in terms of the native language conceptual system.

3. Specific characteristics of phraseology as an object of research

Phraseology was chosen for the verification of the hypothesis as the object of this research for several reasons, the most important being the fact

that it is the most explicit “culture-bearing” language fund, as culturally marked components of their semantics dominate over nominative ones (Maslova, 2004: 69), and metaphors reflected in them become the «exponents of culture codes» (Maslova, 2004: 73). It serves more as a means of the world interpretation and evaluation than of its mere description as its semantics reproduces the peculiarities of nation’s mentality, contains the information about the world, the society and the society’s perception of the world. Phraseology reveals the specific national way of life, traditions, beliefs, superstitions, rituals, legends, etc., i.e. all spheres of human existence. Some of them are based on the descriptions of “prototypical situations”, corresponding to the literal meaning of the phraseological unit, which afterwards is fixed in its semantics as figurative or transferred one. The role of such “prototypical situations” is often performed by myths, traditions, historical events, elements of material culture (Maslova, 2004: 71). All the information they bear, based on ethnic stereotypes, symbols, etalons, subsides in the connotations of phraseological unit’s constituents.

4. Extralinguistic background conditioning phraseology formation in Australian and New Zealand Englishes as one of the mechanisms of adaptation of language to new reality

The analysis of the corpus of the selected phraseological units demonstrated that the processes of phraseologization accompanying the evolution of English as a polycentric language were active enough.

The interpretation of core vocabulary semantics in the cultural space of Australian and New Zealand ethnos sustained the idea that core vocabulary does not stay apart of evolutionary processes, on their periphery. On the contrary, historical core has the central status in the lexicon evolution as far as it is the centre of attraction of nominative processes verbalizing the most important concepts corresponding to new reality and indispensable in the culture of Australians and New Zealanders and thus reflecting the conditions of Anglo-Saxon ethnos formation outside their native lands.

This statement is illustrated by the examples of culturally marked phraseological units with core lexemes as components.

Thus, the emergence of considerable part of phraseology formed in Australian and New Zealand Englishes on the basis of English historical core is stipulated by the influence of culture and beliefs of Aborigines and Maori and social relations pertained to them, rituals they practiced, e.g. *to point the bone*, the meaning of which comes from Aboriginal ritual practice where a bone is pointed at a person whose death is willed. It was fixed in the semantics of the core word *bone*, which is obvious in its usage in the same meaning in the phrases *death bone* and *pointing bone*. «Ritual origin» is also evident in the phrase *Sunday business* meaning ‘*an exclusive ritual or traditional lore*’. Specificity of interpersonal relations stimulated the emergence of Australian English phraseological unit *feather foot* ‘*one who undertakes the mission of vengeance*’, its semantics being influenced by synonymic aboriginal *kurdaitcha*. The way of life of Aborigines and Maori initiated the formation of phraseological units *go back to the mat* ‘*to return to Maori ways*’, *to put up a smoke* ‘*to make a signal*’, *in smoke* ‘*in hiding*’.

Cultural specificity of some Australian and New Zealand phraseological units based on English core vocabulary is manifested in the figurativeness of its basic component, e.g.: *as dry as a wooden god* ‘*thirsty*’, where metaphoric component stems from pagan beliefs and traditions of Aboriginal population.

Beside the cultural stimuli of phraseology formation due to which new connotations in the core lexemes’ semantics emerge, unusual climate, landscape, nature characteristics, endemic flora and fauna of Australia and New Zealand being “fresh” for the perception of Anglo-Saxon settlers and simultaneously accentuated also inspire new phraseological formations. Here refer the following phraseological units metaphorically depicting human behaviour, e.g.: *tall poppy* ‘*conspicuously successful person, usu. one exciting envy*’, *a whale in the bay* ‘*a person with money to spend*’, *to get one’s wool combed* ‘*to receive a scolding or thrashing*’, *as miserable as a shag on a rock* ‘*lonely, miserable*’, *not to have a feather to fly with*, *not to have a feather left* ‘*to be broke or penniless*’; or making one’s behaviour explicit through the natural phenomenon: *I didn’t come down in the last shower* ‘*used to indicate smb. without experience*’.

Moreover, Australian and New Zealand peculiar landscape division and its specific differentiation where assimilated territory is often opposed to wild, remote areas (bush) is revealed in the following phraseological units: ***Sydney or the bush*** ‘*all or nothing*’, ***to go into the bush*** ‘*originally of a Maori – to seek refuge in the bush, later – to hide, go underground; used to designate any movement reverse to less civilized ways; to live in remote areas*’, ***to go bush*** ‘*of a Europeanized Maori to revert to traditional tribal ways*’, ‘*to leave urban life for that of a rural outdoors*’, ***to spread like a bush fire*** ‘*of news, etc. very quickly*’.

In the semantics of local innovations social differentiation and relations between Aborigines/Maori and Anglo-Saxon colonizers is revealed, e.g.: ***to live white*** (of an Aboriginal) ‘*to live in the manner of white people*’, ***gin shepherd*** ‘*a white man who cohabits with an Aboriginal woman (fr. Gin-Aboriginal woman)*’, ‘*one who seeks to prevent the sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women by white man*’, ***brown man’s burden*** ‘*the social, etc. burden imposed by European society on the Polynesian*’, ***brown velvet*** (offensive) ‘*a Maori woman as a sexual object*’.

Criminal past of the first settlers of Australia where convicts from the United Kingdom were exiled in 1770 – 1840, initiated the formation of such phraseological units as ***on the roads*** ‘*convicted for forced labour on the roads*’, ***grey death*** ‘*a weak prison stew*’, ***old hand*** ‘*an Australian former convict*’.

Among the analyzed corpus of phraseology formed on the basis of core vocabulary in Australian and New Zealand Englishes the significant bulk of local innovations is concerned with the sphere of industrial activity of the settlers, one of the most important and popular being gold-mining as Australia and New Zealand are famous for their gold-bearing territories. The times of gold rush and activity of gold-diggers are shrouded in romantic aureole, no wonder they generated the numerous expressive phraseological innovations, e.g. ***good as gold*** ‘*fine*’, as well as neutral ones, e.g. ***wash up*** ‘*to recover gold*’, ***to work away from home*** ‘*to be involved in goldmining*’.

The employment in sheep-shearing inspired the formation of *to swing the gate* ‘*to be the fastest shearer in the shed*’.

Exceptional attitude of English-speaking Australians and New Zealanders towards the products of their activity, particularly in the most developed and profitable spheres comprising gold-mining, sheep-breeding, sheep’s wool-shearing, timber processing and apple-growing is reflected in the emergence of phraseological units which reveal their national outlook. For example, phrases *golden fleece* ‘*wool, perceived as the source of national wealth*’, *sheep’s back* ‘*national prosperity*’, *to live off the sheep’s back* ‘*indicating or alluding to prosperity from wool growing*’ indicate national attitude towards sheep and wool as benefit and the source of wealth and prosperity. Positive estimation is often possible through the description of the prototypical situation connected with productive activity. Thus, *get up* with initial local meaning ‘*to prepare wool for sale*’ later starts to indicate any successful activity; *to think one is doing a great stroke* ‘*to be very proud of a considerable achievement*’, is a transferred ‘*to discover gold*’; as well as the phrases *good as gold* ‘*fine, expression of approval, agreement*’; *to have the wood on* ‘*to have advantage*’, that emphasizes the significance of gold-mining and timber-processing in nation’s prosperity. Success in Australian and New Zealand Englishes is also associated with apple-growing, their fruit being the most popular exported goods, which apparently stimulated the emergence of positive connotations of core word *apple* in the phraseological units *she’s apples!* – ‘*she’s all right*’ and *to be apples* ‘*used to express confidence in a happy outcome, reassurance, agreement, etc.*’

Traditions closely connected with industrial activity and values of Anglo-Saxon settlers stipulated the formation of phraseological units: *save a match and buy a farm* ‘*used as caution against unnecessary waste*’, *before the gold* ‘*prior to the discovery of gold in Australia*’, *to wait for a death* ‘*describing an old custom of unemployed shearers waiting round a shed in case smb is sacked in the hope of getting his job*’, *ducks on the pond* ‘*a shearer’s call of warning to all in the shed that a woman is approaching*’.

At last, several phraseological units either enriched local phraseological fund to nominate the realia of the life of Anglophones on the newly-occupied territories or directly appeal to them: *to be in King Street* ‘in financial difficulty (used in allusion to the hearing of bankruptcy cases in the Supreme Court located in central Sydney in the King Street)’, *shilling-a-month-man*, ‘men who agreed to work for one shilling a month for the privilege of being allowed to remain in Sydney’, *to sleep in a star hotel* ‘to sleep under the open sky’.

The abovementioned examples made it evident that phraseology formed in Australian and New Zealand Englishes on the basis of its core vocabulary is characterized by explicit and implicit cultural markedness that consists not only in the specificity of nominative space covered by their semantics or one of its constituents as a denotatum being the bearer of cultural information, but in the images of metaphorization which bear cultural significance.

5. Core vocabulary semantic transformations and its semantic potential

The examination of the extralinguistic background of the phraseological units formation in Australian and New Zealand varieties demonstrates that core vocabulary is always ready to react to the ever-changing environment.

The abovementioned illustrations make it obvious that the semantics of core lexemes being the components of these phraseologisms undergoes semantic change and acquires culturally marked connotations. The major transformations comprise the processes of metaphorization and specialization. Such changes are a respond to the altering milieu and the need of enrichment of Anglophones’ conceptual system with new knowledge and images. Thus, there appear new lexical representatives of this knowledge which are constituents of their conceptual system. The nature of these changes is in direct dependence on the complex of factors determining the specificity of territorial variation and evolution of national varieties of English. Therefore the semantics of core lexemes being the components of Australian and New Zealand phraseology is socio-economically and culturally specified.

The examination of the amplitude of the semantics transformations core lexemes underwent contributing to the new cultural space exploration in terms of the native language conceptual system proved that core vocabulary preserves the most essential primordial semantic features and the changes taking place in the core vocabulary does not bother with its ability to secure lexicon's dynamic equilibrium.

Consequently core vocabulary semantics manages to embrace plenty of semantic domains, being shaped by the complex of socio-economic, cultural, historical, etc. aspects of Australian and New Zealand varieties evolution.

The results obtained verify the assumption about the evolutionary significance of core vocabulary and demonstrate inexhaustible semantic potential of core lexemes and their ability to be subdued to semantic variation and change and absorb new connotations as a respond to the need of adaptation to the new reality. Active participation of historical core in the nominative processes makes it both the pivot of the evolutionary processes in the lexicon in the frames of its polycentric nature and semantic core of the lexicon transmitting national culture which is conceptualized in core vocabulary semantics. The analysis of the corpus of local phraseological innovations stimulated by Anglo-Saxon expansion to the territories of Australia and New Zealand and appealing to core vocabulary illustrates the usage of core lexemes for both description of the world, its interpretation and evaluation. Therefore core vocabulary semantics being dynamic is active to contribute to the formation of the fragment of their "world", it reproduces the peculiarities of ethnos mentality, attitude of Anglophones to new reality, bears the information about their way of life, traditions, beliefs, etc. Due to such status being the components of Australian and New Zealand phraseology core vocabulary semantics has accumulated cultural connotations reflecting stereotypes and patterns of national outlook.

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(after Iryna Galutskikh)

Questions for discussion

1. This research focuses on the study of the semantic evolution of core lexemes being the components of phraseology formed in English national varieties. How can one differentiate lexemes and phrasemes?

2. The author hypothesizes that core vocabulary has the status of the pivot of evolutionary processes in the lexicon in the course of English expansion world-wide since all adaptive processes taking place during its adaptation to the altered environment penetrate into its lexicon and are immediately projected into its core vocabulary. What pros and contras do you see here?

3. In what way was the semantic structure of core lexemes—when used as components of Australian and New Zealand phraseology—investigated, to verify the hypothesis?

4. The method applied consisted in 1) the selection of the corpus of phraseology (with core lexeme being constituents) formed in Australian and New Zealand Englishes; 2) the analysis of the semantic domains their semantics embraces; 3) the examination of amplitude of the semantics transformations core vocabulary underwent contributing to the new cultural space exploration in terms of the native language conceptual system. What method do you think is worth mentioning in that set?

5. Will you show that the results obtained by the author's previous research of this chronological layer of two Germanic languages—English and German—attested high functional, structural and evolutionary significance of core vocabulary in the lexicon and sustained the idea that lexicon evolution is guided by internal impulses generated by the processes taking place in its historical core due to its exceptional role in lexicon structure, communication and, consequently, evolution?

6. Will you ground the author's choice of Phraseology for the verification of the hypothesis as the object of this research?

7. Why does the author pay attention to the most important fact (in her opinion) that phraseology is the most explicit “culture-bearing” language fund, as culturally marked components of their semantics dominate over nominative ones?

8. What level of language is it referred to: It serves more as a means of the world interpretation and evaluation than of its mere description as its semantics reproduces the peculiarities of nation's mentality, contains the information about the world, the society and the society's perception of the world?

9. How would you prove that Phraseology reveals the specific national way of life, traditions, beliefs, superstitions, rituals, legends, etc., i.e. all spheres of human existence?

10. Why does the author say that some of phraseological units are based on the descriptions of “prototypical situations”, corresponding to the literal meaning of the phraseological unit, which afterwards is fixed in it semantics as figurative or transferred one? What is the role of such “prototypical situations” often performed by?

Theme 7

PHRASEOLOGICAL UNITS IN STANDARD VARIETIES OF ENGLISH AS INDICATORS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

Introduction

Overseas Standard Varieties of English have developed vocabularies and phraseological inventories with indigenous and idiosyncratic features. These are commonly summarized under terms like *Americanisms*, *Canadianisms*, *Australianisms*, *New Zealandisms*, *South Africanisms*, and others.

The present paper sets out to examine common features among phraseological units in *American (AE)*, *Australian (AusE)*, and *New Zealand English (NZE)*. The focus will be on the colonial past of the particular language community and the shaping of its cultural identity, which is mirrored in the present-day stock of phrases and idioms.

Cultural identity may be understood as a complex of distinctive features which a language community has assumed over a long period of time. This identity is constituted by firm bonds with the new home country, supported by the emotional impact of “belonging”, and by the spiritual and moral values gained from life experience. In the last instance, cultural identity also includes patterns of social behaviour which enhance the community’s self-awareness.

The vocabulary and phraseology of the overseas Standard Varieties of English bear witness to this long-term development. The Puritan immigrants (known as the *Pilgrim Fathers/ and Mothers/*) who left England in 1620 to found settlements in the East of North America, the later New England States; the inhabitants of the convict colony of Australia who from 1788 onward had to build roads and bridges in desolate areas; and the independent tradespeople, whalers and settlers who made their living in New Zealand – they all escaped from the powerful influence of the English monarchy. They were prepared for a new life in a part of the world where they became faced with a totally different natural environment and often hostilities with the native inhabitants, such as American Indians, Australian Aborigines, and Maori tribes in New Zealand.

The settlers cultivated the plots of land needed for their living. Cultivation was actually practised in the original sense of the Latin verbs *colere* and *cultivare*, which mean cutting trees, clearing the ground for tilling the soil to raise crops, for breeding livestock, for building permanent houses and establishing a community life determined by social, educational and spiritual standards.

During the rule of British colonialism the overseas English language communities preserved their native tongue, but enriched their vocabulary with a great number of new coinages (words and phrases) which designated unknown indigenous plants and animals, topographical features, and items of their own material culture. Although each of these modified standards of English has developed its own identity, the phraseological inventories of AE, AusE and NZE share a number of similarities.

1. Material and method

The corpus material of culture-specific phrases has been drawn from recent dictionaries on AE, AusE and NZE with special reference to colloquialisms and slang, but also from general encyclopaedic reference works on the English language in its worldwide diversification.

The material of examples will be grouped into semantic domains according to onomasiological principles. The examples which illustrate these semantic domains, however, will not be equally distributed and representative in the three English Standard Varieties under analysis. For this purpose, a more comprehensive and more profound previous study of reference sources and current texts would have been necessary. Within the limited scope of the data, the discussion will be focused on principal aspects of cultural identity of a language community as it is mirrored in the wealth of phraseological units that bear witness to a rich cultural heritage. The results of the corpus analysis will lend themselves to tentative conclusions.

2. Culture-related phraseological units in AE, AusE and NZE

In the following sections, select phrases and idioms from the three Standard Varieties of English will be presented in particular semantic domains.

2.1. Phrases related to the history of settlement

After the discovery of Australia by Captain James Cook in 1769/70 and his report to the Royal Society in London, the Admiralty and King George III, the British Governor and the first settlers made their way to the newly discovered continent, also named *the Last of Lands* ('because it was the last large, habitable territory to be explored and settled by Europeans) and the *Fifth Continent*. These expressions gradually substituted the phrase *terra australis incognita*. Australian territory was claimed for the British crown and regarded as *terra nullius* ('nobody's land') – a phrase which has repercussions until the present time, notably in connection with the Australian Aborigines' *native title*. This fixed expression denotes their legitimate land rights and claims to their inherited land, which includes many *holy sites* of their tribal history.

In contrast to Australia, where the first fleet with 759 convicts from the British Isles arrived on January 26, 1788, New Zealand never was a British prisoners colony. The Maori native population and the English farmers and tradespeople lived in relative peace with each other and enjoyed the protection of the British monarch, Queen Victoria, and the Governor of New Zealand as stipulated by the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

The former British colony of New Zealand was subject to different name changes which were accompanied by various descriptive phrases. In the first instance, the name of New Zealand originated from Dutch and was a translation. The Dutch explorer Abel Tasman circumnavigated the two isles in 1642 and called them *Staten Land*, and later *Nieuw Zeeland*, an association to his home country. The Maori settlers, who arrived on their canoes from Polynesia, called their new home *Aotearoa*, *the Land of the Long White Cloud*.

In present-day NZE the popular phrase *the Shaky Isles* refers to the fact that due to its geographical and geological location New Zealand is exposed to frequent minor earthquakes. These are a natural event to the well-prepared population, especially on the North Island.

In the initial stage the settlers in Australia experienced the enormous dimensions of their new abode as *the tyranny of distance*, *the back of beyond* ('far outback') and *the Never-Never* ('the regions remote from civilization, and as yet unsettled and unexplored, at first referring to north-western Queensland or Northern Australia, generally. The term was given currency by Mrs Aeneas Gunn's classic *We of the Never-Never* 1908, G.A. Wilkes, 1996: 265). AusE and NZE share the common phrase in *the middle of nowhere* ('in a remote place, far from civilization and help in need'). The phrase *Down Under* refers to Australia, but is rarely used by the Australians themselves. The opposite phrase *Up Top* denotes the northern hemisphere.

2.2. Phrases related to indigenous plants and animals

In this semantic domain, a general distinction will be made between phrases and idioms which designate plants and animals and constitute common trivial names (as opposed to the systematic names of botanical and zoological nomenclatures) and those designations of plants and animals that occur as constituents of idiomatic phrases and are used in a transferred meaning.

Thus, indigenous animals may be designated by fanciful idiomatic phrases, and the respective animals name may be the headword in an idiomatic phrase with a transferred meaning.

The names and behaviour of typical indigenous animals in the New World are associated with picturesque idioms in AE. Examples are: *in a coon's age* (the *coon* stands for the *raccoon*, 'folksy, in an very long time'); *to play possum* (the *possum* stands for the *oppossum*, 'to pretend to be inactive, asleep or dead; referring to the behaviour of an oppossum'). Moreover, the *squirrel* plays a prominent role in idioms of AE, such as *bright-eyed and bushy-tailed* ('alert and ready to do something as alert and active as a squirrel'); *to squirrel out of something* ('to wriggle out of

something; to manage to extricate oneself from a situation one does not wish to be in’); *to squirrel something away* (‘to hide something in reserve’).

In AusE quite a number of botanical expressions (non-idiomatic phrases) are composed with the qualifying adjective *native* which indicates the original habitat of the botanical species: *native plum*; *native potato* (= *kumera*); *native rain-forest* (as a huge collection of species). In a similar way, the qualifier *wild* refers to the fact that the particular plant has not been cultivated for human consumption.

Common names for native Australian trees are *white ghost* (‘a gum tree or eucalypt which has a white trunk that makes a ghost-like appearance in darkness’); *black boy* (‘a grass-tree native to Australia; the name ‘blackboy’ came from the plants’ appearance after a fire, when the charred trunk and stem resemble an Aboriginal carrying a spear’).

Equally picturesque phrases may be found as designations of native Australian animals. In the history of evolution, marsupials have maintained their native habitat in Australia, as a result of the isolated location of the Fifth Continent. The *kangaroo* (which is a national heraldic emblem), the *koala* (which is not, but is a popular pet animal to tourists) and the *bandicoot* (a burrowing animal feeding on the roots of plants, but leaving their leaves intact) have become prominent in phrases and idioms. The *koala* is also known as the *native bear*, which is an obvious misnomer, because this marsupial is not related to the bear which populates the forests in the northern hemisphere. The *kangaroo* is commemorated in the phrase *to look like a consumptive kangaroo* (‘a kangaroo starving in a period of drought’).

The zoological name *bandicoot* has highly symbolic significance. It is “used in phrases suggesting misery or destitution” (G.A. Wilkes, 1996: 16). Examples are as *bald as a bandicoot* and *as miserable as a bandicoot* (‘wretched’, ‘very miserable’). The idiom the *thorny devil* designates a reptile of a strikingly thorny appearance found in the Northern Territory.

Also indigenous birds have found their way into figurative phrases in AusE, first and foremost the *kookaburra* also known as *the settler’s clock/*

the bushman's clock and *the laughing jackass* ('because the bird's laugh is heard at dawn and sunset'). The simile *to have an appetite like a fantail* refers to 'a small, friendly, insectivorous bird of the bush and the garden which eats very little'. The phrase means 'to have a very slight appetite'.

The indigenous flora and fauna of New Zealand is also represented in unique idioms in NEZ. Examples of picturesque plant names are *wild Irishman* ('a thorny shrub or small tree) and *bloody/ wild Spaniard/ Spanish bayonet* ('speargrass with leaves like a Spanish dagger'); *bachelor's button* ('a perennial plant having bright and yellow flower-heads'); *Curnow's curse* ('North American weeds naturalized locally in New Zealand, origin unknown').

Native animals of New Zealand may also have idiomatic popular (trivial) names, such as *cat's eye* ('a univalve shellfish, from the fanciful resemblance to a cat's eye'). The *moa*, an extinct flightless bird which was consumed by the Maori, is commemorated in the figurative comparison *as dead as a moa* ('long dead').

2.3. Phrases related to indigenous people and the ethnic status of the new settlers

American English includes phrases and idioms which encapsulate knowledge about the culture of the indigenous population, the American Indians, also known as *the Red Indians* (due to their body paint). AE phrases which reflect status relations among the native social order are *high man on the totem pole* (informal, 'the person at the top end of the hierarchy; the person in charge of an organization'); *low man on the totem pole* ('the least important person'); *to put on war paint* ('to prepare for a military action, tribal fight'); *to go on the war path* ('to start a military action'); *to bury the hatchet* ('to come to friendly or peaceful terms with someone else'); *to smoke the peace pipe* ('to settle hostile disputes').

The last four idioms have become known as items of international cultural property and occur as loan translations in many languages. In a broader sense, these phrases are still reminiscent of the American Indian

culture of past centuries and therefore preserve the identity of the native population of North American (before the arrival of European occupants).

Australian English includes a few phrases related to the issues of the native population, the Aborigines. Examples are *the Old People* ('the Australian Aborigines, esp. in tribal state'); *a native companion* ('of white man associating with Aborigines, to help with legal claims, etc.'). The land claims of the Aborigines have a long tradition and found their expression in the emotive phrase *poor fellow my country* ('an Aboriginal lament').

The growing awareness of the Australian government concerning Aboriginal issues resulted in the official excuse of the new Labour Prime Minister Kevin Rudd on February 13, 2008, in which he expressed his deepest regrets for all the atrocities inflicted on the Australian Aborigines by past administrations. The very day of governmental excuse was hailed as "*Sorry Day*" (a newly coined phrase) in the Australian mass media and disseminated in the international news channels.

The phrases and idioms denoting old settlers and new arrivals in Australia and New Zealand often refer to the social background of these people, and many have expressive and stylistic connotations. Examples from AusE:

First Fleeter ('one who arrived in Australia with the First Fleet in 1788'); *old identity* ('long-term resident'). In the 1920's AusE and NZE used the phrase *Johnny-come-lately* referring to a 'new arrival, disapproving term; originally a farm hand; just out from England').

In some phrases of NZE a settler is identified by the place name of his origin or his residence. These phrases have humorous connotations. Examples are:

Auckland cove ('coll., a nickname for an Aucklander'); *Canterbury pilgrim* ('mid-C 19th nickname for a person from Canterbury, a settlement in Otago'); *Otago cockney* ('nickname for a person from the Otago province').

An unfavourable designation for a Maori person in NZE, *kumera cruncher*, includes a social prejudice ('offensive name, *kumera*, a sweet potato, which provides the staple food for The Maori').

2.4. Phrases related to work and the lifestyle of the settlers' community

The basic difference between the highly industrialized production in urban areas in North American and the agricultural production in sparsely populated regions of Australia and New Zealand can be traced in job-related phraseological units. Examples from AE: *golden handcuffs* ('coll., monetary inducements for stay on the job, usually for the highly paid executives in large corporations'); *golden parachute* ('coll., a special kind of severance pay for persons who may be forced to leave a job'); *to gum up the works* ('to make a thing inoperable').

Phrases denoting the experiences of white collar and blue collar workers alike are: *the daily grind* ('informal, someone's everyday routine work'); *back to the drawing board/ back to the salt mines* ('time to return to work, school, or something else which might be unpleasant, a cliché'); *to give someone the working papers* ('informal, to fire somebody'); Modifications of this phrase are *to give someone the sack/ the axe*, a metonymical reference to the tools.

