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ASPECTS OF RECENT PHRASEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Manual

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Рассмотрены насущные вопросы современной фразеологии с позиций когнитивистики, интертекстуальности и дискурса в широком смысле слова. Содержание строится вокруг наиболее дискуссионных тем современной фразеологической науки.

Предназначено для магистрантов и аспирантов филологических специальностей, в частности для направлений подготовки 45.04.02 – Лингвистика, 45.06.01 – Языкознание и литературоведение, научной специальности 5.9.6 – Языки народов зарубежных стран (германские языки). Может быть полезно преподавателям и специалистам в области фразеологии и семасиологии.

Рекомендовано для формирования профессиональных компетенций в соответствии с ФГОС ВО.

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PREFACE

The volume is designed as a manual for the students who have already studied the basic phraseology in theory and practice and who are now going to master the phraseological theory at the level of Master's degree.

The manual is aimed at regular independent reading and discussion in class. The contents of the book is built around a dozen most important and most debatable issues of modern Phraseology. They are as follows:

a) hystorical survey of phraseological studies and the role of paternal linguists as well as forein ones in the development of the theory of Phraseology,

b) traditions and innovations in the phraseological studies,

c) cognitive-semiological approaches to the reserach,

d) the levels of phraseological abstraction,

e) the problem of variability in phraseology,

f) the representation of phraseological metaphor in verbal discourse: a cognitive approach,

g) referential scope of idioms and proverbs in fiction,

h) the issue of innocuousness of widespread idioms,

i) the relations among different types of phraseological units,

j) new tendencies in development of communicative phraseological units,

k) lingual-didactic value of idioms, their origin and cultural background, etc.

The book will also be helpful to post-graduate students who have chosen Germanic Languages and the Theory of Language as well for their specialization. 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

TRADITIONS IN PHRASEOLOGY RESEARCH

Introduction

The present coursebook on *English Phraseology* by Sabine Fiedler continues a tradition in phraseology research linked with the University of Leipzig, where the author spent her formative years which have shaped her academic career and her research interest in this field ever since. [In early] 1980s the trend-setting textbooks on phraseology as a linguistic discipline in German and English were *Phraseologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* by Wolfgang Fleischer (Leipzig 1982) and *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* by Rosemarie Gläser (Potsdam 1981), the precursor of the enlarged version of 1986. The descriptions of the systems of Russian and French phraseology were presented in comprehensive chapters in textbooks on lexicology, which were published nearly at the same time. Rainer Eckert provided a survey on Russian phraseology in the textbook *Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart,* volume *Lexikologie* (Leipzig 1978). And the corresponding chapter on French phraseology appeared in the textbook *Französische Lexikologie. Eine Einführung* (Leipzig 1983) written by Ulrich Ricken.

To a certain extent, the theory and methodology of the textbooks on German and English phraseology were also influenced by research work flourishing in the Soviet Union at that time, notably by a lively exchange of ideas with scholars such as I.I. Černyševa for German and A.V. Kunin for English phraseology.

A fresh and lasting impetus to corpus-based phraseological studies in English came from English lexicography, particularly the *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English.* Vol. 1 *Verbs with Prepositions and Particles* by A.P. Cowie and R. Mackin, London 1975, and the *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English.* Vol. 2 *Phrase, Clause and Sentence Idioms* by A.P. Cowie, R. Mackin and I.R. McCaig, Oxford etc. 1983.

These reference books updated the *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* by Thomas Hill et al., Harrow and London 1979, and subsequently

became an invaluable source of information. They provided the necessary database for the linguistic description of the properties of phraseological units, their classification and communicative function. An important asset of these dictionaries was and still is that idioms and phrases are also quoted in their textual environment.

From the very start, my textbook *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* (English Phraseology) was designed as the complementary volume to the textbook *Englische Lexikologie. Eine Einfiihrung in Wortbildung und lexikalische Semantik* by Barbara Hansen, Klaus Hansen, Albrecht Neubert and Manfred Schentke (Leipzig 1982), a joint project conducted at the Academy of Sciences in (East) Berlin. The authors' intention was to discuss key problems of lexicology and phraseology in the same theoretical framework, to apply semantic and structural categories in the same way and to harmonize terminology. In this respect, the two textbooks were a considerable achievement to the user's benefit.

Whereas the textbook *Englische Lexikologie* was strictly focused on the description of word formation and semantics in terms of systemic linguistics, i.e. in the language system, my textbook on *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* widened the scope of discussion to communicative linguistics by including independent chapters on the communicative function of phraseological units and on phraseological units as a translation problem.

This broader perspective resulted in quite a number of follow-up studies on aspects of phraseology which I could not treat in depth in my 1986 and large, these include five main topics.

1. Contrastive analysis of English and German phraseological units

In this field my attention was focused on false friends (Gläser 1999a and 2000). We know from experience that these lexical units may be pitfalls for the foreign learner, the translator, and the interpreter. A general distinction is made between total **false friends** (Engl. *as free as a bird* ['completely free'] as opposed to German *vogelfrei [sein]* ['to be an outlaw']) and **partial false friends** (Engl. *to live in the street* ['to be on the

go all the time'] as opposed to German *auf der Straße leben* ['to be homeless']). The German equivalent to the first-mentioned English idiom would be *standig auf den Beinen/auf Achse sein.* The misleading semantic similarity of constituents in both languages leads the reader or listener to premature conclusions of equivalence and a wrong interpretation of the whole phrase. For further comments see Chapter 4.1 in the coursebook.

2. Phraseological units as translation problems in literary texts

The general problems which arise for the translation of a phraseological unit in a literary text were briefly discussed in an earlier publication (Gläser 1984) before they were given more prominence in my textbook (Gläser 1986a). A previous study on the translation of routine formulae from English into German (Gläser 1987) was elaborated into a trilingual comparison of these phraseological units in German, English and French (Gläser 1999b). In a phraseological analysis of the English and French translations of select novels written by Christa Wolf, I put special emphasis on the rendering of routine formulae in her documentary book *Was bleibt/What remains/Ce qui reste.* This article appeared in the proceedings of a conference devoted to "Phraseologie und Übersetzen" (Phraseology and Translating), held at the University of in 1997 and organized by the Romance phraseologist and editor, Annette Sabban (1999). Further translator aspects of phraseological units will be discussed in Chapter 4.

3. The stylistic value and effect of phraseological units in various text forms and genres

As early as 1986 I published a programmatic paper entitled "A Plea for Phra-seo-Stylistics" in which I put strong emphasis on the stylistic value of phraseological units in their textual environment. Idioms lend themselves to playful modifications, and proverbs and quotations may be the source of intertextual allusions. In the chapter of my textbook which dealt with the communicative function of phraseological units in various text forms, I could only give typical examples from newspaper texts, prose fiction and scientific/technical discourse. A broader survey, however, was provided in my paper entitled "The Stylistic Potential of Phraseological Units in the

Light of Genre Analysis" (Gläser 1998), which appeared in the proceedings of a phraseology conference organized by the British lexicographer A. P. Cowie at the University of Leeds in 1994. My enlarged text corpus included popular-scientific articles, academic-scientific monographs, student textbooks, commercial advertisements, and texts of prose fiction. This aspect will be elaborated in greater detail in Chapter 3.2 of this coursebook.

4. Phraseological units in the language for special purposes of present-day English

In my 1986 book, my main concern were phraseological units in English for general purposes (EGP), i.e. the general language of present-day usage. Set expressions in specialist discourse, in job-specific subject areas, however, were only mentioned in passing in connection with non-idiomatic phrases and terminological word groups. On closer inspection, phraseological units in the language for general purposes (LGP) and the language for special purposes (LSP) differ in their semantic and pragmatic properties. The distinction results in different definitions of the phraseological unit in LGP and LSP. Moreover, there is a striking contrast in the classification systems of phraseological units in English for general purposes (EGP) and English for special purposes (ESP). Whereas EGP has a **fully elaborated phraseological system** with regard to the types of phrases, ESP is characterized by a **restricted phraseological system** (cf. Gläser 1995, 2007). This complex interdependence will be analysed in the supplement of this book.

5. Phraseological units in overseas varieties

The title of my textbook *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* and that of the present students' coursebook *English Phraseology* by Sabine Fiedler may suggest that their authors based their description and instruction on a clearly defined concept of the English language. In fact, publishers of English textbooks and dictionaries take it as a tacit assumption that their products disseminate the standard variety of English spoken on the British Isles. Upon closer inspection, however, the term English is an abstraction, a

generalization and even a simplification, a kind of umbrella term, in view of the multitude of Englishes scattered throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations – beyond the territorial boundaries of British English to the modified standards which developed in the remote overseas countries of the former British colonies.

In addition to specific features of vocabulary, overseas standard varieties of English have brought forth idioms and phrases of their own. These phraseological units designate items of indigenous culture, of native flora and fauna, phenomena of climate, and last but not least, life itself in overseas settlements past and present.

In this field I did some preliminary and selective research:
1) on the phraseology of American English (Gläser 1991,1992),
2) the phraseology of Australian English (Gläser 1999c),
3) the phraseology of New Zealand English (Gläser 1999c) and
4) the phraseology of South African English (Gläser 2002).

Such studies could be expanded into the phraseology of Canadian, Indian, West African and Caribbean English, etc. There is ample opportunity for ongoing research. Comments and examples will be given in the supplement of this coursebook.

To a certain extent, Sabine Fiedler applied results of my later publications on the topics mentioned above in her numerous empirical studies. On a much larger scale she discussed international current issues of phraseology in her monograph *Plansprache und Phraseologie. Empirische Untersuhungen zu reproduziertem Sprachmaterial im Esperanto* (Planned Language and phraseology. Empirical research into Reproduced Language Material in Esperanto), published as her professorial thesis in 1999. With a more practical aim in mind, she aptly implemented the latest findings of phraseology research in her teaching material for university students of English, which may be regarded as the previous stage of the present volume.

In her coursebook on *English Phraseology* Sabine Fiedler has broken new ground. Unlike earlier authors of practical exercise books on English idioms she has aimed at capturing the essentials of theory and methodology in English phraseology as an academic subject and tried to incorporate these into an intricate framework of tasks. There is a lively interaction between

teacher and students, and theoretical passages are interspersed with assignments of graded complexity.

Following the method of Gläser (1981/1986a), the author proceeds from word-like to sentence-like phraseological units and is fully aware of the interrelation between systemic and communicative linguistics. Her own description and classification of phraseological units are discussed in the light of different linguistic theories.

The students are given a multitude of demanding tasks for finding out the stylistic values of idioms in all sorts of texts and to evaluate the adequacy of their rendering in a translation. Here again, the careful comparison of equivalents in the source and target language is a necessary previous step.

As an experienced university teacher, Sabine Fiedler has used all her imaginative and creative capacity to set the students on a track towards exploring English phraseology for themselves. They are expected to make individual inquiries in libraries, to consult linguistic reference books or to browse through monographs. But there are also many stimulating illustrations in this teaching material which are based on punning with idioms.

I am confident that teachers and students will share the author's prime concern, which is to raise their awareness of and to rouse their enthusiasm for English phraseology. In this spirit, the book may be used to their best advantage, and they may receive from it both instruction and enjoyment.

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after Rosemarie Gläser

Points to be commented and discussed

1. What tradition in phraseology research does the present coursebook on *English Phraseology* by Sabine Fiedler continue?

2. What does this tradition have in common with the University of Leipzig?

3. Where did Sabine Fiedler spend her formative years which have shaped her academic career and her research interest in this field ever since?

4. Could you agree with R. Gläser claiming that in early 1980s the trend-setting textbooks on phraseology as a linguistic discipline in German and English were *Phraseologie der deutschen Gegenwartssprache* by Wolfgang Fleischer (Leipzig 1982) and *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* by Rosemarie Gläser (Potsdam 1981), the precursor of the enlarged version of 1986?

5. Would you give your pro and contra on the previous claim?

6. Will you comment on the descriptions of the systems of Russian and French phraseology that were presented in comprehensive chapters in textbooks on lexicology, which were published as R. Gläser reminded nearly at the same time, i.e. in early 1980s?

7. Rainer Eckert provided a survey on Russian phraseology in the textbook *Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart,* volume *Lexikologie* (Leipzig 1978). Would you evaluate its impact on the reader?

8. The corresponding chapter on French phraseology appeared in the textbook *Französische Lexikologie. Eine Einfiihrung* (Leipzig 1983) written by Ulrich Ricken. What is the difference in the two surveys mentioned?

9. To what extent was the theory and methodology of the textbooks on German and English phraseology also influenced by research work flourishing in the Soviet Union at that time?

10. Would you prove that starting point and further development of phraseological theory in Europe was to a great extent stimulated by a lively exchange of ideas with Soviet scholars such as Irina I. Černyševa for German and Alexander V. Kunin for English phraseology?

11. As Rosemarie Gläser put it, a fresh and lasting impetus to corpus-based phraseological studies in English came from English lexicography, particularly from the two dictionaries on current idiomatic English. Will you remind us of their titles, place of edition and edition dates?

12. Do you maintain Rosemarie Gläser in that those reference books updated the *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* by Thomas Hill et al., Harrow and London 1979, and subsequently became an invaluable source of information?

13. In what way did they provide the necessary database for the linguistic description of the properties of phraseological units, their classification and communicative function?

14. Rosemarie Gläser points out that an important asset of these dictionaries was and still is that idioms and phrases are also quoted in their textual environment. Do you happen to know who the first linguist, who initiated that method of presentation of phraseological units in lexicographic editions, was?

15. What book was, from the very start, R. Gläser's textbook *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* (English Phraseology) designed as the complementary volume to? Whom could you name among its authors?

16. When and where was this joint project – conducted at the Academy of Sciences in East Berlin – edited?

17. In what respect were the two textbooks a considerable achievement to the user's benefit?

18. Would you prove that the authors' intention was (a) to discuss key problems of lexicology and phraseology in the same theoretical framework, (b) to apply semantic and structural categories in the same way and (c) to harmonize terminology?

19. Will you compare the textbook *Englische Lexikologie* and R. Gläser's textbook on *Phraseologie der englischen Sprache* with the view of their targets, structure and impact?

20. Which of those textbooks was strictly focused on the description of word formation and semantics in terms of systemic linguistics, i.e. in the language system,

21. Which of those textbooks widened the scope of discussion to communicative linguistics?

22. Which of them included independent chapters on the communicative function of phraseological units and on phraseological units as a translation problem?

23. In what follow-up studies on aspects of phraseology did this broader perspective result?

24. Why was R. Gläser's attention focused on *false friends* in the field of contrastive analysis of English and German phraseological units (Gläser 1999a and 2000)?

25. We know from experience that these lexical units (*false friends*) may be pitfalls for the foreign learner, the translator, and the interpreter. Could you suggest any ways of their distinction?

26. What term did the author make use of for the distinction which is made between **total false friends** (Engl. *as free as a bird* ['completely free'] as opposed to German *vogelfrei [sein]* ['to be an outlaw']) and **partial false friends** (Engl. *to live in the street* ['to be on the go all the time'] as opposed to German *auf der Straße leben* ['to be homeless'])?

27. What would be the German equivalent to the first-mentioned English idiom?

28. The misleading semantic similarity of constituents in both languages leads the reader or listener to premature conclusions of equivalence and a wrong interpretation of the whole phrase, does it not? Will you see Chapter 4.1 in the coursebook for further arguments and comment on it?

29. In what earlier publication by R. Gläser were the general problems which arise for the translation of a phraseological unit in a literary text were briefly discussed?

30. In what book by the author were those problems given more prominence two years later?

31. In what book by R. Gläser was a previous study (on the translation of routine formulae from English into German) elaborated into a trilingual comparison of these phraseological units in German, English and French (see Gläser 1999b)?

32. In a phraseological analysis of the English and French translations of select novels written by Christa Wolf, R. Gläser put special emphasis on the rendering of routine formulae in her documentary book *Was bleibt/What remains/Ce qui reste*. Will you comment on the method of the rendering?

33. Will you summarize the article that appeared in the proceedings of a conference devoted to "Phraseologie und Übersetzen" (Phraseology and Translating), held at the University of in 1997 and organized by the Romance phraseologist and editor Annette Sabban?

34. When did R. Gläser publish a programme paper entitled "A Plea for Phraseo-Stylistics" in which the linguist put strong emphasis on the stylistic value of phraseological units in their textual environment? What was the research background of the paper?

35. Do you feel the influence of Anita Naciscione's ideas developed in R. Gläser's paper while the author states that idioms lend themselves to playful modifications, and proverbs and quotations may be the source of intertextual allusions?

36. Why could R. Gläser only give typical examples from newspaper texts, prose fiction and scientific/technical discourse In the chapter of her textbook which dealt with the communicative function of phraseological units in various text forms?

37. In what paper was a broader survey provided (Gläser 1998), which appeared in the proceedings of a phraseology conference organized by the British lexicographer A.P. Cowie at the University of Leeds in 1994?

38. R. Gläser's text corpus included popular-scientific articles, academic-scientific monographs, student textbooks, commercial advertisements, and texts of prose fiction. This aspect will be elaborated in greater detail in Chapter 3.2 of S. Fiedler's coursebook. Would you outline those details and characterize them in short?

39. When was R. Gläser's book first published, in which the linguist's main concern was phraseological units in English for general purposes (EGP), i.e. the general language of present-day usage?

40. What other set expressions in specialist discourse, in job-specific subject areas, however, were only mentioned in passing in connection with non-idiomatic phrases and terminological word groups (in that book)?

41. What conclusion on phraseological units in LGP and LSP did the linguist come to on closer inspection?

42. In what semantic and pragmatic properties do phraseological units in the language for general purposes (LGP) and the language for special purposes (LSP) differ?

43. Could you explain why the distinction results in different definitions of the phraseological unit in LGP and LSP?

44. Do you agree to the linguist's statement that there is a striking contrast in the classification systems of phraseological units in EGP and ESP?

45. Are you inclined to maintain that whereas EGP has a fully elaborated phraseological system with regard to the types of phrases, ESP is characterized by a restricted phraseological system (cf. Gläser 1995, 2007)?

46. Will you comment on that publishers of English textbooks and dictionaries take it as a tacit assumption that their products disseminate the standard variety of English spoken on the British Isles?

47. Would you maintain R. Gläser's point of view consisting in that the term English is an abstraction, a generalization and even a simplification, a kind of umbrella term, in view of the multitude of Englishes scattered throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations – beyond the territorial boundaries of British English to the modified standards which developed in the remote overseas countries of the former British colonies?

48. Will you exemplify the idea that in addition to specific features of vocabulary, overseas standard varieties of English have brought forth idioms and phrases of their own?

49. Could you prove that those phraseological units designate items of indigenous culture, of native flora and fauna, phenomena of climate, and last but not least, life itself in overseas settlements past and present?

50. What preliminary and selective research on the phraseology of American English did R. Gläser do in this field (Gläser 1991, 1992)?

51. What preliminary and selective research on the phraseology of Australian English did R. Gläser conduct in this field (Gläser 1999c)?