Australia and New Zealand the jobs of cattle-droving, sheep-shearing and other rural activities for a long period were done by migrant seasonal workers, known as *swagmen*. Their personal belongings were carried in a bundle called *Waltzing Matilda* ('carrying the swag, an expression given currency by A.B. Paterson's poem with this title, 1895'). The phrase *the man on the land* denotes 'a rural producer, other than employer on wage'. Other job-related phrases of AusE are *to swing the gate* ('to be a fast and expert shearer'); *on thirds* ('sharefarming for one third of the profit'); *to go bush* ('to leave the city, to run wild' – also a characteristic of a life style of complete freedom in utmost modesty).

NZE uses the slangy phrase *to be on the knocker* ('to be punctual, originally cash on the knocker').

As a rule, *money* is the established mode of payment – as a worker's wage or an employee's salary, but specific monetary units have entered idiomatic phrases. These, too, are indicators of cultural identity.

The importance of money can be observed in a number of AE phrases, such as *the almighty dollar* ('the dollar viewed as the symbol of power and greed'); *to bet one's bottom dollar* ('to be very certain of something; to bet in complete certainty of winning'); *to bet someone dollars to doughnuts* ('to set something of value against something worth considerably less'); *to feel like two cents* ('to feel ashamed').

A similar phrase in NZE dates from the period when the British currency of pounds, shillings and pennies was still in circulation, before it was substituted by dollars and pennies. The phrase *a shilling-a-month man* designates 'a remittent man paid a shilling a month, working his way on the ship out'.

2.5. Phrases related to items of material culture

Food and drinks, and the culinary culture in general, vary from country to country. The designations of dishes and beverages are a rewarding subject for phraseological studies.

AE provides picturesque phrases denotes items of fast food chains. A typical idiom is *Big Mac Attack* ('a sudden and desperate need for a *Big Mac* sandwich, a product of the McDonald's restaurant chain'; *a pig in a blanket* is 'a hot dog in a roll'.

In AusE the general expression for food is *tucker*. The phrase *to make tucker* means 'to make an income sufficiently only to cover such necessities as food'.

AusE and NZE include fanciful phrases for foodstuffs consumed in the time pioneering life, the depression and the two World Wars. Examples are: *Cockey's joy* (AusE/NZE) ('treacle of golden syrup, a favoured spread on bread in less affluent days in poorer and usually rural parts'. A *cockey/cockie* = cockatoo, a small farmer').

NZE *bread and scrape* ('slang, a thrifty minimal meal, from the 1930's depression'); NZE *beggars-on-the-coals* ('damper of flour and water, unleavened camp bread').

Colourful phrases denoting *beer* in AusE are *cold gold* ('a can of beer') and *amber fluid* ('beer').

Moreover, in AE designations of foodstuffs may be used as cover names for barbiturates such as cocaine, heroin and marijuana. Typical phrases are *California cornflakes* ('cocaine'); *Alice B. Toklas brownies* ('a small square of chewy chocolate cake with marijuana baked in it'). On the whole, such euphemistic cryptic phrases seem to be a striking phenomenon of the American scene of drug addicts and their 'subculture'. There is a wide variety of idiomatic expressions: *number eight* ('heroin; the 8th letter of the alphabet = H'); *Herb and AL* ('marijuana and alcohol'); *Prince Albert* ('cannabis'); *Lady Snow* ('cocaine'). Place names refer to the origin or the site of distribution of a brand of marijuana: *Canadian quail*; *Gainsville green*; *Frisco speedball* (= San Francisco); *Kentucky blue*; *Hawaiian sunshine*.

3. Conclusions

The cultural identity potential of phraseological units in AE, AusE and NZE only comes to light by closer linguistic inspection, as the background history of a codified fixed expression of the phraseological inventory. Such culture-related phrases and idioms are current usage in the Standard Varieties of English under discussion, but no part of commoncore English. The global exchange among the Commonwealth countries, however, prevents their limited circulation in closed language communities and their hermetic existence in lexical reference books. New phrases and idioms which indicate the cultural identity of the language users are constantly coined. Recent examples of AE military terms which originated in the Iraq War in 2003 were *embedded journalist*, *shock and awe*, and others. The AusE phrase *Sorry Day* sprang up in February 2008 in connection with the new policy of the present Australian government towards the Aborigines. Phrases like these can be clearly identified in their topical socio-cultural and political setting due to their worldwide medial dissemination.

Studies on the implicit or explicit cultural identity of phraseological units in Standard Varieties of English could be a useful source of information for researchers in contrastive phraseology, a practical help for lexicographers, and a stimulus for foreign language teachers and learners.

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(after Rosemarie Gläser)

Questions for discussion

1. Why is R. Gläser's focused on the colonial past of the particular language community and the shaping of its cultural identity, which is mirrored in the present-day stock of phrases and idioms?

2. Cultural identity may be understood as a complex of distinctive features which a language community has assumed over a long period of time, may it not?

3. Will you give arguments for: cultural identity is constituted by firm bonds with the new home country, supported by the emotional impact of “belonging”, and by the spiritual and moral values gained from life experience?

4. R. Gläser insists, in the last instance, that cultural identity also includes patterns of social behaviour which enhance the community’s self-awareness. Would you have any objections here?

5. Could you prove that although each of the modified standards of English has developed its own identity, the phraseological inventories of American English, Australian English and New Zealand English share a number of similarities?

6. The corpus material of culture-specific phrases has been drawn from recent dictionaries on AE, AusE and NZE with special reference to colloquialisms and slang, but also from general encyclopaedic reference works on the English language in its worldwide diversification, has it not? Do you approve of the author’s choice?

7. Why does the author group the material of examples into semantic domains according to onomasiological principles? Will you give arguments in favour of it?

8. Why are the examples which illustrate the semantic domains are not equally distributed and representative in the three English Standard Varieties under analysis?

9. Do you think that for this purpose, a more comprehensive and more profound previous study of reference sources and current texts would have been necessary?

10. To what extent is the discussion focused on principal aspects of cultural identity of a language community as it is mirrored in the wealth of phraseological units that bear witness to a rich cultural heritage?

Theme 8
TEACHING CULTURE IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
CLASSROOM (IDIOMS, THEIR ORIGIN AND CULTURAL
BACKGROUND)

Introduction

The paper addresses some issues which arise in connections with finding pragmatic adequate equivalents which are lexical items of both source and target language which can be used in similar situations. Some principles of contrastive idiom analysis from a functional perspective through both the use of empirical data concerning the usage, translation and cultural background of idioms are elaborated. The aim of this paper is to explore the cultural dimensions of some idioms in English and to address some theoretical issues in phraseology analysis and focus on both cultural and linguistic problems through both functional aspects and exploring into idioms origin and history behind it. Since tendencies of present-day English are towards more idiomatic usage, it is important to show how the language is developing. As idioms are not a separate, but an essential part of the language vocabulary, a description of how this layer of the language is growing and developing will help to consider English in perspective.

1. Development and changes in language

We often use the phrase “language is a living thing”, but how many of us stop to think what it means? How does language change and what are tendencies in this process? How does it depend on culture? How does language influence cultural pattern of its speakers? The vocabulary of any language grows continually together with new developments in knowledge. New ideas must have new terms to label them. A correlation between language and culture or culture-specific ways of thinking can be traced back to the views of Herder and von Humboldt in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Taylor, 1991, Stubb, 2002). It is generally accepted today that a language, especially its vocabulary, influences its speakers' cultural patterns of thought and perception in various ways, for example

through a culture-specific extra linguistic reality the frequency of occurrence of particular lexical items, or the existence of keywords or key word combinations revealing core cultural values (Seidl, 1978: 7).

Idioms change through the years. Changes may even take place within one generation. It is important to capture some of these changes through giving meanings appropriate to the current usage, while marking those meanings not in current usage as obsolete. Such idioms can be found in literature of the 17th or 18th centuries. Knowledge of these idioms can definitely contribute to literature piece itself and its language evaluation, but would be of no use in everyday communication. As a language is actively used in certain dynamic domains such as political expressions, newspapers, movies and theater, fiction and drama, and in communication, new coinages are brought about continuously. Changes in the use of the idioms that are already in use are also frequent. For example, idioms which already exist can also take on a particular meaning in a particular situation. Also new ideas can be expressed by the combination of two or three already existing words or phrases. There are several other cases where a new expression replaces an obsolete one or giving the existing expression a rise in status from slang to informal, from informal to formal.

One of the special characteristics of idioms is the process of reduplication. Reduplication as a process of idiom formation is more frequent. Any word may be reduplicated and used in some idiomatic sense. This special distinction found in many languages needs to be carefully dealt with. Do we focus more on the processes and call these processes as idioms rather than focusing on individual idioms that are the results of this process? Or is it correct at all to consider the reduplication process as adding to the processes of idiom formation?

The roles of metaphor and simile in the processes of idiom formation have been dealt with in certain classical grammars. Along with the process of reduplication, the processes of metaphor and simile actually dominate the processes of idiom formation in English, which has a rich heritage of written literature. Understanding these idioms is as well necessary mainly to relish the literary pieces, and not for day-to-day communication.

2. Various approaches to the study of set expressions and problems of classification

The field of phraseology in any language is so varied and fascinating that one could spend an entire lifetime analyzing it and looking at it from various viewpoints. There are many different definitions of idioms. For teaching and learning purposes it may be better to refer to them as John Saeed does: “words collocated together happen to become fossilized, becoming fixed over time. This collocation – words commonly used in a group – changes the definition of each of the words that exist. As an expression, the word-group becomes a team, so to speak. That is, the collocated words develop a specialized meaning as a whole and an idiom is born” (Saeed, 2003: 27).

The problem of idioms classification seemed to be still unsolved. As the authors of different typologies eminent Russian linguists A.V. Kunin and A.I. Smirnitsky can be named (Kunin, 1964: 95 – 120; Smirnitsky, 1956: 24 – 27). A.V. Kunin bases his classification on a combination of functional (communicative vs. nominal) semantic and structural features, he distinguishes nominative and communicative phraseological units, and those in which these functions are combined, unchangeable expressions (closed) and changeable (open). As for A.I. Smirnitsky, he suggested three classes of stereotyped phrases: traditional phrases whose meaning does not correspond to one notion and can be derived from the meaning of the component parts (e.g. *to shrug one's shoulders*); phraseological combinations (e.g. *to fall in love*) whose metaphorical motivation is faded, and which are emotionally and stylistically neutral; and idioms – imaginative, metaphorical, emotionally and stylistically colored, always having some neutral synonym (e.g. *as dead as a doornail*). Glässer's typology is fairly complete but it has the disadvantage of treating idioms and collocations similarly (units with a unified meaning vs. units more loosely combined), such distinctions are important in teaching and translation (Gläser, 1994/1995: 46 – 58).

According to classifications there are many different approaches to studying idioms. We are going to concentrate on two of them: semantic and cultural; hence our concern is not only the translation of idioms into

Russian but teaching idioms as well. From the introduction of Collins *COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*, we quote the following lines to show the close relation between two approaches to studying idioms: “Idioms are one of the most interesting and difficult parts of the English vocabulary. They are interesting because they are colorful and lively and because they are linguistic curiosities. At the same time, they are difficult because they have unpredictable meanings or collocations and grammar, and often have special connotations. Idioms are frequently neglected in general dictionaries and in classroom teaching, because they are considered marginal items which are quaint but not significant. Yet research into idioms shows that they have important roles in spoken language and in writing, in particular in conveying evaluations and in developing or maintaining interactions.” (Sinclair et al., 1995: iv).

Idiomaticity is the core of the notion of idioms. Mainly, the question in idiomaticity is to analyze how idiomatic they are, i.e. how unpredictable the meaning of an idiom is from its literal counterparts. Some idioms are wholly idiomatic and the words constituting the idiom seem to have no sensible meaning of their own as a unit without the idiomatic meaning, some idioms have both literal and idiomatic meanings (metaphorical or arbitrarily different meanings), which are used alongside; some idioms are only partially idiomatic, i.e. one word of it can be taken literally and the rest of them idiomatically (semi-idioms) (e.g. chain reaction).

That is to say, idioms are mainly characterized by their semantic unity and lack of motivation. Idioms will thus range from morphemes to proverbs or even poems, taking pronouns, proper names and figures of speech. Idiom formation is a constant process, and Hockett makes this significant point in the following words: “the less productive a pattern is, the more likely it is that if a new form does get coined by the pattern it will have idiomatic value” (1958: 308). Weinreich also claims that “the semantic difference between idioms and their literary counterparts is arbitrary” (1963: 229, 260). This means that the relationship between the overall figurative meaning of idioms and their wording (i.e. the selection of words in an idiomatic string) is completely ad hoc (tailor-made). As can be seen, Weinreich's assertion that idioms must have literal counterparts

cannot hold in a large number of cases, as idioms are unique in terms of their semantics. Also, the arbitrary nature of the link between idioms and their literal counterparts is doubtful when we consider that the way in which people conceptualize the world around them is reflected in the language they use and in culture that surrounds them.

3. Cultural approach to idiom studies

An idiom is generally a colloquial metaphor – a term which requires some foundational knowledge, information, or experience, to use only within a culture where parties must have common reference. Idioms are therefore not considered only a part of the language, but also a part of the culture. Although cultures are typically localized, some idioms can be more universally used than others, and they can be easily translated, metaphorical meaning can be more easily deduced. The most common idioms can have deep roots, date back many centuries, and be traceable across many languages. Many have translations in other languages, and tend to become international. The example is the idioms used in the Bible or literature: *the last straw that broke the camel's back*, *the apple of one's eye*, *Albatross around one's neck*, etc.

Teaching culture through idioms can be done in many ways. One of them is to concentrate on fascinating historical origins of an idiom, 'the fable' behind it which often provides a logical explanation to seemingly nonsensical expressions *like eat humble pie, pay through the nose, a blue stocking, a skeleton in the cupboard, keep up with the Joneses*, etc. New idioms, the majority of which are, in fact, word idioms, – *coach potato, culture shock, flavour of the mouth, golden parachute, junk food/ mail*, etc. – will introduce the learner to a great number of culturally important changes in the society, for they have been invented recently to reflect new realia of life and spread through mass media: radio, television and newspapers. Some of them are just buzz-words, i.e. new words or expressions which are fashionable at a particular time, others are certain to remain in the language for a long time.

The metaphor underlying an idiom is deeply embedded in culture, since it defines the reality in a way that is specific to it. So the key words

on which the metaphor of an idiom is built up may help reconstruct the mental picture native speakers of English form in their heads when they use or hear it and, thus, get a deeper insight into the way the English perceive the reality, think and act. Idioms communicate cultural information not only by their meaning, imagery and impact. The way they are currently employed in different communicative situation can be equally suggestive. The narrowing down of the scope of idiom usage registered by many contemporary dictionaries, the mere fact of their spread in some specific styles such as journalism and advertising have, no doubt, cultural implications (Arnold, 1973: 153 – 163).

Culturally determined changes in the stereotyped attitudes and patterns of behaviour in the speaker's community are responsible for idiom variation and the generation of novel idiom variants. The experience of older generations encoded in conventional idioms have been reconsidered and many old clichés have dissolved in the light of new attitudes that have emerged in the Western world at large, which is more double-ridden, more suspicious of racial and national stereotypes than ever before.

Idioms changes may take place if a language is actively used in certain dynamic domains such as political expressions, newspapers, movies and theater, realistic fiction and drama, and in frequent dialogues between groups that speak different dialects of the same languages, or communicate through another language frequently, or adopt a hybrid form of expression that is currently noticed among all the educated classes irrespective of their background, new coinages are brought about continuously.

A finer classification than the distinction between current and obsolete is required here. A newly invented metaphor assists thought by evoking a visual image; while on the other hand a metaphor which is technically 'dead' (e.g. *iron resolution*) has in effect reverted to being an ordinary word and can generally be used without loss of vividness. But in between these two classes there is a huge dump of worn-out metaphors which have lost all evocative power and are merely used because they save people the trouble of inventing phrases for themselves. Such idioms become clichés (e.g. *no axe to grind, grist to the mill, fishing in troubled waters, on the order of the day, Achilles' heel, swan song, hotbed*).

Many of these are used without knowledge of their meaning (what is a ‘rift’ or a ‘bandwagon’, for instance?), and incompatible metaphors are frequently mixed, a sure sign that the writer is not interested in what he is saying. Some metaphors now current have been twisted out of their original meaning without those who use them even being aware of the fact. For example, *toe the line* is sometimes written as *tow the line*. Another example is the *hammer and the anvil*, now always used with the implication that the anvil gets the worst of it. In real life it is always the anvil that breaks the hammer, never the other way about.

The same is true about the idiom *to jump on the bandwagon*. The confusion stems from the fact that the phrase survives into the 21st century while bandwagons are long gone. In 19th and early 20th century America, a bandwagon was exactly what it sounds like, a wagon, usually large and ornately decorated, horse-drawn, which carried a musical band or other entertainment, as in a circus parade, at the head of a procession. Bandwagons were used to lead parades and at political rallies. Hence to join or jump on the bandwagon was to follow the crowd, and in a political context with the connotation that one was there for the entertainment and excitement of the event, rather than from deep or firm conviction.

The movement for political correctness, – the notable event in the current cultural life of the West, – which aims at ensuring that power is not misused, enables less powerful groups (such as women) become empowered by getting rid of words that reflect negatively on that group and replacing them with words which are more positive. The attitude to women’s role in the society summed up by the catch-phrase *hatched, matched and dispatched* is no longer there. English speakers and especially English learners are recommended to avoid using idioms that are degrading, humiliating, condescending or destroying a woman’s dignity. Under the influence of the idea of political correctness a lot of language units which are regarded as sexist have been ousted by gender neutral forms which are called upon to create a better situation for women.

Bridging the gap between the imagery of an idiom and the impact of what is being said which native speakers intuitively feel is one more way to introduce culture to the non-native speaker. The metaphor underlying an

idiom is deeply embedded in culture, since it defines the reality in a way that is specific to it. So the key words on which the metaphor of an idiom is built up may help reconstruct the mental picture native speakers of English form in their heads when they use or hear it and, thus, get a deeper insight into the way they perceive the reality, think and act. It has been shown that ‘the heart’ and ‘the head’ are dominating the imagery of the language of emotion in English. ‘The heart’ is thought of as the centre of a person’s feelings, while ‘the head’ symbolizes the spirit, the rational intellect. Therefore it is quite natural that English idioms tend to refer to the heart as the seat of emotion (e.g. *absence makes the heart grow fonder, bare your heart, break someone’s heart, cry/ sob your heart out, have a heart of gold, let your heart rule your head, eat one’s heart out, take smth to heart, a heart-to-heart talk, have one’s heart set on smth., wear one’s heart on the sleeve*, etc.), and ‘the head’ as the seat of intellect (e.g., *not be right in the head, a wise head on young shoulders, put their heads together, keep your head, lose your head, cool head, be/ go off one’s head*, etc.).

In the same fashion the spectrum of culturally specific metaphoric references of idiom key words could be discussed. For example, the study of idioms with colour names as their basic component such as ‘blue’ (e.g. *a bolt from the blue, a blue-eyed boy*); ‘red’ (e.g. *roll out the red carpet, go as red as a beetroot, catch somebody red-handed, be like a red rag to a bull, to paint the town red*); ‘green’ (e.g., *be green with envy, get the green light, have green fingers, the green-eyed monster, the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence*) may give some idea of associations and evocations typical of the characteristically English perception of the colour world metaphorically associated with various phenomena of life, a person’s behaviour or someone’s personality.

Lack of knowledge or understanding of idioms in a language prevents the non-native speaker from understanding the cultural niceties or peculiarities. When idioms are approached this way and the non-native speaker is plunged into the world of English imagery – the metaphoric representations of reality – they may hope to develop a more native-like, intuitive feel for the picture and impact idioms create in various communication situations. Idioms communicate cultural information not

only by their meaning, imagery and impact. The way they are currently employed in different communicative situation can be equally suggestive. The wide usage of idioms helps find common ground between discourse participants by appealing to shared socio-cultural schemas and evaluations. As communication is an interactive process between speakers, it involves one's knowledge of the world which may be culturally-based and culturally-biased. Successful communication may well be dependent on shared cultural knowledge. Many of the schemas which people develop are idiosyncratic. Everybody has different experiences, so everyone develops a somewhat different view of the world. However, we also share many common experiences. So, many of the schemas which people develop are shared schemas. And these shared schemas constitute an important part of our shared cultural knowledge and form a basis for successful communication. It allows intensifying solidarity between speaker and hearer, establishing an intimacy and conversational tone. On the other hand, the narrowing down of the scope of idiom usage registered by many contemporary dictionaries, the mere fact of their spread in some specific styles such as journalism and advertising have, no doubt, cultural implications.

The long-standing English tradition of play on words, puns, i.e. amusing use of words or their derivatives, accounts for the pervasiveness of deformation of idioms. In the case of deformation the speaker deliberately plays around with both the literal and figurative meanings of an idiom to create a new metaphor. Dictionary illustrations of usage for quite a number of conventional idioms suggest that idioms do serve as a source for all kinds of linguistic experiments. Culturally determined changes in the stereotyped attitudes and patterns of behaviour in the speaker's community are responsible for idiom variation and the generation of novel idiom variants. The experience of older generations encoded in conventional idioms have been reconsidered and many old clichés have dissolved in the light of new attitudes that have emerged in the Western world at large, which is more double-ridden, more suspicious of racial and national stereotypes than ever before.

4. Translation difficulties

The translation of idioms may even be more difficult than understanding. In practice, even when an idiomatic equivalent is proposed by a dictionary, this provided equivalent may not fit as naturally into the content as the idiom in source language. Besides cultural differences, there are many factors that affect the quality of translation. The questions whether the foreign language counterpart is as widely used as the idiom in source language or whether it is polite or politically correct in particular situation should be considered. No information of this sort is included in standard bilingual dictionaries, however. Strässler (1982: 119) quite rightly says: ‘when applied to idioms, the two requirements of the maxim of quality read as follows: 1) do not use an idiom if you believe you are in a social situation which does not allow such usage; 2) do not use idioms if you are not sure about the present situation.’

In this way, the demands of frequency and politeness (political correctness) in several contexts can be met. The most traditional approach to translation is the use of equivalent or substitution of the source language idiom for a supposed equivalent in a target language. Sometime the idiom is replaced by a single word (non-phraseological equivalent) or a neutralization of phraseological meaning in context takes place. On certain occasions, the idiom can be totally omitted when the translation is irrelevant or considered impossible in another culture. A very frequent procedure for translation idioms from English into Russian is calques. In this way the translator focuses on the original source culture and its peculiarities.

Very often it is next to impossible to understand and translate an idiom without knowing about cultural peculiarities of certain areas. For example, in some cultures, when a man and a woman are courting each other, the male is traditionally the one who takes up the bill or pays the bill; however, times change and in many modern societies, a lot of couples *go Dutch*. *A Dutch treat* is another idiomatic expression widely used in this situation. The starting point for the translation or rendering of the idioms should be in their meaning. Moreover, it is the meaning in cultural context that must be rendered. The meaning of idioms can be understood and translated in one of three ways:

- by an equivalent idiom in target language, if one exists;
- by a single word if possible;
- by a paraphrase (which is a preferable way in many instances).

It has been noticed that bilingual dictionaries include common sets of predictable collocations and idioms, but do not take account of many unpredictable ones. If English language learners develop a consciousness of idioms, this may mean a better grasp of their own speech as well as to an improved contrastive knowledge of languages. Analysis of certain idioms and collocations from a functional point of view will bring about a deeper understanding and offer new opportunities for making standard phraseology available for translation in the two languages. Cultural aspects, origin of the phrase, historical background and peculiarities of its usage and development should also be considered (Kuzmin, 1977).

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(after Elena A. Makarova)

Questions for discussion

1. What principles of contrastive idiom analysis are elaborated from a functional perspective through both the use of empirical data concerning the usage, translation and cultural background of idioms?

2. The aim of this paper is to explore the cultural dimensions of some idioms in English and to address some theoretical issues in phraseology analysis and focus on both cultural and linguistic problems through both functional aspects and exploring into idioms origin and history behind it. In what way does the author achieve her aim?

3. Is it important to show how the language is developing since tendencies of present-day English are towards more idiomatic usage?

4. As idioms are not a separate, but an essential part of the language vocabulary, a description of how this layer of the language is growing and developing will help to consider English in perspective, will it not?

5. How does language depend on culture? How does language influence cultural pattern of its speakers?

6. It is generally accepted today that a language, especially its vocabulary, influences its speakers' cultural patterns of thought and perception in various ways, for example through a culture-specific extra linguistic reality the frequency of occurrence of particular lexical items, or the existence of keywords or key word combinations revealing core cultural values. Do you agree here?

7. As a language is actively used in certain dynamic domains such as political expressions, newspapers, movies and theater, fiction and drama, and in communication, new coinages are brought about continuously. Will you submit some examples to illustrate it?

8. Do you agree that one of the special characteristics of idioms is the process of reduplication?

9. Do we focus more on the processes and call these processes as idioms rather than focusing on individual idioms that are the results of this process?

10. Or is it correct at all to consider the reduplication process as adding to the processes of idiom formation?

Theme 9
THE REPRESENTATION OF PHRASEOLOGICAL METAPHOR
IN VERBAL AND VISUAL DISCOURSE:
A COGNITIVE APPROACH

Introduction

The paper explores the cognitive aspects of textual and visual representation of phraseological image in visual puns. The cognitive approach to the stylistic use of phraseological units focuses on its perception, comprehension and interpretation. The image-bearing constituents of phraseological units lend themselves very well to a creative visual representation, including abstract qualities and implicit messages. The process of creating a mental picture in one's mind relies on the close ties between the visual and the verbal, and the knowledge of the sociocultural and symbolic implications. Visual representation has a semantic and stylistic function: it enhances and interprets the image, and creates a new meaning. It stretches our imagination and sustains figurative thought. The visual reinforces the mental representations expressed by the phraseological unit, lending a visual dimension to the text. Mental visualisation of instantial stylistic use is part of cognitive performance, enhanced by a visual representation of the extended image. The phraseological image is sustained, as the metaphorical thought develops, it contributes to the creation of a visual narrative.

1. Background

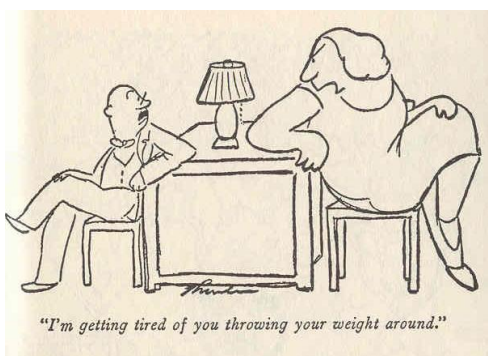
Visual representation is of stylistic and cognitive interest as it brings out the creative aspects of the textual and the visual in a multimodal discourse. The cognitive approach to the instantial stylistic use of phraseological units¹ (PUs) focuses on its perception, comprehension and interpretation. The process of creating a mental picture in one's mind relies on the close ties between the visual and the verbal, and the knowledge of the sociocultural and symbolic implications. Visual representation has a semantic and stylistic function: it enhances and interprets the image, and creates a new meaning. It stretches our imagination and sustains figurative

thought. Visualisation is part of metaphor recognition. It was already pointed out by Aristotle at the very start that metaphor was able to bring it before our eyes (see Aristotle 1991: 247). In other words, metaphor makes the image visible for us in our mind. In this paper I am concerned with the visual aspects of metaphorical thought representation and the creative use of phraseological metaphor in verbal and visual discourse². My aim is to examine the creative aspects of textual and visual saturation in a multimodal discourse. The paper explores the benefits of the cognitive approach to the visual representation of instantial use³ and focuses on perception and comprehension of the textual and the visual. The perception of an image, whether it is lexical or phraseological, is a cognitive process, which creates a mental picture in one's imagination, a kind of visualisation in one's mind's eye, which is subjective. For instance, we all would visualise the base metaphor of the PU *to let the cat out of the bag* in our own way. However, this picture presents an artistic vision and we are led to accept it: seeing is persuasive. Thus, a visual representation of the image serves to create a new guided mode of narrative, which is both visual and textual. Mental visualisation is further reinforced by visual representation to convey thoughts and experiences.



2. Visual Pun

In instantial stylistic use the visual representation of phraseological units has a different semantic and stylistic function from core use: it enhances and interprets the image, creates a new meaning, brings the literal meaning to the fore or sustains figurative thought. Illustrations open up a possibility to make human thought visible and create a visual effect. This is one of Thurber's apt drawings about human beings, which is a traditional visual pun. The caption, coupled with the visual impact, brings out the literal meaning of the constituents of the PU *to throw one's weight about/around*, which is metaphorical in its



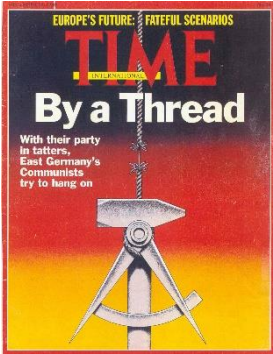
base form. Metaphorical meaning is grounded in bodily experiences⁴. Together with the visual impact of physical perception, the textual message creates a more powerful stylistic effect. In visual representation the cognitive link between thought, language and sight provides a significant insight as we turn from the abstract phraseological meaning to the sense of sight. The shift from the figurative to the literal and/ or from the literal to the figurative results in a pun. This pattern demonstrates the function of the sense of sight⁵ in mental and visual perception.

In my research of the creative use of phraseological image in verbal and visual discourse I rely on the basic findings of cognitive science, which has made invaluable contributions to the understanding of metaphor and thought. Research of cognitive scholars has made great strides since the 1980s: it has established metaphor as both a figure of thought and language. The use of figurative language has been recognised as part of human cognition both in everyday speech and literature (see Lakoff & Johnson [1980] 2003; Gibbs [1994] 1999; Katz, 1998; Gibbs, 2005 and many others). These tenets have served as a basis for the development of cognitive stylistics (see Lakoff & Turner, 1989; Gibbs, 1999; Gibbs, 2002; Semino & Culpeper, 2002; Steen, 2002; Gavins & Steen, 2003 and many others). Cognitive science seeks to understand the internal mental representations responsible for the higher-order mental functions, among them vision and language (see Harrington, 2002: 125).

Instantial stylistic use is a mode of figuration that is also common to various types of newspaper and internet texts, which easily combine verbal and visual representation in creative thinking. Visual representation of an image is a special type of discourse, used by the media, exploiting semantic, stylistic, social and psychological elements to reach an economic, political or social effect. The increasing need for new ways of expression has sought new creative media and sophisticated ways of representation, opening up new pathways of conveying a message. The textual and the visual representation of a thinking process is profoundly influenced by political, social and cultural processes that are behind the specific context.

3. Sustainability of Phraseological Metaphor

Visual representation of stylistic use has not exhausted itself. A further development of the media and multimodal possibilities offer new interesting turns in visual discourse. It is common for magazines to use a PU on their cover and pick it up again in the cover story, which may be pages away. The title of the cover page catches the eye. However, only the interrelation between the two modes of expression provides a full understanding of the text. For instance, the following cover page of TIME (18 Dec., 1989) contains both visual and verbal allusion to the PU⁶ *to hang by a thread*:

The cover page	The text of the cover page
	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>By a Thread</i> With their party <u>in tatters</u>, East Germany's Communists try <i>to hang on</i></p>

The cover is in three colours, which are the colours of the German flag. Moreover, the picture also features the symbol of East Germany, which reminds us of the Soviet hammer and sickle. As it is hanging by a thin tattered thread, it transforms inevitably into the flag of the German Federative Republic in case of a fall. As we know, it turned out to be the fatal thread for East Germany, and the symbol has by now disappeared from the flag. The message is that the fall of East Germany is inevitable. The title of the cover page “*By a Thread*” is an allusion to the PU *to hang by a thread*, which is based on a common metaphorical mapping, that is, in its base form the PU is a conventional phraseological metaphor. However, in this instantiation the figurative thought it sustained further in the text, as we see it from the subtitle and the cover story itself (pp. 10 – 14). The subtitle extends the metaphor: “With their party *in tatters*, East Germany’s Communists try ***to hang on***”. The first line at the top of the cover page

“Europe’s Future: Fateful Scenarios” acts like a cue to the precariousness of the situation. Thus, extended metaphor is linked with the pattern of allusion.

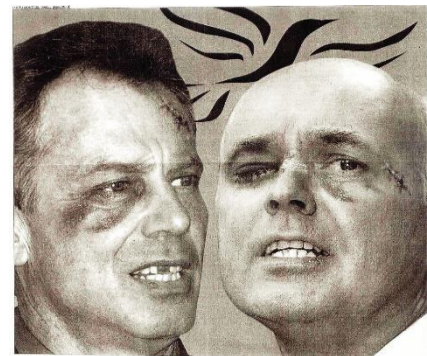
The cover story starts 10 pages later. However, its headline “*Slender Thread*”, which is also an allusion to the PU *to hang by a thread*, establishes an immediate associative link with the phraseological image on the cover page. We deal with the situation in 1989 when the power of East Germany was precariously hanging by a thread despite Communists trying to hang on. It is the phraseological image that bridges the distance and establishes the semantic and stylistic link between the cover page and the cover story. Extended phraseological ties sustain the visual impact.

As the phraseological image is extended over the whole article, it calls for a sustained mental vision in one’s mind’s eye. A creative expression of a new idea is achieved by an instantiation of extended metaphor and allusion. The visual image becomes part and parcel of the meaning of the PU in the given instantiation. The sub-images, which are part of the associative metaphorical network, reflect a sustained metaphorical thought. Cohesion secures continuity of phraseological ties in discourse, including visual representation.

4. Visual Allusion

Metaphor and allusion do not work independently; they are functionally related to each other. This is, what I call, concurrent use⁷ of several stylistic patterns within the context of one PU, providing semantic and stylistic cohesion. Understanding of the functional load of both the visual image and language helps to bridge the cognitive gap between the textual and the visual, as they cannot be viewed separately. Identification and interpretation of stylistic use in multimodal texts is more challenging, therefore it is essential to understand figurative language and its connection with visual representation.

The next instantiation is also a case of concurrent visual and verbal allusion. The visual representation beats the expected images of the two well-known British political leaders. If you



take a look at the newspaper page, actually the first thing you see is a black eye in each of the faces. The thought of an accident is quickly discarded as you start reading the article. The two leaders have been beaten politically. The first paragraph gives a verbal clue by way of extended metaphor:

Duncan Smith and Blair were *battered* by Brent. Tom Baldwin and Greg Hurst ask whether this is a breakthrough, or just another by-election blip.

THE TIMES, 20 Sept., 2003, SL 4M

The instantiation reveals the interconnection of stylistic techniques: it shows how a phraseological metaphor turns into a visual pun. The metaphorical PU *a black eye* appears neither in the text of the article nor in the headline, nor is there any caption. However, the interpretation of the text and the picture heavily relies on the knowledge of the PU *a black eye* and the logical and indissoluble links between the visual and the textual: it is implicitly present. The visual and the verbal meanings are concurrently integrated in one phraseological metaphor: the physical black eye turns into a metaphorical black eye. Both the Labour and the Conservative leaders feel assaulted by the Liberal Democrats who won the by-election in Brent in 2003. The visual pun spans the whole of the article. The word *attack* is reiterated as a cue throughout the lengthy article to uphold the battered effect in visual representation.

The pun calls forth mental visualisation, it shows the importance of the sense of sight in mental and visual processing. It is a perception, which derives mainly from the sense of vision, providing motivated explanation (Popova, 2003: 135). In cognitive psychology sight is viewed as a primary sense in cognition. The metaphorical experience of “understanding is seeing” (Lakoff & Johnson [1980] 2003: 103) reveals the importance of mental sight in the perception of abstract notions, while physical sight implies a perceptual experience, which aids comprehension of figurative language. In this case it is the instantial use of a metaphorical PU, in which visual pun is combined with extended metaphor, resulting in an allusion. The new visualization becomes part of the mental world⁸. The use of photomontage is a new medium to express figurative meaning in a multimodal discourse, however, the basic principle remains: cohesion and

coherence of the verbal and the visual. Visual representation is a means of sustaining figurative thought. This reveals the potential of visual sustainability.

Let me have a look at a creative instantiation of visual allusion in a serious financial text. The allusion is to the base form of the PU *to put all one's eggs in one basket*:

The art of breaking a sacrosanct rule

Diversification protects against ignorance, so says one investment guru. But, while focused funds can beat the market, they need very careful management, writes Eric Uhfelder

Ten leading focused funds
Current maximum holdings 50 stocks. Minimum performance history. Five years data to September 30 2005

Fund	Equity holdings	One-year returns	Three-year annualised returns	Five-year annualised returns	Net \$ assets (m)
FPA Capital	26.00	22.13	25.41	16.96	2,002.17
Tackman Focused	23.00	10.79	17.42	15.70	39.64
Fairbridge	17.00	22.67	21.02	15.86	1,341.55
Matthew 25	17.00	11.40	17.62	12.83	102.72
Eagle Growth	27.00	21.57	13.44	11.31	3.89
Oakmark Select	19.00	7.98	16.02	11.09	5,985.42
Longleaf Partners	23.00	16.08	16.41	10.87	6,675.62
Clipper Focus PBFG	23.00	9.11	12.88	9.67	1,334.56
ING Corporate Leaders Trust II	22.00	20.52	19.72	7.84	357.02
Legg Mason Growth Trust	2.00	12.81	27.39	4.51	608.00
Average for all focused funds	22.70	10.64	15.95	0.84	1,090.80

with parameters

S&P 500	500.00	12.25	16.71	-1.49	n.a.
All US Diversified Equity Funds	138.66	15.86	18.24	0.01	n.a.

Source: Morningstar



Photo: DK Images

the top 10 holdings representing 90 per cent of its invested assets. Since January 1990, Berkshire's A shares have topped the S&P by an annualised rate of 8.20 per cent.

Dating back more than 50 years, focused investing is a hybrid strategy, lying between owning stocks versus funds.

However, it came to the fore in the 1990s when fund companies sought ways to deliver alpha on top of an already booming market. It has regained attention as the S&P 500 continues to be range bound since climbing out of the 2000-2002 bear market.

Unlike the typical diversified equity funds whose performances follow a bell curve, with the bulk delivering average returns, and a

few investing rules are deemed more sacrosanct than diversification. But a small corner in the mutual fund world turns this precept on its head, believing that a concentrated portfolio is a better way to outperform the market.

Not to be confused with sector or country funds that target specific segments of the market, focused funds are stock-picker funds governed by much wider mandates.

Their underlying logic is simple. Market measures, such as the S&P 500, are diluted averages of many shares. Most are market-cap weighted. The S&P's top 25 holdings represent nearly 35 per cent of the index. Sheer size, and therefore past performance rather than earn

in six of the seven would be exceptionally ch

entiated returns, thus mak

that can offer several proven

Financial Times, fm, 28 Nov. 2005, p. 3

Importantly, with no textual presence of any of the base constituents the visual impact becomes the key to comprehension. Visual allusion is effected as the PU is retrieved from long-term memory and we establish the base form. *Eggs* and *basket* are the implicit verbal elements of the PU, at the same time they constitute the explicit visual presence of the phraseological image. The verbal absence turns into a presence due to visual representation. The emergence of the figurative meaning of the PU vis-à-vis the visual representation of the literal meaning of *eggs* and *basket* result in a visual pun. The dual perception is enhanced as these constituents have been visually foregrounded in the article: you cannot miss the eggs and the basket when casting an eye on the page. The implicit presence of the invisible base form is indispensable to secure comprehension. *Eggs* and *basket* have also been psychologically foregrounded, they turn into figurative constituents of the PU in our mind due to the natural perceptive link between sight and thought.

The headline “The art of breaking a sacrosanct rule” provides an important cue, it acts like a response-producing stimulus. *Breaking* plays a dual role: it is the explicit metaphorical *break* as part of *to break a rule* with the insertion of the very appropriate epithet *sacrosanct*, at the same time it is also a subtle metaphorical sub-image in the allusion to the implicit PU. *Breaking* is the only textually visible link to the base form, providing associations. As the article is devoted to the art of breaking the inviolable investment rule of diversification of equity funds versus focused funds, *breaking* is invariably part of both *breaking a sacrosanct rule* and the danger of *putting all one’s eggs in one basket*.

The process of understanding and interpreting meaning requires “cognitive effort that takes place in real time, starting with the first moments when people move their eyes across the page” (Gibbs, 1999: 15). In this case it refers to both the visual representation and the headline, which attract the reader’s attention. “Interpretation involves both conscious and unconscious mental processes” (op. cit.: 331). The natural desire to understand leads to the link between the eggs and the basket, and breaking the sacrosanct rule of risk management. The link between the visible and the invisible is a dimension, which allows us to gain an insight and make inferences. The visible spurs our imagination and helps us to conceive the phraseological image, which is sustained throughout the text. It lingers at the back of our mind as the article explores the alternative of focused funds versus the traditional piece of financial wisdom not to put all your eggs into one basket.

5. Conclusion

The comprehension of the figurative links between the visual and the verbal is a cognitive act, as is creativity. To be creative implies going beyond the standard form and meaning, and the conventional vision. On the other hand, a new instantiation is made possible due to the use of the PU as a language unit and a pattern of instantial stylistic use, e.g. pun, extended metaphor, allusion etc. When exploring creativity, Pope shows

that creativity emerges every time some existing language material (words, images, sounds) is transformed into something judged to be fresh and valuable. Creativity does not come from nothing or from nowhere, it embraces “radical forms of re-creation and includes actively engaged kinds of re-vision, re-membering and re-familiarisation” (Pope, 2005: xvii). A cognitive approach promotes the comprehension and interpretation of phraseological metaphor. Mental visualisation of instantial stylistic use is part of cognitive performance, enhanced by a visual representation of the extended image. Visualization is a reflection of figurative thought. The phraseological image is sustained, as thought develops, it contributes to the creation of a visual narrative. Visual literacy is a cognitive skill, which advances sociolinguistic competence: the ability to perceive, comprehend and interpret the stylistic, social and cultural message of a visualised phraseological image. These skills become increasingly important, as the nature of pictures has changed. Pictures do not merely illustrate the text or emerge as an afterthought; they frequently provide a further development of the thought. Training in stylistic awareness enhances our cognitive abilities for mental representation and processing.

Endnotes

¹ The phraseological unit is a stable, cohesive combination of words with a fully or partially figurative meaning. For my understanding of the basic terms in phraseology, see Naciscione, 2001.

² Visual discourse is a coherent visual representation of instantial use with an aim of creating a visual narrative. In visual discourse the phraseological image is evoked pictorially with or without a verbal text, and the cohesion of phraseological meaning is retained.

³ By instantial stylistic use I understand a particular instance of a unique stylistic application of a PU in discourse resulting in significant changes in its form and meaning determined by the thought and the context.

⁴ “Metaphorical thought is grounded in nonmetaphorical aspects of recurring bodily experiences or experiential gestalts” (Gibbs [1994] 1999: 16). For more on people’s bodily experiences as part of the fundamental grounding for human cognition and language, see Gibbs, 2005.

⁵ For the importance of a cognitive-linguistic view of the sense of sight in the cognition of a literary text, see Popova (2003).

⁶ By phraseological allusion I understand an implicit verbal and/ or visual reference to the image of a phraseological unit, which is represented in discourse by one or more explicit image-bearing components, hinting at the image.

⁷ In phraseology concurrent use is a simultaneous occurrence of several instantial o changes reinforcing the message and creating a focal point within the framework of one PU.

⁸ Visualization is an essential structure of the narrative as we think and feel through our eyes (see Spiegel, 1976: 18 – 25).

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(after Anita Naciscione)

Questions for discussion

1. Will you supply some immediate arguments that the paper explores the cognitive aspects of textual and visual representation of phraseological image in visual puns?

2. Could you trace the author's way in her cognitive approach to the stylistic use of phraseological units that focuses on its perception, comprehension and interpretation?

3. What are your pros and contras to the statement: the image-bearing constituents of phraseological units lend themselves very well to a creative visual representation, including abstract qualities and implicit messages?

4. Could you prove that the process of creating a mental picture in one's mind relies on the close ties between the visual and the verbal, and the knowledge of the sociocultural and symbolic implications?

5. Visual representation has a semantic and stylistic function. What do those functions consist in, after Anita Naciscione?

6. Would you decipher the pronoun 'it' in the following: it enhances and interprets the image, and creates a new meaning; it stretches our imagination and sustains figurative thought?

7. Will you try and prove that the visual reinforces the mental representations expressed by the phraseological unit, lending a visual dimension to the text?

8. Could you give arguments for the following: mental visualisation of instancial stylistic use is part of cognitive performance, enhanced by a visual representation of the extended image?

9. Will you comment on the author's statement: the phraseological image is sustained, as the metaphorical thought develops, it contributes to the creation of a visual narrative?

10. What is the role of Visualisation in metaphor recognition?

Theme 10

“WAR” AND “PEACE” IN ANIMALISTIC IDIOMS OF THE ENGLISH, RUSSIAN AND KAZAKH LANGUAGES

Introduction

The theoretical base of the paper is the phraseological conception of cross-cultural communication of E.F. Tarasov. The research deals with the study of culturally marked associations that characterize the concepts “war” and “peace” represented by means of animal terms as constituent parts of English, Russian and Kazakh idioms, gives their analysis and comparison.

The attention is focused on positive and negative evaluation of the notions “war” and “peace” in different cultures. The meaning of such idioms as *let loose the dogs of war* “to unleash war” in English, *дразнить зыцев* “to anger enemies” in Russian, *ат кекілін кесісу* “a horse is ready to fight” in Kazakh, for example, are determined by negative cultural associations connected with unleashing a war.

The appearance (in 1949 after the First World Congress of Peace Supporters) of the idiom *the dove of peace* is reflected in many languages, including English and Russian. For Kazakhs “peace” means the absence of force as, for example, in the following idiom *басынан құс ұшырмау* “not to allow a bird fly over a head”.

The analysis leads to the conclusion that the similarity of all the cultures under study is in the valuables which are common to all mankind. The differences are found in the sphere of content of the specific national stereotypes.

1. Background

The paper is dedicated to contrastive analysis of English, Russian and Kazakh phraseological units (PUs) based on metaphor, which is considered to be one of the most frequent types of semantic transformation of the genetic prototype of idioms and other phraseological units (Fedulenkova, 1996: 51). The theoretical base of the paper is the phraseological conception of cross-cultural communication initiated by

E.F. Tarasov. The paper deals with the study of culturally marked associations that characterize the concepts “war” and “peace” represented by animal terms or zoomorphisms as constituent parts of English, Russian and Kazakh phraseological units, and gives their analysis and comparison.

The attention is focused on positive and negative evaluation of the notions “war” and “peace” in the language picture of the world of different cultures.

The term “*the language picture of the world*” for the first time appeared in L.Vitgenstein's works, devoted to researches in the field of philosophy and logic. Further it starts to be used in other sciences which center of studying is the person and its interaction with the world around. Modern linguists, such as N.D. Arutyunova, A.P. Babushkin, G.V. Kolshansky, A.N. Leontev, V.N. Teliya, consider a picture of the world as ideal formation which consists of structurally organized components, possesses the certain properties, carries out functions inherent in it and naturally develops.

We maintain that *the language picture of the world* is historically developed (in common consciousness of the given language community) and reflected-in-the-language set of images, concepts, stereotypes and symbols, representing knowledge (of a certain people) of the world around which is stored in the form of concepts at the level of their consciousness. *The concept* has no unequivocal interpretation in the language science at the present stage of its development. The various points of view on the concept in linguistics have been presented by Y.S. Stepanov, E.S. Kubryakova, V.I. Karasik, A. Vezhbitskaya, etc. We maintain that *the concept* is the unit of collective knowledge/ consciousness obtaining the maximum cultural wealth, having language expression and characterized by ethnocultural specificity.

War as a political phenomenon finds a conceptual embodiment in English-, Kazakh- and Russian-speaking pictures of the world. Concepts “War” and “Peace” are cultural concepts which basic maintenance in the English, Russian and Kazakh languages is reduced to the following attributes:

- The detail-shaped part of the concept is the generalized image of opposition and friendship of the parties/sides.
- The conceptual part of the concept is a language designation of characteristics of war and a peace life.
- The valuable part of the concept is explicit and implicit norms of behavior accepted in a society.

The concepts under study are numerously displayed in English, Russian and Kazakh languages, being expressed, mainly, in semantics of phraseological units in the form of universal attributes of war and peace. The concepts “War” and “Peace” concerning abstract names are structured metaphorically in the language pictures of the world and have a trope expression in the languages compared.

In the modern anthropological paradigm of linguistic studies in which different aspects of reflection of the human factor in language are presented, the reference to the metaphorical models describing the person on the basis of different kinds of figurative analogies is natural. Metaphorical modelling of fragments of a language picture of the world is based on the fact that “practically all objects of reality potentially possess ability to express this or that attribute” (Glazunova, 2000: 69). However language is selective in a choice of figurative correlations: characteristic function of associative analogue is received, first of all, by that which is valuably marked in consciousness of native speakers. Besides “... created and kept in memory associations belong to various levels and possess a universal, national, social, professional or subjective-personal status” (Op. cit.). Metaphor, being the universal way of a nomination based on associations on similarity, at the same time includes the subjective factor of perception of the validity: collective, socially “filtered”, and individual estimations meant. One of the most popular models of a metaphorical nomination is the *metaphor of zoomorphism*, which cognitive source is “an image” of an animal, transferred to a person. Such metaphors are ethnoculturally marked and arouse special interest to their study in comparative aspect.

The zoomorphic metaphor models an image of the person according to the principle of “mirror reflection”: on the one hand, to an image of an

animal are attributed anthropomorphic properties (character traits, behavior, a way of life of the person), on the other hand, this image is projected onto the person to whom characteristics of zoomorphisms (habits, customs, appearance of an animal) are attributed. On the basis of this cognitive mechanism universal typological models of zoomorphic metaphors are formed: “appearance of an animal > appearance of the person”, “behavior of an animal > behavior of the person”, etc.

2. Main part

Social-political phenomena “War” and “Peace” play an exclusively important role in Russian-speaking and Kazakh-speaking cultures and an essential role in English-speaking one. To these phenomena a set of research papers in the field of philosophy are devoted, as well as of sociology, psychology, history and political science. In the linguistic literature the given opposition gets plural and different language designation in Russian, Kazakh and English languages, including that in the form of metaphorical zoomorphisms. The following hypothesis is put forward to form a basis of the research: the concepts “War” and “Peace” represent complex mental formation in which it is possible to allocate the certain attributes partially conterminous in Russian, Kazakh and English-speaking pictures of the world. The given concepts are reflected in language units of different types and characterized by national specificity; they are cultural concepts, i.e. they have figurative, conceptual and valuable characteristics. The metaphorical zoomorphisms are organized in, joined in a language picture of the world as the structured fragment of the estimated characteristic of the person.

We consider the cross-cultural approach is the most productive one for the analysis of metaphor in a comparative aspect as in the focus of such analysis there is an ethnocultural specificity of figurative symbolics of nominative units. Papers of a number of linguists have been devoted to the cultural aspect in research of metaphor: I.V. Zakharenko, R.F. Ilyasov, V.I. Karasik, E.M. Vereshchagin, M.M. Kopylenko, V.G. Kostomarov, D.B. Gudkov, V.N. Teliya, etc. This aspect allows to investigate not only the semantic structure of the word, but also to describe it in diverse

communications, in alive functioning, in the context of concrete culture inclusive. The special role for the description of metaphorical nominations is got with the concept connotation which is considered as a way of influence on the addressee, and the attribute underlying metaphorical transformations, serves for the expression of the emotively evaluative and stylistically marked attitude of the subject of speech to the reality.

Judging by the results of the metaphorical analysis of zoomorphisms in the English and Russian languages the following aspects of war are negatively estimated:

Let loose the dogs of war – to lower dogs of war – to unleash a war, *wake a sleeping dog* – to wake a sleeping dog – to embitter the dangerous person, *beard the lion in his den* – to attack the enemy in its own dwelling, fearlessly to challenge to the dangerous opponent, *разбудить спящего пса* – to embitter the dangerous person, *ат құйрығын кесіп кету* – to cut a tail of a horse – to become the foe, *ат кекілін кесісу* – to cut bangs of horses to the conflicting parties – to tear communications, attitudes with someone.