52. What preliminary and selective research on the phraseology of New Zealand English did R. Gläser carry out in this field (Gläser 1999c)?

53. What preliminary and selective research on the phraseology of South African English did R. Gläser pursue in this field (Gläser 2002)?

54. Do you think that such studies could be expanded into the phraseology of Canadian, Indian, West African and Caribbean English, etc.? Is there ample opportunity for ongoing research?

55. To what extent did Sabine Fiedler apply results of R. Gläser's later publications on the topics mentioned above in her numerous empirical studies?

56. On what scale did S. Fiedler discuss international current issues of phraseology in her monograph *Plansprache und Phraseologie* (Planned Language and Phraseology)?

57. In what way has Sabine Fiedler broken new ground in her coursebook on *English Phraseology*?

58. Will you supply arguments proving that unlike earlier authors of practical exercise books on English idioms she has aimed at capturing the essentials of theory and methodology in English phraseology as an academic subject and tried to incorporate these into an intricate framework of tasks?

59. Would you maintain R. Gläser in that there is a lively interaction between teacher and students, and theoretical passages are interspersed with assignments of graded complexity in S. Fiedler's course-book?

60. Could you argue for the statement that following the method of Gläser (1981/1986a), S. Fiedler proceeds from word-like to sentence-like phraseological units and is fully aware of the interrelation between systemic and communicative linguistics?

61. Her own description and classification of phraseological units are discussed in the light of different linguistic theories, are they not? Will you exemplify it?

62. Do you think that the students are given a multitude of demanding tasks for finding out the stylistic values of idioms in all sorts of texts and to evaluate the adequacy of their rendering in a translation?

63. Would one accept that here again the careful comparison of equivalents in the source and target language is a necessary previous step?

64. Do you agree with R. Gläser in her evaluation of S. Fiedler as an experienced university teacher, who has used all her imaginative and creative capacity to set the students on a track towards exploring English phraseology for themselves?

65. Why is R. Gläser sure that the book may be used to the students' best advantage, and they may receive from it both instruction and enjoyment?

Theme 2

OUTLINE OF ELISABETH PIIRAINEN'S LINGUISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS

As appears from the curriculum vitae, Elisabeth Piirainen's academic career began in 1970. Even before completing her doctorate, she got a permanent position at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, a teaching post in the field of German as a foreign language. That is why she and her family moved from Germany to Finland. But the time in Finland was of short duration, for soon her husband was offered a chair at the University of Münster/Westphalia, so they went back to Germany. They settled down at the countryside near the city of Münster, where the farmers still spoke a Low German dialect. This was – as it turned out later – a blessing for her future career.

Back in Germany, Elisabeth Piirainen's job was not located at a university, but at an institute for regional and cultural studies, located in the "Westmünsterland" (the region west of the city of Münster, on the edge of the German-speaking area). Her task was to explore the local Low German dialects. The first project consisted in researching *field-names of the Westmünsterland*. Her self-developed method was to question the old-established peasants about their knowledge of field-names and put these names on the maps. Relying on the complete field-name data she was able to draw historical and linguistic conclusions. Her method was innovative and she was awarded the "sponsorship award of Westphalian regional and cultural studies" for her two-volume work on microtoponymy (1984).

Elisabeth Piirainen also applied her method to the next project. Now it was about writing a dictionary of "Westmünsterländisch", an old Low German original dialect that practically did not exist in written form, id est, exclusively in oral one. Her extensive *Lexicon der westmünsterländischen Mundart* (1992) is still a standard work. This was also. When gathering the data for the dictionary, she now intensified her efforts to ask the speakers about their knowledge of idioms. With the help of the last generation of dialect speakers she managed to collect a comprehensive inventory of 4,500

Low German idioms in their originality and traditional contexts. The speakers were asked about their cultural knowledge and the mental images the idioms evoked. Piirainen's two-volume study *Phraseologie der westmünsterländischen Mundart* (2000) is the first study on dialectal phraseology within a linguistic framework. For this work she was awarded the Hans Sass Prize. One may see also various articles between 1985 and 1999 on the point.

In 1992, Elisabeth Piirainen attended a phraseology conference for the first time: it was the meeting in Saarbrücken where she reported on her research on dialectal phraseology and pointed out clear differences to the standard language phraseology. She maintained already at that time, that idiom research on smaller languages and dialects, that had survived mainly in oral form, would enrich the theoretical knowledge about phraseology which had been obtained from the analytical studies of only a few major European literary languages. Another basic principle was her demand to collect the data as completely as possible before drawing conclusions and presenting theoretical results. In all other projects, Elisabeth Piirainen took into consideration those ideas.

At the conference in Saarbrücken she met Dmitrij Dobrovol'skij who was very interested in her new insights resulting from the dialect phraseology. They decided to write some papers on current phraseological topics together (on *idioms with unique constituents* and the *world view problems*, cf. the articles 1992a, 1993a, 1994a, b). Their cooperation continued over the following decades. First, they were concerned with *cultural semiotics* and *symbols in language and culture*, cf. their book on *Symbole in Sprache und Kultur* (1997). Later the focus was brought to various questions concerning the *theory of the figurative lexicon*, metaphors, idiom motivation and the concept of culture, cf. their books *Figurative Language: Cross-cultural and cross-linguistic perspectives* (2005) and *Zur Theorie der Phraseologie: Kognitive and kulturelle Aspekte* (2009). Several jointly written articles would have to be mentioned (1999d, l, 2000b, 2005c, 2006d, 2010b, 2014c, 2015e, 2017b).

Elisabeth Piirainen expanded the spectrum of her research in many directions. On the one hand, she included other languages: her preferred

languages were *Dutch* (see articles 1995b, d, 1996a, 1997b, 1999f, k, 2002d, 2003a) and *Japanese* (1995a), later also Swedish, French, Greek, Finnish and other languages. In the meantime, she benefited from her experiences gained in projects on the Low German dialect. She is familiar with the direct and indirect methods of data collection and analyzing large survey data. Two large-scale projects followed which were based on large amounts of data obtained by questioning and surveys.

Between 1999 and 2002, Elisabeth Piirainen and her husband carried out a *Survey on the Common Knowledge of Idioms in Colloquial German*, involving about 3,000 participants from all regions of Germany. This empirical study was started in order to make an inventory of the common knowledge of idioms in individual regions of Germany; it primarily focused on the regional differences of idioms. The phenomenon of limited regional validity of numerous German idioms had hitherto received little attention in phraseology research. The fact that the spatial dimension (the diatopic division of the linguistic space) being a central problem of the analysis in the phraseologyical research had hardly been noticed so far.

In addition, several hundred idioms from the spoken regional varieties appeared not to have been listed in dictionaries before. At the same time Elisabeth Piirainen dealt with the *diatopic markings of idioms* in German dictionaries. She proved that most of the markings were incorrect, a fact that mainly can be attributed to a lack of systematic empirical studies. The most important result of her study seems to be the finding that the division of Germany left traces in the phraseology: various idioms have been identified which were only in circulation in the former GDR. All of them are regionalisms which penetrated the spoken varieties of East Germany but remained completely unknown in West Germany. The intensity of the former inner-German boundary has been shown by projecting the data on the map of Germany (see the articles 2001a, b, 2002b, c–g, 2003b, c).

The next project under the name *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond* has a much larger scope. The main objective was to identify idioms that occur in a large number of languages in almost the same lexico-semantic structure and figurative core meaning by means of systematic investigation. In contrast to bilingual or trilingual cross-linguistic phraseology, that very

time Elisabeth Piirainen intended to embrace as many European languages as she could, in case methods of phraseological research were applicable to them. And the linguist's intentions and efforts resulted in about 80 European languages and 20 non-European languages that were involved into the project. The two books *Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond* (2012) and *Lexicon of Common Figurative Units* (2016a) present numerous results, throwing a new light on the common features of the European languages in the focus of their idiomaticity and their close connection with culture (compare also various articles from 2005 to 2016).

A smaller follow-up project "widespread idiomatic patterns" (working title) has been initiated. First results did not hesitate to emerge: several phrase constructions are spread across a number of European languages – even beyond the boundaries of language families (cf. the articles 2014b, 2017c and 2018).

Several fields of research, which were later also examined for standard languages, have arisen directly from Piirainen's studies on the old dialect "Westmünsterländisch". Above all, the topics "lexicalized play on words" and "gender specifics of idioms" should be mentioned, both of which appear very clearly in the dialect phraseology. Punning clichés are not only particularly numerous in the Low German dialect but also used for specific pragmatic functions of education and concealment, which do not exist in standard languages in the same way (cf. her articles on *conventional word plays*, 1995c, 1999f, j, 2002d, and other types of play with words, letters or prefabricated elements of the figurative lexicon, 2004a, 2005b, 2006b).

Elisabeth Piirainen's occupation with the dialect revealed a phenomenon that was not known before, that is a substantial quantity of phraseological units have *gender restrictions.* During the research interviews with E. Piirainan the dialect speakers themselves explained to the linguist that for them it was impossible to make use of 'masculine' phrases because those were out of their sphere of daily working activities; and vicer versa: for their men it ws impossible to make use of 'feminine' phrases because those were out of the men's sphere of daily working activities. The observtions led the linguist to the conclusion that those usage restrictions are due to peculiar/specific images of the idioms. Since then, the phenomenon

of gender marking has become a current topic of phraseology research and was adopted for several standard languages. E. Piirainen also had a set of articles published on gender-marked phraseology in German and Dutch (1999a, k, 2001c, 2004b).

Elisabeth Piirainen carried out research in a number of other fields related to phraseology, including *false friends in idioms* (German – Dutch and other pairs of languages, 1997b, 1999f, 2001d, 2004c, 2004d) and research on *culture* in a broad sense (cultural semiotics, symbolism, cultural foundation of idioms, (see the articles 1998b, c, 1999b, d, l, 2006e, 2007c, 2008b, 2011c, 2012e, f, 2013c). Particularly noteworthy is the fact that she brought together idiom research with other linguistic disciplines which had not yet met phraseology. Both *Low German philology* and *dialectology* had so far little knowledge of phraseology. The same holds for *regional language research*, *microtoponymy* (cf. the article 1999e) as well as *areal linguistics* and *Eurolinguistics* (compare her large-scale projects on idioms in the regions of Germany and widespread idioms in Europe).

Most recently also *language criticism* has been combined with phraseology. The subject of Piirainen's articles 2016a and 2016b is an attempt to link the two linguistic disciplines together and to eliminate possible misunderstandings. Points of contact are most likely to be found in the area of "explosive expressions", the discrimination of persons (or groups) by means of verbal utterances and "political correctness" in the use of figurative units.

Finally, Elisabeth Piirainen has always been interested in minor and minority languages, which, like Westmünsterländisch, exist primarily in oral form. As she pointed out already at the very beginning of her research on phraseology, the theoretical foundation of European phraseology is largely based on the investigation of only a few standard languages with a rich literary tradition and a high degree of written norm. Her exploration of idioms of a small dialect not only provided rich new empirical data but also questioned some of the results that were considered to be secured. These ideas led her to the edition of two anthologies on figurative units of endangered languages. The contributions come from all continents and a wide range of language families. The first volume, *Endangered Metaphors*

(2012) has been published together with Anna Idström and the following one, *Language Endangerment. Disappearing Metaphors and Shifting Conceptualizations* (2015) together with Ari Sherris. Various papers reveal metaphorizations and concepts that have no parallels in the previously examined languages. They support the idea that the inclusion of dialects, regional and minority languages can enrich our knowledge, providing information on the theory of phraseology, which goes beyond the results achieved by standard languages alone.

Lesser-used languages of Europe and their contribution to a "Lexicon of Common Figurative Units" is the topic of further articles (2007e, 2014a, d, and 2015d). The documentation and research on idioms of endangered languages has been neglected almost completely until recently. Despite the significance and urgency of the issue, very little on this subject has been published yet. An overview of studies on figurative units in lesser-used languages can be found in Piirainen's article (2017c).

Elisabeth Piirainen's innovative ideas are sure to encourage the new generations of linguists in their creative studies of phraseology.

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after Tatiana Fedulenkova

Points to be commented and discussed

1. What is Elisabeth Piirainen?

2. Could you name the year, when Elisabeth Piirainen's academic career began?

3. What time in her life did Elisabeth Piirainen get a permanent position at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland?

4. Why do you think the time in Finland was of short duration?

5. Who (of the two in the family) was offered a chair at the University of Münster, Westphalia?

6. Why was it a favorable chance that they settled down at the country-side near the city of Münster?

7. Why was it a blessing for Elisabeth Piirainen's future career?

8. Where – back in Germany – was Elisabeth Piirainen's job located: at a university or at an institute for regional and cultural studies, located in the "Westmünsterland" (the region west of the city of Münster, on the edge of the German-speaking area)?

9. Was it a lucky task for Elisabeth Piirainen to explore the local Low German dialects?

10. Which of her projects consisted in researching field-names of the Westmünsterland?

11. What did Elisabeth Piirainen's self-developed method consist in?

12. Why was the linguist able to draw historical and linguistic conclusions?

13. Why do you think her method was innovative?

14. Why was Elisabeth Piirainen awarded the "sponsorship award of Westphalian regional and cultural studies" in 1984?

15. What was the name of E. Piirainen's next project she applied her method to? Was it about writing a dictionary of "Westmünsterländisch"?

16. What paper is considered to be the beginning of her occupation with phraseology?

17. Why did she intensifiy her efforts to ask the speakers about their knowledge of idioms?

18. In what way did she manage to collect a comprehensive inventory of 4,500 Low German idioms in their originality and traditional contexts?

19. Why were the dialect speakers asked about their cultural knowledge and the mental images the idioms evoked?

20. What is the title of Piirainen's two-volume first study on dialectal phraseology within a linguistic framework?

21. What work was she awarded the Hans Sass Prize for?

22. When did Elisabeth Piirainen attend a phraseology conference for the first time?

23. Was it the meeting in Saarbrücken where Elisabeth Piirainen reported on her research on dialectal phraseology and pointed out clear differences to the standard language phraseology?

24. Did she maintain already at that time, that idiom research on smaller languages and dialects, that had survived mainly in oral form, would enrich the theoretical knowledge about phraseology?

25. What was another basic principle of her research?

26. Who was very interested in E. Piirainen's new insights resulting from the dialect phraseology?

27. On what on current phraseological topics did they decide to write some papers together?

28. In what way did their cooperation that continued over the following decades change?

29. What jointly written articles could be mentioned?

30. What directions did Elisabeth Piirainen expand the spectrum of her research in?

31. What were her preferred languages?

32. In what way did she benefit from her experiences gained in projects on the Low German dialect?

33. The linguist was familiar with the direct and indirect methods of data collection and analyzing large survey data. In what way did it help her to cope with the two large-scale projects that followed?

34. What period did Elisabeth Piirainen and her husband carry out a survey on the everyday knowledge of idioms in colloquial German, involving about 3,000 participants from all regions of Germany?

35. That empirical study was started in order to make an inventory of the common knowledge of idioms in individual regions of Germany, was it not?

36. Why do you think the empirical study primarily focused on the regional differences of idioms?

37. Could you offer pro and contra for the statement: The phenomenon of limited regional validity of numerous German idioms had hitherto received little attention in phraseological research? Give your arguments.

38. The fact that the spatial dimension – the diatopic division of the linguistic space – being a central problem of the phraseological analysis had hardly been noticed so far. Could you agree here?

39. How many idioms from the spoken regional varieties appeared not to have been listed in dictionaries before?

40. Why did Elisabeth Piirainen deal at the same time with the diatopic markings of idioms in German dictionaries?

41. In what way did she find out a fact that mainly can be attributed to a lack of systematic empirical studies?

42. She proved that most of the markings were incorrect, did she not?

43. What was the most important result of her study?

44. How did she esteem the finding that the division of Germany left traces in the phraseology and various idioms had been identified which were only in circulation in the former GDR?

45. Could you argue that all of them are regionalisms which penetrated the spoken varieties of East Germany but remained completely unknown in West Germany.?

46. What is the value of the fact that the intensity of the former inner-German boundary has been shown (by E. Piirainen) by projecting the data on the map of Germany?

47. What project of Elisabeth Piirainen had a much larger scope and what did it consist in? What was its main objective?

48. How many languages did E. Piirainen intend to embrace within her new research?

49. What two new books presented numerous results, throwing a new light on the common features of the European languages in the focus of their idiomaticity in their close connection with culture?

50. What project of hers did not hesitate to emerge and demonstrate that several phrase constructions are spread across a number of European languages – even beyond the boundaries of language families?

51. What new topics (beside "lexicalized play on words" and "gender specifics of idioms") should be mentioned that appeared due to E. Piirainen very clearly in the dialect phraseology?

52. Why do you think punning clichés (found by E. Piirainen) are not only particularly numerous in the Low German dialect but also used for specific pragmatic functions of education and concealment, which do not exist in standard languages in the same way?

53. What phenomenon that was not known before was revealed through Elisabeth Piirainen's occupation with the dialect?

54. What observtions led the linguist to the conclusion that those usage *gender* restrictions are due to peculiar/specific images of the phraseological units?

55. In what other fields related to phraseology did Elisabeth Piirainen carry out research?

56. Could you argue for the statement that particularly noteworthy is the fact that Elisabeth Piirainen brought together idiom research with other linguistic disciplines which had not yet met phraseology?

57. Would you agree that the subject of Piirainen's articles 2016a and 2016b is an attempt to link the two linguistic disciplines together and to eliminate possible misunderstandings?

58. What ideas led Elisabeth Piirainen to the edition of two anthologies on figurative units of endangered languages?

59. Were the contributions coming from all continents and a wide range of language families of great help?

60. Who was the first volume – *Endangered Metaphors* (2012) – published together with?

61. Do you maintain the idea that the inclusion of dialects, regional and minority languages can enrich our knowledge, providing information on the theory of phraseology, which goes beyond the results achieved by standard languages alone?

62. Why do you think lesser-used European languages and their contribution to *a lexicon of common figurative units* is the topic of further articles?

63. Why has the documentation and research on idioms of endangered languages been neglected almost completely until recently?

64. Would you argue that Elisabeth Piirainen's innovative ideas are sure to encourage the new generations of linguists in their creative studies of phraseology?

Theme 3

"A FRIEND (NOT) IN NEED IS A FRIEND INDEED": FRIENDSHIP IN OLD, MODERN, AND ANTI-PROVERBS

For my friend Tatiana Fedulenkova

One of my fondest memories about working on proverbial matters goes back more than fifty years when my dear wife and I were newly-wed Ph.D. students in 1969 at Michigan State University at East Lansing, Michigan (USA). One day Barbara told me that there was a well-known proverb that she really never understood as a native speaker of English. When she identified the proverb as "A friend in need is a friend indeed", I responded by inquiring what could possibly be so difficult with understanding this piece of folk wisdom. As we continued our discussion of the proverb, it became clear that she was interpreting it as referring to "a needy friend" being a good friend and consequently questioned its wisdom. Once I explained that the proverb refers to a person who actually needs help from a friend, it made sense to her, of course, but we periodically remember this event half a century ago when we encounter the proverb anew. But suffice it to say, I took home from this once and for all that proverbs are by no means simplistic statements whose messages are at all times easily accessible. The metaphors that are often part of their wording add to this complexity, especially if they appear without any context. Many proverbs make little sense in collections, but once they are employed in different situations for various purposes, they exhibit shades of meaning. Stated more scholarly, proverbs must be studied in their polysituativity, polyfunctionality, and polysemanticity (Mieder 2004a: 9).

About four years later after this memorable discussion with my young bride, I came across a significant article by my now long-time friend Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett on "Toward a Theory of Proverb Meaning" (1973) that Alan Dundes and I republished in our essay-volume *The Wisdom of Many. Essays on the Proverb* (1981). She published her seminal paper originally in the "old" *Proverbium* journal in Helsinki. Its twenty-five issues

were edited by Matti Kuusi between 1965 and 1975 and published articles by such great twentieth-century paremiologists as Roger D. Abrahams, Shirley Arora, Charles Doyle, Kazys Grigas, Galit Hasan-Rokem, Bengt Holbek, Arvo Krikmann, Pentti Leino, Isidor Levin, Démétrios Loukatos, Katherine Luomala, Otto Moll, Siegfried Neumann, Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov, Lutz Röhrich, Agnes Szemerkényi, Archer Taylor, Bozor Tilavov, Vilmos Voigt, Bartlett Jere Whiting, and many others. The entire run of the journal amounted to but one thousand pages, but they represent the foundation of modern theoretical paremiology. It was my great honor to receive Matti-Kuusi's blessing in bringing out a two-volume reprint of it in 1987 with the Peter Lang publishing house in Berne, Switzerland. It behooves proverb scholars today to pay heed to these pages, among them the one by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.

Imagine my surprise and joy in 1973 when I read her erudite treatise about proverb semantics! But not just that, for she includes a detailed discussion of the proverbs "A rolling stone gathers no moss" and "A friend in need is a friend indeed" that perplexed her students at the University of Texas at Austin. Here are the four interpretations that the students came up with when asked to do so:

A friend in need is a friend indeed (in deed)

1. Someone who feels close enough to you to be able to ask you for help when he is in need is really your friend.

2. Someone who helps you when you are in need is really your friend.

3. Someone who helps you by means of his actions (deeds) when you need him is a real friend as opposed to someone who just makes promises.

4. Someone who is only your friend when he needs you is not a true friend.

The students' professor explains the sources of this ambiguity as follows: (1) syntactic ambiguity (is your friend in need or are you in need); (2) lexical ambiguity (indeed or in deed); (3) key issue (Is the proverb being stated 'straight' or 'sarcastically'? Does 'a friend indeed' mean 'true friend' or 'not a true friend'?). The readings provided here and the ambiguities they are based on do not exhaust the possibilities but merely pinpoint the most common ones (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1973: 822 – 823). All of this is ample

proof that proverbs communicate by indirection and that they have to be disambiguated in actual performance situations, be that in spoken or written, or for that matter drawn (cartoons) situations.

But ambiguous or not, this proverb belongs to the paremiological minimum of the English language (Haas 2008: 339) and due to its popularity and perhaps also because of its complexity as well as its parallel structure and rhyme has led to numerous parodying anti-proverbs. Here are but a few with the dates of their first occurrence in print:

A friend in need is a friend to avoid. (1949)
A friend that ain't in need is a friend indeed. (1955)
A friend in need is a friend to keep away from. (1967)
A friend not in need is a friend indeed. (1967)
A friend in need is a friend you don't need. (1968)
A friend in need is a pest indeed. (1976)
A friend in need is a drain on the pocketbook. (1980)
A friend in need is a fiend indeed. (1996)
A friend in deed is the friend you need. (1999)

(Litovkina and Mieder 2006: 64)

But there is more to this story: Of the 1617 modern proverbs (proverbs that were coined after the year 1900) registered with dates and contexts in *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* (2012; abbreviated as *DMP* with page number), edited by Ch. Cl. Doyle, W. Mieder and F. R. Shapiro, and its three supplements (Doyle and Mieder 2016, 2018, 2020), about 145 or 9 % originated as anti-proverbs and subsequently gained such general acceptance and frequency of use that they have become proverbs in their own right. In other words, while not all anti-proverbs gain traditional proverbiality, some in fact do make this jump. Anti-proverbs definitely need to be studied if paremiography is to go beyond repeating long-established proverbs without paying attention to modern proverbs! In any case, one such anti-proverb turned modern proverb is "A friend with weed is a friend indeed". The American folklorist Roger D. Abrahams, in his short but pregnant article "Such Matters as Every Man Should Know, and Descant Upon" (1970) in

Proverbium, registered its appearance in the youth culture fifty years ago: "Witness the recent use of the proverb 'A friend in need is a friend indeed'. The force of the proverb in this form is underlined yet particularized in the rephrasing, 'A friend with weed is a friend indeed'. ('Weed' is a slang term for marijuana.)". In 1970 my deceased friend Abrahams did not yet know the term "anti-proverb" that I coined a few years later (Röhrich and Mieder 1977: 115). Anna Litovkina and I registered the text in minorvariants a few years later as "A friend with a weed is a friend indeed" (1977) and "A friend in weed is a friend indeed" (1989), an indication that the anti-proverb was finding its way slowly but surely to a standard form (Litovkina and Mieder 2006: 64). Many years later Charles Doyle, Fred Shapiro and I, using modern electronic database search possibilities, located it in the *Evergreen Review* magazine of March 12, 1968, as "A friend with weed is a friend indeed" that by now, some fifty years later, has become a true modern proverb (Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 86).

If there were time and space, this short study could now move on to trace the origin, development, and dissemination of the proverb "A friend in need is a friend indeed", starting in its rudimentary form in the eleventh century until it appears in this precise and standard wording in John Ray's *Collection of English Proverbs* in 1678 and so on (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 233; Speake 2015: 121). The next step would be to see how the proverb and its basic idea appears in other languages. My ancient Hungarian friend Gyula Paczolay, renowned polyglot paremiographer, has registered it with detailed annotations in forty-five languages under the lemma "A true friend is known in need/adversity" in his unsurpassed dictionary of *European Proverbs in 55 Languages with Equivalents in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Chinese and Japanese* (1997: 159 – 164). At such expanse of coverage of individual proverbs, it is understandable that Paczolay could present "only" 106 proverbs and their international occurrence, with this particular proverb representing the hundreds of other proverbs from all the corners of the world dealing with friendship. They are listed in valuable international proverb collections that usually amass texts without any historical annotations (Gluski 1971, Mieder 1986, Strauss 1995, Cordry 1997, Stone 2006, Rosen 2020; for more titles see Mieder 2011:

17 – 36). Of course, innumerable proverb collections for individual languages also contain many "friend"-proverbs, with *the DAP* (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 233 – 240) listing 195 texts with some annotations just under the key-word "friend", with more proverbs dealing with friendship appearing throughout the volume. As one would have expected, people everywhere have summarized their opinion, feeling, and experience with this all-too-human matter in proverbial wisdom. Little wonder then that Alan E. Cheales included a delightfully readable chapter on "Friendship" in his book on *Proverbial Folk-Lore* (1874: 91 – 97) that ought not to be forgotten.

Do you think the author's exclamation – with such plethora of proverbs worldwide dealing with friendship it is somewhat surprising that new proverbs can still be created on this so richly covered subject matter – is justified?

With such plethora of proverbs worldwide dealing with friendship it is somewhat surprising that new proverbs can still be created on this so richly covered subject matter. But it is a basic human phenomenon, and new insights can indeed still be crystallized into proverbial form. For example, there is the Jamaican proverb "Mek fren' when you no need dem" from 1927 that was recorded in 1946 in standard English as "Make friends when you don't need them" and its variant "Make friends before you need them" (*DMP* 87).

It is somewhat related to the proverb "A friend in need is a friend indeed" discussed above. But since its anti-proverbs have been cited, it is well to mention two additional modern proverbs that started as anti-proverbs of older proverbs from the sixteenth century. Thus, the proverb "A friend's frown is better than a fool's smile" mutated into the anti-proverb "A friend's frown is better than a foe's smile" by 1922 (*DMP* 86) and is now current as a new proverb. And a witty soul changed the well-known proverb "You cannot have your cake and eat it too" to the anti-proverb "You cannot use your friends and have them too" (*DMP* 88) by 1954 that in turn has attained a proverbial status as an insightful piece of wisdom about human nature.

Another example of how some modern proverbs [appear] as anti-proverbs based on the same structure of older proverbs is what happened to

the proverb "You can choose your friends, but you cannot choose your family" (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 240). One might well wonder what brought about the following two modern proverbs based on it, but the motivation for these somewhat crass proverbs was most likely a bit of somatic folk humor to add some expressiveness to it all:

You can pick your friends, and you can pick your nose, but you can't pick your friend's nose (1975, *DMP* 88).
You can pick your nose, but you can't pick your family (relatives) (1997, *DMP* 179).
<…>

So do animals, and as a dog lover – my wife and I have a white and a black Labrador – I have always felt akin to the proverb "A dog is man's best friend" whose first printed reference I have found thus far stems from 1843. This might be a bit surprising, but it must be remembered that dogs in former times were not so much pets but rather working animals – a far cry form being a good friend! In any case, the English proverb has been loan translated into other languages and is extremely popular as a loving tribute to our four-legged friends. In fact, animals, and especially cats and dogs, continue to bring about new proverbs due to their status as beloved family members (Mieder 2020: 185 – 214). As would be expected, the popular proverb has led to numerous anti-proverbs, to wit:

A dog is man's best friend, and vice versa. (1968)
If a dog could talk, he wouldn't long remain man's best friend. (1968)
If my dog could talk, would he still be my best friend? (1975)
A man's best friend is his dogma. (1985)
The remote control is man's best friend. (1996)
The wastepaper basket is a writer's best friend. (1997)
Outside of a dog, a book is man's best friend. Inside a dog, it's too dark to read. (2000)

(Litovkina and Mieder 2006: 59 – 60)

None of these anti-proverbs have attained proverbial status, but perhaps "A book is man's [woman's] best friend" might make it to a new modern proverb one day – at least among happy readers like my wife and me. Realizing that metaphorical proverbs could be defined as "verbal images" (Mieder 2004a: 148 – 150), I consider it quite natural that artists from the Middle Ages [up to this] day have illustrated them in woodcuts, emblems, and oil paintings including Pieter Bruegel's famous "The Netherlandish Proverbs" from 1559 (Dundes and Stibbe; Mieder 2004b). This proverb iconography also includes sculptures, plaques, potteries, and, to be sure, the whole media world of broadsheets, caricatures, cartoons, and comic strips (Mieder and Sobieski 1999). In my International Proverb Archive that I have built during the past fifty years at the University of Vermont, I have three cartoons that might serve as examples:

"I find it increasingly difficult to remain man's best friend".

The New Yorker (February 22, 1988), p. 96.

"Glen, I'm not just your editor. I'm also your best friend, and I'm telling you, lose the cat".

The New Yorker (November 26, 2018), p. 42.

"They say that dogs are man's best friend, but I've always said that man is dog's fourth-favorite food".

The New Yorker (November 25, 2019), p. 59.

But the "dog"-proverb has also led to an anti-proverb that has become a proverb albeit a somewhat antifeminist one: "A diamond is a girl's best friend" and its plural variant "Diamonds are a girl's best friend" (*DMP* 55). It originated in 1949 with the title and refrain of a song by Leo Robin and famously sung by Marilyn Monroe in the film *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953):

The French are glad to die for love
They delight in fighting duels
But I prefer a man who lives
And gives expensive jewels

A kiss on the hand
May be quite continental
But diamonds are a girl's best friend.

With the glamour of Marilyn Monroe and the popularity of the film, thousands came in touch with the invented anti-proverb of the song that caught on to such a degree that it counts as a modern proverb. And there is one more interesting "friend-dog" proverb, namely "If you want a friend, get (buy) a dog" (1941). Here is what we say in our *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* about it: "The proverb alludes to the old saying 'A dog is man's best friend'. It usually suggests that, in some particular hostile or competitive setting (Hollywood, Washington DC, Wall Street), a dog will be the *only* friend that a person can hope to find – and that (human) friendship itself is a quality not only improbable but even undesirable" (*DMP* 86 – 87).

Many other friendship proverbs from the nineteenth century or earlier times could be discussed here, but it must suffice to mention just a few of the most popular ones out of the *Dictionary of American Proverbs* (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 233 – 240) as a contrast to modern proverbs with that theme:

Old friends are best. (1565)
Don't trade old friends for new. (1575)
A good friend is a great treasure. (1580)
A friend is not so soon gotten as lost. (1599)
The best friends must part. (1602)
They are rich who have friends. (1608)
When a friend asks, there is no tomorrow. (1611)
A friend to all is a friend to none. (1623)
A good friend never offends. (1659)
A friend in the market is better than money in the purse. (1664)
Friends are to be preferred to relatives. (1732)
Be slow in choosing a friend, but slower in changing him. (1735)
The way to gain a friend is to be one. (1841)

The last two texts are first found in Benjamin Franklin's and Ralph Waldo Emerson's works respectively, both of whom employed proverbs frequently and coined some of them (Barbour 1974; Mieder 1989). But it is the proverb "A friend is a (very) precious gift" from the early nineteenth century that might be singled out here as a heart-warming and humane piece of folk wisdom. The great former slave, later abolitionist, and towering human rights champion Frederick Douglass (1818 – 1896), friend of President Abraham Lincoln and his equal in rhetorical prowess, employed it in a speech of January 5, 1854:

The term friend is a delightful one, filled with a thousand sweet harmonies. In journeying through this vale of tears, life is desolate indeed, if unblest [unblessed] by friendship. A friend is a very precious gift. A brother is not always a friend – a sister is not always a friend, and even a wife may not always be a friend, nor a husband always a friend. The central idea of friendship, and the main pillar of it is *trust*. Where there is no *trust*, there is no friendship. We cannot love those whom we cannot trust. The basis of all *trust* is truth. There cannot be trust – lasting trust – where the truth is not. Men must be true to each other, or they cannot trust each other.

(cited from Mieder 2001: 231)

Friends are indeed special gifts and so are proverbs about them! Among the almost two hundred texts listed under the keyword "friend" in The *Dictionary of American Proverbs* are many for which we could not find any references in other proverb collections. They were collected during field research under the direction Margaret M. Bryant of the American Dialect Society between the years 1945 – 1985 from people throughout the [USA] and also Canada (Bryant 1945). Stewart Kingsbury, Kelsie Harder, and I inherited the files in the mid-1980s amounting to about 250000 (!) slips of paper. It took several years to work through them, to delete non-proverbial texts, to sort variants, etc. The uniqueness of the published collection is therefore the fact that the proverbs were collected and not copied from written sources. Since the slips also included the geographical location of the person writing the proverb down, we were able to attach distribution

areas by state after each text. Texts that only appeared once or a couple of times on the slips were not included, since we wanted to make sure that they had actual currency among the folk. What we could not do was using the various databases available now to establish dates of origin. In many cases that might not have been possible in any case since they might have been current only regionally or even just locally. To be sure, I could now check each text on the internet to see what can be found. More importantly, I am mentioning all of this to point out that proverb scholars should do more field research! There are many proverbs, especially modern ones, that have never been recorded, and we should not restrict our paremiographical work only to written sources. In any case, here are a few proverbs of the structure "A friend …" that were identified by way of field research procedures:

> A friend at hand is better than a relative at a distance.
> A friend in power is a friend lost.
> A friend is a present you give yourself.
> A friend is easier lost than found.
> (I have now found it in a written source from 1889)
> A friend is not known until he is lost.
> A friend is to be taken with his faults.
> A friend married is a friend lost.
> A friend whom you can buy can be bought from you.
> A friend won with a feather can be lost with a straw.
> (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 233 – 234)

Additional work could now attempt to find these texts in written sources to establish some historical dates. But more importantly and to the point is that they have been collected at all and were included in a large proverb dictionary with over 15 000 Anglo-American proverbs and variants collected through field research in North America!

All of this leads to the last section of this short paper, namely the discovery and registration of modern proverbs. In order to prepare our *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* and its three supplements, we culled though our own proverb archives that we established over many years as

paremiologists, folklorists, and philologists, we relied on our own vast reading of modern literature, journals, magazines, and newspapers, and the Internet, and we solicited the help from relatives, friends, colleagues, and above all our students. Recalling the collecting effort of the American Dialect Society, we could now also use questionnaires to be distributed electronically! Each newly discovered text needs to be researched to see whether it does in fact qualify as a new proverb. If certain standard proverbial markers such as alliteration, rhyme, parallelism, metaphor, and some apparent truth are present, that is a good start. But many modern proverbs are straight forward indicative sentences without a metaphor. Database work will help in finding references in print and to establish at least some currency over time, and usually it will also be discovered that the identified proverb exists in variants that should be recorded as well.

But to return to our proverbial muttons, let me turn to a few more modern "friend"-proverbs that we have identified and registered. While the *Dictionary of American Proverbs* includes twelve proverbs following the structure "Friends …", there is not one text that starts with the negative "Friends don't …" But here are two modern proverbs with that pattern stating rather directly what is not necessary or what should not be done:

Friends don't need explanation (1912, *DMP* 86).
Variant: You do not need to explain to a friend.
Friends don't let friends drive drunk (1976, *DMP* 86).
Variant: Friends don't let friends ride drunk (on motorcycles).
Variant: Friends don't let friends drink and drive.

In the American society, where the automobile plays a dominant role, it is natural that a proverb against drunk driving would come about. It is only surprising that we have not found an earlier reference than the one from the mid-1970s.

The *Dictionary of American Proverbs* contains eight proverbs that deal with the question of what makes "a true friend" that have not been registered in any other proverb collection:

A true friend is forever a friend.

A true friend is one that steps in when the rest of the world steps out.

A true friend is one who knows all your faults and loves you still.

We have now established that its earliest written reference is from 1917 and consequently have included it in *DMP* 87 – 88.

A true friend is the wine of life.

A true friend is your second half.

A true friend loves at all times.

A true friend worries more over your success than your failure.

(Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 234)

As a red wine drinker, I like the proverb that a good friend is like wine! But what else can a true friend possibly be? Well, here is one more modern proverb following this pattern. Our short listing is quite revealing for this relatively recent text:

A (true, good) friend walks in when (all) others walk out. 1994 *The Advertiser* 24 Oct.: "From Skyman in cyberspace, this thought: A true friend walks in when others walk out". 2002 Greg Laurie, *The God of Second Chance* (Wheaton IL: Tyndale House) 201: "An old adage says that a true friend walks in when others walk out".