Attack:

Swoop like the eagle – to rush as a kite to extraction, *залетел как ястреб* – has flown promptly, unexpectedly, *налететь коршуном* – promptly and spitefully to throw on someone, *арадай (араша) талау* – to bite, as a plenty of bees – to attack from different directions, *құтырған қасқыр тигендей болды* – as the flown mad wolf, *қырғидай тию* – to attack, as the hawk – to exterminate ruthlessly.

Enmity:

To live cat and dog life – *жить как кошка с собакой, ит пен мысықтай* – to be always snarling and quarreling, as cats and dogs, whose aversion to each other is intense (Fables, 222), *черная кошка пробежала* – there was a quarrel, quarrel between someone, *ит ыржың* – misunderstanding, friction, the dog squabbles.

Subordination:

The great fish eat up the small – the greater fish eats fine fish, *гнуть в бараний рог (to bend into the mutton horn)* – to force, suppress, oppress, achieve the humility, full submission, *басынан сырық, малынан құрық*

кетпеу – с головы не сходит шест, с лошадей – курук (*kuruk* – a stick with a loop for catching horses) – to be under the fifth (under oppression, authority).

Slaughter:

Shoot the sitting duck (or pheasant) – to shoot on a sedentary duck (pheasant) – to ruin the person, having taken advantage of its feebleness, *покалечить как Бог черепаху (to cripple as the God a turtle)* – to spoil, mutilate, *көк ала қойдай қылу (ему)* – to make similar motley sheep – to beat someone badly.

Meanness, treachery:

A cat in the pan – traitor, *yellow dog* – the mean, cowardly person, the contemptible essence.

Cowardice:

Заячья душа/ натура, труслив как заяц – the cowardly person, *қоян жүрек* – the harel heart – a cowardly, shy person.

Cunning:

As cunning/ sly as a fox, an old fox, a downy bird, a sly dog – хитрец.

Horrors and consequences of war:

The dogs of the war – the horrors of war, especially famine, sword and fire (Fables, 349), *kill smb like a dog* – to kill as a dog, *показать где раки зимуют (to show where cancers winter)* – to teach a good lesson, severely to punish someone, *шаңырағына ат ойнату* – to tread on a horse shanyrak (the top part of urta – the portable dwelling of the Kazakhs) – to finish with someone, *жылан (күйе) жалағандай* – as if the snake licked – all has disappeared, became absolutely empty, *басы айдауда, малы талауда* – in a captivity, all cattle is stolen – enemy, devastating attack.

Metaphorical zoomorphisms are referred to the model “War is a fauna” for which conceptual vectors of cruelty and the aggression are significant, therefore the given model abounds with designations of the actions inherent in predatory animals that causes disturbing associations, feeling of danger. At the same time as objects of a positive estimation the following situations act:

Display of courage, boldness:

Fight like a lion – драться, сражаться как лев, *as brave as a lion* – храбрый как лев, *(as) game as a cockerel* – desperately courageous, dared as the cock, *арыстан жүректі* – lion's heart, brave, *бәрі бет батылдық* – the wolf boldness.

Presence of fighting experience:

War horse – fighting horse, the veteran, *матерый волк* – the skilled, knowing person, *морской волк* – the skilled seaman, *кәрі тарлан* – old racer, *old horse* – much tested for the century, very skilled person.

The help in fight:

Am сүйек беру – to assist a horse – to pick up the glorified soldier at whom in fight the horse perishes, and to put on other horse.

The theme of conflicts, wars always took the important place in consciousness of the person, and it is possible to tell without exaggeration, that the history of mankind as a whole and the history of each separate civilization is a history of wars. In the English language consciousness the concept “War”, in most cases, is explicated by means of metaphorical zoomorphisms *a dog* and *a horse, etc.*, which cultural value is difficult to overestimate, knowing the history of wars of England and the love of Englishmen to hunting. For example, zoomorphism *to hold with the hare and run with the hounds* means “to play a double and deceitful game, to be a traitor in the camp”.

In Russian the realization of the concept “War” might be explained by a historical course of establishing and development of the Russian state: its history has developed in such a way that practically almost every generation has experienced war or its consequences, therefore military lexicon has formed a whole layer of the language. Military experience traditionally found and continues to find the reflection in national mentality. It gives us the basis to draw a conclusion that the concept under study may be numbered among culturally significant ones. In the Kazakh language consciousness the concept “War” is more often realized through the metaphorical zoomorphisms designating pets: *қойдай өргизін, қозыдай көгендеді* – to graze as sheep – completeness of authority.

Historically it is explained by a nomadic way of life of the Kazakhs. Military actions consisted in most cases in attacks of one sort or another which often had an extortionate, devastating character – they took away property, withdrew cattle.

As a result of comparison of metaphorical zoomorphisms describing the concept “War” in English, Russian and Kazakh, it has been found out that similarity between them is observed in fundamental values both of moral, and utilitarian character. So, the images of *a cat* and *a dog* invariably designate the conflicting parties, and the image of *a lion* associates with courage in the language pictures in all the three languages compared. Distinctions lie in the way of expression, distribution and combination theory of norms, in the degree of their urgency for the compared pictures of the world. The researcher's attention is drawn by the specificity of the images that accompanies designations of the concept of *submission* and *suppression*. In the English language it is a comparison of the big and small fishes, in Russian – twisting in the mutton horn, in Kazakh – a stick and a horse.

The resulting examples testify that in all cultures the universal values defining norms of behavior of the language person are significant. Peace existence is the purpose of any person, any state. Each country aspires to be independent, to find freedom, to live in riches and, at the same time, to protect the interests, to maintain friendly relations with other states.

Concept “Peace” is presented by the following zoomorphisms:

Friendship:

Мы с тобой как рыба с водой (Даль, 227) – inseparable friends, *құлынөтайдай айқасты* – friends are inseparable as a foal and a two-year-old horse.

Vigilance, protection of the world:

At open doors dogs come in – if doors are opened, dogs (carelessness leads to a trouble) can enter, *on that and a pike in the sea that the crucian did not doze* – about necessity to observe vigilance as always there will be someone who will want to harm, *қызғыштай қорыды* – to protect, as a bird a lapwing.

Freedom:

The dove of peace, голубь мира – symbol of the world, *вольная птица (free bird)* – the free, independent person, *жить как птица небесная (to live as a bird heavenly)* – to live carefree, *не нужна соловью золотая клетка, а нужна зеленая ветка (the gold cell is not necessary to a nightingale, but the green branch is necessary)* – freedom is better than riches, *бақыт құсы* – bird of happiness.

Abundance:

Live like a fighting cock – to live in luxury. Fighting cocks used to be high fed in order to aggravate their pugnacity and increase their powers of endurance (Fables, 349), *loaves and fishes* – earthly blessings, *есек құрты мұрнынан түсті* – to get rid from difficulties, to achieve a good life, *ақ түйенің қарны жарылу* – the belly of a white camel is to be cut – a joyful feast on the occasion of a victory.

The comparative analysis of conceptual metaphorical zoomorphisms in the English, Russian and Kazakh language pictures of the world has revealed national stereotypes, evaluative orientations, and also allocated both universal and specific metaphorical dominants in representation of the world, e.g. representation of freedom which is associated with a bird by Englishmen, Russian and Kazakhs. The specificity of the Kazakh phraseological unit: *қой үстіне бозторғай жұмыртқалаған (ұялаған) заман* is evident: it means *the time when the lark lays eggs (nests) on a sheep*, which designates a happy, serene life, peace time, prosperity. The phraseological unit is formed to designate a certain historical period in the life of a society when peace and general prosperity come, when the people get riches and prosperity. In visual representation it is possible, when on backs of peacefully grazed sheep raise the jacks and steppe larks hatch an egg in them. That symbolizes a peaceful, fertile life in a society.

Thus, in the Russian, English and Kazakh languages, with all their dissimilarity of lexical and grammatical systems, there are universal metaphors. Similarity of images consists in that “different languages, independently from each other, resort to identical metaphorical

transferences” (Gak, 1988: 32). Such similarity of thinking reveals the conventional nature of metaphorical images in different linguistic cultures and it explains the existence of basic metaphorical models in languages which is a universal way to represent the concepts.

3. Conclusions

As a result we see that the conceptual sphere “fauna” is used equally widely in English-speaking, Kazakh-speaking and Russian-speaking pictures of the world, i.e. metaphor borrowed from the world of wildlife is traditionally an important part of a conceptual picture of the world in language consciousness of the person. The metaphorical models under study reveal evident cultural bias and reflection of features of national mentality and political traditions. We have found out that the language picture of the world possesses numerous ethnospecific features that are caused by historical, social, psychological, and many other factors. Phenomena of war and peace as social and political ones represent fragments of a language picture of the world.

The research shows that concepts “War” and ”Peace” find frequent and various display in the Russian, Kazakh and English languages, being expressed by the semantics of phraseological units of different levels in the form of universal features of war and peace. Specificity of the features consists in the originality of their combinatory models. In a linguistic-cultural approach the most valuable are metaphorical zoomorphisms which interpretation has allowed us to find out similarities and distinctions in reflection of the certain fragment of world around in consciousness of the people speaking in different languages. At the level of frame structure the greatest distinctions caused by specificity of national languages and national consciousness are found out. Research of metaphorical models of the concepts “War” and “Peace” reveal the models which most evidently reflect cultural traditions and features of national mentality of native speakers.

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(by Natalya Potseluyeva)

Questions for discussion

1. Bearing in mind the theoretical base of the paper consisting in the phraseological conception of cross-cultural communication of E.F. Tarasov, could you outline the main issues of the declared conception?

2. Will you decipher the author's target consisting in the following: research deals with the study of culturally marked associations that characterize the concepts "war" and "peace" represented by means of animal terms as constituent parts of English, Russian and Kazakh idioms, gives their analysis and comparison?

3. Could you illustrate with parallel idioms the author's attention that is focused on positive and negative evaluation of the notions "war" and "peace" in different cultures?

4. What details do you know about the appearance—in 1949 after the First World Congress of Peace Supporters—of the famous idiom that is reflected in many languages, including English and Russian?

5. Will you supply the PU examples to maintain the analysis leading to the conclusion that the similarity of all the cultures under study is in the valuables which are common to all mankind?

6. Could you illustrate the differences having been found in the sphere of content of the specific national stereotypes?

Theme 11
ARE SEMANTIC CATEGORIES OF COLLOCATION
PSYCHOLOGICALLY REAL IN THE MIND OF FOREIGN
LANGUAGE LEARNERS? EXPLORING TEST ELICITATION
DATA FOR EVIDENCE

Introduction

Phraseological approaches to the study of collocation often take their departure in a semantic classification of word combinations. Although the transparency of word combinations is widely viewed as a continuum, it is common practice to divide the continuum into discrete categories, with transparent and opaque combinations representing the two opposing poles, and semi-transparent/ semi-opaque combinations representing the middle ground. The question that initially motivated this paper is whether these semantic categories are psychologically real in the minds of foreign language learners. Since this question (not surprisingly) has proven to lie beyond the reach of my empirical data, I am compelled to adopt a more modest aim, namely to try to identify test response patterns which may be indicative of the foreign language learners having approached one or more of these semantic categories in a unique way. To this more modest end, I draw on elicitation data generated by Danish EFL learners who sat the CONTRIX, a new collocation test of *whole* collocations.

Phraseological approaches to the study of collocation often take their departure in a semantic classification of word combinations. Although the transparency of word combinations is widely viewed as a continuum, it is common practice to divide the continuum into discrete categories, with transparent and opaque combinations representing the two opposing poles, and semi-transparent/ semi-opaque combinations representing the middle ground.

In this paper, I explore the role of semantic categories in Danish EFL learners' knowledge and use of English collocations. As the title of the paper indicates, I'm particularly interested in the question of whether or not semantic categories of collocation are psychologically real in the minds of foreign language learners. However, since this question (not

surprisingly) has proven to lie beyond the reach of my empirical data, I find myself at best only able to make inferences along the lines of whether or not the participants in my study appear to have approached one semantic category of collocation differently than another within the constraints of the elicitation instrument.

This paper consists of two parts. In the first part, I outline a cline of semantic categories of word combination and present a very brief review of the Anglophone literature commenting on the mental status of the middle category of word combinations. In the second half of the paper, I describe the test instrument employed in the present study before going on to interpret the results with respect to the issue at hand.

2. Semantic categories of collocation

The literature abounds with various word-combination taxonomies (Wray, 2002). However, in Anglophone L2 research, the most widely cited classification system is the one advanced by Cowie (1994) and Howarth (1996, 1998). Although Cowie (1994) and Howarth (1996, 1998) perceive word combinations as existing along a continuum of decreasing transparency (or, if you prefer, increasing opacity), the continuum is often for pragmatic reasons divided up into a number of more or less discrete categories. Howarth (1996, 1998), using multiple criteria, including transparency, restriction, and semantic unity, recognized three main categories – free collocations (e.g. *cut bread*), restricted collocations (e.g. *make a decision*), and idiomatic collocations (e.g. *take steps*). According to Howarth (1996, 1998), restricted collocations can be distinguished from free collocations on the basis of the fact that the verbs contained in the former bear specialized meaning. Idiomatic collocations, in contrast, can be distinguished from restricted collocations on the basis of the fact the constituents contained in the former combine to create unitary meaning. Instances of the middle category can, according to Howarth (1996, 1998), be further classified into subcategories on the basis of the restriction imposed on the substitutability of one constituent by the other.

Following Nesselhauf (2005: 25f), who criticized the use of multiple criteria, I have resolved in my research to use a single criterion as the basis for making a three-way distinction among types of word combination. That criterion is the *sense* meanings of both the verb and the noun constituents. Thus, if the verb and the noun constituents are both used in their literal or core senses, as in *make tea*, then in the present study the combination as a whole is classified as a **transparent (TT)** collocation. If the verb constituent is used in a specialized or extended sense and the noun constituent in a literal sense, as in *make a complaint*, then the combination is classified as a **semi-transparent (ST)** collocation. If neither the verb nor the noun is used in its literal sense, as in *run the show*, or the two constituents form a unitary meaning which cannot be derived from their literal senses, as in *make the grade*, then the combination is classified as a **non-transparent (NT)** collocation.

3. Mental status of collocations occupying the middle ground

Here I would like to go beyond linguistic classification to consider the psychological reality of collocations. This issue no doubt bears implications for how EFL learners are likely to approach different categories of collocation in the present study. Since most of us would be in full agreement regarding the mental status of collocations occupying either end of the continuum, the focus here will be on claims made in the literature regarding how middle-ground collocations (i.e. restricted or semi-transparent collocations) are stored and recalled. To the best of my knowledge no psycholinguistic research has yet to address this issue empirically. To be sure, as Norbert Schmitt has reminded me (personal communication), a growing body of empirical research employing psycholinguistic method is closing in on this issue. However, this body of research, including Schmitt (2004), deals primarily (if not exclusively) with grammatical collocations (e.g. *in light of*, *on the other hand*) and or pragmatic formulaic sequence (e.g. *to make a long story short*). In other words, this research does not address lexical collocations, which are the focus of the present study.

In a book-length review of research on formulaic language, Wray (2002) gives some consideration to the mental status of restricted collocations. Her reflections are strongly informed by Howarth (1996), who in the absence of psychological evidence extended to the category of restricted collocation what was known about how native speakers processed idioms. Thus, Howarth (1996: 49) surmised that native speakers process restricted collocations as wholes, in much the same way as they do with idioms. With respect to L2 learners, Howarth (1996: 160) was far less explicit, suggesting that they “do not approach the phenomena from the same direction as native speakers”. Wray (2002: 211) advances a view similar to that of Howarth, namely that for native-speakers of English restricted collocations are “fully formulaic pairs which have become loosened”. With respect to foreign language learners, Wray (2002: 211) suggests that restricted collocations can be viewed as “separate items which become paired”.

4. Positions adopted in L2 research

Before going on to the present study, it is interesting to note which of these assumptions have been adopted in L2 collocation research. With respect to the middle category of collocation (i.e. restricted or semi-transparent collocations), L2 collocation research appears to be characterized by a binary division reflecting major differences in methodology. Research based on learner corpora, such as the studies by Howarth (1996) and Nesselhauf (2005), adopts the assumption that restricted collocations are processed by native speakers as wholes, in much the same way as formulaic sequences. Experimental research – such as the recent studies by Bonk (2000), Barfield (2006), and Gyllstad (2007) – appears by contrast to be based on the assumption that the lexical constituents forming a restricted collocation are stored and recalled independently of each other, albeit (potentially) more expediently than those of free collocations, as the link between the former are assumed to be more salient than the link between the latter; that is, in Wray’s terms, the constituents of restricted collocations are “paired” in the mental lexicon.

5. Study

Aim

The aim of this study was to analyze both correct and incorrect responses generated in a trial administration of a new collocation test called the CONTRIX. The main purpose in looking at the correct responses was to explore the relationship between collocation knowledge and semantic categories of collocation. Incorrect responses were analyzed with the aim of investigating the relationship between error type and semantic categories of collocation. If different semantic categories of collocation are indeed psychologically real in the minds of foreign language learners, I felt that it was reasonable to expect each category to generate a unique response profile in terms of both level of knowledge and type of deviation.

Informants

In total, 56 Danish EFL learners participated in the trial. They constituted three intact English classes:

- 1st-year *gymnasium* (10th grade, $n = 20$),
- 2nd-year *gymnasium* (11th grade, $n = 17$), and
- 1st-year university ($n = 19$).

All participants are assumed to have started their formal English education in 4th grade, which means they had between 7 and 10 years of formal English instruction.

Instrument

The CONTRIX tests knowledge of 45 word combinations, representing the three semantic categories previously mentioned. The categories, as shown in Table 1, are balanced for number of target items, individual verb and noun constituent frequency, and combination frequency. Combinations containing high-frequency verbs and nouns were chosen to ensure that test takers would have prior familiarity with at least the form of the individual constituents. A fuller account of the design, development, and evaluation of the test is presented in Revier (forthcoming).

Table 1. Properties of the semantic categories represented in the CONTRIX

Semantic category (i.e., test section)	No	Verb frequency ^a		Noun frequency ^a		Comb. frequency ^b	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Transparent (TT)	15	1k	0k	2.5k	2.1k	.20	.14
Semi-transparent (ST)	15	1k	0k	1.7k.	1.2k	.21	.11
Non-transparent (NT)	15	1k	0k	2.3k	2.2k	.19	.12

^aFirst n-thousand (k) word families in the BNC as computed by the *Web VocabProfile BNC-20* (Cobb, 2006).

^bPer million words in the 100-million-word BNC as computed by the *PIE* interface (Fletcher, 2003).

As in the following example, the CONTRIX consists of a sentence prompt containing a gap which corresponds to a whole collocation (i.e., verb + (det) + noun):

The quickest way to win a friend's trust is to show that you are able to <input type="text"/> .	make	a/an	joke
	hold	the	secret
	keep	--	truth

Alongside the prompt is a constituent matrix (hence the name CONTRIX) consisting of three columns, each of which represents one of the three missing constituents and features three word choices. Test takers are asked to select (circle) the combination of verb, article, and noun that best completes the sentence. Since the CONTRIX involves selection it is likely to be perceived as a receptive measure. Convention aside, however, it could also be said to tap productive knowledge for test takers must not only create (i.e. produce) meaning by combining lexical constituents but they must also grammatically encode the noun constituent for determination.

Scoring

Responses to the CONTRIX were initially scored as correct (1) or incorrect (0). To be judged correct, a response had to match all components contained by the collocation (i.e. verb, article, and noun). Incorrect responses were subsequently classified as to type of deviation – verb (2) article (3), noun (4), or whole (5). *Whole* errors were constituted when neither the targeted verb nor the targeted noun was given as part of the response. Correctness of article was only considered when both verb and noun constituents were judged to be correct. An illustration of the four error types is given in Table 2.

Table 2. Classification of a sample of deviant responses from the 10th graders

No	Target item	Semantic category	Response	Error	Error type
19	Get a message	Transparent (TT)	Take the message	Verb	2
			Get message	Article	3
			Get an order	Noun	4
			Take the order	Whole	5
18	Run tests	Semi-transparent (ST)	Make tests	Verb	2
			Run the tests	Article	3
			Run samples	Noun	4
			Take samples	Whole	5
21	Cut corners	Non-transparent (NT)	Save the corners	Verb	2
			Cut the corners	Article	3
			Cut edges	Noun	4
			Take the edges	Whole	5

Expected outcomes

If each of the semantic categories of collocation previously described are indeed processed differently (largely due to their semantic properties),

then it seems reasonable to expect to observe a different set of outcomes on the CONTRIX for each semantic category in terms of both knowledge and deviation.

Hypothesis 1: Difficulty scale

If it is true that formal instruction tends to prioritize general (i.e. core or literal) meaning as opposed to specialized meaning (Warren, 2005), and if it is also true that foreign language learners themselves tend to adopt a literal approach to the target language (Kesckes, 2006), then it would be reasonable to expect foreign language learners to encounter little or no difficulty with transparent collocations consisting of high-frequency lexical constituents, depending on in part of course how advanced their general proficiency is. L2 learners could for the same reasons be expected to encounter much greater difficulty with non-transparent collocations, even with ones consisting of high-frequency lexical constituents, such as those appearing in the CONTRIX. Since semi-transparent collocations comprise both a verb used in a specialized sense and a noun used in a literal sense, this category is expected to be less difficult than the non-transparent category but more difficult than the transparent category.

In short, test takers' knowledge of collocations is expected to be greatest for the transparent category, slightly less for the semi-transparent category, and least for the non-transparent category, though differences in their knowledge of the three categories are likely to vary according to general proficiency.

Hypothesis 2: Error profile

As already suggested, transparent collocations are not expected to cause any great difficulties. Moreover, because participants are expected to be familiar with the core meaning of the verbs and the nouns forming the transparent collocations, few deviations in this category are expected to involve lexical errors (i.e. errors involving the verb or noun constituent or the whole collocation). However, given the fact that the use of the English article system is known to be notoriously difficult for (even advanced) foreign language learners to master (Master, 1997), grammatical errors (i.e. article errors) may be expected to arise in connection with noun determination.

Semi-transparent collocations are expected to be more problematic than transparent collocations. The main source of difficulty is expected to be the verb constituents since they bear specialized meaning. The noun constituents by contrast are not expected to cause difficulty because they bear generalized meaning with which the test takers are expected to be familiar. Thus, most erroneous collocations generated under this category are likely to feature the targeted noun together with an inappropriate verb.

Although non-transparent collocations are expected to be the most problematic of the three categories, it is not at all clear which type of error one should expect. One could begin with the assumption that all the four types of error are equally likely to be observed in the production of non-transparent collocations. This assumption may however be countered by two intervening tendencies. If, as Skehan (1998), Wray (2002), and others have suggested, foreign language learners break down encountered L2 sequences into their semantic content (i.e. lexical constituents) while ignoring any grammatical elements, a disproportionately high number of errors involving noun determination may be expected. Moreover, since the constituents of the non-transparent collocations either both bear extended meaning or combine to form unitary meaning, and since meaning of this kind is neither prioritized in foreign language instruction nor is the focus of foreign language learners' attention (Warren, 2005), the single largest error type for this category is likely to be whole errors.

In brief, each semantic category is expected to feature a unique error profile. For transparent collocations, the dominant type of error is expected to be the wrong choice of article. For semi-transparent collocations, the most frequent type of error is expected to be the wrong choice of verb. For non-transparent collocations, the most pervasive type of error is expected to involve the whole combination.

6. Results and analysis

Having been scored for accuracy and deviation, the CONTRIX yielded two sets of data which are of interest to the present study – section scores and error type frequencies. For statistical purposes, means were calculated for section scores, while error frequencies were converted to

percentages. The reliability of the test scores was estimated (using Cronbach’s alpha) to be .89 for aggregate test takers.

Section scores

Table 3 shows the mean section scores for each of the three proficiency groups. Two clear patterns can be observed. First, the mean section score obtained by each of the three proficiency groups decreases as a function of greater opacity. For instance, the mean for the 11th grade drops, first from 8.8 (Transparent) to 7.0 (Semi-transparent), then further down to 6.0 (Non-transparent). Second, the mean score for each of the three sections increases as a function of an increase in general proficiency. For example, the mean score for the section representing semi-transparent collocations increases from 7.4 (10th grade), through 8.8 (11th grade), and up to 10.3 (1st-year U).

Table 3. Mean scores (M) and standard deviations (SD) for three proficiency groups

Test section (i.e. semantic category)	10 th grade (n = 20)		11 th grade (n = 17)		1 st -year U (n = 19)		Aggregate (N = 56)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Transparent (TT) (k = 15)	7.4	2.8	8.8	2.5	10.3	1.9	8.8	2.7
Semi-transparent (ST) (k = 15)	5.0	2.2	7.0	2.4	9.8	2.1	7.2	3.0
Non-transparent (NT) (k = 15)	4.8	2.4	6.0	2.1	8.7	2.1	6.5	2.7
Total (K = 45)	17.2	6.4	21.8	6.4	28.8	5.1	22.5	7.7

To determine if the differences observed across the three sections were statistically significant, I conducted a set of one-way within-subjects ANOVAs on three mean test-section scores (see last column of Table 3) for the participants as an aggregate. The alpha level was set at $p < .05$. The results were statistically significant, Wilks’ Lambda = .45, $F(2, 54) = 32.7$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = .55$. To reveal which test sections differed from one another, I performed pair-wise comparisons using Bonferroni t tests, which

automatically adjusted the observed significance level for multiple comparisons. All paired differences were found significant. In other words, the aggregate test takers scored significantly higher on the TT section than on the ST section. Their scores on the ST section likewise were significantly higher than their NT section scores.

Thus, in terms of knowledge, the scores obtained on CONTRIX seem to indicate that each of the three semantic categories of collocation represented a psychologically unique challenge for the Danish EFL learners who participated in this study. Moreover, as was hypothesized, transparent collocations proved to be the easiest, semi-transparent the next easiest, and non-transparent the most difficult for the test takers to supply.