(Doyle, Mieder, Shapiro 2012: 86)

As can be seen, we indicate that the proverb is current in a number of variants, with "A true friend walks in when others walk out" being the dominant one by now. Of interest is also the introductory formula "an old adage says", a very established way of adding authority to a cited proverb (Mieder 2004: 132), even though in this case its first reference from 1994 hardly justifies its identification as being old.

Many traditional proverbs are based on the contrast of two entities, and it stands to reason that there are proverbs that contrast friends with enemies. Seven of them appear in *The Dictionary of American Proverbs*:

A man's best friend and worst enemy is himself.
A reconciled friend is a double enemy.
Cherish your friend, and temperately admonish your enemy.
False friends are worse than open enemies.
God protect me from my friends; my enemies I know enough to watch.
Speak well of your friends; of your enemies say nothing.
Trust not a new friend nor an old enemy.
      (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 234 – 236 and 238 – 239)

But here are two proverbs form the mid-1970s that add a new spin to this older wisdom about the relationship of friends and enemies.

Your best friend might be your worst enemy (1970, *DMP* 69).
Variant: Your worst enemy could be your best friend.
Keep your friends close and (but) your enemies closer (1974, *DMP* 87).

The second proverb is a little strange, but since it became popular by way of the motion picture *The Godfather, Part II*, it might be underworld advice to be constantly aware of one's enemies. The first text, however, is of special interest since its variant exactly reverses the proverb and thus contradicts its truth value. This phenomenon of contradicting or dueling proverbs is not that rare, with the best example being the fourteenth-century proverb pair "Might makes right" (1311) and "Right makes might" (1375) that exists in German and other languages most likely as well (Mieder 2019: 263 – 286). In any case, the two "friend-enemy" proverbs express cautionary behaviour as do the older ones as well.

It is always good to see how further scholarship can lead to welcome discoveries. This is the case with the proverb "Little friends may prove great friends" that is listed in *The Dictionary of American Proverbs* (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 237) as having been recorded in the states of California, Indiana, New York, and also in Ontario, Canada. At the time, no written record could be found, but with new electronic research possibilities we were now able to piece together the following entry in *The Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* that cites the year 1903 as its first occurrence in print. All

of this is especially interesting since it links the proverb to a modern rendering of an Aesopic fable, with the interrelationship pf proverbs and fables having a long tradition (Carnes 1988):

Little friends may prove (become) great friends. 1903 *First Book of Song and Story*, introduction by Cynthia Westover Alden (New York: P. F. Collier & Son) 455: "Little friends may prove great friends", given as the "moral" to the Aesopic fable "The Lion and the Mouse". That text found its way into the Harvard Classics volume *Folk-lore and Fable* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909) 14. 1903 Huber Gray Buehler and Caroline Hotchkiss, *Modern English Lessons* (New York: Newson) 133 (the conclusion of the fable): "In a few moments the lion was free. 'I have learned,' said he, 'that little friends may become great friends'".

<div align="right">(Doyle, Mieder Shapiro 2012: 87)</div>

Things are a bit similar with the proverb "If you want a friend, you will have to be one" and its variant "To have a friend, be one" listed without dates or references in *The Dictionary of American Proverbs* (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 236 – 237). Again with the help of modern database searches it has been found as the variant "To make a friend, be a friend" in the *Oakland [California] Post* newspaper of January 26, 1977, and has thus been established for certain as a modern proverb (Doyle and Mieder 2018: 22). And here is yet another example: In *The Dictionary of American Proverbs* we registered the proverb "The more arguments you win, the less friends you will have" that had been recorded only in the state of Illinois (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 26). But it obviously must have spread beyond that region and gained more currency since its earliest written record has been found in the *Public Relations Journal* of 1945 (*DMP* 7).

This brings these deliberations to two relatively recent proverbs from the 1980s that belong to the pecuniary worldview of the American society (see the chapter in Mieder 2020: 155 – 184): "Fast pay (payment) makes (for) fast friends" (1980, *DMP* 85 – 86) and "The trend is your friend" with its even shorter variant "Trend is friend" (1983, *DMP* 263). They might just

be a little difficult to decipher by the uninitiated, but in the financial world they are well known. The first advises to pay bills when due or even before in order to establish good business relationships. The second text gives the advice to investors to follow the movement of the stock market.

Finally, there is the fascinating proverb "Only your friend knows your secret" (1976, *DMP* 87) that took on its own life from the popular song "Who the Cap Fit" on Ron Marley's album *Rastaman Vibration* (1976). The title in its pidgin English is a play on the old British proverb "If the cap fits, wear it" from 1600, with the modern proverb together with the "friend-enemy" proverb pair discussed above appearing in the first two stanzas:

Man to man is so unjust, children
You don't know who[m] to trust
Your worst enemy could be your best friend
And your best friend, your worst enemy
Some will eat and drink with you
Then behind them su-su' pon you
Only your friend know[s] your secrets
So only he could reveal it

"Spoon" refers to two people cuddling each other facing the same direction, somewhat recalling the similar position of spoons in a utensil drawer. The proverb pair in the first stanza together with the proverb "Only your friend knows your secret" in the second underscores the message of the second line that one doesn't now whom one can trust. In other words, the friend who knows one's secret might well be the person who will betray the friend. The proverb is then another cautionary saying, somewhat along the message of yet another modern proverb "Trust but verify" (1966, *DMP* 264), the Khrushchevian motto "dovierat no provierat" that belatedly has often been attributed to Ronald Reagan who in turn stated that he learned it from Mikhail Gorbachev. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that old, modern, and anti-proverbs about friends will continue to play a significant role as sapiential insights into human relationships.

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Points to be commented and discussed

1. What was that well-known proverb that W. Mieder's wife Barbara really never understood as a native speaker of English?

2. Why was she interpreting that proverb as referring to "a needy friend" being a good friend and consequently questioned its wisdom?

3. Did the author manage once to explain to Barbara that the proverb refers to a person who actually needs help from a friend and did it make sense to her?

4. Why did the couple periodically remember that event half a century ago when they encountered the proverb anew?

5. Which of them took home from that once and for all that proverbs are by no means simplistic statements whose messages are at all times easily accessible?

6. Why do the metaphors that are often part of their wording add to this complexity, especially if they appear without any context?

7. Do you agree with W. Mieder that many proverbs make little sense in collections, but once they are employed in different situations for various purposes, they exhibit shades of meaning?

8. Who initiated the idea that – stated more scholarly – proverbs must be studied in their polysituativity, polyfunctionality, and polysemanticity?

9. When did W. Mieder come across a significant article by his now long-time friend Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett on "Toward a Theory of Proverb Meaning"?

10. When did W. Mieder and Alan Dundes republish that article in their essay-volume *The Wisdom of Many. Essays on the Proverb*?

11. What journal did she publish her seminal paper originally in?

12. Who were its twenty-five issues edited by between 1965 and 1975?

13. The entire run of the journal amounted to but one thousand pages, representing the foundation of modern theoretical paremiology, did it not?

14. Why do you think W. Mieder points out that it was his great honor to receive Matti-Kuusi's blessing in bringing out a two-volume reprint of it in 1987 with the Peter Lang publishing house in Berne, Switzerland?

15. Would you make it explicit why it behooves proverb scholars today to pay heed to those pages, among them the one by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett?

16. Could you explain the reason of W. Vieder's surprise and joy in 1973 when he read Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's erudite treatise about proverb semantics?

17. How does the students' professor explain the origin of syntactic, lexical and key issue ambiguity of the proverb about a 'needy friend'?

18. Do you think the readings provided in the article and the ambiguities they are based on do not exhaust the possibilities but merely pinpoint the most common ones?

19. Could you prove that all of this is ample proof that proverbs communicate by indirection and that they have to be disambiguated in actual performance situations, be that in spoken or written, or for that matter drawn (cartoons) situations?

20. Would you agree to the author's statement: But ambiguous or not, this proverb "belongs to the paremiological minimum of the English language" and due to its popularity and perhaps also because of its complexity as well as its parallel structure and rhyme has led to numerous parodying anti-proverbs?

21. Why do you think while not all anti-proverbs gain traditional proverbiality, some in fact do make this jump?

22. Do you agree to W. Mieder's statement that anti-proverbs definitely need to be studied if paremiography is to go beyond repeating long-established proverbs without paying attention to modern proverbs?

23. Would you make explicit the meaning of the anti-proverb "A friend with weed is a friend indeed"?

24. In what way is the impact of the proverb underlined yet particularized in the rephrasing?

25. Why didn't W. Mieder's friend Roger D. Abrahams know the term "anti-proverb" in 1970?

26. Who coined that term a few years later?

27. How did it happen that "A friend with weed is a friend indeed" by now, some fifty years later, has become a true modern proverb?

28. What does the author feel when he writes: If there were time and space, this short study could now move on to trace the origin, development, and dissemination of the proverb <…>, starting in its rudimentary form in the eleventh century until it appears in this precise and standard wording in John Ray's [Book] in 1678 and so on (Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 233; Speake 2015: 121)?

29. Why was it interesting to the author to see how the proverb and its basic idea appears in other languages?

30. Who was that idea put into practice by?

31. Whose name did W. Mieder bear in mind when he wrote about his ancient Hungarian friend <…>, renowned polyglot paremiographer, who had registered it [the proverb under discussion] with detailed annotations in forty-five languages under the lemma "A true friend is known in

need/adversity" in his unsurpassed dictionary of *European Proverbs* published in 1977?

32. What did W. Mieder write about such expanse of coverage of individual proverbs?

33. Why was it is understandable that Paczolay could present "only" 106 proverbs and their international occurrence, with this particular proverb representing the hundreds of other proverbs from all over the world dealing with friendship?

34. They are listed in valuable international proverb collections that usually amass texts without any historical annotations, are they not? What is criticized in that statement?

35. Could you confirm the statement: *Of course, innumerable proverb collections for individual languages also contain many "friend"-proverbs, with [the DAP] listing 195 texts with some annotations just under the key-word "friend", with more proverbs dealing with friendship appearing throughout the volume*?

36. Would you comment on the author's phrase: *As one would have expected, people everywhere have summarized their opinion, feeling, and experience with this all-too-human matter in proverbial wisdom*?

37. Why in your opinion is there little wonder then that Alan E. Cheales included a delightfully readable chapter on "Friendship" in his book on *Proverbial Folk-Lore* (1874: 91 – 97) that ought not to be forgotten?

38. What does Wolfgang Mieder take as a basic human phenomenon in this respect?

39. Why does the author point out that new insights can indeed still be crystallized into proverbial form?

40. Why does he exemplify the Jamaican proverb "Mek fren' when you no need dem" from 1927 that was recorded in 1946 in standard English as "Make friends when you don't need them" and its variant "Make friends before you need them" (*DMP* 87).

41. Is it well, in your opinion, to mention two additional modern proverbs that started as anti-proverbs of older proverbs from the sixteenth century?

42. By what time did the proverb "A friend's frown is better than a fool's smile" mutate into the anti-proverb "A friend's frown is better than a foe's smile"? Is it now current as a new proverb?

43. By what time did the anti-proverb "You cannot use your friends and have them too" attain a proverbial status as an insightful piece of wisdom about human nature?

44. What was its corresponding original proverb?

45. What happened to the proverb "You can choose your friends, but you cannot choose your family"? What anti-proverbs originated from it?

46. What animals (and especially by the author) continue to bring about new proverbs due to their status as beloved family members?

47. Could try and differentiate the following anti-proverbs to the popular proverb mentioned:

If a dog could talk, he wouldn't long remain man's best friend. (1968)

If my dog could talk, would he still be my best friend? (1975)

A man's best friend is his dogma. (1985)

The remote control is man's best friend. (1996)

The wastepaper basket is a writer's best friend. (1997)

Outside of a dog, a book is man's best friend. Inside a dog, it's too dark to read.

48. Have any of those anti-proverbs attained proverbial status?

49. How does Wolfgang Mieder see the future development of the anti-proverb "A book is man's [woman's] best friend"?

50. Would you comment on the following: *Realizing that metaphorical proverbs could be defined as "verbal images" (Mieder 2004a: 148 – 150), I consider it quite natural that artists from the Middle Ages [up to this] day have illustrated them in woodcuts, emblems, and oil paintings including Pieter Bruegel's famous "The Netherlandish Proverbs" from 1559 (Dundes and Stibbe ; Mieder 2004b). This proverb iconography also includes sculptures, plaques, potteries, and, to be sure, the whole media*

world of broadsheets, caricatures, cartoons, and comic strips (Mieder and Sobieski 1999).

51. How many cartoons does Wolfgang Mieder have in his International Proverb Archive that he has built during the past fifty years at the University of Vermont, that might serve as example of the following:

(a) "I find it increasingly difficult to remain man's best friend."

The New Yorker (February 22, 1988), p. 96.

(b) "Glen, I'm not just your editor. I'm also your best friend, and I'm telling you, lose the cat."

The New Yorker (November 26, 2018), p. 42.

(c) "They say that dogs are man's best friend, but I've always said that man is dog's fourth-favorite food."

The New Yorker (November 25, 2019), p. 59.

52. Do you happen to know that the "dog"-proverb has also led to an anti-proverb that has become a proverb albeit a somewhat antifeminist one: "A diamond is a girl's best friend" and its plural variant "Diamonds are a girl's best friend" (*DMP* 55)?

53. Do you happen to know that the anti-proverb originated in 1949 with the title and refrain of a song by Leo Robin and famously sung by Marilyn Monroe in the film *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*. By the way what year did the film appear if you could remember?

54. How did it happen that it counts as a modern proverb now? Does the glamour of Marilyn Monroe and the popularity of the film have anything to do with it?

55. What old saying does the proverb "If you want a friend, get (buy) a dog" allude to?

56. Are you sure that the proverb usually suggests that, in "some particular hostile or competitive setting <…>, a dog will be the *only* friend that a person can hope to find – and that (human) friendship itself is a quality not only improbable but even undesirable"?

57. What kind of contrast to modern proverbs (with that theme) did Wolfgang Mieder bear in mind:

Old friends are best. (1565)

Don't trade old friends for new. (1575)

A good friend is a great treasure. (1580)

A friend is not so soon gotten as lost. (1599)

The best friends must part. (1602)

They are rich who have friends. (1608)

When a friend asks, there is no tomorrow. (1611)

A friend to all is a friend to none. (1623)

A good friend never offends. (1659)

Friends are to be preferred to relatives. (1732)

Be slow in choosing a friend, but slower in changing him. (1735)?

58. What proverb from the early nineteenth century might be singled out here as a heart-warming and humane 'piece of folk wisdom' as Wolfgang Mieder puts it?

59. In what way was that proverb employed it in a speech of January 5, 1854 by the great former slave, later abolitionist, and towering human rights champion Frederick Douglass (1818 – 1896), friend of President Abraham Lincoln and his equal in rhetorical prowess?

60. Comment on the following: "The term friend is a delightful one, filled with a thousand sweet harmonies. In journeying through this vale of tears, life is desolate indeed, if unblest [unblessed] by friendship. A friend is a very precious gift. A brother is not always a friend – a sister is not always a friend, and even a wife may not always be a friend, nor a husband always a friend. The central idea of friendship, and the main pillar of it is *trust*. Where there is no *trust*, there is no friendship. We cannot love those whom we cannot trust. The basis of all *trust* is truth. There cannot be trust – lasting trust – where the truth is not. Men must be true to each other, or they cannot trust each other".

(cited from Mieder 2001: 231)

61. Are there many among the almost two hundred texts listed under the keyword "friend" in The *Dictionary of American Proverbs* for which we could not find any references in other proverb collections?

62. Under whose direction were they collected during field research between the years 1945 – 1985 from people in the USA and also Canada?

63. What linguists together with Wolfgang Mieder inherited the files in the mid-1980s amounting to about 250 000 slips of paper?

64. How long did it take the researchers to work through them, to delete non-proverbial texts, to sort variants, etc.?

65. Do you agree that the uniqueness of the published collection is therefore the fact that the proverbs were collected and not copied from written sources?

66. Did the slips also include the geographical location of the person writing the proverb down?

67. What enabled the researchers to attach distribution areas by state after each text?

68. Why didn't the researcherrs include into the dictionary the texts that only appeared once or a couple of times on the slips?

69. Was it because they wanted to make sure that the proverbs had actual currency among the folk?

70. How did the absence of various databases available now prevent the scholars from establishing dates of their origin?

71. Did they take into account the proverbs that might have been current only regionally or even just locally?

72. Could the linguist now check each text on the internet to have a clear view of what could be found?

73. Why does the author insist on that proverb scholars should do more field research?

74. Do you agree that there are many proverbs, especially modern ones, that have never been recorded?

75. Why should we not restrict our paremiographical work only to written sources?

76. Could you name a few proverbs of the structure "A friend …" that were identified by way of field research procedures?

77. Why does the author innumerate the following set of "A friend-structure …" proverbs?

A friend at hand is better than a relative at a distance.

A friend in power is a friend lost.

A friend is a present you give yourself.

A friend is easier lost than found.

A friend is not known until he is lost.

A friend is to be taken with his faults.

A friend married is a friend lost.

A friend whom you can buy can be bought from you.

A friend won with a feather can be lost with a straw.

(Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 233 – 234)

78. Would you comment on the passage: In order to prepare the *Dictionary of Modern Proverbs* and its three supplements, we culled though our own proverb archives that we established over many years as paremiologists, folklorists, and philologists, we relied on our own vast reading of modern literature, journals, magazines, and newspapers, and the Internet, and we solicited the help from relatives, friends, colleagues, and above all our students. Could you approve of the efforts?

79. What are the advantages the researchers have now with the computers? Could the philologists now make use of questionnaires to be distributed electronically?

80. Do you agree with W. Mieder writing that each newly discovered text needs to be researched to see whether it does in fact qualify as a new proverb?

81. If certain standard proverbial markers such as alliteration, rhyme, parallelism, metaphor, and some apparent truth are present, that is a good start in identification of a proverb, is it not?

82. As W. Mieder points out, many contemporary proverbs are simply indicative sentences without a metaphor. What helps to identify them as actual proverbs?

83. What is peculiar about this set of proverb? Are they fixed in any other proverb collection?

A true friend is forever a friend.

A true friend is one who knows all your faults and loves you still.

A true friend is the wine of life.

A true friend is your second half.

A true friend worries more over your success than your failure.

(Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 234)

84. Many traditional proverbs are based on the contrast of two entities. What kind of contrast are the following seven proverbs based on:

A man's best friend and worst enemy is himself.

A reconciled friend is a double enemy.

Cherish your friend, and temperately admonish your enemy.

False friends are worse than open enemies.

God protect me from my friends; my enemies I know enough to watch.

Speak well of your friends; of your enemies say nothing.

Trust not a new friend nor an old enemy.

(Mieder, Kingsbury, Harder 1992: 234 – 236 and 238 – 239)

85. What are those two proverbs from the mid-1970s that add a new spin to this older wisdom about the relationship of friends and enemies?

86. Could you reproduce the variant of the proverb *Your best friend might be your worst enemy*? (1970, *DMP* 69)

87. Which proverb is a little strange, but since it became popular by way of the motion picture *The Godfather, Part II*, it might be underworld advice to be constantly aware of one's enemies?

88. Is the phenomenon of contradicting or dueling proverbs very frequent?

89. What does the fourteenth-century proverb pair "Might makes right" (1311) and "Right makes might" (1375) that exists in German and other languages most likely as well (Mieder 2019: 263 – 286) exemplify?

90. What "friend-enemy" proverbs express cautionary behavior?

91. What links the proverb to a modern rendering of an Aesopic fable, with the interrelationship of proverbs and fables having a long tradition?

92. What proverb is given as the "moral" to the Aesopic fable "The Lion and the Mouse"?

93. What variant of the proverb "To have a friend, be one" has been found with the help of modern database searches in the *Oakland [California] Post* newspaper of January 26, 1977, and has thus been established for certain as a modern proverb?

94. In what state was the proverb "The more arguments you win, the less friends you will have" recorded?

95. What brings those deliberations to two relatively recent proverbs from the 1980s that belong to the pecuniary worldview of the American society?

96. The two proverbs might just be a little difficult to decipher by the uninitiated, but in the financial world they are well known. What are they?

97. What proverb advises to pay bills when due or even before in order to establish good business relationships?

98. What proverb gives the advice to investors to follow the movement of the stock market?

99. What word refers to two people cuddling each other facing the same direction, somewhat recalling the similar position of spoons in a utensil drawer?

100. What does another modern proverb "Trust but verify" (1966, *DMP* 264) have in common with Nikita Khrushchev, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev?

101. Would you express your agreement to the author's statement that old, modern, and anti-proverbs about friends will continue to play a significant role as sapiential insights into human relationships?

Theme 4

NATIONAL CULTURE THROUGH GASTRONOMIC METAPHORS: CASSAVA, BREAD AND RICE IN BRAZIL, SPAIN AND CHINA

Introduction

It is a well-known fact that plants are a productive source domains for conceptual metaphors, and that their role in language is mediated by cultural symbolism (Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen 2005; Pamies 2014, 2017; Pamies & Tutáeva 2011; Pamies, Lei & Craig 2015). We intend to show in this work that cassava is a representative cultureme of Brazilian Portuguese, and that there is a parallelism with wheat bread in European Spanish, as well as rice in Chinese.

We analyze the important role of these vegetal foods in the cultural identity of Brazilian, Spanish and Chinese people, taking into account historical, anthropological, and, more specifically, linguistic factors, especially as reflected in polysemy, phraseology and etymologies. These basic components of traditional diets are the center of a complex network of values and social relations, which make them identitarian icons, due to their symbolic dimensions, that are reflected in language.

1. Figurative language and gastronomic culturemes

The relation between culture and language has been studied for a long time, especially in Russia, where it has evolved until becoming a discipline in itself, called 'linguo-culturology'. As pointed out by Zykova (2016: 128):

We use the term 'linguoculturology' as a more specific term, which refers to a particular scientific discipline (or a particular scientific direction) which appeared in Russia (lit. 'лингвокультурология') [about 2 decades ago], and is characterized at present by specific methodology and theory elaborated by Teliya's scientific school, in the process of studying the cultural(-national) specifics of phraseological units as well as other language units [from the standpoint of] cognitive semantics.

Though there is no unanimously accepted definition of 'culture' (cf. Geertz 1973), cultural anthropologists seem to have reached a certain consensus. Bates & Plog's definition is quite representative of their current views on this issue:

Culture is the system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviors, and artifacts that the members of society use to cope with their world and with one another, and that are transmitted from generation to generation through learning (1990: 7).

However, *transmission* involves language, which is itself a part of culture; therefore there is a complementary feedback between language and culture, even at the defining level. Culture does not exist independently of language (Szende 2014: 40), but culture pervades language (Luque Durán 2009: 109), and this fact does not affect all its components in the same way. It is necessary to identify the relevant units of 'lexicultural sites' (Galisson 1991: 116 – 119), those associating some implicitly shared ideas and some words, or multi-word expressions. One of the basic theoretical assumptions of the linguo-cultural approach is that "language and culture would be two separate semiotic systems which interact, especially by means of figurative language and phraseological signs, which reflect the collective cultural identity of a nation" (Teliya et al. 1998). Phraseology incorporates *cultural memory* to lexical semantics (Zykova 2016: 135), as an instrument of national self-awareness:

...special signs that can store and accumulate a rather significant amount of cultural knowledge and reflect through their images peculiar ways of national [or culture-bound] worldview of reality (Zykova 2016: 134)[1].

The culturally loaded elements which are embedded into language are a traditionally important issue also for comparative lexicology (Kostomarov & Vereshchagin 1982) and phraseology (Fedulenkova 2012; 2016: 6 – 14) and for translation theory (Nida 1959, Vermeer 1983; Nord 1997). Some *culturally bound* metaphorical models have been identified as *images* (Piirainen 1998, 2008). These *images* are different from *conceptual*

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[1] Cf. also Telya (1996); Teliya et al. (1998); Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2000, 2005); Sevilla (2007), Pamies (2007; 2017), Szerszunowicz (2009), Zykova (2010; 2016).

metaphors, grounded on human experience, psychomotricity and/or sensitive perception (Lakoff & Johnson 1980); this is the reason why Piirainen (1998) distinguishes between *metaphors* and *symbols*: the latter keep their autonomous productive value even if they are components of a figurative phraseme. This view entails that idiomatic meanings are not completely indivisible blocks, since their 'internal form' plays a semiotic role, which is the key of idiomatic productivity and variation (Baranov & Dobrovol'skij 1998, 2008; Mellado 2009). Many translation difficulties are due to this fact (Monteiro 2014: 75).

The concept of *cultureme* has been used in translatology, to designate all kinds of <…> cultural reference in the source text[2], however, it has been adapted in a <…> limited way in the field of theoretical phraseology by Pamies (2007, 2008, 2017)[3], to designate the systematic associative networks of ideas which motivate figurative meanings (of words, idioms or proverbial sentences, as well as in novel metaphors).Their meaning can be inferred from their previous symbolism within the frame of a certain culture, but they do not include all the symbols, only those attested by figurative language, therefore, culturemes are extra linguistic only in their origin (Pamies 2008: 230). They also exclude *realia,* which are only referents and *cultural keywords* which are individual concepts (Pamies 2007).

2. The source domains

Botanic culturemes provide highly productive semantic models for figurative language, especially those involving edible plants (Pamies & Tutáeva 2011; Pamies 2014; Pamies, Craig & Lei 2015), since alimentation and gastronomy include also imaginary, symbolic and social dimensions which became autonomous from biology (Fischler 1979, 2014; Med 2014). Some Japanese idioms quoted by Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2005: 37, 98, 104) contain the component RICE, with a semiotic function which reminds the symbolism of BREAD in Christian culture. In one of them, **jp**. *ga den in sui*我田引水 (*self rice+field carry water) 'promoting one's own interest',

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[2] Vermeer 1983; Oksaar 1988; Nord 1997; Radulescu 2009; Szende 2014.

[3] Cf. also Luque Durán 2007, 2011, 2013; Luque Nadal 2009, 2010, 2012; Jia 2013; Miranda 2013; Szerszunowicz 2009; Lei Chunyi (2011, 2016).

there is almost the same image than in its Spanish equivalents, but the role of RICE is played by BREAD or FISH: **sp**. *llevar agua a su molino* (*to pull water to one's own mill) / *arrimar el ascua a su sardina* (*to pull the ember to one's own sardine). Another one, **jp**. *asameshi mae* *before morning rice (朝飯前：あさめしまえ) 'an easy task' reminds us **sp**. *ser pan comido* (*to be eaten bread)[4] (*Ibid*.), and, <…>, the component *asameshi* (*morning rice) is itself idiomatic ('breakfast'), and reminds the Brazilian Portuguese expression where the same semiotic role is played by COFFEE (**pt.** *café-da-manhã* *coffee of the morning 'breakfast').

The cultural role of these plants corresponds to very large regions, so a map of the world could be drawn according to this criterion, with almost discrete boundaries between cultural symbols. Something similar has been observed about zoomorphic symbolism in oral culture, for example, about the animal protagonists of folkloric tales of the world:

fox/jackal/coyote, raven (crow), and hare/rabbit are three zoomorphic tricksters that are the most widespread in the area (Berezkin 2016: 347).

In order to support a generalization of the hypothesis that different staple foods play the same semiotic function in Brazilian Portuguese, European Spanish and Chinese, we have collected large sets of lexical units, dealing respectively with cassava, bread or rice as a phraseological component. We have selected only the units which do not refer to these plants literally, analyzing and classifying the linguistic items onomasiologically, in order to compare them from a cross-linguistic semantic perspective.

Cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) is a tuber which, before the arrival of the Europeans, was the essential aliment of indigenous populations of Mexico, Caribbean Islands, Central America and a great part of Southern America. For climatic reasons, wheat, which was the main alimentation source in Europe, was replaced by cassava in a great part of the New World. This plant, called in Brazil *mandioca, aipim* or *macaxeira,* became a cultural

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[4] Cf. This model coincides partially in other languages, e.g. eng. *a piece of cake*; fr. *c'est du gâteau* *it's cake; pol. *bułka z masłem* *bread roll with butter.

symbol, blending some symbolic values of European bread[5] with its indigenous background. *Mandioca* is a ubiquitous concept in Brazilian gastronomy, agriculture and economy, and its special place in collective imagination can be found in paintings, handcraft, songs, literature, and, especially, in figurative language (polysemantic words, idioms, proverbs and famous quotations). The word *mandioca* comes from Tupi *mãdi'oca* (<Guarani *mandi'og/mandi'o*), which could be related to a legend. Mani[6] was the illegitimate daughter of a Tupi princess, she had magical powers but died mysteriously when she was still a baby. Buried into the house of his grandfather, her body was converted into this plant by the god of Thunder, Tupã, in order to feed his people[7] (Cascudo 1967; Pinto 2002: 11).

Cassava was the basic component of indigenous diet in Latin America, and one of its main products is its flour: *farinha*[8], also called by the Portuguese 'wood flour' (*farinha de pau*) and 'poor people's bread' (*pão de pobre*)[9]. *Farinha* is boiled to make *mingau*[10] (a kind of cassava-porridge),

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[5] In American Spanish there is a distinction between mex. *pan español* *Spanish bread ('wheat bread') and mex. *pan de yuca* *cassava bread ([DBM] 2002) or cub. *pan de tierra* *earth bread ([MOR]), both meaning 'tapioca'.

[6] The Tupi lexeme *'óca /'óga* means 'house' ([ÑE] (modern Guarani *'og /'o*), thus *mãdi'oca* designates domestic cassava (pt. *mandioca mansa*), as opposed to the wild variety, called *mandi'oro* *bitter cassava (pt. *mandioca brava*). However, in Paraguayan Guarani, the lexeme *mandi* is also present in the name of other plants, which suggest the possibility of a metonymic extension, from cassava towards other plants, or also conversely. Unfortunately, not enough etymological information is available for Amerindian languages (Domingo Adolfo Aguilera, private communication). The word *mandioca* exists also in Spanish, although it is called *yuca* in Mexico, Caribbean islands and Central America (from Yucatec Mayan *yuca*) ([MOR]).

[7] Cf. also Bingham & Roberts (2010) and [DITG]. Mani herself is sometimes called *Mãe da mandioca* (*Mother of cassava) or *Deusa da mandioca* (*Goddess of cassava) [ARU], although she was not exactly a goddess.

[8] *Farinha* (< lat. *farina*) 'flour'. There are other products derived from cassava, such as *aaru, caxiri, cauim, chibé, curada, idizinho, kanapé, kipú, maniaca, manicuera, paraputo, pisaregui...* (https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mandioca).

[9] Its varieties received also a folk name in Portuguese, e.g., *farinha de mesa* 'table flour' from cultivated cassava; *farinha de guerra* 'war flour' low quality flour to feed soldiers; *farinha de barco* 'ship flour': cheap stocks spoiled by nautic transport; *farinha seca* 'dry flour' cassava shred into crumbs; *farinha mixta* 'mixed flour': common flour mixed with the dry one; *farinha d'água* 'water flour': flour of fermented cassava (Pinto 2002: 4; Coutinho 2012: 5).

[10] From Tupi *minga'u* 'sticky food' [HOU]. In modern Guarani, this word just means 'flour' [IGUA].

baked to make *tapioca*[11] (a kind of flatbread), pressed to make *tucupi*[12] (juice extracted from rotten shreds, boiled to neutralize its toxic components), *angu* (another type of cassava-porridge)[13], *pirão* (cassava-porridge mixed with soup)[14], or toasted to produce *farofa*[15] (a kind of couscous, which is now an ingredient of *feijoada*, the Brazilian national dish). Figurative language shows how *farofa, mingau*, *pirão, tapioca* and *farinha* form a network of associated ideas and metaphors, with an anthropological and symbolic dimension which makes them Brazilian identitarian icons ([CAS]).

Wheat (*Triticum spp.*) is also supposed to have a divine origin. The Greek goddess *Deméter* (Δημήτηρ), called *Ceres*[16] in Rome, was believed to be the origin of the seasons, and to have discovered to humankind how to plant wheat and to separate the chaff from the grain. Bread (lat. *panis* > sp. *pan*) is a baked dough (*bollo*) of wheat flour (*harina*) which was produced in the Middle East since the Neolithic period, and it was already leavened by fermentation during the Roman domination, being the main food of Europeans for centuries. The oldest Spanish dictionary with definitions described *pan* as the 'common sustenance of people' (*sustento común de los hombres*) [COV]; it was also nicknamed 'God's face' (*cara de Dios*) [ROS]. In 1627, the dictionary of proverbs by Gonzalo Correas included 504 proverbs containing the word *pan* [CORR]. There were abundant metonymies where *pan* meant not only 'bread' but 'food', however, most of them attested traditions related to 'literal' bread, from wheat harvest to bread rolling, baking, cooking, etc. (cf. Forgas 1996). For example, several

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[11] Probably from Tupi *typy'oca* *depth/bottom + *house ('home underground') [ARU] (*tipi'o, tipi'og* in modern Guarani, also related to *tapo* "root" [ÑE]). The word *tapioca* exists also in Spanish, though in many regions of Latin America it is called *pan de yuca* (*cassava bread) or *cazabe* ([MOR] 1993), from Arawak *kasabi*, which is also the etymon of the English word *cassava*. The word *beiju* (<Tupi *beijú*) may designate a type of big tapioca roll or be used as its synonym.

[12] From Tupi *tukupirá* 'fermented' (Dias 2010: 193).

[13] From Yoruba *a'ngu* [CU:49].

[14] From Tupi *mindipi'rõ* 'soaked' [AUR].

[15] From Kimbundu *falofa*: 'mixture of flour, vineggar, oil or water' [KIM]. The flour is toasted into a special kind of oven called *iapuna*.

[16] From proto Indo-European **ker-* 'to satiate', 'to feed', as for lat. *cerealis* and *crescere* 'to grow' > sp. *cereal, crecer*.

proverbs assert that white (wheat) bread is better than dark (rye) bread[17]. In medieval Spain, the unleavened bread was cheaper and less appreciated than the leavened one, and it had a different name, *torta* (*flatbread), whose diminutive *tortilla* designates the current Mexican staple food, made from corn flour.

Rice (*Oryza sativa*)[18] was domesticated in China more than 12,000 years ago, where it had three names: one for the plant, one for its raw grains, and another one for its cooked grains. As the most widely consumed food, its seeds are a symbol of life and survival in Chinese culture, and abundant tracks of this semiotic value can be found in all the languages of this country. As the Mandarin proverb says: *chū mén qī jiàn shì, chái mǐ yóu yán jiàng cù chá* (出门七件事，柴米油盐酱醋茶) 'firewood, rice, oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and tea are the most important things in the daily life'.

The linguistic distinction between three concepts, **gǔ**谷 ('rice with hull', as a plant), **mǐ** 米 ('raw rice', as a product and ingredient) and **fàn** 饭 ('cooked rice', as a food) corresponds to the saliency of this plant in Chinese culture (Lei 2017a). The word *mǐ* (米 *raw rice), motivates the metaphoric names of other edible plants, e.g. 'millet without shell' (chn. *xiǎo **mǐ** 小米 *small rice)[19], 'sweet corn' (chn. *yù **mǐ**玉米*jade rice) (cant. *sù **mǐ** 粟米 *millet rice); 'peanut without shell' (chn. *huā shēng **mǐ** 花生米 *peanut rice). Even edible animals may have rice names, e.g. dried prawns and dried shrimps are called chn. *hǎi **mǐ** 海米 (*sea rice) or (*xiā **mǐ** 虾米) *shrimp rice.

Culturally, rice is also supposed to have a magical origin. The legendary king *Shén Nóng* 神农, a mythical emperor of China living almost

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[17] E.g. *el pan blanco y la mujer morena* (Forgas 1996: 301); *coma yo el pan moreno, y no tenga centeno* [CORR]; *pan candeal pan celestial* ([MK] 48514); *pan de trigo de ése sí soy amigo* ([MK] 48511); *todo es bueno, menos el pan de centeno* ([MK] 48539); *pan entizonao, pa el cabrón que lo ha molío y la puta que lo ha amasao* ([MK] 48527).

[18] eng. *rice* < fr. *riz* < lat. *oryza* < gr. ὄρυζα, probably of Dravidian origin (Witzel 1999: 26–28).

[19] Adventures with Kake (http://kake.dreamwidth.org/100619.html).

5,000 years ago, was believed to have invented the agriculture of tea and rice. He planted the first rice seed and, since then, all Chinese emperors used to bring offerings to the sacrificial altar devoted to express veneration and to wish a good harvest (Lei 2017a). Peasants offered sacrifices as part of Spring and Autumn rituals dedicated to the God of the soil, *Tǔ Dì Shén*[20] (土地神). If a couple has a new baby boy, one month later they offer ***yóu fàn*** *oil rice[21] to their friends and relatives. Another folk custom was to put rice in the mouth of the dead, so that they would not suffer from hunger in the other world. Nowadays, a custom still exists of putting the rice into a bowl as a sacrifice to the ancestors, during the "Festival of the Dead" (*Qing Ming Jie* 清明节) (Jia Yongsheng 2013: 131).

3. The target domains
(Basic food is) SURVIVAL
According to the folklorist Câmara Cascudo, cassava flour is the *primitive layer* and the *fundamental basalt* of Brazilian alimentation (Cascudo 1967: 93)[22]. The main symbolism of CASSAVA and its products is a metonymy representing FOOD by antonomasia: *sem **pirão** não há refeição* (*without cassava-porridge there is no lunch). Before doing a physical task, one needs to eat cassava flour, as a source of strength: *vai ter que comer muita **farinha** primeiro* (*you will have to eat a lot of flour before!). These associations have been extended by metonymy to LIFE /SURVIVAL, flour is believed to be the solution for any kind of trouble, and ***farinha** aumenta o que está pouco, esfria o que está quente e engrossa o que está fino* (*flour increases what is too little, enhances what it is too thin and hardens what is too soft). The Brazilian idiom *caldo quente,* ***farinha** nele*! *hot soup, [put] flour inside! may also mean 'keep cool!'.