Error frequencies

Table 4 shows the relative frequencies and percentages for each of the four error types, as distributed within each of the three semantic categories of collocation. Apart from the transparent category, the semantic categories each feature a single dominant error type, consistently across proficiency groups. For the semi-transparent category, the most common error type was the *verb*. For the non-transparent category, the most frequent deviation involved *whole* combinations. Although the transparent category does not reveal a consistent pattern across proficiency groups, the *article* does appear to emerge as the most frequent error type for this category.

Table 4. Distribution of error according to type within semantic categories

Education level	Error type	(% within) Semantic category						Total (K = 45)	
		TT (k = 15)		ST (k = 15)		NT (k = 15)			
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
10th Grade (n = 20)	Verb	47	30.7	78 ^a	39.4	41	20.0	166	29.9
	Article	31 ^a	20.3	23	11.6	22	10.7	76	13.7
	Noun	37	24.2	49	24.7	31	15.1	117	21.0
	Whole	38	24.8	48	24.2	111 ^a	54.1	197	35.4
	Total	153		198		205		556	

Education level	Error type	(% within) Semantic category						Total (K = 45)	
		TT (k = 15)		ST (k = 15)		NT (k = 15)			
		Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
11th Grade (n = 17)	Verb	30	28.3	60 ^a	44.1	25	16.4	115	29.2
	Article	36 ^a	34.0	22	16.2	18	11.8	76	19.3
	Noun	27	25.5	26	19.1	30	19.7	83	21.1
	Whole	13	12.3	28	20.6	79 ^a	52.0	120	30.5
	Total	106		136		152		394	
1st year U (n = 19)	Verb	27	30.3	48 ^a	47.5	11	9.2	86	27.7
	Article	33 ^a	37.1	23	22.8	21	17.5	77	24.8
	Noun	14	15.7	19	18.8	28	23.3	61	19.7
	Whole	15	16.9	11	10.9	60 ^a	50.0	86	27.7
	Total	89		101		120		310	
Aggregate (N = 56)	Verb	104	29.9	186 ^a	42.8	77	16.1	367	29.1
	Article	100 ^a	28.7	68	15.6	61	12.8	229	18.2
	Noun	78	22.4	94	21.6	89	18.7	261	20.7
	Whole	66	19.0	87	20.0	250 ^a	52.4	403	32.0
	Total	348		435		477		1260	

To determine whether the observed relationship between error type and semantic category was of statistical significance, I conducted Chi-square (X^2) tests of independence on the raw frequencies. The alpha level was set at $p < .05$. The results were significant for all proficiency groups:

- X^2 for the aggregate (6, N = 1260) = 187.776, $p < .05$;
- X^2 for the 10th grade (6, N = 556) = 57.042, $p < .05$;
- X^2 for the 11th grade (6, N = 394) = 76.75, $p < .05$; and
- X^2 for the 1st-year U (6, N = 310) = 74.662, $p < .05$.

The strength of association was estimated using Cramer's V (CV) statistic. The association for all proficiency groups was found to be of moderate strength:

- CV for aggregate (N = 1260) = .273, $p < .05$;

- CV for 10th grade (N = 556) = .226, $p < .05$;
- CV for 11th grade (N = 394) = .311, $p < .05$; and
- CV for 1st-year U (N = 310) = .347, $p < .05$.

Standardized residuals greater than plus or minus 1.96 (i.e. the critical value for an alpha of .05.) were used to identify specifically which error types contributed significantly to the results of the Chi-square test. All residuals greater than 1.96 are identified in Table 4 with a footnote. These residuals happen to highlight a pattern of significant error common to all proficiency groups including the aggregate. Starting with the transparent category of collocation, the most significant type of error, regardless of general proficiency, involved the wrong choice of *article*. With respect to the semi-transparent category, the most significant type of error entailed the wrong choice of *verb*. The most significant type of error observed under the non-transparent category were *whole* deviations (i.e. wholly deviant word combinations).

Thus, in terms of deviation, the CONTRIX yielded an error profile that closely matches the one hypothesized earlier. Each of the three semantic categories elicited a different type of error. While erroneous transparent collocations featured a deviant article, infelicitous semi-transparent collocations were marked by the wrong choice of verb and non-transparent collocations tended to be wholly wrong. Viewed as a whole, incorrect responses to the CONTRIX, just as with correct responses, seem to indicate that for that for the participants in this study, each of the three semantic categories of collocation presented a unique mental challenge.

7. Limitations

The findings obtained in this study need to be approached cautiously, as their generalizability is limited on a number of fronts. First, not only do the participants constitute a small group, but they also represent a single L1. Second, with respect to sampling, it is questionable whether 15 collocations per semantic category is sufficiently representative of the phenomena under investigation. Third, although steps were taken to

control for the frequency properties of the target collocations, these properties were based on native speaker data; and there is no guarantee that these collocations have appeared in the participants' target language input, let alone with the same frequency.

8. Conclusion

This study set out to explore responses to a test of whole collocations for patterns which might indicate how three semantic categories of collocation are approached by foreign language learners. Patterns observed not just in correct responses but also in incorrect responses suggested that these three semantic categories were each dealt with in a unique way. An analysis of correct responses indicated that the participants knew a significantly larger number of transparent collocations than semi-transparent collocations. They also knew significantly more semi-transparent collocations than non-transparent collocations. This decrease in knowledge size across semantic categories is assumed to be, at least in part, a function of an increase in opacity. Likewise, an analysis of incorrect responses revealed a unique error profile for each semantic category. With respect to the transparent category, it appears that despite having chosen the correct combination of verb and noun, the test takers often failed to select the correct article. Incomplete knowledge of semi-transparent collocations by contrast tended to result in responses containing deviant verbs alongside the correct noun. Finally, a highly disproportionate number of wholly wrong responses seem to underscore the status of non-transparent collocations as being the least mastered of the three categories.

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(after Robert Lee Revier)

Questions for discussion

1. What does the author mean saying: phraseological approaches to the study of collocation often take their departure in a semantic classification of word combinations?

2. Do you agree to the statement: although the transparency of word combinations is widely viewed as a continuum, it is common practice to divide the continuum into discrete categories, with transparent and opaque combinations representing the two opposing poles, and semi-transparent/semi-opaque combinations representing the middle ground? Give your argument.

3. The question that initially motivated this paper is whether these semantic categories are psychologically real in the minds of foreign language learners. Why did the author concentrated on a more modest aim?

4. Why did the author try to identify test response patterns which might be indicative of the foreign language learners having approached one or more of these semantic categories in a unique way?

5. Why does the author limits himself to the target to make inferences along the lines of whether or not the participants in my study appear to have approached one semantic category of collocation differently than another within the constraints of the elicitation instrument?

Theme 12
THE “LINGUOCULTUREMA” AND SOME PECULIARITIES
OF ITS VERBALIZATION IN THE RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH
LANGUAGES

Introduction

The paper deals with the problem of semantic identity and diversity of idioms used in the Russian and English languages having the meaning of “The State of a Human being”. The essence of conceptual space of linguoculturema is the total amount of images of consciousness, which might be materialized in different verbal forms. The aim of this paper is to reveal phraseological constituents in the conceptual space of linguoculturema. The principal tasks are: to substantiate methodologically the capability of various types of phraseological units (PUs) to serve as signs, loaded with cultural semantics; to investigate extra-linguistics premise and intra-linguistics peculiarities in the formation and functioning of PUs as cultural signs. The psycho-linguistics analysis reveals that with the expansion of conceptual field, the meaning of the word is expanded as well, and this process in its turn leads to formation of new concepts. The study of this problem in the field of phraseology is very important, as PUs reflect the most distinctive characteristics of language community.

1. The lingoculturema and cognitive aspects of its investigation

In modern cognitive linguistics there are a lot of trends, which deal with the problem of consciousness. In the Russian psychological science consciousness is treated as “complex structure of redoubled behavior” (L.S. Vigotsky), “the specific human form of reflection the reality” (A.N. Leontyev), “the form of psyche and function of mind” (A.A. Brudny) etc. The complicated nature of the phenomenon causes the weak differentiation of applied terms. And as E.S. Kubriyakova says, “...these notions are different since consciousness represents a definite state of a human being, which includes ideas of feelings, emotions and sensations of a person (in representative kinds). Consciousness develops under the influence of thinking” (Kubriyakova, 1996: 176).

The most researchers of this kind are devoted to the description of concept's essence and its definition, the structure of mental representation of knowledge and to the construction of conceptual systems. We regard a concept as the unit of mental-behavior consciousness of a human being, which reflects a fragment of conceptual picture of the world. This complex process is realized in different cognitive and estimating functions of an individual's activity in his or her attitude towards the environment.

The "territory" which is formed on a crossing of linguistic and cultural space is supposed to be regarded as a linguo-cultural area, representing objects of language and outside world as some sum total of psychical-mental notions of ethnos. Interaction of linguistic (idioms, proverbs, sayings, etc) and cultural (rituals, customs, beliefs, etc.) fields are correctly named as linguoculturemas (LC).

The term LC was introduced into linguistics by the Russian scholar V.V. Vorobjov in 1996, but it hasn't found the stability in the linguistic term system and hasn't got the concise definitional frame. The LC is the complex unit which represents dialectical combinability of language and consciousness. It is the sum total of (a) a sign; (b) contents; and (c) cultural sense.

The LC is a cultural, complicated, many-sided, social and psychical unit, which exists in individual and collective consciousness. The essence of the conceptual space of the LC, as we maintain, is a sum total of images of consciousness, which are materialized in this or that language forms: in the form of a word, in a word combination, in a sentence or even in a text. Interaction of inner or extra regularities of any language is fixed in this phenomenon. Moreover it reflects verbalization of memory and consciousness as well as dialectical unity of material and spiritual culture. The existing modern research papers, which touch upon the interpretation of LC either coincide or are close to our treatment (D.S. Lichachev, 1993; V.V. Vorobjov, 1996; U.S. Stepanov, 1997; A.S. Mamontov, 2000; V.N. Manakin, 2004).

The aim of this paper is to reveal constituents of PU in conceptual space of LC. That's why the principal tasks of our research are: to substantiate methodologically the capability of various types of idioms to

serve as signs, loaded with cultural semantics; to investigate extra-linguistics premise and intra-linguistics peculiarities in the formation and functioning of PU as cultural signs; to characterize their role in translating across generations the identity of a people speaking its native language. The paper deals with the problem of semantic identity and diversity of PUs used in the English and Russian languages with the meaning of “The State of a Human being”. We suppose that PUs under analysis, are as the follows: *дойти до последней черты; вылететь в трубу; пойти по миру* (Russ.); *to be at the end of one’s rope; to turn to bag and wallet* (Eng.) with the meaning – “to lose all money or power” (-) and *жить как сыр в масле кататься; быть на верху блаженства; купаться в золоте* (Russ.); *to be on the velvet; to roll in the wealth* (Eng.) with the meaning – “to be rich and successful” *up to keep one’s pecker* with the meaning – “to feel oneself happy, cheerful” (+) are related to the category of “state”. Our research is based on the cognitive-discourse analysis of texts’ interpretation.

One of my working hypothesis is: the sources of creation idioms in different languages are identical as they are the reflection of the historical, spiritual and cultural world by peoples’ consciousness. Idioms is one of the main means of reflection the fragments of our experience in the language. They may be subjects, events, believes, convictions, keeping in our memory as images, notions and valuable associations. Language is the product of our interaction with environment. For example: *to save one’s skin – спасать свою шкуру* with the meaning “to do something that prevents someone from being in a difficult situation”; *to lick one’s wounds – зализывать раны* with the meaning “to think about something bad that has happened and try to feel better about it” (lit.: *to save skin* and *to lick wounds* are actions which animals do in order to clean and wet their skin or to save themselves in corresponding situations). The images of these PUs are “peeped and prompted” by the experience of different people in common situations and expressed identically in the English and Russian languages. But such cases when images and meanings of PUs in both languages coincide are rare. More often we come across the examples where the conditions of appearance of PUs are different in both languages

but the way of their creation is common. This process is the result of cultivation and generalization of definite structures of knowledge – frames and scripts. PUs could appear due to some collective activity of people in any professional group, or any corporative community. For example, PU: *to go/ get a flat spin* – “to be in panic state” has an aviation etymology; *to be behind the eight ball* at the very beginning was used in billiard; *to be in the limelight* with the meaning “to be in the center of attention” has a theatrical etymology. The same can be seen in the Russian language: *на обухе рожь молотить*, which has the meaning “to do everything in order to become rich”; (lit.: “to separate the grain from the rest of a crop using a blunt tool”). The specific images of PUs are involved into the wide context of spiritual and practical mastery of reality by a man, including different spheres of human activity.

2. The mechanisms of figurative semantic formation of PUs

The linguistic nature of PUs permits to distinguish in them some definite constituents such as: *notional*, reflecting some sign structures of concepts, *figurative*, fixing their cognitive metaphors and *valuable*, causing axiological connotations. According to the opinion of the Russian linguist V.V. Kolesov, the semantic unity of the concept is provided with the sequence displaying in a *form of image, notion and symbol*, where *an image* is psychological basis of a sign, a *notion* reflects logical functions of consciousness, but *a symbol* is a general cultural component of a verbal sign (Kolesov, 2002: 42 – 107).

Taking into consideration this idea I’ve made an attempt to reveal the concepts of LC in the Russian and English languages. The assumption that PUs are the means of representation of concepts and the process of development of phraseological meaning (PM) is based on cognitive links of images in human consciousness, allowed me to reveal the ways and main regularities of formation PM and to represent figurative, reasonable, emotional, estimated and cultural constituents of PM in both languages. In spite of the diversity and difference in cognitive and informative capacity, the PUs (all in all 2977) have been conventionally distributed into four blocks, each represented the macro-frames of “comfortable and

uncomfortable state of a human being”. The blocks might be regarded as mental quanta existing in national consciousness. The blocks were grouped on the following basis: “Social position”, “Emotional, psychical and physiological state”, “Spiritual culture of people”. A correlation between consciousness and language, culture and ethnos is realized by means of *meaning* – the consolidated axis which connects these four phenomena. The role of meaning is mentioned in the works of many scholars: V.P. Zinchenko, A.A. Leontyev, N.F. Alefirenko and others, who consider the *meaning* as the form of consciousness, which appears and historically crystallizes in the process of acquiring of definite experience by means of activity, intercourse and perception. The subject’s activity gives birth to perceived images, which represented universal form of psychical reflection. Consciousness exists in society first of all due to a meaning, which is verbalized in any language. The connection between language and meaning is obvious, as language is the form of meaning, its bearer, and the way of its keeping and translating.

As it had been already mentioned, for the comparative analysis in both languages the PUs were combined into thematic blocks. The block “comfort” is represented by the senses of “a physically relaxed state”, “pleasant feelings” or “a pleasant way of life”. But conceptual signs of the block “uncomfortable state” represent, on the contrary, the emotional state of “hunger”, “misery”, “suffering”, “fear”, etc.

Table 1. PUs of “discomfort” with some conceptual signs and images in the Russian and English languages

PU	Conceptual signs	Images
Быть под башмаком	Унижение	Башмак
Держаться за мамину юбку	Унижение	Мама, юбка
Свистит в карманах	Нищета	Карман, свист
To live under somebody’s thumb	Humiliation	Thumb
To eat humble pie (dirt, dog, crow, leek)	Humiliation	Pie, dirt, dog, crow, leek
To meet both ends meet	Misery, poverty	Ends
To be a small fish (frog, ant, insect)	Social status	Small fish (frog, ant, insect)

The conceptual signs lying in the basis of PUs and having the meaning of “discomfort”, might be regarded as senses, which go through the “filter of mentality” both the speaker and the listener and can be interpreted from the point of view of their national-cultural knowledge. It means that they determine a cultural value of PUs. On the other hand, these conceptual signs might be interpreted as they are given in the dictionaries: “lack of comfort”, “expectation of something that makes one’s life uncomfortable: depression, humiliation, short of money, misery” in the English language and as «крайняя бедность», «нищета», «безденежье» – in Russian.

The conceptual sign “humiliation” in my work is represented by PUs having the close structural-semantic design. For example: *быть рогоносцем* = *to have (wear) horns* with the meaning “to be a deceived husband”, *проглотить пилюлю, обиду* = *to eat humble pie (dirt, dog, crow, one’s leek)* with the meaning “to suffer humiliation”, *держаться за (бабью, мамину) юбку* = *be pinned to one’s wife’s (mother’s) apron-strings* with the meaning “to be submitted to a woman, to be subordinated to her power”, *быть тряпкой* = *to be used as a door mat* with the meaning “to be a humiliated person”. The image of any PU, which makes the core of any concept, passes through the complex mental operations on the way of rational cognition. Some of the metaphors in the structure of the concept “humiliation” can be united by general meaning of something that a person can eat (a pie, leek) or hold (mother’s apron, мамину юбку). The analysis shows that if PU preserves metaphors with abstract names, for example: *to swallow one’s pride, anger* the images are vague and the secretion of denotative situation is difficult. The verb in this case loses its basic semantic sign “to swallow” under the influence of abstract name, “dissolves” in it and gets new meaning: “to feel oneself humiliated”. This symbiosis creates regrouping of semantic signs, confusion of their energies and as a result gives birth to a new notion and a new image of world picture.

Our observation shows that the components of many PUs correlate with the artifacts which are very often used in reality. Consequently, it is

possible to suppose that the images of the PUs are usually formed by units which have entered into the world of ethnos' culture, due to their cultural value and due to the level of their involving into stereotyped social reality and behavior system. We'll illustrate it by the example of the following PU: *to be at the end of one's rope* with the meaning "to be very upset or angry"; (lit.: "to be at the end of a rope, tether") and PU: *Give a thief (fool, rogue) enough rope and he'll hang himself* with the meaning "if people allow a bad man to do whatever he wants, he would do a lot of acts he would pay for". These data carry simultaneously a large volume of social and cultural, psychological and linguistic information. The word *a rope* which is present in both PUs, refers to the signs of the first nomination, denotative meaning of which is connected with the practical activity of people and has the definite pragmatic value in reality. In the process of life this object had acquired broader sphere of usage in reality. And as a result it began "to overgrow" with the new valuable senses. As the semantic program is dynamic and it constantly modifies: it either "shifts" or again becomes actual. The word *a rope* during the course of time began associated with some eventual factors, connected with beating, murder and gradually it tightened a new social-communicative status. At the same time it assisted for "alienation" of the first pragmatic meaning and helped for promotion of a new mental image and its new symbolic sense. *A rope* has got the symbol of death in the Russian language and the symbol of "bad mood" or "bad behavior" – in English.

Taking into account the fact, that conceptual signs of PUs are diffused, streamed and not constant (they are able to lay on one another and to be redistributed from one unit of consciousness into another), it is possible to distinguish among them the concepts with basic character. I regard the concept of "human being state" as a unit of mental-behavior of human consciousness, reflecting fragment of conceptual world picture in the process of contamination some separate functions of cognitive and evaluated actions of a man with regard to the reality. I suppose that concepts of "human being state" refer to the concepts which are basic ones. Being integrated in the unique cognitive process, these concepts are universal. They, on one hand, belong to *spiritual abstractions* and on the

other – to *material human values*, where living goals and individual requirements are concentrated. Comfortable and uncomfortable human state practically includes any emotional manifestation of positive or negative attitude of a subject to himself or to others.

The integral sign of LC “comfortable state of a human being” in subject’s sight will be a *positive appraisal of state* (action), which makes an individual satisfy his specific requirements. It allows us to consider a positive appraisal as an integral constituent of conceptual signs (in the boundaries of this class of emotional manifestations) and to distinguish and constantly reinforce it within new conceptual signs in connection with historical dynamic of the ethno-cultural development of the society.

It is considered that language world picture is as a whole coincides with the logical reflection of the world in people’s consciousness, however, the world is not duplicated absolutely, and phraseology refers to that specific patches in “the world picture”, which do not subordinate to these laws and vary from language to language, reflecting cultural originality and peculiarity of nation’s mentality. Each language unit has some set of potentially possible “vectors” of associations. What association has been chosen by representative of this or that cultural community, depends on cultural specificity. There is the stereotype on the background of each of them (Krasnih, 1998: 130). It is a “socially marked mental unit” which is realized in situations common for communicational standards of this culture (Prokhorov, 1996: 101).

As a certain role in the semantic structure of LC is played by the concept which is usually associated with the component in a form of metaphorical connotation or precedent links, I’ve made an attempt to represent the concepts of the PUs by means of analysis of its constituents. An associated component, entering into “vertical context”, usually forms *precedent qualities of linguocultural concept*. It usually associates with some verbal, symbol or eventual phenomenon, which are known to all the members of the society. For example: *показать Кузькину мать* (lit.: “to show Kuzkin’s mother”) with the meaning – “to threat somebody or to swear at” in Russian and *be Billy Bunter* – with the meaning “to be gluttonous, fat” (about a youth) in the English language are

correspondingly widely used in both countries. The chain of associative mental links might be shown by the example of PU: *to talk billingsgate* in the meaning “to curse as fishwives”. In order to reveal the meaning of this PU, it is necessary to use the method of cognitive-discourse interpretation. That’s why I’ll draw your attention to the name of the biggest fish market in London – to the Billingsgate. It is the noisy, busy place, where there is hustle-bustle and sellers’ speech is not accompanied by highly cultural expressions. We keep in mind simultaneously several “pictures”: *market* – (with the name “Billingsgate”); *a lot of coarse-mannered, vulgar-tongued women, selling fish* (fishwives – “women who sell fish”) *and the atmosphere of hustle-bustle* which is common to the markets. These circumstances create the condition for appearance in consciousness the chain of concepts: *market–women–noise–rough speech* introducing us into special microcosm. Representing all the features or qualities of metaphoric images and the implicate (hidden) senses of their first nomination, these concepts enter into the new associative relations, new paradigmatic structures. Some of their qualities are lost, for example: the name of the market; the women, selling fish, but others are extended in the denotation field. In our consciousness the cultural marked concepts “market” (as a symbol of noise and disorder) and “fish-woman” (as a symbol of a woman of conflict behavior) with the motivated verb *to talk* cause the birth of the new images. *To talk billingsgate* acquires the meaning “to swear as a coarse-mannered vulgar-tongued woman”. The origin of this PU may be regarded as an illustration of the influence on the formation and creation of PU of the following extra-linguistics factors: situational, communicative (pragmatic) and cultural.

The situation is overestimated in the way that only essential links, which have become typical, turn to stereotype caused national and cultural outlook. Each new semantic reconstruction ruins the previous category and challenges the reconstruction of semantic fields. Let’s trace down this process by the example of PU: *As you sow, you shall mow* – *что посеешь, то пожнешь*, which carry spiritual and cultural information in both languages. In this PU the archetype of “sow” performs as the symbol of ‘goodwill’ and “justice”. These archetypical notions live in the

consciousness of many European people, reflecting their world outlook. In English there are a lot of proverbs, having the same sense: *You reap what you sow; As you make your bed, so you must lie on it; As you brew, so must you drink; As a man lives, so shall he die.* Bible images are based on the real situation of sowing and form the invariant presentation about “goodness” and “justice”. This presentation sometimes coincides in both languages, but sometime differs. The appearance of synonymous texts of PUs in the English language are probably connected with the desire to use a certain model, pattern in new figurative meaning, not pretending on originality in the context: *You have mixed the mass and you must eat it; Drink as you have brewed.* The image of “gruel, porridge” in the analogical meaning “stir up the trouble” exists in the Russian language as well. *Сам заварил кашу, сам и расхлебывай* having the meaning: “to make someone think about consequences”. This expression was carefully analyzed by the Russian scholar N. Alefirenko (2001: 125). In old times *каша* (a *gruel*), in author’s opinion, was not simply a favorite dish, but a ceremony. It was cooked on the banquet, holidays and weddings. Hustle and bustle, which was connected with cooking of this dish, gave the birth of the PU: «заварить кашу» having well-known meaning “to undertake a trouble mess”. But a further development of PUs in the Russian and English languages goes their own way. The semantic contents of this discourse situation: *As you make your bed, so you must lie on it* in reality is considerably wider than that in this utterance. It is enriched by the forgotten cultural-pragmatic component, which serves the basis for the sense of the proverb. In XVI century the servants slept on the straw mattresses or on the coarse sheets weaved with hemp. Sometimes people put hemp under the sheets in order to keep themselves from fleas. It is supposed that the expression “as you made your bed, so you will sleep on it” has just appeared at that period of time. It was perceived in its direct meaning. Later on these practical “contrivances” were extrapolated metaphorically to another situation and peoples’ wisdom began to sound as: “He that makes his bed ill, lies there”, i.e. the new “edifying notes” characteristic of sayings have appeared.

In XIX century the invariant text has gained the new American variant: *Face the music* (lit.: “look at music face”), which is used in the meaning “If you can’t do things well, get out of this situation yourself”. The given examples illustrate that cognitive language structure is changeable, as historical, cultural and temporal space and social environment are constantly transformed according to dialectical laws of society and nature.

3. Conclusions

Reconstruction of objects takes place according to the metaphorical or comparative models. It relies not only on the semantic components of PUs, but also on the human experience, peculiarities of their perception and imagination and on the whole ethno-cultural knowledge as well. Motivation serves as a link between the cause and effect connections, between the plan of contents and expression, between the form and inner cover of the language unit. The results of our research testify to the fact that the situations carry in themselves some definite valuable orientation, consolidated for them by collective consciousness of preceding generation, worked out by collective practice in the process of historical development of these communities.

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(by Ludmila Stolbovaya)

Questions for discussion

1. Could you comment on the urgency of the the problem the paper deals with, i.e. the problem of semantic identity and diversity of idioms used in the Russian and English languages having the umbrella meaning of “The State of a Human being”?

2. What could be pros and contras in case of the statement: the essence of conceptual space of linguoculturema is the total amount of images of consciousness, which might be materialized in different verbal form?

3. Will you estimate the aim of this paper that consist in the task to reveal phraseological constituents in the conceptual space of linguoculturema?