In Spanish, as in other European cultures, wheat bread symbolizes FOOD by antonomasia, and, until the end of the Middle Age, these Bible

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[20] Also known as *Shèshén* (社神).

[21] *yóu fàn* (油饭) *oil rice is made by mixing cooked glutinous rice with different ingredients such as sausage, mushrooms, dried shrimp, peanuts, etc.

[22] *Farinha é a camada primitiva, o basalto fundamental na alimentação brasileira* (Cascudo 1967).

quotations could be decoded in their strictly literal meaning, though nowadays we would give them a broader sense:

– *con el sudor de tu rostro comerás el **pan** hasta que vuelvas a la tierra* (Génesis 3:19); 'in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground';

– *danos hoy el **pan** nuestro de cada día* (Mateo 6:11) : 'give us this day our daily bread';

– *no sólo de **pan** vive el hombre* (Mateo 4:4) 'man shall not live by bread alone'[23].

Spanish folk proverbs and idioms share this metonymic extension:

– *ni mesa sin **pan** ni ejército sin capitán* ('neither table without bread nor army without captain') [MK 48672],

– ***pan** a hartura, vino a mesura* *bread at will, wine with measure ([NÚÑ] I:185) 'we can eat a lot but not drink too much',

– *el **pan** es el freno del vino* *bread is the brake of wine 'if we drink alcohol we must eat much more' ([MK] 48707),

– ***pan** y vino andan camino* ([NÚÑ] I:185)/*con pan y vino se anda el camino* ([MK] 48643) *with bread and wine one walks the way 'things never seem so bad after a meal'.

<…>

In China, *fàn* (饭 *cooked+rice) symbolizes food in general, as reflected by the idiom *chái mǐ yóu yán* 柴米油盐 *firewood, rice, oil, salt 'basic essentials; staple items' (Sun Yizhen 1999: 90). By metonymy, the compound ***fàn** cài* (饭菜 *cooked+rice) means 'dish', 'food'. In the past, people greeted each other saying *chī **fàn** le ma?* (吃饭了吗?) 'Have you already eaten cooked+rice?' Nowadays, this greeting is still used in rural towns, though in urban districts other forms are more common, such as *chī le ma?* (吃了吗? 'have you eaten?'). When one invites someone else to dinner, he would say *wǒ qǐng nǐ chī **fàn*** (我请你吃饭 *I invite you eat

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[23] English Bible quotations (*Matthew* 6:11 & 4:4; *Genesis* 3:19) are taken from King James version.

cooked+rice). The restaurant is called ***fàn** diàn* (饭店) *cooked+rice store or ***fàn** guǎn* (饭馆) *cooked+rice house, and the verbal phrase *chī **fàn*** (吃饭 *eat cooked+rice) actually refers to eating, even when the food is something else [LEI].

(Basic food is) WEALTH/GOODNESS

Due to its above mentioned symbolism, CASSAVA FLOUR cumulates many positive connotations, e.g. *comer com **farinha*** [*to eat (something) with flour] 'fully appreciate'. Its figurative meaning of SURVIVAL is extended to many things, even money or richness. Since *pirão* ('cassava-porridge') represents lunch, *estar na hora do **pirão*** (*to be cassava-porridge time) designates also 'the best moment for doing something', and the *pirão* itself can be the reward for any successful action (as the laurels in Europe): *ganhar pros **pirões*** (*to receive for the cassava-porridge) 'to be duly rewarded' or *sem **pirão** não vai não!* *without cassava-porridge it doesn't go 'without cassava-porridge nothing can be done' (Cascudo 1963; 1967: 103)[24]. Cassava and its derived products represent abundance in:

– ***farinha** pouca é bobagem* *not enough flour is silliness,

– *de pouca **farinha** meu **pirão** tem medo* *my cassava-porridge is afraid of too little flour 'let's do things completely, with all the means that they need',

– *aquela conversa está rendendo como a **mandioca** na várzea* (*this conversation yields like cassava in the meadow 'to speak a lot/to speak too much').

It symbolizes more specifically MONEY/RICHNESS in metaphors such as:

– *não há animação sem **pirão*** *without cassava-porridge, there is no activity,

– *sem **farinha** ninguém trabalha* *without flour nobody works,

<…>.

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[24] Replacing the old Portuguese proverb *caldo sem pão, só no inferno o dão* (*soup without bread is given only in hell).

A similar phenomenon affects Spanish BREAD, whose symbolism is extended from food/survival to almost any kind of MATERIAL WEALTH, including money/richness:

– *déjate de tanto refrán y empieza a buscar el **pan*** (*stop saying proverbs and begin to earn your bread) ([REFC]) 'stop thinking/speaking and start doing useful things';

– *no pedir **pan*** *not to ask for bread 'to cost nothing'([LAR]);

– *el catalán, de piedras hace **pan*** *the Catalan, from stones makes bread 'Catalans make money from anything' (Martín Delgado & Rodríguez Alarcón);

– *bueno es **pan** duro cuando es seguro* *hard bread is good if it is insured ([REFC]);

– *no hay **pan** sin afán* *no bread without effort ([CORR]).

This value is extended to more general appreciated things or situations.

– *ser más bueno que el **pan*** *to be better than bread ([DFDEA])/*ser un cacho de pan* *to be a chunk of bread ([DFEM])/*ser un pedazo de pan* *to be a piece of bread ([LAR]; RAE)/*ser **pan** bendito* *to be blessed bread ([DFDEA]): 'to be a kind and good-hearted person';

– *¿a quién le dan un **pan** que llore?* *who is given a bread and cries? 'a wealth is always welcome' ([DBM]);

<…>

– ***pan** y toros* *bread and bulls 'provision of the means of life and recreation by government to appease discontent' ([DEC]), modern variant of the Roman *panem et circenses* *bread and circus;

– *dame **pan** y dime tonto* *give me bread and call me *idiot* 'if I get the wealth I want, I don't care what people will say about me' ([DFEM]);

– *llegar con un **pan** debajo del brazo* *to arrive with a bread under one's arm 'to be born in a rich family' ([DFDEA])/said of a child of family that became to be lucky after his birth ([GAV]);

– *ser **pan** comido* *to be eaten bread 'to be an easy task' ([DEC]);

– *los amenazados comen **pan*** *the threatened ones eat bread 'threatening is easier than punishing' ([SBA]).

Bread appears also in metaphoric valuations meaning 'a little is better that nothing':

– **pan** *duro más vale que no ninguno* *a hard bread is better than none (Forgas 1996: 302);

– *a* **pan** *de quince días, hambre de tres semanas* *for a fifteen-days-old bread, a three-weeks-old hunger[25] [CORR];

– *a buen hambre no hay* **pan** *duro* *for good hunger, there is no hard bread [CORR];

– *a* **pan** *duro diente agudo* *for hard bread, sharp tooth [CORR];

– *a gana de comer no hay mal* **pan**, *ni agua mala a gran sed* *for hunger there is no bad bread, for thirst there is no bad water [CORR].

Some of them are based on the comparison between *pan* ('bread') and *torta* ('flat roll of unleavened bread'), which was traditionally cheaper, therefore, less appreciated, motivating metaphors such as:

– *a falta de* **pan**, *buenas son* **tortas** *if there is no bread, unleavened flatbreads are good ([CORR]);

– *hacer un* **pan** *como unas* **tortas** *to make a bread like unleavened flatbreads 'to mess things up' ([DFEM] 2007);

– *a falta de* **hogazas**, *vengan sonajas; a falta de* **pan**, *buenas son* **tortas** *de Zaratán* *if there is no loaf, rattles are welcome; if there is no bread, unleavened flatbreads from Zaratán are welcome ([ROD]);

– *costar la* **torta** *un* **pan** *the (unleavened) pie costs one bread 'an apparently cheap (or easy) thing turned out to be very expensive (or difficult)' ([DEC]) ([LAR]);

– *ser* **tortas** *y* **pan** *pintado* *to be (unleavened) pies and painted bread 'to be an insignificant thing or a very easy task' ('a child's play') ([CORR]).

Symmetrically, the absence of bread becomes the symbol of HUNGER, SUFFERING and/or POVERTY, as in:

– *quedarse a* **pan** *pedir* *to remain at bread begging 'to be ruined/very poor' ([VAR]);

– *más largo que un día sin* **pan** *longer than a breadless day 'too long' [in time or in space] ([BUI]).

In Chinese, the concept of RICE (either cooked or raw) also enhances from FOOD to WEALTH, in general, and therefore to prosperity, generosity

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[25] Depending on the context, these proverbs can be translated as eng. *half a glass is better than none* or *beggars can't be choosers* [REF].

and even money: *bái **fàn** qīng chú* 白饭青刍 *white cooked+rice green forage (to offer cooked+rice to the guests and green forage to his horse) 'to treat guests with hospitality' (*Zai xian xin hua zi dian* 2015).

A few days before the wedding, the custom of carrying rice as a gift from the groom's family house to the bride's house was a way of showing one's richness. Nowadays, this custom is still preserved although rice is no longer very expensive. In Mandarin, this rice is called *xǐ **mǐ*** (喜米 *happy raw+rice). This symbolism also motivates Cantonese idioms such as:

– *hóu yáuh máih* 好有米 *much have raw+rice 'very rich';

– *dāk máih* 得米 *achieve raw+rice 'to achieve the goals intended';

– *dóu máih* 倒米 *throw raw+rice 'waste money' (cf. Lei 2017a).

Symmetrically, the absence or shortage of rice represents poverty or avarice in Mandarin Chinese.

– *shí mǐ jiǔ kāng* 十米九糠 *ten raw+rice nine chaff (in the rice there is a lot of chaff) 'be very poor' (*Zai xian han yu zi dian*);

– *shǔ mǐ liáng chái* 数米量柴 *count raw+rice measure firewood (one must count exactly how much rice and firewood) 'a very poor life' (*Ibid.*);

– *chái mǐ fū qī* 柴米夫妻 *firewood raw+rice husband wife (the marriage of rice and firewood) [1] 'a marriage for economic necessity'; [2] 'poor people's marriage' (Jia Yongsheng 2013:131).

(Basic food is) POVERTY/VULGARITY

Paradoxically, the symbolism of CASSAVA makes it available for praising things or persons, but also to despise them, according to a classist stereotype: *farofa* is cheap, thus it may symbolize POVERTY, reversing its original symbolism of wealth: *mandioca é comida de pobre* *cassava is poor people's food. Its metonymic extension to RUDENESS, VULGARITY, DISHONESTY explains the ambiguity between *comer com **farinha*** *to eat with flour ('to enjoy') and *engolir com **farinha*** *to swallow with flour ('be forced to accept something'). There are abundant derogatory metaphors based on this classist association:

– *estar vendendo **farinha*** *to sell flour 'to wear one's shirt out of the trousers' (which was considered as a peasant's look) (Cascudo 1967);

– *olha a **farofa*** *look at farofa/*tem gente que só (/nem) farinha* *there is people that only (/not even) flour 'derogatory expressions about massive concentrations of people';

– *grosso que nem **mandioca** de dois anos* *rude as a two-years-old cassava 'vulgar and clumsy';

– ***farofa** fina* *fine farofa 'tacky; people attempting [unsuccessfully] to seem sophisticated'.

This ambiguity makes that, although *farofa* is the National food in Brazil, a ***farofeiro*** (*farofa eater) or *comedor de **farinha*** (*flour eater) is [1]: 'a dirty, coarse and uneducated person', [2]: 'a liar' [3]: 'a boaster' [DINF]. The food itself has negative connotations, associated to the same prejudice, ***farofa*** can mean 'boastfulness', 'bullshit', 'empty discourse' [PRIB]. It also means 'dirt', 'disorder', 'hugger-mugger' [DINF]: *aquela região da praia só dá **farofa**, nem compensa ir lá* [DINF] (*this part of the beach has only *farofa*, it doesn't worth going there).

This paradox also affects Spanish BREAD, which may also have a negative value, based on the implicit assumption that eating **only** bread is a sign of PENURY and HARDSHIP.

– *estar a **pan** y agua* *to be at bread and water[26];

– *agua y **pan**, comida de can* *bread and water [is] dog's food ([MK] 48482);

– *agua y **pan**, vida de can* *bread and water [is] dog's life ([ROD]);

– *pan con **pan** comida de tontos* *bread with bread [is] stupid people's food ([SUA]);

– *señorito del **pan** pringao* [*young lord of the soaked bread] 'derogatory name for those who behave as if they were rich or aristocratic, but, in reality, are ruined' ([DFEM] 2007)[27].

As the most basic food, bread may also represent the smallest value:

– *contigo **pan** y cebolla* *with you bread and onion ([LAR]) 'a love declaration which entails that one prefers poverty with a beloved partner than richness with another person';

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[26] During centuries water and bread was the only prison diet.

[27] Bread soaked in oil was poor peasants' diet, aristocrats were supposed to eat more expensive meals.

– *contigo pan y cebolla y con otra ni olla* *with you, bread and onion, with another woman, not even a pot [of hot food] (MK 3795);

– *más quiero* **pan** *y cebolla en Salamanca, que en otra parte gallinas* *I prefer bread and onion in Salamanca than hens somewhere else ([CORR]);

– *más vale un* **pan** *con Dios que sin Él dos* *better one bread with God than two without Him ([CORR]).

If the restriction to bread is self-imposed, bread may symbolize AVARICE, as in the old idiom, *ser un pan y ensalada* *to be a bread and salad ('to be stingy') [CORR].

In Chinese, since rice-porridge (*zhōu* 粥) was traditionally cheaper than rice, it may also symbolize poverty through 'rice shortage' images, expressing social prejudices against poor people. A derogatory Cantonese idiom even says: cant. *bōu móuh máih jūk* 煲冇米粥 *cook without raw+rice rice+porridge (make rice-porridge without putting rice) 'to say something but never put it into action' (*Kai fang ci dian* 2009). According to a Chinese superstition, one must not use chopsticks to hit the side of his/her bowl or plate to make noise, because only beggars do it, when begging for food.

– *fù rén chī fàn, qióng rén hē zhōu* 富人吃饭,穷人喝粥 *rich person eat cooked+rice, poor person drink rice+porridge (those who are rich can eat rice, while those who are poor can only drink porridge)[28];

– *xiè yú wéi zhōu* 屑榆为粥 *chip elm as rice+porridge (make rice-porridge with elm chips) 'to live a miserable life' (*Zai xian han yu ci dian*).

The symbolism of poverty may be extended to GREED and SELFISHNESS.

– *chī shēng* **mǐ** (吃生米 *eat raw+rice) 'be unsympathetic and selfish' (*Ibid.*)

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28   http://www.sunshine-news.co.jp/index.php?m=content&c=index&a=show&catid=127&id=19515.

(Sharing basic food is) FRIENDSHIP

Once a year, the *feitura*, i.e. the manual transformation of cassava into flour, is a very important social event called *farinhada*, where complete families of peasants interrupt their normal activities, and meet people from different places for this collective task, working, eating, and living together during a long period (Coutinho 2012). *Farinhada* was also a traditional place for men meeting women (who were usually hidden), thus for falling in love or arranging marriages, as related in the famous Brazilian folk song *A farinhada,* by Luis Gonzágar (1912 – 1989)[29].

In Spanish, bread also symbolizes FRIENDSHIP, as attested in the proper etymology of sp. *compañía* ('company') from lat. *cum+panis* (*with+bread), the *compañero* ('fellow', 'comrade') was, literally, someone who shares the bread with us, an action that could be a ritualized symbol of friendship, as in many other European countries[30]. The Bible says that, in the Last Supper, Jesus brake the bread and he gave it to his disciples, and said them: *tomad, comed; esto es mi cuerpo* (Mateo 26: 26 – 28) 'take, eat, this is my body'[31]. Traces of this symbolism can be found in Spanish idioms and proverbs such as:

– *no haber **pan** partido* [entre dos personas] *no to have a broken bread (between two persons): to be mutually reliable people [RAE];

– *amigo que no da **pan** y cuchillo que no corta, aunque se pierdan no importa* *friend who gives no bread and knife which does not cut, if you lose them it doesn't matter (Martín Delgado & Rodríguez Alarcón);

– *al buen amigo, con tu **pan** y con tu vino; y al malo, con tu can y con tu palo* *for the good friend, with your bread and your wine, for the bad one, with your dog and your stick [CORR];

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[29] Lyrics and live performance by Luis Gonzagar & Elba Ramalho, are respectively available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lk_m9gu6xTg & http://letras.mus.br/luiz-gonzaga/1527894/ (accessed 27.07.2017).

[30] An ancient gesture of hospitality was welcoming 'important' guests offering them bread and salt. This tradition still exists in Eastern Europe, especially Russia and Ukraine, where it is associated to ritualized discursive formulae, such as **rs.** *хлеб да соль!,* or idioms such as *хлеб-соль водить* *to carry bread and salt ('to become friend with someone'). Many Russian idioms are derived from this cultureme (https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Хлеб-соль).

[31] King James English version (*Matthew* 26:26).

– *el **pan** como hermanos, el dinero como gitanos* [SOL] *bread like brothers, money like Gypsies: 'when sharing bread, we must be generous, when sharing money, there should be no concession at all'.

In Chinese, the association between friendship and rice functions only in its negative pole. For example, there is a proverb in which RICE is used to symbolize false friendship based on interest: *jiǔ ròu fàn yǒu, méi qián fēn shǒu*酒肉饭友,没钱分手 *liquor meat rice friend, without money separate (those who are your friends only for eating and drinking will go away when your money has been spent). The similarity with Spanish 'bread' is however obvious. Cf. sp. *donde no hay **pan**, vase hasta el can* *where there is no bread, even the dog goes away ([CORR]) 'poor people have no friends'.

(Sharing basic food is a) CONFLICT

Paradoxically, the same symbol may represent the opposite phenomenon. Since basic food symbolizes all kinds of wealth, it may also represent situations in which people take advantage of their fellows (PARASITISM, EXPLOITATION, INGRATITUDE). In Brazil, cooperation as well as conflict may be expressed by CASSAVA derived products, within the above mentioned frame of the *farinhada*.

– ***farinha** do mesmo saco* (*flour from the same sack) 'same kind of people' (derogatory);

– *não faz **farinha** comigo* *he/she doesn't make flour with me means 'we are not compatible';

– *achar o **pirão** feito* *to find the cassava-porridge done 'to arrive when the hardest task is already achieved' (Cascudo 1967);

– *enquanto você vinha com a **farinha** meu pirão já estava pronto* *while you were bringing flour my cassava-porridge was already prepared;

– ***farinha** pouca, meu pirão primeiro* [*few flour, my cassava-porridge first] = *pirão pouco, meu bocado grande* [*few cassava-porridge, my bite first] 'we must care ourselves rather than other people's interests';

– *muita **farinha** é sinal de pouca carne* *abundant flour means scarce meat 'nice external appearance may hide poor contents';

– *debaixo desse **angu** tem caroço* *under this cassava-porridge there is a freestone 'there is something bad, hidden into this cassava-porridge'/*debaixo da farinha tem carne* *under the flour there is meat[32];

– *jogar **farofa** no ventilador* *to throw farofa onto the ventilator 'to do something intended to deceive people, disguising or hiding something else'[33];

– *por fora grande **farofa**, por dentro molambo só* *on the outside a lot of *farofa*, inside only rag[34] 'rich external appearance but very poor contents';

– *fazer pirão com a farinha dos outros* *to make cassava-porridge with other people's flour 'to take advantage of one's fellows';

<...>

– *comeu do meu **pirão**, prova do meu cinturão* (*you ate from my cassava-porridge, taste my belt) 'now you will be punished as you deserve'.

Many negative images of GREED, EXPLOITATION or INGRATITUDE are related to the *farinhada* script: *sentar na **mandioca*** (*to sit on cassava) 'to be harmed', 'to endure a damage'; *peidar na **farinha**/peidar na **farofa*** (*to fart into flour/farofa) 'to make a serious mistake'/'to mess things up'. People who are 'good-for-nothing' are ***farinha** de suruí* *surui flour (the worst quality of flour, that nobody wants)[35] or *cold water cassava-porridge (***pirão** d'água fria*). The *lost cassava-porridge (***pirão** perdido*) is something (or someone) 'without solution'. The word ***mingau*** (*cassava-porridge) may designate 'lazy men', and 'evil persons' are called *bad flour (*aquilo é **farinha** ruim*).

In Spanish, we find also examples of metaphors related with BREAD, expressing similar conflictive situations such as: <…>

– *comer el **pan** de los niños* *to eat children's bread ([DEC]) 'to be very old'. One explanation could be that if people live a very long time, their heirs will have to wait ([CORR])[36];

– *no comer **pan** de balde* *not to eat bread in vain 'to contribute to the community expenses' ([DEC]);

– *a **pan** y cuchillo* *at bread and knife ([FOM]) = *comer a **pan** y manteles* *to eat at bread and tablecloths ([LAR]) 'to live in someone else's home at his/her expense' (eng. *at bed and board*)[37];

– *el **pan** de los bobos se gasta primero que el de los otros* *stupid people's bread is the first to be consumed ([CORR])[38]; <...>

– *negar el **pan** y la sal* [a alguien] *to refuse bread and salt [to someone] ([RAE]);

– *el agua, el **pan** y la sal, a nadie se niegan* (*water, bread and salt should not be refused to anyone) 'to mistreat someone, without granting any kind of right or merit' ([RAE]) ([DFEM]);

– *si quieres que te siga el can, dale **pan*** *if you want the dog to follow you, give it bread ([REF]);

– *menea la cola el can, no por ti, sino por el pan* *the dog does not shake his tail for you but for your bread ([REF]);

– *quien da **pan** a perro ajeno, pierde pan y pierde perro* *he who gives bread to someone else's dog, will lose both bread and dog ([REF]);

– *por dinero baila el perro, y por **pan** si se lo dan* *for money the dog dances, and for bread if it is given to him 'money talks' (REF);

– *pan comido compañía deshecha* ([CORR], [REF]); *eaten bread, company undone/*el **pan** comido y alzada la mesa, la compañía deshecha* ([MK] 11733) 'once bread has been eaten, friendship disappears';

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[36] Another motivation, though less reliable, is that old people, with no teeth, had to eat smashed food like babies, by analogy with *comer pan con corteza* *to eat bread with crust 'to be an adult' (RAE).

[37] The primitive meaning of *a pan y cuchillo/a pan y mantel* was only 'sharing food and drink' without these negative connotations ([CORR]).

[38] Gonzalo Correas adds a possible motivation: *porque neciamente hacen tortas y roscas para complacer a amigotes* ([CORR]) 'because, foolishly, they bake flatbreads and doughs for their buddies'.

– *después que tu **pan** comí, te vi por la calle y no te conocí* *after I ate from your bread, I saw you in the street and I did not recognize you 'friends fly away after they get want they want' (Panizo 1996);

– ***pan** mal comido, al ingrato* *badly eaten bread, for the ungrateful 'ungrateful people soon forget' ([COV]);

– ***pan** mal conocido* *badly known bread 'ungrateful people' ([CORR]);

– *cogerle el **pan** bajo el sobaco* *to take someone's bread from under his armpit ([DFEM] 2007) 'to dominate someone';

– *poner a **pan** y agua* [a alguien] (*to put [someone] at bread and water) 'in harsh conditions' ([CORR]) (bread and water was prisoners' diet during centuries);

– *con su **pan** se lo coma* '[I wish] him to eat it with his own bread 'it's his/her own look-out, not my business' ([DFEM]);

– *dar **pan** de perro* *to give dog's bread 'to mistreat' ([CORR]);

– *darle un pan como unas nueces* *to give him/her a bread like walnuts ([DFEM]) 'to beat someone';

– ***pan** ajeno hastío quita/el **pan** de mi vecina, quita el hastío.* ([CORR])/***pan** del vecino quita el hastío* ([NÚÑ] I:185) *other people's bread heals tedium 'we always envy other people's wealth';

– *ser un **pan** y ensalada* *to be a bread and salad 'to be very stingy' ([CORR]);

– *venderle un **pan** caliente* [a alguien] *to sell a hot bread (to someone) 'to flatter' ([MOR]).

In Spanish, the biblical 'daily bread' (*el pan de cada día*) may also have an ironic meaning, complaining about some troubles which are too frequent, as in this speech fragment from the European Parliament: *...ataques que normalmente la sociedad no toleraría, pero que se han convertido en **el pan de cada día** de la sociedad israelí*: 'attacks that, normally, a society would not tolerate, but which became the *daily bread* of Israeli society' (<…>).

In Chinese, the image of eating someone else's rice symbolizes PARASITISM and EXPLOITATION (Lei 2017A):

<…>

– *chī gān* **fàn** (吃干饭 *eat dry cooked+rice[39]) 'to eat only, not contributing to the family economy';

<…>

– *jiǔ náng* **fàn** *dài* 酒囊饭袋 *skin of wine rice bag 'useless person who does not work but only eats and drinks' (Jia 2013:133);

– **fàn** *tǒng* 饭桶 *cooked+rice bucket 'useless person' (*Ibid*.);

– **fàn** *lái zhāng kǒu, yī lái shēn shǒu* 饭来张口，衣来伸手 *cooked+rice come open mouth, clothe come extend arm 'to be very lazy' ([LIU]:11);

– *bái chī* **fàn** 白吃饭 *in+vain eat cooked+rice 'to eat but not to work' (*Bai du bai ke* 2015);

– *chī xián* **fàn** 吃闲饭 *eat leisure cooked+rice 'lead an idle life' (*Han dian* 2004 – 2015);

– *yī jià* **fàn** *náng* 衣架饭囊 *clothes hanger cooked+rice bag 'a useless person' (*Zai xian xin hua zi dian* 2015);

– *chī shēng* **mǐ** (吃生米 *eat raw rice 'be crude, unsympathetic and selfish'.

INGRATITUDE is also associated to rice: children were told that, if they threw rice away, they would be struck by a lightning, a superstition that transmits the idea that one should appreciate rice (Jia 2013: 132). If someone does waste any wealth, he may be criticized with this proverb: *yī* **zhōu** *yī* **fàn**, *dāng sī lái chù bù yì* 一粥一饭，当思来处不易 *one rice+porridge one cooked+rice, must think come place not easy 'one must realize that every rice, or rice-porridge, is the result of hard work' (*Cheng yu da quan* 2017). According to a Chinese traditional belief, everything we possess in our life is predestined, if someone tries to obtain more than he should by illegal means, his/her descendants will obtain less.

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[39] *Gān fàn* (干饭 *dry rice) literally it refers to the rice after being cooked that no longer carries water, that is, the rice already prepared by someone else.

– *chī zǐ sūn* **fàn**吃子孙饭 *eat son grandson cooked+rice 'to spend the wealth of one's descendants' (*Zai xian han yu zi dian*).

Euphemisms and dysphemisms of SEXUALITY

The positive values represented by cassava involve feminine beauty. One of the figurative meanings of ***pirão*** (*cassava-porridge) is 'nice and attractive woman' (Cascudo, 1967: 108)[40]. This function is similar to Spanish bread in some idioms used by men when talking about women:

– *está más buena que el* ***pan*** *she is better than bread 'she is good looking' ([DFDEA]);

– *está para mojar pan* *she is for wetting bread 'she is good looking';

– *está de toma* ***pan*** *y moja* *she is of 'take bread and wet it' 'she is good looking' ([DFEM]).

Among the negative values, we also find cassava in Brazilian slang:

– *descascar a* ***mandioca*** (*to peel the cassava) 'masculine masturbation';

– ***farofa*** 'easy woman'[41];

– *não passar o teste da* ***farinha*** (*not to pass the flour test) 'to be a [male] homosexual'.

In Spanish slang there are also derogatory metaphors which associate BREAD and LESBIANISM:

– *hacer bollos* ([DFDEA]) *to make bread-rolls (based on the image of the bakers kneading bread) 'groping (between women)';

– *bollera* *bread-roll-maker [RAE] 'lesbian';

– *tortillera* (RAE) *flat-bread-maker 'lesbian'.

We have not found any example of this phenomenon in Chinese.

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[40] *Ao distraído, insistentemente provocado, dizia-se no Recife de 1924: 'Pega o pirão, esmorecido!'* (Cascudo 1963).

[41] *Mulher que transa com todos e não impõe respeito, ou seja, todos passam a lingüiiça (aquela guria é muito* ***farofa*** [DINF]. Literally *woman who fornicates with everybody and does not impose respect, this is, everyone pass the sausage [on her] (e.g. this girl is very *farofa*).

4. Conclusions

[Irrespective] of the differences between their gastronomic traditions and linguistic systems, these three cultures present many points in common between their figurative verbal images of cassava, bread and rice. With the only exception of sexuality in Chinese, the degree of cross-linguistic coincidence between the symbolic roles of these staple foods is striking enough to suggest that the similarity of the social value of an object almost predicts its linguistic role as a cultureme. We can deduce from our data that cassava is to Brazilian mental lexicon what bread is for European Spanish, and what rice is for Chinese, not only as an aliment, but also as a factor of conceptualization and vision of the world.

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after Rosemeire Monteiro-Plantin,
Antonio Pamies-Bertrán, Lei Chunyi

Points to be commented and discussed

1. Would you agree to Antonio Pamies on a well-known fact that plants are a productive source domains for conceptual metaphors, and that their role in language is mediated by cultural symbolism?

2. Why do the authors intend to show in this work that cassava is a representative cultureme of Brazilian Portuguese, and that there is a parallelism with wheat bread in European Spanish, as well as rice in Chinese?

3. Do you think the philologists are in the right way when they analyze the important role of these vegetal foods in the cultural identity of Brazilian, Spanish and Chinese people, taking into account historical, anthropological, and, more specifically, linguistic factors, especially as reflected in polysemy, phraseology and etymologies?

4. These basic components of traditional diets are the center of a complex network of values and social relations, which make them identitarian icons, due to their symbolic dimensions, that are reflected in language. Could you give your pros and contras here?

5. Would you give your arguments for the statement: *The relation between culture and language has been studied for a long time, especially*

in Russia, where it has evolved until becoming a discipline in itself, called 'linguo-culturology'?

6. Though there is no unanimously accepted definition of 'culture', cultural anthropologists seem to have reached a certain consensus. What testifies to that?

7. Do you think that Bates & Plog's definition is quite representative of their current views on that issue?

8. Why is there a complementary feedback between language and culture, even at the defining level?

9. As Th. Szende puts it, culture does not exist independently of language (Szende 2014: 40), but culture pervades language (Luque Durán 2009: 109). Why doesn't this fact affect all its components in the same way? Give arguments, will you?

10. Dou you think it is necessary to identify the relevant units of 'lexicultural sites'? Why?

11. What is in your opinion one of the basic theoretical assumptions of the linguo-cultural approach?

12. What is the connection among phraseology, lexical semantics and cultural memory and what is the role of phraseology as an instrument of national self-awareness here?

13. Could you prove that the culturally loaded elements which are embedded into language are a traditionally important issue also for comparative lexicology and phraseology and for translation theory?

14. Why do you think some *culturally bound* metaphorical models have been identified as *images*?

15. Could you supply arguments for the fact that these *images* are different from *conceptual metaphors*, grounded on human experience, psychomotricity and/or sensitive perception?

16. Is that the only reason why Elisabeth Piirainen (1998) distinguishes between *metaphors* and *symbols*: the latter keep their autonomous productive value even if they are components of a figurative phraseme?

17. Do you maintain that this view entails that idiomatic meanings are not completely indivisible blocks, since their 'internal form' plays a semiotic role, which is the key of idiomatic productivity and variation?

18. Are you of the same opinion as R.S. Monteiro-Plantin who writes that many translation difficulties are due to this fact (Monteiro 2014: 75)?

19. In what sphere of social sciences was the concept of *cultureme* used for the first time?

20. Why was the concept of *cultureme* used in translatology?

21. What philologist adapted the term in a limited way in the sphere of phraseology (as a linguistic science) to designate the systematic associative networks of ideas which motivate figurative meanings of words, idioms or proverbial sentences, etc.?

22. Why does Antonio Pamies insist on the fact that culturemes are extra linguistic only in their origin?

23. Could you comment on Antonio Pamies' statement that they also exclude *realia,* which are only referents and *cultural keywords* which are individual concepts (Pamies 2007)?

24. What is the cause that botanic culturemes provide highly productive semantic models for figurative language, especially those involving edible plants?

25. Could you agree to C. Fischler's and N.G. Med's remarks that alimentation and gastronomy include also imaginary, symbolic and social dimensions which became autonomous from biology (Fischler 1979, 2014; Med 2014).

26. What kind of semiotic function do some Japanese idioms containing the component RICE – quoted by Dobrovol'skij & Piirainen (2005: 37, 98, 104) – have? What symbolism does it remind in Christian culture of?

27. Could you comment on the following: In one of them, **jp**. *ga den in sui*我田引水 (*self rice+field carry water) 'promoting one's own interest', there is almost the same image than in its Spanish equivalents, but the role of RICE is played by BREAD or FISH: **sp**. *llevar agua a su molino* (*to pull water to one's own mill)/*arrimar el ascua a su sardina* (*to pull the ember to one's own sardine). Another one, **jp**. *asameshi mae* *before morning rice (朝飯前：あさめしまえ) 'an easy task' reminds us **sp**. *ser*

pan comido (*to be eaten bread)[42] (*Ibid.*), and, <...>, the component *asameshi* (*morning rice) is itself idiomatic ('breakfast'), and reminds the Brazilian Portuguese expression where the same semiotic role is played by COFFEE (**pt.** *café-da-manhã* *coffee of the morning 'breakfast')?

28. Would you object to the author's statement that the cultural role of these plants corresponds to very large regions, so a map of the world could be drawn according to this criterion, with almost discrete boundaries between cultural symbols?

29. Could you give your pros for the statement: something similar has been observed about zoomorphic symbolism in oral culture, for example, about the animal protagonists of folkloric tales of the world?

30. What steps in research did A. Pamies and his company undertake in order to support a generalization of the hypothesis that different staple foods play the same semiotic function in Brazilian Portuguese, European Spanish and Chinese?

31. With what purpose have Antonio Pamies and his research group collected large sets of lexical units, dealing respectively with cassava, bread or rice as a phraseological component?

32. Why have they selected only the units, which do not refer to those plants literally, analyzing and classifying the linguistic items onomasiologically, in order to compare them from a cross-linguistic semantic perspective?

33. What is the name of a tuber, which, before the arrival of the Europeans, was the essential aliment of indigenous populations of Mexico, Caribbean Islands, Central America and a great part of Southern America?

34. For what reasons was wheat, which was the main alimentation source in Europe, replaced by cassava in a great part of the New World?

35. How did it happen that this plant, called in Brazil *mandioca, aipim* or *macaxeira,* became a cultural symbol, blending some symbolic values of European bread with its indigenous background?

36. What tuber is a ubiquitous concept in Brazilian gastronomy, agriculture and economy?

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[42] Cf. This model coincides partially in other languages, e.g. eng. *a piece of cake*; fr. *c'est du gâteau* *it's cake; pol. *bułka z masłem* *bread roll with butter.

37. Could you prove that its special place in collective imagination can be found in paintings, handcraft, songs, literature, and, especially, in figurative language (polysemantic words, idioms, proverbs and famous quotations)?

38. What is the origin of the word *mandioca*? What legend could it be related to?

39. Would you look through the legend and try and find something in common with it and with its symbolic meaning in modern phraseology? Mani was the illegitimate daughter of a Tupi princess, she had magical powers but died mysteriously when she was still a baby. Buried into the house of her grandfather, her body was converted into this plant by the god of Thunder, Tupã, in order to feed his people.

40. Cassava was the basic component of indigenous diet in Latin America, and one of its main products is its flour: *farinha*, also called by the Portuguese 'wood flour'. Could you trace back any parallels with the basic component of indigenous diet in Spain or Great Britain?

41. Could you demonstrate in what way figurative language shows how *farofa, mingau*, *pirão, tapioca* and *farinha* form a network of associated ideas and metaphors, with an anthropological and symbolic dimension which makes them Brazilian identitarian icons?

42. Do you think the author was in the right when he appealed to the legend to prove that the word *wheat* has a *divine origin*: The Greek goddess *Deméter* (Δημήτηρ), called *Ceres* in Rome, was believed to be the origin of the seasons, and to have discovered to humankind how to plant wheat and to separate the chaff from the grain?

43. What piece of meal, as described by the author, was a baked dough (*bollo*) of wheat flour (*harina*) which was produced in the Middle East since the Neolithic period, and it was already leavened by fermentation during the Roman domination, being the main food of Europeans for centuries?

44. In what way was the word *pan* described in the oldest Spanish dictionary with definitions [COV]?

45. What dictionary described *pan* as the 'common sustenance of people' (*sustento común de los hombres*)?

46. In what dictionary was the word *pan* also nicknamed 'God's face' (*cara de Dios*)?

47. How many proverbs containing the word *pan* did the dictionary of proverbs by Gonzalo Correas include in 1627?

48. Were there abundant metonymies in those dictionaries where *pan* meant not only 'bread' but 'food'?

49. Would you maintain that most of them attested traditions related to 'literal' bread, from wheat harvest to bread rolling, baking, cooking, etc. (cf. Forgas 1996)?

50. Which of the following proverbs assert that white (wheat) bread is better than dark (rye) bread: *el pan blanco y la mujer morena* (Forgas 1996: 301); *coma yo el pan moreno, y no tenga centeno* [CORR]; *pan candeal pan celestial* ([MK] 48514); *pan de trigo de ése sí soy amigo* ([MK] 48511); *todo es bueno, menos el pan de centeno* ([MK] 48539); *pan entizonao, pa el cabrón que lo ha molío y la puta que lo ha amasao* ([MK] 48527)?