4. What objections could you raise against the following accompanying tasks of the research: to substantiate methodologically the capability of various types of phraseological units (PUs) to serve as signs, loaded with cultural semantics; to investigate extra-linguistics premise and intra-linguistics peculiarities in the formation and functioning of PUs as cultural signs?

5. Can one agree to the claim of the author: the psycho-linguistics analysis reveals that with the expansion of conceptual field, the meaning of the word is expanded as well, and this process in its turn leads to formation of new concepts?

6. Does the explanation “the study of this problem in the field of phraseology is very important as PUs reflect the most distinctive characteristics of language community” satisfy your expectations?

Theme 13
PHYSICAL ANCHORING AND REFERENTIAL SCOPE
OF IDIOMS AND PROVERBS IN LITERATURE

Introduction

The paper addresses the issue of the relationship between idioms and proverbs and their semantic referents in literary works. The author attempts to postulate the description of this relationship in terms of micro- and macrofunctions which can be ascribed to idioms and proverbs with reference to their referential scope within one text. In order to cover other possible types of relationship, the paper suggests two other functions: hyper- and metafunctions, which can be applied to idioms and paremias in an examination of one text or a comparative analysis of more texts. Selected novels by Salman Rushdie and other contemporary British writers will serve as illustrations in the paper.

1. Background

The following remarks concerning the use of idioms and paremias in literature ensue from the tenets of the subbranches of phraseology and paremiology, viz. phraseostylistics and paremiostylistics. The former was first defined by Gläser (1986, 1998) and developed by, for instance, Malá (2003, 2007), Naciscione (2001) and Szpila (2008a, 2008b). Paremiostylistics is defined (Szpila, 2007) as a study of proverbs in a literary text.⁶ The aims of such study are to identify the presence of paremias in pieces of literature before scrutinizing the meanings they serve to convey and the functions they are assigned to perform within a literary context. The study of idioms and proverbs in literature aims not only to examine the relationships between the characteristics of idioms and paremias and their deployment, for example, their canonical forms as well as their perverted textual manifestations, but also to identify those features

⁶ In my analysis phraseostylistics and paremiostylistics describe the idiomatic and paremic style of literary texts; however, their tools may be applied to an analysis of all other types of text as well.

of these phraseological units which are particularly useful in literature as well as idiomatic and paremic usage typically manifested in literary contexts.

In the discussion of the physical anchoring of idioms and proverbs in a literary text, the preliminary task of a phraseological investigator is to identify phraseological units in the fabric of a given text. The identification belongs to what we can call, after Mieder (2004: 144), the phraseographical/ paremiographical side of the phraseological/ paremiological investigation of idioms and proverbs in literature and involves the ascertainment of the presence of phraseological units in the text under analysis, which implies their physical positioning (anchoring) as well the establishment of their base form and the actual formal textual representation. This is a *sine qua non* of any further analysis of phraseological units in literature. From such a springboard the examination of phraseological units may go in all manner of directions depending on the aims of the analysis.

In the foregoing analysis I would like to explore two functions that can be assigned to idioms and paremias in a literary text, with novels serving as exemplifications. Consequently I will have to ignore all manner of other functions these phraseological units may perform therein as well as other aspects which are exposed specifically in literature. The two functions in questions are: the macro- and microfunction of idioms and paremias. Additionally, I will also briefly mention a further two functions (hyperfunction and metafunction) which can be ascribed to the phraseological units under discussion as regards their physical embedment in a literary text and their connection to its semantics.

In the ensuing analysis the phraseological material excerpted from novels has to be limited in type and number. All the examples cited below are proverbs (including structures which have allusive predicate idiomatic equivalents, cf. Moon, 1998: 29, 113) and non-literal idioms with invariant structures or restricted variance. I follow the classification of multiword expressions by Fernando (1996). Moreover, in the examination of micro- and macrofunctions of idioms and proverbs I will ignore the phraseological innovations that idioms and paremias may undergo in a literary text,

bearing in mind the fact that the formal and semantic textual presence of an idiom/ proverb may be tied up with the functions they perform within a particular context (for instance, the functions of an idiom or a *paremia* may be linked to their lexical and grammatical form, which may be tied up with other elements of the same text, pointing to the relationships between the phraseological units and the larger semantic scope of the text).

2. Micro- and macrofunctions

The physical anchoring of idioms and proverbs is their position within a given text which may determine their referential scope, that is their reference to the semantics of the surrounding text. The position then, the anchoring is the starting point for an examination of their meaning with reference to other meanings in the text. At the same time it marks the most delimited scope of reference, which is their microreference. It is ascribed to idioms and proverbs whose meanings are bound to the immediate semantic context in which they appear. This function is primarily performed by idioms as *paremias* with their generic reference always refer to the universally accepted meanings as well as to the concrete referents in a particular text. Nevertheless, examples of the microfunctions of *paremias* can be found as well.

Some idioms can be described as inherently microfunctional as their semantics refers to single actions, temporary states, attitudes and situations. Among such idioms one can enumerate, for instance, the following: *let the cat out of the bag* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p. 272), *stop sb in their tracks* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, pp. 139, 187, 372, 528), *fall from grace* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, pp. 282, 406), *get sb's goat* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, pp. 66, 235, 324, 415), *cut sb short* (Rushdie, *Fury*, pp. 253), *take no prisoners* (Rushdie, *Fury*, p. 254), *set you jaw* (Rushdie, *Shalimar the Clown*, p. 14), *take to your heels* (Rushdie, *Shalimar the Clown*, p. 147), *bite your lip* (*Grimus*, p. 86), *a parting shot* (Rushdie, *Haroun and the Sea of Stories*, p. 52) and many, many others. The following examples (1, 2, 3 and 4) illustrate typical instances of the microfunction of idioms in the context of their use:

(1) Haroun was filled with shame, and hung his head. (Rushdie, *Haroun and the Sea of Stories*, p. 71).

(2) Pamela put her foot down, ‘Don’t you dare’, she said. (Rushdie, *The Satanic Verses*, p. 400).

(3) He, however, was tried *in absentia*, having fled the country, it was thought, although it was that he simply vanished, gone to ground. (Rushdie, *Shame*, p. 195).

(4) ‘Alfred, I congratulate you. You hit the nail squarely on the head.’ (Barnes, *Arthur & George*, p. 341).

As far as proverbs are concerned, the reference to the immediate context can only be relative. Paremias act as echoing sentences (Wilson, Sperber, 1986: 238 – 239), whose semantic reference is locally applicable due to their universal applicability. The particular texts (meanings) proverbs refer to are the exemplifications of their generic senses as their hyponyms (Goatly, 1997: 126). In the case of idioms, each referent is also a kind of hyponym, however, idioms lack the echoing character of utterances such as proverbs and they do not evoke other potential applications of their meaning as easily as paremias. The following paremias (examples 5 and 6) relate semantically to the immediate surrounding.

(5) ‘I hear you’ve left the Department’, he said. ‘Another bloody rat diving off the poor old ship and leaving the rest of us to keep her afloat’. (Banville, *The Untouchable*, p. 350).

(6) ‘We don’t need to cry over lost socks, do we?’ (McEwan, *Atonement*, p. 100).

As can be seen in the adduced examples, the binding of paremias to the context is bolstered by their modifications which demonstrate eloquently the connection of the proverb’s general meaning with its contextual hyponym.

Idioms with a macrofunction normally affect either the description of characters and their actions in general, or may be used in the building of the main theme(s), recurring motifs, repeated scenes, permanent sentiments, etc. (cf. *Handlungen/ Verhaltung/ Emotion phraseological units*, Christophe, 1997: 18). The following exemplify such expressions: *a*

jack of all trades (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p. 103), *a snake in the grass* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p. 113), *a top banana* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p. 185), *Achilles' heel* (Rushdie, *Fury*, p. 58), *a peeping tom* (Rushdie, *Shame*, p. 45), *a night owl* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p. 281), *no oil painting* (Rushdie, *Haroun and the Sea of Stories*, p. 97), *no shrinking violet* (Rushdie, *Shalmar the Clown*, p. 52) amongst others, which all can be classified as inherently macroidiomatic. Idioms also designate abstractions which are both referred to in the novels and exist as realities outside and independent of them, for instance: *an iron hand* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p. 134), *red tape* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p. 156), *the public eye* (Rushdie, *The Ground Beneath Her Feet*, p. 224).

With regards to paremias, we can say that that their macrofunctional character always surfaces, no matter how contextualized their actualizations might be. The meaning of a macroparemia is not to be bound to the immediate context but can cover meanings which are relevant to the semantics of a novel beyond their physical anchoring. A good example of such a macrofunctional proverb is the paremia *A house divided against itself cannot stand*. The proverb organizes in a metaproverbial way the first chapter of Salman Rushdie's *The Moor Last Sigh* – it serves as the title of the first chapter of the novel “A house divided”. The chapter talks about the conflicts between the representatives of the Menezes and Lobo families which in consequence lead to the “very big bitter stink” (Rushdie, *The Moor Last Sigh*, p. 36), that is arguments, fights, arson and murder, and finally the disintegration of the clans. The reference of the proverb is not limited to the first chapter, although its actualizations can be found only in this part of the book (pp. 1, 34, 49, 99). The proverb by extension pertains to the history of the Gama-Zogoiby family, chequered with internal antagonisms, frictions and misunderstandings which issue in many an infelicity. On yet another level, the proverb applies to India and the state of its being torn apart by domestic discords and violence. It is a sad diagnosis of the condition of the land, as sad as Rushdie's eulogy of a pluralist, tolerant and different-but-standing-as-the whole nation. As we can see the proverb has many layers of macrofunctionality, despite the fact that

Rushdie attempts as well to bind it to the context by describing the Colchin house of the Gama-Zogoiby family as literally chalk-divided (Rushdie, *The Moor Last Sigh*, p. 34).

Other proverbs which can be given a macrofunctional interpretation include, for example, *Every cloud has a silver lining* (Rushdie, *Midnight's Children*, p. 425), *Revenge is sweet* (Rushdie, *Shame*, p. 282), as well as *The end justifies the means* (Rushdie, *The Enchantress of Florence*, pp. 169, 170, 172, cf. 287).

The micro- and macrofunctions of idioms and proverbs should not be treated dichotomically, which means that although they mark two opposing roles performed by phraseological units in a text, they also indicate two points on the functional scale between which idioms and proverbs can be located depending on their variable textual reference. The interpretation of the idiomatic and paremic scope of reference will differ from idiom/ proverb to idiom/ proverb but also as far as one phraseological unit is concerned. The description of idioms and proverbs from this functional point of view has to take into consideration as well individual readings of anchored idioms and proverbs and that refers not only to the reader but to the respective characters as well.

3. Hyper- and metafunctions

The study of idioms' and proverbs' function in terms of their relation to the content of a text may require the introduction of other terms as well: such as hyperfunction: to refer to the dominant phraseological macrofunction in a fictional text or even, if such a need arises, metafunction to refer to the recurring function that one and the same idiom/ proverb has in the works of one author, or even many different writers, under analysis. The proverb *Patience is a virtue*, which appears thrice within the first chapter of *The Moor's Last Sigh* (pp. 8, 46, 63) and which characterizes Epifania da Gama's enduring, though complaining forbearance while awaiting her revenge, is a macroparemia. The proverb *A house divided against itself cannot stand* is a dominant paremic function in the same novel. At the same time, although never again used by Rushdie, its message can underline many a book by the writer. So it performs a

hyperfunction with reference to *The Moor's Last Sigh* as well as a metafunction with reference to all his oeuvre.

Idiomwise, Salman Rushdie's *Haroun and the Sea of Stories* offers an interesting example. One of the main themes of the book is "freedom of expression", a "desire to impose silence upon free expression, imaginative or otherwise" (Cundy, 1996: 86, 89). This motif is metaphorically and idiomatically expressed by dint of the idiom *zip/ button your lip*. The idiom is both applied to the context of Khattam-Shud's Union of Zipped Lips, which refers to the Land of Chup's Silence Law on the strength of which people's lips are sewn together to arrest their words, as well as reinforces another situation wherein the characters remain tight-lipped. The frequent use of the idiom and many references to its meaning makes the idiom microfunctional and at the same time hyper- and metafunctional with respect to this particular novel and the theme itself addressed in other writing by the same author.

4. Conclusion

As has been shown above, two different organizing functions can be assigned to idioms and pemiias with respect to the scope of their semantic reference within a text. An analysis of macro- and microfunction reveals only a single aspect of idioms and proverb use in literature. The side of the phraseostylistic and pemiostylistic coin should involve looking at phraseological units from a functional angle as well, but as it is only one of many ways of looking at their functions in a literary text, our view should be broadened by every other tool that the stylistic analysis offers. An examination of idioms and proverbs as regards their macro- and microfunction shows how particular phraseological elements of a text relate to its semantic content, how intimate the link is between the meaning the text conveys and the text components which interact with the semantics of a text in determining the overall lexico-semantic shape of a text. From the phraseological point of view, the approach presented in this study allows more generalised views about the use of idioms and proverbs in literature, for instance, which idioms and pemiias are more likely to be bound referentially to idiomatic and pemic loci and why this is so. In any

case, the form, semantics and pragmatics of idioms and proverbs must be assessed separately.

This type of analysis cannot be separated from other aspects, as mentioned previously, as it does not only complement them, but it also depends on them to ensure that proper descriptions ensue. This analysis does not address all the issues the problem of macro and microfunctions of idioms and proverbs may raise. It only essays to suggest tentatively the two terms and demonstrate how they can be applied in the study of idioms and proverbs in literary texts.

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(after Grzegorz Szpila)

Questions for discussion

1. The paper addresses the issue of the relationship between idioms and proverbs and their semantic referents in literary works. Could you take it as an urgent issue of the day in Phraseology?

2. In what way does the author manage to realize his attempts to postulate the description of this relationship in terms of micro- and macrofunctions that can be ascribed to idioms and proverbs with reference to their referential scope within one text?

3. With the view of covering other possible types of relationship, the paper suggests two other functions: hyper- and metafunctions, which can be applied to idioms and paremias in an examination of one text or a comparative analysis of more texts. Would you regard them as innovations in the study of phraseological units?

4. How could one account of the fact that selected novels by Salman Rushdie and other contemporary British writers will serve as illustrations in the paper? Do you approve of it?

Theme 14

SILVER LININGS WITHOUT CLOUDS: THE INNOCUOUSNESS OF WIDESPREAD IDIOMS

Introduction

For thousands of years, all over the world, widespread bilingualism and the existence of dominant or prestigious languages have led to lexical borrowing, the calquing of words and phrases, and even the replication of syntactic patterns. These processes often occur in the languages of neighbouring speech communities, but if there is a lot of written translation from a dominant language, they can also take place across large geographical distances. Speakers must perceive advantages to borrowing and replication, or they wouldn't occur, and it has long been argued that translation transfers ideas from one culture to another and can enrich the target language and its literary forms. But there is also resistance: excessive borrowings and loan translations can begin to turn a language into a mere reflection of a dominant one, and today the 'guilty' language in this process is typically English. English is also the source language of many recently diffused "widespread idioms." But with such figurative idioms – which have been so impressively identified and inventoried by Elizabeth Piirainen (2012, 2016) – there is often less awareness of the source, and zero resistance to their diffusion.

1. Lexical borrowing

Lexical borrowing across languages is common. For example, no less than 70 % of the vocabulary of present day English is borrowed, including 14 Scandinavian and 13 French words out of Swadesh's list of 206 supposedly 'unborrowable' core words (Matras, 2009: 166). This is not especially unusual – over half of Japanese and Korean words are from Chinese, a lot of Urdu words come from Persian and Arabic, and there are also a large number of loanwords in Persian, Turkish, etc. The World Loanword Database (<http://wold.clld.org/>) records a "substantial and higher than expected" average lexical borrowing rate of 24.2 % in a list of 1460 basic lexical meanings in 41 languages (Haspelmath and Tadmor,

2009: 55 – 6). Clearly cultural borrowings, the first lexicalizations of new entities or concepts that fill a gap in the recipient language (e.g. *curry*, *pizza*, *hamburger*, *sushi*, *taco*, *tsunami*, *Pokémon*, *sauna*, *internet*, *webmaster*) can rapidly spread across languages, without much sociocultural contact. Once adopted in the recipient language, such loans can be used by monolinguals who are unaware of the words' origins, although they may meet resistance from speakers aware of their foreign provenance, and in some countries (most famously France) from official bodies mandated to create neologisms to replace borrowed words (though without any way of obliging the public to adopt them).

Many languages also have a lot of 'prestige' borrowings that do *not* add new concepts, but merely parallel existing words in the recipient language. Yet the borrowed words, from a culturally dominant language, come with particular conversational or stylistic effects. Today's culturally dominant language is clearly English, widely used in the media and most entertainment industries, and the influence of English on European lexis scarcely needs to be demonstrated (see e.g. Görlach (ed.), 2001, 2002). For example, Scandinavians seem to have a liking for English adjectives: *awkward*, *boring*, *catchy*, *cool*, *dull*, *fit*, *floppy*, *fresh*, *glossy*, *game*, *hot*, *in*, *keen*, *nice*, *random*, *rough*, *sexy*, *tight*, *tough* and *trendy* have all been borrowed in Danish, Norwegian and/or Swedish in the recent past, sometimes with altered spelling, and necessarily inflected forms. Such loans never take over the full semantic range of the English words, but only particular meanings that seem useful to speakers of the recipient language, even though these could almost certainly have been found in a local word. Sometimes the borrowed word is given completely new meanings: for example *teit* (*tight*) has been used in Norwegian to mean idiotic or boring, and is currently used both in the jazz musicians' sense of playing well together, and also much the way *fit* is used in Britain or *hot* in America, as a sexist term of approval for the looks of a young woman (Graedler, 2002; MacKenzie, 2012).

Such is the current prestige of English that speakers in many languages have also invented and adopted false or pseudo-Anglicisms: coinages that resemble English words, but which might not be recognized

or understood by monolingual English native speakers, and which, if translated from a source text into English by a native speaker, would be substituted by a genuine English word. False Anglicisms are found in several European languages include *autostop* (hitchhiking), *basket* (basketball), *beamer* (projector), *clip* (music video), *cocktail* (cocktail party), *discount* (discount store), *happy end* (happy ending), *recordman* (record holder), *smoking* (dinner jacket or tuxedo), and *mobbing* (bullying).

With the number of Europeans who are bilingual with English steadily increasing, we can expect the Anglicization of discourse in Europe to continue. As Grosjean (2010: 75) argues, rather than being “the sum of two (or more) complete or incomplete monolinguals,” bilingual speakers have “a unique and specific linguistic configuration,” in which their languages are never totally deactivated. Consequently there is constant interaction between or among them, and “bilinguals make interferences (ephemeral deviations due to the influence of the other deactivated language) even in the most monolingual of situations” (Grosjean, 2008: 46). Thus when bilingual Europeans converse, we are likely to find what can be negatively described as bilingual speech production errors, slips of the tongue, inappropriate language choices, ephemeral speaker-specific deviations, unconscious transfers, interference, etc. Alternatively, such manifestations can be neutrally described as instances of crosslinguistic interaction, or what Cook (2016: 2) calls “multicompetence,” which is “the overall system of a mind or a community that uses more than one language.” We can expect occasional “nonce borrowings” (Weinreich, 1953: 11), i.e. dynamic, possibly unconscious, on-the-spot borrowings of words, alongside conscious code-switches and borrowings, as well as collocations transferred from one language to another. Firth (1957: 11), describing collocations, said that we may “know a word by the company it keeps,” but for bilingual speakers, words sometimes also keep the same company as calques or loan translations in another language too.

Given the number of bilingual speakers with English today, many European languages are also incorporating lexical calques or semantic extensions, in which English meanings are transferred to existing words. For example, some French speakers now use *contrôler*, *ignorer* and

opportunit  with the sense of their English cognates (as well as with their older French meanings – to check or inspect, not to know about something, and appropriateness), while some Italian speakers use *assumere*, *approcciare* and *realizzare* to mean to suppose, to address a problem, and to realize, rather than their older meanings to accept responsibilities, to come near to something, and to achieve. One might think that most languages could cope with a few more polysemous words, especially when such semantic extensions do not even involve the importation of foreign words or sounds, but this kind of thing, like borrowed lexis, can lead to great anguish and calls to the barricades. For example, Myard *et al.* (2000: 8) believe that the occasional Anglified verbal choices of some of their francophone compatriots constitute a mortal threat to their (Myard *et al.*'s) human rights, while Rollason (2005: 53) proclaims – farcically – that American English is undermining “the creative and generative capacities of French,” which is destined to “lose its autonomy and become a subsystem” of American English.

Although such reactions to lexical and semantic borrowings are extreme, it is true that borrowing can have wider consequences. Loanwords necessarily interact with the phonology, syntax, morphology and semantics of the recipient language, and may require phonetic, graphological and morphological adaptation. If loanwords are not wholly adapted to the phonology of the receiving language, foreign pronunciations might be retained, and these can potentially spread to other words in the language. Loanwords can also provoke morphological changes. In Russian, for example, many borrowed nouns, mostly from English, are used unchanged, in non-inflected forms, while others are combined in new noun + noun phrases (replacing existing adjective + noun collocations) in which the first noun is not declined for case or gender. As Proshina *et al.* (2016: 50) suggest, exaggerating slightly, this “can gradually lead to typological changes in the language.”

This is one reason why coining calques or translation equivalents can be preferable to using loanwords (Bordet, 2016). Borrowed words are unavoidably transplanted into a new language without all the meanings, connotations and resonances they have acquired in the source culture, and

they also lose their multifarious links with a network of related concepts in a lexical field. Using target language words to translate a term potentially releases connotative meanings and linkages with a native semantic field, even though these will differ from the source language ones.

2. Grammatical replication

Speakers in general are almost certainly much more aware of their and other people's pronunciation – probably the most salient aspect of language use, and often emblematic of individual and group identity – and their lexicon, than they are of syntax. Consequently, speakers who are resistant to using words that are easily identifiable as originating in another language might be much less aware of syntactic changes, such as the replication of grammatical structures from another language, resulting from widespread bilingualism. As already mentioned, for bilingual speakers, 'language contact' is a constant mental reality, or as Matras (2009: 5) puts it, a factor that is "internal to the processing and use of language itself in the multilingual speaker's repertoire of linguistic structures." Extensive bi- or multilingualism, and especially day-to-day oral interaction among contiguous speech communities, can lead to what Weinreich (1953: 7) called "interlingual identifications," where speakers of one language adapt its morphosyntax to the constructions of another one, by replicating or calquing its patterns, but without *borrowing* any specific grammatical forms.

Heine and Kuteva (2005: 92) argue that in cases of intensive, long-term contact, bilingual speakers often "notice" that there is a particular grammatical category in an L2 and "to this end" develop an equivalent category in their first language, if this appears to be useful or beneficial, by manipulating existing grammatical forms. This form of grammatical replication "reduces the cognitive load that the simultaneous handling of two or more languages entails" (p. 264), and the cumulative uses of individual speakers under the influence of the L2 can lead to change in the L1. Heine and Kuteva's wording – bilingual speakers *notice* a grammatical category, and *to this end* replicate it in their L1 – suggests that this is a *conscious* process of language change. This is very much a minority

position, and Ross (2007: 135) rewrites Heine and Kuteva's account of grammatical replication in a way that removes conscious intention.

If more than two languages are involved, the replication of structures in this way gradually leads to a convergence of lexical, semantic and structural systems and a certain degree of levelling and uniformity across the linguistic region, and gives rise to a *Sprachbund* or linguistic area. Sprachbunds (or *Sprachbünde*) are found on all five continents (Thomason, 2001, Ch. 5). In Europe, linguists long ago described the Balkan Sprachbund, evoking a number of morphosyntactic and phonological similarities among Greek, Macedonian, Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian, and some Serbian dialects, resulting from long-term contact from the Byzantine period onwards (which does not mean that speakers of a given Balkan language today are necessarily bilingual in any other language of the Sprachbund). More recently, it has been suggested that there is a much larger European Sprachbund, with languages and dialects having become increasingly alike as a result of cultural, social, economic and political exchanges across borders, as well as migrations of speakers of Germanic, Romance and Slavic languages in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages (Heine and Kuteva, 2006).

Borrowing a well-known term from Whorf (1956: 138), Haspelmath (1998: 271) describes a "Standard Average European" (SAE) linguistic area in which "languages such as French, German, Italian, English, as well as (to a lesser extent) Swedish, Polish and Modern Greek share a substantial number of structural features in their grammars." Van der Auwera (1998) proposes a similar grouping of languages sharing "SAE-features" (which are mostly different from those identified by Haspelmath). Thus language contact and the areal spread of linguistic features are said to override genealogical accounts of family trees, and posited typological universals.

Of course the languages in this Standard Average European Sprachbund only share a few structural properties out of the thousands of different ones represented in their grammars (such as definite and indefinite articles, use of *have* and *be* as auxiliaries, particle comparatives, subject-verb inversion in yes/no questions, passives with the agent, etc.).

But the processes of replication and diffusion involved show how, in the present day and in the future, calques of grammatical structures of English, today's prestige language, could potentially spread across Europe and beyond. This is no longer a matter of contiguous speech communities: both the crosslinguistic interaction resulting from widespread bilingualism with English, and extensive *translation* from English, have influenced the lexicon, and to a lesser extent the discourse structures and syntax, of many other languages

3. Translation

If translations of foreign material require the invention (or borrowing) of new words, the target language is clearly changed. For a long time, this state of affairs was regarded positively. The conviction that translations (or imitations) of important works, notably the Greek and Roman classics, could greatly enrich the signifying and expressive potential of a national language and its literary traditions, and indirectly serve to bolster the nation, was current in Europe for many centuries, notably in Tudor England, Classical France, and Romantic Germany. It was principally theorized in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

For example, Rivarol (1785) argued that French was merely part of an alloy that would only achieve perfection by 'trading' with its neighbouring languages and digging into the classical tongues. Schleiermacher (1813/2004: 62) argued that the German language could "flourish and develop its own strength only through extensive contact with the foreign," and that "much in our language that is beautiful and strong was developed, or restored from oblivion, only through translation." Schleiermacher recommended that the translator "leaves the author in peace as much as possible, and moves the reader toward him" (p. 49). In Venuti's (2008) reworking of Schleiermacher, this is called a "foreignizing" translation, which 'bends' the target language to create a deliberate foreignness or strangeness, reproducing, where feasible, lexical and syntactic features from the source text. De Stael argued in "The Spirit of Translation" (1816/2006: 279) that "the greatest service we can render literature is to transport the masterpieces of the human intellect from one

language to another,” and that “naturalized beauties” deriving from translations “imbue a national literary style with new turns of phrase and original expressions” (p. 280). Goethe implied that the best translations do much the same thing in a short passage in the “Notes and Queries for a Better Understanding” appended to his *West-Eastern Divan* [*West-östlicher Divan*] (1819/2004).

Goethe describes three “kinds” or “epochs” of translating, which with canonical works often succeed each other. The first kind is a simple transfer of hitherto foreign content, generally in plain, artless prose, to be used “for a quick reading, which would open up the essential meaning of the work” (2004: 65). This is often followed by a second translation which today, following Venuti (2008: 15), would most likely be described as “domesticating,” in which foreign ideas are reproduced in a language’s native style, and the translator “leaves the reader in peace as much as possible and moves the writer toward him” (Schleiermacher, 2004: 49). Like Schleiermacher, de Stael, and many others before him, Goethe associates this procedure primarily with the frivolous French (possibly excluding Rivarol):

The French make use of this style in the translation of all poetic works [...] In the same way that the French adapt foreign words to their pronunciation, they adapt feelings, thoughts, even objects; for every foreign fruit there must be a substitute grown in their own soil (p. 64).

In Goethe’s third epoch – “the finest and the highest of the three” – the translator’s goal “is to achieve perfect identity with the original, so that the one does not exist instead of the other but in the other’s place” (p. 65). In producing a work that would “correspond to the different dialects, rhythms, meter, and prosaic idioms in the original,” the translator “more or less gives up the uniqueness of his own nation, creating this third kind of text, for which the taste of the masses has to be developed.” The third kind of text is to be understood as having enhanced the target language. A translation of this type “ultimately comes close to an interlinear version and greatly facilitates our understanding of the original” (p. 66).

Of course, all of this wholly disregards possible complaints by the source language community about ‘cultural appropriation.’ As Steiner

(1998: 244) suggests, “there is in every act of translation – and especially where it succeeds – a touch of treason. Hoarded dreams, patents of life are being taken across the frontier.” But well into the 20th century, the converse notion that “minority” languages and literatures had a great deal to gain from translations of the world’s classics enjoyed widespread support. For example, there was a huge amount of translation into the renascent Hebrew in the decades following the establishment of Israel. The Israeli translation scholar Even-Zohar (1990) describes literature and translation in terms of “polysystems” in a broader culture and society, and argues that countries with a “young,” “dependent,” “peripheral” or “weak” literature tend to be receptive to translations of texts from older and more hegemonic literatures, which can add new linguistic and poetical elements to the target-language repertoire. On the contrary, countries with established, vigorous literary traditions translate far fewer foreign texts, and what translations there are tend to occupy a marginal or peripheral position. Furthermore, their translators tend to follow local literary and linguistic models rather than importing foreign norms.

But there is a counter-argument, which is that adding new (borrowed or replicated) linguistic elements to minority languages does not help them retain their specificities and their difference from more dominant languages. The survival of minority languages and cultures might in fact be aided by domesticating or naturalizing translations rather than foreignizing ones. After a certain point, if too many foreign structures are calqued and assimilated into the target language, it begins to contract rather than diversify. As Cronin puts it, minority languages that are under pressure from powerful languages can succumb at lexical and syntactic levels so that over time they become mirror-images of the dominant language. Through imitation, they lack the specificity that invites imitation. As a result of continuous translation, they can no longer be translated. There is nothing left to translate. (1998: 147 – 148).

This is the consequence of what Cronin calls *translation as reflection* – “the unconscious imbibing of a dominant language that produces the numerous calques that inform languages from Japanese to German to Irish” (p. 148), to which he opposes *translation as reflexion* – “second-degree or

meta-reflection [...] the critical consideration of what a language absorbs and what allows it to expand and what causes it to retract, to lose the synchronic and diachronic range of its expressive resources” (p. 148). Cronin states that this process of absorbing and normalizing loanwords or calques occurs in media translation, because of the speed with which translations are needed for breaking news stories, as well as in scholarly writing, which in minority languages gradually turns into a replica of the dominant discourse (which today is English academic discourse).

An example of the effect that the translation of English-language dispatches from news agencies has had on many languages, in a short period of time, is the modified use and semantic extension of the passive construction in Hindi, Korean, Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Swahili, etc. In all these languages, replication of the English passive in journalistic translation seems to have found its way into wider use (Kachru, 1994). The same applies to French (McLaughlin, 2011).

So, Cronin clearly has a point, but he exaggerates it. There may be, as he states, a lot of calques in Japanese and German but (unlike Irish) these are scarcely minority languages, and (unsurprisingly) he does not give an example of a language that has become an imitation of another (such as English) to the extent that it “can no longer be translated” because “there is nothing left to translate.” As well as calques, speakers of minority languages such as Irish and Welsh generally use a lot of loanwords from the dominant language (in this case English), and the way to help minoritized languages spoken by bi- or multilingual communities is probably not to attempt to preserve or revitalize a ‘pure’ version, but an ‘impure’ one that the minority community finds valuable (Crystal, 2000, Ch. 4; Otheguy *et al.*, 2015).

4. Widespread idioms

As we have seen, borrowings and calques and structural replications from a prestige language can provoke resistance. But there is one kind of loan translation that you never hear anyone complaining about, and that is the widespread conventional figurative idioms catalogued by Piirainen. One reason is that it is not obvious to monolingual speakers that these have

been translated from other languages – if indeed they have. As Piirainen (2012: 255) points out, idioms “based on fundamental human experiences or observation of nature and environment” could easily “have come into being independently, through polygenesis.” There are a large number of modern widespread idioms without a single known origin, which probably arose independently of each other in nearly identical forms in different languages in disparate parts of the world, *as well as* being diffused as loan translations by bilingual speakers. They are readily translatable into everyday lexis and evoke shared cultural practices or referents – or a common world view. Hence they do not have a ‘foreign’ ring to them, and are unlikely to be perceived as translations (or impositions) from a foreign language or culture. As Piirainen has shown, examples include the following verbal idioms: *to be in the spotlight, be on the same wavelength, come into the firing line, find a common denominator, have a sixth sense, get on someone’s nerves, give someone the green light, keep one’s head above water, kill time, let off steam, play second fiddle, play the devil’s advocate, read between the lines, recharge one’s batteries, reinvent the wheel, rest on one’s laurels, roll up one’s sleeves, run like clockwork, score an own goal, see the light at the end of the tunnel, see through rose-colored glasses, set alarm bells ringing, set the tone, square the circle, and tighten one’s belt.*

Other widespread idioms *can* be traced to specific texts (and therefore specific source languages) – various Greek and Roman authors in antiquity, the Bible, and various post-classical literary works – but considerable knowledge (à la Piirainen!) is necessary to recognize all these sources, along with all the other fables, folk narratives, legends, and so on in which idioms originated.

More educated people will be aware that some expressions come from classical mythology (*Achilles’ heel, Pandora’s box, a phoenix rising from the ashes, the sword of Damocles, a Trojan horse*), and from the Bible (*forbidden fruit, the promised land, the black sheep in the family, the land of milk and honey, like a lamb to the slaughter, daily bread, to bear one’s cross, to cast the first stone*). But there are also several very modern-sounding widespread idioms that are not so obviously biblical, and whose origin may not be known to many users (unless I am merely exhibiting my

own ignorance here): *a double-edged sword, a sign of the times, a thorn in one's side, nothing new under the sun, to grit one's teeth, to be groping in the dark, to make a name for oneself, to pave the way for something*. Similarly, few people will know that *a hard nut to crack, to have one foot in the grave, the lesser of two evils, a necessary evil, poetic license* and *at a snail's pace* are proverbial phrases that were current in antiquity. The same applies to proverbs and idioms that are medieval in origin: *armed to the teeth, bang one's head against a wall, break the ice, the calm before the storm, draw the short straw, green with envy, hit the nail on the head, put the cart before the horse, take the bull by the horns*. There are also more modern idioms whose precise literary origin will be wholly unknown to most people: *the beginning of the end* (Shakespeare – or perhaps Talleyrand), *the law of the jungle* (Kipling), *an open secret* (Calderón), *over my dead body* (Körner), *a skeleton in the cupboard* (Thackeray), *to live in an ivory tower* (Sainte-Beuve), *a banana republic* (O. Henry).

There are other figurative units that are known (by phraseologists) to be of Anglo-American origin that have penetrated many languages in recent decades due to the increasing influence of English. These include calques of *cold war, glass ceiling* and *the glass is half full/empty*, as well as the sporting metaphors *to bet on the wrong horse, a blow below the belt, and to throw in the towel*. Yet once disseminated across many languages in Europe and elsewhere by bilingual speakers, translators and journalists, the cultural origin of such idioms becomes obscured, and indeed irrelevant. Each one becomes part of a shared culture, just as the English language is the repository of numerous idioms originating in other languages. In short, widespread idioms are expressive, useful, non-language-specific, and part of a shared culture, to which each new one adds incrementally (all of which I find reassuring in these dismal days of “Brexit!” and “America First!”). To misuse the Miltonian proverb (from *Comus*), we could say that widespread idioms are all silver lining and no cloud.

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(by Ian MacKenzie)

Questions for discussion

1. For thousands of years, all over the world, widespread bilingualism and the existence of dominant or prestigious languages have led to lexical borrowing, the calquing of words and phrases, and even the replication of syntactic patterns. Would you comment on the pragmatic effect of the phenomena?

2. Will you illustrate the statement: ‘these processes often occur in the languages of neighbouring speech communities, but if there is a lot of written translation from a dominant language, they can also take place across large geographical distances’?

3. It has long been argued that translation transfers ideas from one culture to another and can enrich the target language and its literary forms. What is your opinion on the point?

4. Could you comment on: “Many languages also have a lot of ‘prestige’ borrowings that do *not* add new concepts, but merely parallel existing words in the recipient language. Yet the borrowed words, from a culturally dominant language, come with particular conversational or stylistic effects”?

5. How can you explain the fact that false Anglicisms are found in several European languages include *autostop* (hitchhiking), *basket* (basketball), *beamer* (projector), *clip* (music video), *cocktail* (cocktail party), *discount* (discount store), *happy end* (happy ending), *recordman* (record holder), *smoking* (dinner jacket or tuxedo), and *mobbing* (bullying)?

6. What is the one reason why coining calques or translation equivalents can be preferable to using loanwords?

7. What is your point of view on the following: ‘borrowed words are unavoidably transplanted into a new language without all the meanings, connotations and resonances they have acquired in the source culture, and they also lose their multifarious links with a network of related concepts in a lexical field’?

8. Will you illustrate the message of the following statement: ‘using target language words to translate a term potentially releases connotative meanings and linkages with a native semantic field, even though these will differ from the source language ones’?

9. Do you have any objections to the following: ‘speakers in general are almost certainly much more aware of their and other people’s pronunciation – probably the most salient aspect of language use, and often emblematic of individual and group identity – and their lexicon, than they are of syntax’?

10. Would you give your pros and contras on the phrase: ‘if translations of foreign material require the invention (or borrowing) of new words, the target language is clearly changed’?

Theme 15

“IT’S A SMALL WORLD”: FROM WIDESPREAD IDIOMS TO WIDESPREAD PROVERBS

Introduction

More than a decade ago, Elisabeth Piirainen excited the scholarly world of phraseology and paremiology with her two revolutionary articles on “Europeanism, Internationalism or Something Else? Proposal for a Cross-Linguistic and Cross-Cultural Research Project on Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond” (2005) and “Widespread Idioms: Cross-linguistic and Cross-cultural Approaches” (2006). Little did her many colleagues, friends, and admirers know that this marked the beginning of a truly amazing international project that would occupy her as well as over 200 collaborators for the next dozen years as they assembled masses of references for 470 idioms appearing in 74 European and 17 non-European languages. It was a fascinating experience to receive various publications during the following years that presented impressive linguistic, cultural, and geographical (including maps) information regarding a few individual idioms (Piirainen 2009 and 2010a). But these studies were only titillating precursors of what was to come, namely Piirainen’s massive and magisterial two volumes of *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond* (2012 and 2016). Since it was my honor to publish both books as volumes 5 and 10 in the “International Folkloristics” series in New York for which I am the general editor, I can honestly and with sincere admiration state that I read every word of these 1367 densely printed pages. They represent an incredible scholarly achievement that will inform all future studies of the dissemination of idioms in Europa and on other continents.

From a linguistic or more specifically phraseological point of view it made perfect sense for Elisabeth Piirainen to choose the term “idiom” to refer to such phraseological units as “To be in the same boat”, “To cast pearls before swine”, and “To be on the same wavelength”. As a paremiologist, I might have preferred to call them proverbial expressions or proverbial phrases, and I would also call idioms like “As rich as Croesus”, “To be as gentle as a lamb”, and “As white as snow” proverbial

comparisons. And Piirainen is, of course, also aware of the fact that she included several proverbs in her overarching “idiom” designation. In her informative first chapter, she provides a welcome small section on “Paremiology” (2012: 20 – 22) in which she makes the following point:

None [better: many] of these anthologies [proverb collections] and other works on formulaic expressions differentiates between *proverbs* and *proverbial phrases* or *sayings* (we would call them *idioms* in more modern linguistic terminology) and they even use quite different terms. Along the same lines, a strict separation between proverbs and other proverbial expressions is not needed for paremiology in general. Proverb studies are not primarily part of linguistics but of a wide-ranging ethnological-folkloristic and cultural framework. That is why contemporary multilingual proverb dictionaries usually [better: at times] contain proverbs and proverbial phrases side by side (2012: 21).

2. Background

As can be seen from my parenthetical remarks, this statement is a bit too universal and ignores several excellent polyglot proverb dictionaries that do contain only proverbs, the best newer volumes being Emanuel Strauss’s three-volume *Dictionary of European Proverbs* (1994) from 60 languages and Gyula Paczolay’s *European Proverbs in 55 Languages with Equivalents in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese and Japanese* (1997). Piirainen rightfully refers to both, but there are many more multilingual comparative proverb collections that present the same proverb in up to fifteen different languages. There is Ida von Düringsfeld and Otto von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld’s classic two-volume collection *Sprichwörter der germanischen und romanischen Sprachen vergleichend zusammengestellt* (1872 – 1875) and now also Samuel Singer and Ricarda Liver’s thirteen-volume *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi. Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters* (1996 – 2002) that is of extreme historical importance and that includes proverbial expressions and comparisons (see also Seiler 1921 – 1924). Let me at least also mention Matti Kuusi’s *Proverbia septentrionalia. 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels* (1985) and

H.L. Cox's *Spreekwoordenboek: Nederlands, Fries, Afrikaans, Engels, Duits, Frans, Spaans, Latijn* (2000). But there are numerous other such collections that cover the Asian, Baltic, Slavic and other language groups (see attached bibliography) that show above all the interconnectedness of a considerable number of European proverbs. Much more comparative work needs to be done for other language groups, notably those of the African continent (Mieder, 1990). Of course, comparing identical proverbs that appear in other languages by way of loan translations is only one thing, and another clearly would be the contrastive analysis of proverbs from different languages that express the same idea but are worded and structured differently (Petrova, 2015). The latter is not the concern of this article, but here are at least three English-based collections based on keywords or themes that can serve contrastive studies worldwide: Henry Davidoff, *A World Treasury of Proverbs from Twenty-Five Languages* (1946), Wolfgang Mieder, *Encyclopedia of World Proverbs. A Treasury of Wit and Wisdom Through the Ages* (1986), and Harold V. Cordry, *The Multicultural Dictionary of Proverbs. Over 20,000 Adages from More Than 120 Languages, Nationalities and Ethnic Groups* (1997).

But to return to Elisabeth Piirainen's overarching "idiom" terminology as it relates to "proverbial" matters, she makes an important comment that paremiologists most certainly appreciate and that shows how very aware she is of the interrelationship of genre designations:

3. Main part

The idioms analysed in this book [now in both volumes] have connections with proverbs with respect to two areas: (i) several widespread idioms are derived from proverbs, and (ii), in some cases we cannot clearly determine whether the given figurative unit is an idiom using a sentence structure or rather (at the same time) a proverb (40).

This is absolutely correct, and that is why I entitled an historical study '(Don't) Throw the Baby Out with the Bath Water'. The Americanization of a German Proverb and Proverbial Expression" (Mieder, 1993: 193 – 224), while Piirainen expectedly uses the lemma "To throw the baby out with the bath (water)" (2012: 433 – 434) in her short

discussion, indicating that she is dealing with the proverbial expression or in her terms the idiom. As far as I could determine, the earliest German reference is by the satirical German writer Thomas Murner from 1512 as a proverbial expression, with its formulation as a proverb first appearing in 1526 in the works of Martin Luther. It appears first as a proverb in English translation in an essay from 1849 by Thomas Carlyle and the earliest reference thus far as a proverbial expression stems from an essay of 1909 by George Bernard Shaw. This kind of information indicates that synchronic analysis of widespread idioms is only one side of the coin in their historical and geographical dissemination as loan translations, with the diachronic side requiring great amounts of work that is enhanced by modern searches of databases and the Internet.

As Elisabeth Piirainen makes clear, she is well aware of all of this and rightfully decided to include such proverb/proverbial expression pairs in her list of 470 idioms. She does not necessarily always identify them as such, but here are two lists of those idioms that also exist as proverbs and that are usually included in collections that are restricted to proverbs. This can be seen from the fact that some of them are among the 106 widespread proverbs included in Gyula Paczolay's collection:

From the first volume:

There is nothing new under the sun (B 15, 194 – 195; Paczolay 104, 461 – 462)

Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's (B 38, 242 – 246)

An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth (C 1, 257 – 258; Paczolay 73, 356 – 358))

You can see a mote in another's eye but cannot see a beam in your own (C 11, 282–284; Paczolay 20, 131 – 136)

It's an ill bird that fowls its own nest (E 1, 397 – 398; Paczolay 106, 466 – 468)

Don't throw the baby out with the bathwater (E 19, 433 – 434)

A drowning man will clutch at a straw (E 23, 439 – 440; Paczolay 81, 384 – 387)

Don't kill the goose that lays the golden egg. (F 7, 459 – 460)

It is good fishing in troubled waters (F 8, 460 – 463; Paczolay 83, 391 – 394)

Don't sell the bear's skin before you have caught the bear (F 17, 480 – 481; Paczolay 38, 217 – 223)

Fried doves (Roasted pigeons) don't fly into one's mouth. (F 21, 484 – 485; Paczolay 102, 455 – 458).

From the second volume:

Speak of the devil (the wolf), and he will appear (K 1, 183 – 190)

The devil is (lies) in the detail (K4, 194 – 195)

Don't put all your eggs into one basket (K 13, 310 – 312)

The last drop makes the cup run over (N 5, 347 – 349)

The rats leave the sinking ship (N 24b, 387 – 391)

It's a small world. (O 16, 433 – 434)

The exception proves the rule (T 6, 588 – 590)

The glass is either half empty or half full (U 8a-b, 647 – 649).

This is not the place to comment on each of these texts, but it is clear that the second volume includes more modern idioms, which makes it of utmost value as phraseologists and paremiologists rightfully and necessarily turn their attention to the European or global spread of idioms in the modern age, as can be seen from Piirainen's essay "The Convergence of European Idioms and the So-called Globalization" (2010b).

In this regard let me make at least a short comment on the modern idiom or proverb "The devil is (lies) in the detail(s)" that goes beyond what Piirainen could ascertain previously. It has now been established that it had its start as the proverb "God is in the detail(s)". On November 11, 1925, the German art historian announced the title or topic of a seminar at Hamburg University as "Der liebe Gott steckt im Detail", and by the mid-fifties it became current in English as "God is in the detail(s)". The earliest reference of its English variant "The devil is in the details" is from 1963 (Doyle, Mieder and Shapiro 2012: 53 – 54, 103 – 104). But it is still not known whether the "devil" variant originated in Germany and then

conquered its European market, or whether it might be a loan translation from America that first entered the German or another European language. As Piirainen's multilingual references show, the proverb is well established across Europe, but the exact historical-geographical dissemination would be a major diachronic undertaking! All of this is a clear indication that modern phraseology and paremiology have their definite challenges once questions regarding origin and cross-linguistic dissemination are asked in earnest.

Regarding older widespread proverbs much detailed knowledge has been available for many years, while Elisabeth Piirainen's work for many idioms is a true pioneering accomplishment. Not wanting to take anything away from the earlier polyglot comparative proverb collections, it must be stated that they all deal with the older proverb traditions. That is, Paczolay's invaluable collection of *European Proverbs in 55 Languages* basically deals with proverbs from classical antiquity, the Bible, and medieval Latin that were loan translated into numerous European languages and well beyond. But there is not a single proverb dealt with that is of a much newer origin! As has been well established, the majority of the widespread European proverbs stem from these three major linguistic-cultural periods, with Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Adagia* (1500ff.) having played a considerable role in their later dissemination. Such basic wisdom as "Big fish eat little fish", "Where there is smoke, there is fire", and "One hand washes the other" all go back to Greek and Roman times and have been loan translated throughout Europe and elsewhere, with the possibility that such basic generalizations as "Time flies" and "Love is blind" could have their independent origin on other continents. Polygenesis is a definite but perhaps rare occurrence in proverbs (Mieder, 2015c: 34). Bible proverbs like "Man does not live by bread alone" (Deuteronomy 8:3; Matthew 4:4), "He who digs a pit for others, falls in himself" (Proverbs 26:27), and "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country" (Matthew 13:57) have been disseminated as loan translations way beyond Europe, making up the second group of widespread proverbs. The third group comes from the rich proverb tradition of medieval Latin as the *lingua franca* of Europe that led to many of the favorite proverbs being the

same in many languages, to wit “Strike while the iron is hot”, “When the cat is away, the mice will play”, and “All that glitters is not gold” (Taylor, 1931: 43 – 65, Mieder, 2004: 9 – 13, Idem, 2015c: 32 – 38). This is not to say that proverbs of later centuries might not attain a “widespread” status, a process that is still taking place today!

Proverbial loan processes have always been taken place especially among neighboring countries and closely related languages. Due to my own dual German-English linguistic background, I shall rely on Anglo-American examples in the remainder of this discussion, but I wish to stress that the Russian language and culture has clearly played a similar role in Eastern Europe during many centuries. Valerii Mokienko from Sankt Petersburg in particular has made major comparative contributions in this fascinating area, to wit his highly informative articles “Die Slavia im europäischen Sprachraum. Sprichwörter, Redensarten, geflügelte Worte” (2005a) and “La parémiologie russe: une partie de l’espace linguistique et culturel européen” (2005b). There are many more specific studies by him in Russian, but his seminal contribution to European loan processes is without doubt “Phraseologisierung von Europäismen oder Europäisierung von Phraseologismen? Divergente und konvergente Prozesse in phraseologischen Systemen europäischer Sprachen” (1998). Together with his friend Harry Walter he also published “Natsional’noe i internatsional’noe v slavianskoi frazeologii: razlichnoe v edinom” (2013), and there is also Vladimir Anikin’s much earlier short analysis “Ob internatsional’nom i natsional’nom izychenii poslovits (tezisy)” (1965), Elza Kokare’s more detailed investigation of “Kriterii internatsional’nogo i natstional’nogo kharaktera paremii” (1980), and Kazys Grigas’s enlightening comments “Ob internatsional’nykh poslovitsakh” (1987). Finally, Wolfgang Eismann’s “Remarks on Russian Phrasemes in European Languages” (2010) have played their role in stressing the importance of the Russian language in the proverbial repertoire of Europe.

But to return to Anglo-American matters, I solicited the help of the following colleagues and friends representing 21 languages to see whether certain English or American proverbs have gained some currency in their languages as loan translations. This is admittedly but a small sample

carried out in a short amount of time to honor my dear and special friend Elisabeth Piirainen. It is nothing in comparison to her Herculean efforts, but it will nevertheless present some new materials that are of significance. I am, of course, deeply indebted to the following people who have provided me with this important information using proverb collections and above all the Internet to check whether such loan translations exist at all and, if so, with what approximate frequency. Some are still very rare while others have become well established. Obviously much more synchronic and diachronic work needs to be done, and it is my hope that the following phraseologists and paremiologists, who were of so much fast assistance to me, will continue with this work:

- Bul: Bulgarian (Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt, Roumyana Petrova).
- Cro: Croatian (Melita Aleksa Varga).
- Cze: Czech (František Čermák).
- Dut: Dutch (Marinus van den Broek).
- Est: Estonian (Anneli Baran).
- Fin: Finnish (Liisa Granbom-Herranen, Outi Lauhakangas).
- Fre: French (Damien Villers).
- Ger: German (my responsibility).
- Gre: Greek (Minas Alexiadis, Aristeidis Doulaveras).
- Hun: Hungarian (Hrisztalina Hrisztova-Gotthardt, Anna T. Litovkina).
- Ita: Italian (Adriana Borra, Julia Sevilla Muñoz).
- Lat: Latvian (Anita Naciscione).
- Lit: Lithuanian (Dalia Zaikauskienė).
- Pol: Polish (Joanna Szerszunowicz).
- Por: Portuguese (Rui J.B. Soares).
- Rom: Romanian (Daniela Ionescu).
- Rus: Russian (Valerii Mokienko, Harry Walter).
- Slk: Slovakian (Peter Ďurčo).
- Slv: Slovenian (Vida Jesenšek).
- Spa: Spanish (Julia Sevilla Muñoz).
- Swe: Swedish (Anders Widbäck).

Looking at proverbs of English origin first (see Speake, 2008), let me take the English proverb “The early bird catches (gets) the work” with its earliest written record from 1636 as an example of a national proverb that has become very popular in Germany since about 1945 as the loan translation “Der frühe Vogel fängt den Wurm”. It is by now so widespread that it competes successfully with the traditional equivalent German proverb “Morgenstunde hat Gold im Munde” from 1570, and young Germans prefer the new proverb and consider it to be a German proverb! (Mieder, 2015b). But the story does not end here, for loan translations of the English proverb also exist in other European languages as well, and more might well be found as the search continues:

The early bird catches the worm

Dut: Een vroege vogel maakt veel wormen.

Est: Varajane lind leiab tera.

Fin: Aikainen lintu madon nappaa.

Ger: Der frühe Vogel fängt den Wurm.

Lit: Ankstyvas paukštis pagauna kirminą.

Rus: Ranniaia ptashka est (poluchaet) cherviachka.

Slv: Zgodnji ptič (Zgodnja ptica) ujame črva.

A second English proverb from about that time in the 17th century is „No news is good news” which with its repetitive parallel structure and easy translatability caught on in many European languages as well:

No news is good news

Bul: Lipsata na novina e dobra novina.

Cze: Žádné zprávy dobré zprávy.

Dut: Geen nieuws, goed nieuws.

Fre: Pas de nouvelles, bonnes nouvelles.

Ger: Keine Nachrichten sind gute Nachrichten.

Hun: Semmi hír az jó hír.

Ita: Niente nuove buone nuove.

Lit: Jokiu naujienų – geros naujienos.

Pol: Brak wiadomości to dobra wiadomość.
 Por: A não notícia é boa notícia.
 Rus: Otsutstvie novostei – khoroshie novosti.
 Slk: Žiadna správa je dobrá správa.
 Slv: Nič novic je dobra novica.
 Spa: Es buena noticia el que no las haya.
 Swe: Inga nyheter är goda nyheter.

But since “All good things come in three”, as the proverb says, here is a third British proverb that became extremely well known since the middle of the 19th century. One might have thought that “A dog is man’s best friend” (1843) would be much older regarding today’s generally observed love for dogs, but it must be remembered that dogs were primarily working animals and not endeared pets in older times. In any case, it has found solid international dissemination as a loan translation:

A dog is man’s best friend

Bul: Kucheto e nay-dobriyat priyatel na choveka.
 Cro: Pas je čovjekov najbolji prijatelj.
 Cze: Pes je (nejlepší) přítel člověka.
 Est: Koer on inimese parim sõber.
 Fin: Koira on ihmisen paras ystävä.
 Fre: Le chien est le meilleur ami de l’homme.
 Ger: Der Hund ist des Menschen bester Freund.
 Gre: O skilos ine o kaliteros filos tou anthropou.
 Hun: A kutya az ember legjobb barátja.
 Ita: Il cane è il miglior amico dell’uomo.
 Lat: Suns ir cilvēka labākais draugs.
 Lit: Šuo – geriausias žmogaus draugas.
 Pol: Pies jest najlepszym przyjacielem człowieka.
 Por: O cão é o melhor amigo do homem.
 Rus: Sobaka – luchshii drug cheloveka.
 Slk: Pes je nejlepší priateľ’ človeka.
 Slv: Pes je človekov najboljši prijatelj.
 Spa: El perro es el mejor amigo del hombre.
 Swe: Hunden är människans bästa vän.

Turning to proverbs of American origin (see Mieder, Kingsbury and Harder, 1992), the proverb “Don’t swap horses in the middle of the stream” might serve as a first example. Its earliest reference appeared in 1834 in a newspaper, and it became popularized by Abraham Lincoln who used it in a very short comment on June 9, 1864, in regard of his running for a second term as President of the United States (Mieder, 2009; for the German loan translation see Mieder, 2010b: 323 – 340). It serves as a political slogan in America each time a sitting president is running for a second term, and it makes good sense that it has gained some international currency as a loan translation:

Don’t swap (switch) horses in mid-stream (the middle of the stream)

Bul: Ne smenyay konete po sredata na rekata.

Est: Poolel teel hobuseid ei vahetata.

Fre: Il ne faut pas changer de cheval au milieu de la rivière.

Hun: Ne cserélj lovat a víz sodrában.

Ita: Non cambiare i cavalli in mezzo alla corrente

Lit: Perkėloje arklių niekas nekeičia.

Pol: Nie zmienia się koni podczas przeprawy przez rzekę.

Pro: Não troques de cavalo no meio da corrida.

Another frequently employed American proverb that originated in the same year is “Good fences make good neighbors” (1834) that gained prominence by way of Robert Frost’s poem “Mending Wall” (1914) that deals with the pros and cons of building a wall that has perplexed humankind to this day, be it building a fence among neighbors, to keep immigrants out, or to separate peoples of different nationalities from each other (Mieder, 2005: 210 – 243 and 287 – 296 [notes]). It is once again easily translated word for word, and it has caught on in Europe and elsewhere:

Good fences make good neighbors

Bul: Dobrite ogradi pravjat dobri sasedi.

Cro: Dobre ograde čine dobre susjede.

Fre: Les bonnes clôtures font les bons voisins.

Ger: Gute Zäune machen gute Nachbarn.
 Hun: A jó szomszédság záloga a jó kerítés.
 Ita: I buoni recinti fanno buoni vicini.
 Lit: Gera tvora – geri kaimynai.
 Pol: Gdzie dobre płoty, tak dobrzy sąsiedzi.
 Por: Os bons muros fazem os bons vizinhos.
 Slk: Vysoké ploty robia dobrých susedov.

Unfortunately, vicious stereotypical proverbs are part of this loan process. Thus, the despicable invective against Native Americans with its earliest reference from 1868 has been picked up by Europeans for no apparent reason! Just as in America, it is often reduced to the formula “The only good X is a dead X” to make similar racially motivated comments or also for apparently humorous comments like “The only good mouse is a dead mouse”. However, the original proverb with its unique structure (there are no other proverbs based on this formula in English!) plays into it and is disrespectful of Indians (Mieder, 1997: 138 – 159 and 221 – 227 [notes]). Here then are the European loan translations that have been identified thus far:

The only good Indian is a dead Indian

Bul: Nay-dobriyat indianetz e martviyat indianetz.
 Cro: Samo mrtav Indijanac je dobar Indijanac.
 Est: Ainus hea indiaanlane on surnud indiaanlane.
 Fin: Ainoa hyvä intiaani on kuollut intiaani.
 Fre: Un bon Indien est un Indien mort.
 Ger: Nur ein toter Indianer ist ein guter Indianer.
 Hun: Czak a halott indián a jó indián.
 Ita: Un buon indiano è un indiano morto.
 Lit: Geras indėnas – mires indėnas.
 Pol: Dobry Indianin to martwy Indianin.
 Slk: Dobrý Indián je iba mŕtvy Indián.
 Slv: Najboljši Indijanec je mrtev Indijanec.

The next example is an extremely popular and innocuous American proverb from 1870 that counts as a “medical” proverb of sorts and which

has certainly become well-established in Germany since about 1990 (Mieder, 2010b: 310 – 314). The 19th century wisdom that “An apple a day keeps the doctor away” with its rhyme and commonsense message for good dietary practices has become so widespread that it is frequently changed into an anti-proverb in advertisements, cartoons, greetings cards, T-shirts, etc. (Idem, 1993: 162 – 168). As can be seen, it has found its way into numerous European languages:

An apple a day keeps the doctor away

- Bul: Edna yabalka na den darzhi doktora dalech ot men.
Cro: Jedna jabuka na dan tjera doktora iz kuće van.
Est: Üks õun päevas hoiab arsti eemal.
Fin: Omena päivässä pitää lääkärin loitolla
Fre: Une pomme par jour éloigne le médecin (pour toujours).
Ger: Ein Apfel pro Tag hält den Arzt fern.
Gre: Ena milo tin inera / ton giatro ton kani pera.
Hun: Naponta egy alma a doktort távol tartja.
Ita: Una mela al giorno toglie il medico di turno.
Pol: Jedno jabłko dziennie trzyma lekarza z daleka.
Por: Uma maçã por dia afasta o medico.
Rus: Po iabloku v den’ – i doktor ne nuzhen.
Slk: Jedno jablko denne udrží doktora d’aleko.
Slv: Eno jabolko na dan prežene zdravnika stran.
Swe: Ett äpple om dagen håller doktorn borta från magen.

And here is a fifth American proverb from the 19th century that found acceptance as a loan translation elsewhere, and certainly in Germany one hears the proverb “The show must go on” (1879) expressed in English as well:

The show must go on

- Cze: Show musí pokračovat.
Est: Show peab jätkuma.
Ger: Die Show (Schau) muß weitergehen.
Hun: A shownak folytatódnia kell.
Ita: Lo spettacolo deve continuare.

- Lit: Šou turi tęstis.
Pol: Przedstawienie musi trwać.
Por: O espectáculo continua.
Slk: Šou musí pokračovat.
Slv: Predstava se mora nadaljevati.
Spa: El espectáculo debe continuar.

It is now time to turn to what is happening with the idea of widespread proverbs of the modern age, that is, what influence do modern American proverbs (not older than the year 1900 as far as their origin is concerned) have on the European continent – also globally, of course, but that is yet to be investigated! There can be no doubt that the Englishes of the world have a major influence linguistically and culturally as the international *lingua franca*, with the British English and American English playing the major roles. In fact, having spoken of the three earlier periods of spreading proverbs beyond national boundaries being classical antiquity, the Bible and medieval Latin, it can now be maintained that English is the fourth period. I have explained this claim in much detail in my two essays on “The History and Future of Common Proverbs in Europe” (2000) and ‘Many Roads Lead to Globalization’. The Translation and Distribution of Anglo-American Proverbs in Europe” (2010a), but let me also draw special attention to a third study with the telling title “‘Different Strokes for Different Folks’. American Proverbs as an International, National, and Global Phenomenon” (2005: 1 – 14 and 244 – 248 [notes]). The somewhat peculiar triadic title should be clear by now (see also Paczolay, 2005). The adjective “international” refers to the fact that America as a land of immigrants has a lot of proverbs from the three earlier dissemination periods and from numerous foreign cultures with the majority coming from Great Britain. The “national” designation refers to the fact that America obviously has many proverbs that are indigenous to this large country, to wit such well-known truly American proverbs as “There will be sleeping enough in the grave” (1741, coined by Benjamin Franklin), “Paddle your own canoe” (1802), “The customer is always right” (1905), and “Think outside the box” (1971; see the 1250 authentic American proverbs in Mieder, 2015a). The third “global” designation hints at the influence that old and new American proverbs have throughout the world because of the

predominance of the English language and the political, social, and cultural role that the United States plays worldwide.

Looking at six examples of modern proverbs that originated in the United States, it should be mentioned that considerable detail about their origin, dissemination, and meaning can be found in *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (2012) edited by Charles Clay Doyle, Fred R. Shapiro and me. And there is also my chapter “‘Think Outside the Box’. Origin, Nature, and Meaning of Modern Anglo-American Proverbs” (2014b) that provides additional information regarding the understudied phenomenon of modern proverbs. It should come as no surprise that the proverb “One picture is worth a thousand words” was coined as early as 1911 in the United States where the visual has gained a particular dominance by way of film, television, advertisements, cartoons, comic strips, etc. (Mieder, 1993: 135 – 151, Doyle, Mieder, and Shapiro, 2012: 196). As the following loan translations show, it has become solidly established in numerous European languages, The German “Ein Bild sagt mehr als tausend Worte” has been found as early as 1975, and it probably was in use in that language even earlier (Mieder, 1992: 191 – 201). The following list of translations will be much enlarged once the study of modern widespread proverbs is taken up by scholars from various additional languages. The textual examples that I have been able to assemble thus far are obviously a mere beginning:

One picture is worth a thousand words

Bul: Edna snimka kazva/govori poveche ot hilyadi dumi.

Cro: Slika vrijedi tisuću riječi.

Est: Üks pilt ütleb rohkem kui tuhat sõna.

Fin: Yksi kuva kertoo enemmän kuin tuhat sanaa.

Fre: Une image vaut mille mots.

Ger: Ein Bild sagt mehr als tausend Worte.

Gre: Mia ikona axizi xilies lexis.

Hun: Egy kép többet mond ezer szónál.

Ita: Un’immagine vale mille parole.

Lit: Vaizdas vertas tūkstančio žodžių.

Pol: Jeden obraz jest więcej wart niż tysiąc słów.

Por: Uma imagem vale mais do que mil palavras.

Rom: O imagine face mai mult decat o mie de cucinte.

Rus: Odna kartina luchshe tysiachi slov.

Slk: Obraz je viac ako tisíc slov.

Slv: Slika pove več kot tisoč besed.

Spa: Una imagen vale más que mil palabras.

Swe: En bild är värd mer än tusen ord.

The equally popular proverb “The grass is always greener on the other side of the fence” appeared in 1913 in the United States as a metaphorical expression transferring the habit of grazing animals trying to get to better grass beyond an enclosure to humans filled with envy, greed, and general discontent (Mieder, 1994: 515 – 542, Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro, 2012: 110 – 111). Its natural imagery and its basic message must have helped to spread it across the ocean to England and on to the European mainland:

The grass on the other side of the fence always looks greener

Bul: Trevata vinagi e po-zelena ot drugata strana na ogradata.

Cro: Trava je zelenija s druge strane ograde.

Dut: Het gras bij de buren is altijd groener.

Est: Teisel pool aeda on muru rohelisem.

Fin: Ruoho on aina vihreämpää aidan toisella puolella.

Fre: L’herbe est toujours plus verte ailleurs.

Ger: Das Gras auf der anderen Seite des Zaunes ist immer grüner.

Ita: L’erba è sempre più verde dall’altro lato della recinzione.

Lit: Žolė visada žalesnė anapus tvoros.

Pol: Trawa jest zawsze bardziej zielona / zieleńsza po drugiej stronie płotu.

Por: A relva da minha vizinha é sempre mais verde que a minha.

Slk: Tráva na druhej strane hory je zelenšia.

Slv: Trava na drugi strani ograje je vedno bolj zelena.

Swe: Gräset är alltid grönare på andra sidan.

The proverb “Think globally, act locally” from 1942 is older than one might have expected, but its first printed reference found thus far makes it perfectly clear that today’s prevalent thought about a global world was present in the early forties already: “Our vision of a better world is

limited to our vision of better communities. We must think globally, but first act locally” (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro, 2012: 256). Since the proverb does not contain a metaphor and exhibits a simple parallel structure containing but four word, it was easily translatable into other languages to become a proverbial slogan of sorts for a concerned world citizenry:

Think globally, act locally

- Bul: Misli globalno, deystvay localno.
- Cro: Misli globalno, djeluj lokalno.
- Cze: Mysli globálně, jednej lokálně.
- Est: Mõtle globaalselt, tegutse lokaalselt.
- Fin: Ajattele globaalisti, toimi paikallisesti.
- Fre: Penser global, agir local.
- Ger: Global denken, lokal handeln.
- Hun: Gondolkodj globálisan, cselekedj lokálisan.
- Ita: Pensa globale, agisci locale (Pensare globale, agire locale).
- Lit: Galvok globaliai – veik lolakiai!
- Pol: Myśl globalnie, działaj lokalnie.
- Por: Pensar global, agir local.
- Rus: Myslit’ global’no – deistvovat’ lokal’no.
- Slk: Mysli globálne, konaj lokálne.
- Slv: Misli globalno, deluj lokalno.

The somewhat anti-feministic proverb “Diamonds are a girl’s best friend” entered oral tradition from the title and the refrain of a song by Leo Robin that was part of the musical *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* from 1949. The song and its diamond-line were popularized by Marilyn Monroe in the 1953 version of the earlier musical (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro, 2012: 55). The song went far beyond its American origin and helped to spread the proverb’s stereotypical view of women as being somewhat materialistic in their preoccupation with outside appearance:

Diamonds are a girl’s best friend

- Bul: Diamantite sa nay-dobriyat priyatel na zhenata.
- Cro: Dijamanti su najbolji žesnki prijatelji.
- Cze: Diamanty jsou nejlepší přátelé dívky/ženy.
- Est: Teemandid on tüdrukute parimad sõbrad.

Fin: Timantit ovat tytön parhaat ystävät.
 Fre: Les diamants sont les meilleurs amis des filles (des femmes).
 Ger: Diamanten sind eines Mädchens (der Frauen) beste Freunde.
 Hun: A gyémánt a nő legjobb barátja.
 Ita: I diamanti sono il migliori amici delle donne.
 Lit: Deimantai – geriausi merginų draugai.
 Pol: Diamenty są najlepszym przyjacielem człowieka.
 Por: Os diamantes são os melhores amigos das mulheres.
 Rus: Luchshie druz'ia devushki – brillianty.
 Slv: Diamanti so dekletovi najboljši prijatelji.

The famous African American singer Pearl Bailey helped to make another song, namely “Takes Two to Tango” by Al Hoffman and Dick Manning, an international hit (*Op. cit.* 266). The refrain “It takes two to tango” was based on the old English proverb “It takes two to quarrel” from 1706 that was changed into a positive statement of people having to get along. It too was easily translated into other languages where people could also relate to its clear message of dancing partners having to be in step with each other:

It takes two to tango

Bul: Za tantz sa nuzhni dvama.
 Cro: Za tango treba dvoje.
 Est: Tangoks on vaja kaht.
 Fin: Tangoon tarvitaan kaksi.
 Fre: Il faut être deux pour danser le tango.
 Ger: Zum Tango gehören zwei.
 Gre: Hriazonte dio gia to tango.
 Hun: A tangóhoz két ember kell.
 Ita: Bisogna essere in due per ballare il tango.
 Lit: Tango šokoma dviese.
 Pol: Do tanga trzeba dwojga.
 Pro: São precisas duas pessoas para dançar o tango.
 Rus: Dlia tango nuzhny dvoe.
 Slk: Na tango treba dvoch.
 Slv: Za tango sta potrebna dva.

Finally, it was with much personal excitement that I discovered from my European correspondents that the proverb “You have to kiss a lot of frogs (toads) to find a (your handsome) prince” had made its way into quite a few European languages after having established itself in the United States in 1976 (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro, 2012: 89). In my article “‘You Have to Kiss a Lot of Frogs (Toads) Before You Meet Your Handsome Prince’. From Fairy-Tale Motif to Modern Proverb” (2014c) I traced the origin of the American proverb which, contrary to the false assumption, is not the proverbial reduction of “The Frog King” fairy tale of the Brothers Grimm. As will be remembered, in this folk narrative the prince throws the frog against the wall, a far cry from a kiss! Instead the proverb might well be an allusion to variants of the “Beauty and the Beast” narratives where a kiss is often taking place. Interestingly enough, the American proverb was loan translated into German by 1984, with many Germans thinking that it comes from the Grimm tale. The cultural literacy of fairy tales is clearly not as established as it used to be when it comes to popular fairy tales. This being a proverb of considerable length, it should not be surprising that it appears in a number of variants, notably the vacillation between “frog” and “toad” as the unattractive animal that needs to be kissed in order to find a partner:

You have to kiss a lot of frogs (toads) to find a (your handsome) prince

Bul: Tryabva da tzelunesh mnogo zhabi, predi da/dokato otkriesh/namerish svoya printz.

Cze: Aby si našla prince, musí políbit spoustu žabáků.

Est: Pead suudlema palju konnasid, enne kui oma printsi leiad.

Fre: Il faut embrasser beaucoup de crapauds avant de trouver le (son) prince (charmant).

Ger: Man muß viele Frösche küssen, bevor man einen Prinzen findet.

Hun: Sok békát meg kell csókolnod, mielőtt megatalálod a herceged.

Ita: Bisogna baciare molti rospi prima di trovare il principe.

Lit: Dažnai turime pabučiuoti ne vieną varle, kol surandame savo Žavųjį prinčą.

Pol: Trzeba pocałować wiele żab, aby trafić na księcia / zanim trafi się na księcia.

Por: Tens de beijar muitos sapos para encontrares un principe.

Rus: Vam pridetsia potselovat' mnogo liagushek prezhde, chem vy naidete svoego prekrasnogo printsa.

Slv: Preden najdeš svojega princa, moraš poljubiti veliko žab.

In a matter of four decades this modern proverb has become a widespread proverb, and further study will certainly find it in other European languages and beyond. This is true, of course, also for the other proverbs from the 19th and 20th centuries that have been discussed in this short article. They show most clearly that the time of creating new proverbs is not over and that some proverbs of more modern times can reach an international distribution. This process is in fact feasible at a much-accelerated pace due to the printed and electronic mass media. As I have argued in my recent article “Futuristic Paremiography and Paremiology. A Plea for the Collection and Study of Modern Proverbs” (2014a) the time has definitely come to pay more attention to modern proverbs of various languages and also to the spread of some of them beyond linguistic and cultural boundaries. Elisabeth Piirainen has included numerous modern idioms or proverbial expressions in the second volume of her *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond* (2016) that have reached an impressive “widespread” status in recent times, and paremiologists could honor her now by making the promise that they will follow in her footsteps and dedicate a considerable amount of their scholarly efforts to widespread proverbs with particular emphasis on those that have come into being during the past few centuries. Elisabeth Piirainen registered “It’s a small World” (2016: 433 – 434) as a widespread idiom from about 1900, and I have found its earliest American reference to be from 1896 (Mieder, 2015a: 250). It can be used both as an idiom (routine formula) or as a proverb, and it thus can also be included as a piece of wisdom about the modern world in a massive future volume of *Widespread Proverbs in Europe and Beyond* that would emulate the impressive scholarship of Elisabeth Piirainen.

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(by Wolfgang Mieder)

Questions for discussion

1. In what way did Elisabeth Piirainen excite more than a decade ago the scholarly world of phraseology and paremiology with her two revolutionary articles on “Europeanism, Internationalism or Something Else?”

2. Wolfgang Mieder states that from a linguistic or more specifically phraseological point of view it made perfect sense for Elisabeth Piirainen to choose the term “idiom” to refer to such phraseological units as “To be in the same boat”, “To cast pearls before swine”, and “To be on the same wavelength”. What is your opinion on that point?

3. Do you think Wolfgang Mieder is contradicting himself saying further: “As a paremiologist, I might have preferred to call them proverbial expressions or proverbial phrases, and I would also call idioms like “As rich as Croesus”, “To be as gentle as a lamb”, and “As white as snow” proverbial comparisons”?

4. There is Ida von Düringsfeld and Otto von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld’s classic two-volume collection *Sprichwörter der germanischen und romanischen Sprachen vergleichend zusammengestellt* (1872 – 1875) and now also Samuel Singer and Ricarda Liver’s thirteen-volume *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi. Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters* (1996 – 2002) that is of extreme historical importance and that includes proverbial expressions and comparisons. Will you give your arguments on the value of the dictionaries mentioned?

5. Could you exemplify the statement: “Proverbial loan processes have always been taken place especially among neighboring countries and closely related languages”?

6. On what occasion did Wolfgang Mieder say: I wish to stress that the Russian language and culture has clearly played a similar role in Eastern Europe during many centuries”?

7. Valerii Mokienko from Sankt Petersburg in particular has made major comparative contributions in this fascinating area, to wit his highly informative articles “Die Slavia im europäischen Sprachraum.

Sprichwörter, Redensarten, geflügelte Worte” (2005) and “La parémiologie russe: une partie de l’espace linguistique et culturel européen” (2005). Comment on the value of the dictionaries, will you?

8. Do you maintain the author of the statement: “There are many more specific studies by him (Valerii Mokienko) in Russian, but his seminal contribution to European loan processes is without doubt “Phraseologisierung von Europäern oder Europäisierung von Phraseologismen? Divergente und konvergente Prozesse in phraseologischen Systemen europäischer Sprachen” (1998)”?

9. Together with his friend Harry Walter he also published “Natsional’noe i internatsional’noe v slavianskoi frazeologii: razlichnoe v edinom” (2013). Would you look through the paper and give a digest of it?

10. What do the two proverbs have in common and could you tell the difference between them: *Good fences make good neighbors* and *A hedge between keeps friendship green*?

11. What is the pragmatic value of the proverb *An apple a day keeps the doctor away*?

12. What arguments do you have pro and contra: *One picture is worth a thousand words*?

13. Could you supply the proverb *The grass on the other side of the fence always looks greener* with idiomatic synonyms of biblical origin?

14. How do you understand the proverb *Think globally, act locally*?

15. In what way did the proverb “Don’t swap horses in the middle of the stream” become popularized by Abraham Lincoln who used it in a very short comment on June 9, 1864, in regard of his running for a second term as President of the United States?

CONCLUSION

This Manual embraces a set of different vectors in paradigmatic approach to the study of the most important theoretical university disciplines – General Phraseology and English Phraseology with the view of developing a number of necessary and therefore required competences of the future scholars in the field of modern linguistics.

The author of the Manual is thankful to the friends and colleagues who—taking part in the latest co-joint linguistic conferences and in exchanging messages by email—were extremely generous in sharing their ideas on the status-qua issues of classical phraseology as well as on a variety of problems in the development of modern phraseology, especially in such aspects as follows:

(a) cognitive and semiological approach (N. Alefirenko and K. Dekatova, A. Naciscione, I. MacKenzie),

(b) stylistic effect of phraseological units (A. Naciscione, M. Arroyo, G. Szpila),

(c) idiom variation (A. Cserép, R. Gläser),

(d) non-verbal representations of idioms (S. Fiedler),

(e) cross-varieties analysis of phraseology (I. Galutskikh, R. Gläser),

(f) phraseological units as indicators of cultural identity (R. Gläser, I. MacKenzie),

(g) comparative cultural studies of phraseology (N. Potseluyeva, E. Makarova, R. Revier, L. Stolbovaya),

(h) background and development of communicative phraseological units (W. Mieder).

In the coming series of pre-planned volumes the author is looking forward to paying much more attention to contrastive and typological studies within the phraseological theory. That is considered to be a powerful helping hand to students in mastering the isomorphic and allomorphic features of phraseological units in different languages, which is supposed to substantially contribute to the refinement of their professional competences, both theoretical and pragmatic ones.

The Manual is sure to be of use for not only the would-be Masters-of Arts but also for the students specializing in linguistics, phraseology, professional translation, stylistics and textual analysis, as well as for post-graduate students, lecturers, subject teachers and all those who are interested in modern phraseology and is willing to properly master phraseological units in order to make use of them in strict coincidence with their cultural background and stylistic specificity.

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