51. Does it testify to the fact that in medieval Spain the unleavened bread was cheaper and less appreciated than the leavened one?

52. What kind of bread at that time had a different name, *torta* (*flatbread), whose diminutive *tortilla* designates the current Mexican staple food, made from corn flour?

53. How many names did rice (*Oryza sativa*) have when it was domesticated in China more than 12,000 years ago?

54. What cereal had three names: one for the plant, one for its raw grains, and another one for its cooked grains when it was domesticated in China more than 12,000 years ago?

55. What is the most widely consumed food in China?

56. Why do you think the seeds of rice are a symbol of life and survival in Chinese culture?

57. Might you state that abundant tracks of this semiotic value of rice are found in all the languages of that country?

58. What is the Mandarin proverb say: *chū mén qī jiàn shì, chái mǐ yóu yán jiàng cù chá* (出门七件事，柴米油盐酱醋茶)?

59. To what quality of this plant in Chinese culture does the linguistic distinction between three concepts, **gǔ**谷 ('rice with hull', as a plant), ***mǐ*** 米

('raw rice', as a product and ingredient) and *fàn* 饭 ('cooked rice', as a food) (Lei 2017a) correspond?

60. Could you argue that the word *mǐ* (米 *raw rice) motivates the metaphoric names of other edible plants in e.g.: 'millet without shell' (chn. *xiǎo mǐ* 小米 *small rice), 'sweet corn' (chn. *yù mǐ* 玉米 *jade rice) (cant. *sù mǐ* 粟米 *millet rice); 'peanut without shell' (chn. *huā shēng mǐ* 花生米 *peanut rice)?

61. May many edible animals have rice names as in e.g. dried prawns and dried shrimps are called chn. *hǎi mǐ* 海米 (*sea rice) or (*xiā mǐ* 虾米) *shrimp rice?

62. Would you prove that culturally rice is also supposed to have a magical origin with the Chinese?

63. What legendary king – a mythical emperor of China living almost 5,000 years ago – was believed to have invented the agriculture of tea and rice?

64. Since what time did all Chinese emperors follow the tradition to bring offerings to the sacrificial altar devoted to express veneration and to wish a good harvest (Lei 2017a)?

65. Who offered sacrifices as part of Spring and Autumn rituals dedicated to the God of the soil, *Tǔ Dì Shén* (土地神), also known as *Shèshén* (社神)?

66. What is the name of the food made in China by mixing cooked glutinous rice with different ingredients such as sausage, mushrooms, dried shrimp, peanuts, etc.?

67. If a couple has a new baby boy, one month later they offer *yóu fàn* *oil rice to their friends and relatives, do they not? What was another folk custom connected with rice?

68. Why did the Chinese put rice in the mouth of the dead?

69. What did they do with rice so that they would not suffer from hunger in the other world?

70. In what form does the custom still exist in China nowadays?

71. Could you describe the details of the custom, that still exists in China, of putting the rice into a bowl as a sacrifice to the ancestors, during

the "Festival of the Dead" (*Qing Ming Jie* 清明节) (Jia Yongsheng 2013: 131)?

72. According to the folklorist Câmara Cascudo, cassava flour is the *primitive layer* and the *fundamental basalt* of Brazilian alimentation (Cascudo 1967: 93), is it not?

73. Do you have any objections to that the main symbolism of CASSAVA and its products is a metonymy representing FOOD by antonomasia: *sem **pirão** não há refeição* (*without cassava-porridge there is no lunch)?

74. Do you happen to know that before doing a physical task, one needs to eat cassava flour, as a source of strength: *vai ter que comer muita **farinha** primeiro* (*you will have to eat a lot of flour before!)?

75. Would you trace back those associations which have been extended by metonymy to LIFE/SURVIVAL: flour is believed to be the solution for any kind of trouble, and ***farinha** aumenta o que está pouco, esfria o que está quente e engrossa o que está fino* (*flour increases what is too little, enhances what it is too thin and hardens what is too soft)?

76. What other meaning beside the meaning *caldo quente, **farinha** nele*! (*hot soup, [put] flour inside!) may the Brazilian idiom also have?

77. What does wheat bread symbolize in Spanish, as in other European cultures nowadays?

78. In what way does it echo with biblical symbols?

79. What kind of metonymic extension do Spanish folk proverbs and idioms share?

80. What kind of food does *fàn* (饭 *cooked+rice) symbolize in in China? Could you see that it is reflected by the idiom *chái mǐ yóu yán* 柴米油盐 *fiewood, rice, oil, salt 'basic essentials; staple items' (Sun Yizhen 1999: 90)?

81. In what way did the Chinese people greet each other in the past? In what parts of the country is that greeting still used nowadays?

82. Could you confirm that in urban districts other forms are more common, such as *chī le ma?* (吃了吗? 'have you eaten?')?

83. What is the difference in the form of invitation to dinner at home and at a restaurant?

84. Could you guess why CASSAVA FLOUR cumulates many positive connotations, e.g. *comer com farinha* [*to eat (something) with flour] 'fully appreciate'?

85. Do you agree with the author that the meaning of the following proverbs have anything to do with survival? Its figurative meaning of SURVIVAL is extended to many things, even money or richness. Since *pirão* ('cassava-porridge') represents lunch, *estar na hora do pirão* (*to be cassava-porridge time) designates also 'the best moment for doing something', and the *pirão* itself can be the reward for any successful action (as the laurels in Europe): *ganhar pros pirões* (*to receive for the cassava-porridge) 'to be duly rewarded' or *sem pirão não vai não! *without cassava-porridge it doesn't go 'without cassava-porridge nothing can be done' (Cascudo 1963; 1967: 103).

86. Could you supply contextual samples of how cassava and its derived products represent abundance in?

87. Would you prove that a similar phenomenon affects Spanish BREAD, whose symbolism is extended from food/survival to almost any kind of MATERIAL WEALTH, including money/richness?

88. Will you be able to enrich the set of fixed phrases (of the type *pan duro más vale que no ninguno* *a hard bread is better than none) where bread appears also in metaphoric valuations meaning 'a little is better that nothing'?

89. What phrases could you name that are based on the comparison between *pan* ('bread') and *torta* ('flat roll of unleavened bread'), which was traditionally cheaper, therefore, less appreciated, motivating metaphors?

90. Could you illustrate that the absence of bread becomes the symbol of HUNGER, SUFFERING and/or POVERTY, as in *quedarse a pan pedir* (*to remain at bread begging 'to be ruined/very poor')?

91. Will you supply samples of that in Chinese, the concept of RICE (either cooked or raw) also enhances from FOOD to WEALTH, in general, and therefore to prosperity, generosity and even money?

92. A few days before the wedding, the custom of carrying rice as a gift from the groom's family house to the bride's house was a way of … ? Will you finish the sentence?

93. Is that custom still preserved in China notwithstanding that rice is no longer very expensive?

94. Would you give the sample showing that the absence or shortage of rice represents poverty or avarice in Mandarin Chinese?

95. What quality of CASSAVA makes it (paradoxically!) available for praising things or persons, but also to despise them, according to a classist stereotype: *farofa* is cheap, thus it may symbolize POVERTY, reversing its original symbolism of wealth: *mandioca é comida de pobre* (*cassava is poor people's food)?

96. Its metonymic extension to RUDENESS, VULGARITY, DISHONESTY explains the ambiguity between *comer com **farinha*** *to eat with flour ('to enjoy') and *engolir com **farinha*** *to swallow with flour ('be forced to accept something'), does it not?

There are abundant derogatory metaphors based on this classist association (as follows: *grosso que nem **mandioca** de dois anos* *rude as a two-years-old cassava 'vulgar and clumsy'), aren't there? Will you continue and make up a set of samples on that'?

97. Why does *farofa*, the National food in Brazil, have negative connotations, associated to the same prejudice, ***farofa*** can mean 'boastfulness', 'bullshit', 'empty discourse' [PRIB]. What other negative meaning can it have?

98. Why does that paradox also affect Spanish BREAD, which may also have a negative value, based on the implicit assumption that eating **only** bread is a sign of PENURY and HARDSHIP?

99. Under what restriction to bread may bread symbolize AVARICE, as in the old idiom, *ser un pan y ensalada* *to be a bread and salad ('to be stingy') [CORR]?

100. Would you illustrate how rice-porridge (*zhōu* 粥) (being traditionally cheaper than rice) may also symbolize poverty through 'rice shortage' images, expressing social prejudices against poor people?

101. Why must one not (according to a Chinese superstition) use chopsticks to hit the side of his/her bowl or plate to make noise?

102. Could you supply examples to illustrate *rice* as the symbolism of poverty that may be extended to GREED and SELFISHNESS?

103. What Spanish idioms employ the component *pan (bread)* as the symbol of friendship?

104. In Chinese, the association between friendship and rice functions only in its negative pole, is it not? Will you recollect a proverb in which RICE is used to symbolize false friendship based on interest?

105. Do you regard it as a paradox that the same symbol can represent the opposite phenomenon?

106. Would you agree to Antonio Pamies' statement that, since basic food symbolizes all kinds of wealth, it may also represent situations in which people take advantage of their fellows, such as PARASITISM, EXPLOITATION, INGRATITUDE?

107. In Brazil, cooperation as well as conflict may be expressed by CASSAVA derived products, within the above mentioned frame of the *farinhada*, e.g.: (a) **farinha** *do mesmo saco* (b) *flour from the same sack means 'same kind of people' (derogatory); (B) *não faz* **farinha** *comigo* (*he/she doesn't make flour with me) means 'we are not compatible'. How would you account for that fact?

108. Many negative images of GREED, EXPLOITATION or INGRATITUDE are related to the *farinhada* script: *sentar na* **mandioca** (*to sit on cassava) 'to be harmed', 'to endure a damage'; *peidar na* **farinha**/*peidar na* **farofa** (*to fart into flour/farofa) 'to make a serious mistake'/'to mess things up'. People who are 'good-for-nothing' are **farinha** *de suruí* *surui flour (the worst quality of flour, that nobody wants) or *cold water cassava-porridge (**pirão** *d'água fria*). Would you trace the mechanism of semantic change in the PU prototypes?

109. In Spanish, the biblical 'daily bread' (*el pan de cada día*) may also have an ironic meaning, complaining about some troubles which are too frequent, as in this speech fragment from the European Parliament: *...ataques que normalmente la sociedad no toleraría, pero que se han convertido en* **el pan de cada día** *de la sociedad israelí*: 'attacks that,

normally, a society would not to tolerate, but which became the *daily bread* of Israeli society' (<…>). Could you explain the essence of the irony in that context?

110. In Chinese, the image of eating someone else's rice symbolizes PARASITISM and EXPLOITATION (Lei 2017A): *chī gān **fàn*** (吃干饭 *eat dry cooked+rice) 'to eat only, not contributing to the family economy'. What does the metaphoric shift of meaning consist here in?

111. INGRATITUDE is also associated to rice: children were told that, if they threw rice away, they would be struck by a lightning, a superstition that transmits the idea that one should appreciate rice (Jia 2013: 132). Could you supply some other arguments for the author's observation: according to a Chinese traditional belief, everything we possess in our life is predestined, if someone tries to obtain more than he should by illegal means, his/her descendants will obtain less?

112. Do you maintain that irrespective of the difference between their gastronomic traditions and linguistic systems, these three cultures present many points in common with their figurative verbal images of cassava, bread and rice?

113. Could you agree to the statement that with the only exception of sexuality in Chinese, the degree of cross-linguistic coincidence between the symbolic roles of these staple foods is striking enough to suggest that the similarity of the social value of an object almost predicts its linguistic role as a cultureme?

"SENTENCED TO SUCCESS": A LINGUO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE POLISH PHRASEME *SKAZANY NA SUKCES*

Introduction

The expression *sentenced to success* violates the rules of collocability, since it can be expected that the component following the past participle should rather be a word from the field of crime or a name of a phenomenon evoking negative connotations. Therefore, it can be assumed that the phrase in question is likely to draw language users' attention when they encounter it in the process of communication.

From the perspective of Anglo-American culture, the expression *sentenced to success* can be associated with the domain of films. For instance, *Sentenced to Success* is the title of a sixty-minute movie produced by Cine Information Documents in 1977[43]. As for Polish culture, episode 31 of the seventh season of *Alfred Hitchcock presents* titled *Most Likely to Succeed* (1962)[44] was translated into Polish as *Skazany na sukces*[45].

In Polish culture, apart from such associations – rather not immediate to most native speakers of Polish, one can easily relate the phraseme *skazany na sukces* to the language of the post-transformation reality[46]. Being part of the new layer of Polish phraseology, the expression can be used to refer to persons who are bound to be successful (Nowakowska 2005).

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[43] The film (French: *Condamnes a Reussir*) shows a man at the la Hague reprocessing plant putting on protective clothing, with a break for interviews with local residents who are not really aware of what is going on in the plant. The review of the film was published in "The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists" (1980).

[44] *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* is an American television anthology series hosted by Alfred Hitchcock shown on CBS and NBC from 1955 to 1965, featuring thrillers, dramas and mysteries.

[45] In fact, *Most Likely to Succeed* (2015) is also the title of a documentary drama about the American system of education directed by Greg Whiteley who reveals it shortcomings as well a US comedy whose director was Michael Patrick Jann (2010). In fact, the film titles are not mentioned in the major lexicons of British and American culture like *Oxford Guide to British and American Culture* (OGBAC).

[46] The term *phraseme* encompasses the units of fixed character composed of two or more lexical constituents, i.e. reproducible multiword expressions, both figurative and non-figurative.

The aim of the paper is to discuss the Polish unit *skazany na sukces* from a linguo-cultural perspective, with a focus on its semantics, stylistic value and culture-boundness. Moreover, taking into consideration the properties of the phraseme, one will analyze the unit as a candidate for a widespread idiom, offering a preliminary study of the status of corresponding expressions in English and Italian.

1. A linguo-cultural analysis of the Polish phraseme *skazany na sukces*

The political and economic transformation started in Poland in 1989 with a view to building democracy. As for economy, their main objective was to create a modern market economy, compatible with those of the EU countries. The state-ownership-based socialist economy with central planning and centralized management was turned into a capitalist economy with private ownership, competition and free market.

The transformation and related changes influenced the Polish language in many ways (Warchoł-Scholttmann 2009), contributing greatly to lexis and idiomatic stock (cf. Chlebda 2001: 159)[47]. Many new multiword expressions were coined, among them those referring to the sphere of professional life and work environment, like the unit *skazany na sukces*, mentioned by Beata Nowakowska (2005) along with other expressions such as *łowca/łapacz głów* 'head hunter', *wyścig szczurów* 'rat race' and *emigrant podatkowy* 'tax emigrant'.

It should be observed that the transformation of 1989 influenced all spheres of life, not only politics and economy. It had an impact on the social perception of many phenomena, one of which is achieving success. In the period of Communism, it had been believed that it was impossible to achieve success without political support of the ruling party. In the common opinion, its members were given high positions irrespective of their qualification and

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[47] Chlebda (2001) distinguishes two kinds of increases in phraseological stock. The first one is of constant nature since it is related to the general development, i.e. progress in various spheres of human activity, for instance economy, science and technology. The other kind is the periodic growth which takes place when a given ethnic community experiences and important event from a historical and political perspective. In such periods, there is a greater need for coining new lexis and phraseological units to name new phenomena whose existence results from the changes.

skills[48]. Therefore, being successful was likely to inspire doubts on whether a given person was honest in moving up the career ladder. Generally speaking, promotion and wealth seemed to be out of reach from a man-in-the-street perspective.

The introduction of the new system meant a great change: foreign companies, especially American corporations, started to operate on the Polish market, introducing their own work culture. In Communism, many Poles' attitude towards working was summarized by the saying *Czy się stoi, czy się leży tysiąc złotych się należy* [lit. whether you are standing or lying, you will be paid one thousand zlotys 'it does not make any difference whether you work or not, you will be paid the same amount of money']. This approach could not be adopted in the corporate culture, in which competence, hard work and involvement were expected from all employees, to be later rewarded with promotion.

The new reality created a great desire for success in Poles who started to perceive functioning well as a condition dependent not so much on the state, but on their own skills, engagement, diligence etc. Success began to be desired and perceived as a goal in life, very much related to the sphere of labor, which is attested by such expressions as: *sukces zawodowy* [lit. professional success], *samorealizacja w pracy* [lit. self-realization at work], *możliwości rozwojowe* [lit. development possibilities] or *satysfakcja zawodowa* [lit. work satisfaction]. New phraseology describes work as an attractive area where one can achieve success and satisfaction.

It is worth noting that the word *sukces* 'success' started to occur in new collocations, some of which are *sukces kulinarny* [lit. culinary success], *sukces teatralny* [lit. theatrical success], *sukces czytelniczy* [lit. reading

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[48] This belief was reflected in many short forms of folklore, for instance, jokes. In one of them, a young father is told that his new born baby has a serious defect and that is why he cannot see it. The father insists on being told what defect the baby has and he is told that it has no arms. Then he is told there is another defect and it turns out the baby has no legs. The conversation continues about other body parts and, in the end, the father asks whether the baby has its back. When the father hears an affirmative answer, he says "So, there is no problem, the baby will be successful anyway". In Polish, the word for back – *plecy* has two meanings 'back' and 'influential acquaintances who can offer their support'.

success] or *sukces handlowy* [lit. trade success][49], which reflects the change of social perception of success and shows its importance in language users' opinion.

In Polish, new units referring to ambitious and energetic persons were coined. Apart from the expression *skazany na sukces*, the following ones came into use: *białe kołnierzyki* [lit. white collars] 'ambitious employees especially those in corporations'[50], *młode wilki/wilczki* [lit. young wolves/wolf cubs] 'young energetic persons, pushing hard to achieve success, with no complexes'[51], *młody zdolny* [lit. young talented] 'a young talented, energetic and ambitious person' (Nowakowska 2005).

From a linguistic perspective, the phraseme *skazany na sukces* is based on a semantic incongruity effect. The first constituent, i.e. *skazany*, is a past participle of the verb *skazać* 'to sentence', which has two meanings:

praw. 'wydać (wydawać) wyrok określający karę wymierzoną oskarżonemu za popełnione przestępstwa'

książk. 'określić (określać) z góry jakiś (zwykle zły) los kogoś, czegoś, przeznaczyć (przeznaczać) na coś, do czegoś, zmusić (zmuszać) do czegoś' (USJP, 3: 1223)

[lit. *legal* 'to give a verdict defining the punishment for committed crimes to be inflicted on the accused person', *bookish* 'to determine in advance the (usually bad) fate of somebody, something, force to something']

Therefore, in Polish, the past participle *skazany* 'sentenced' combines with the names of punishments, for instance, *skazany na dożywocie* [lit.

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[49] For more collocations of the word *sukces* see *Słownik dobrego stylu, czyli o wyrazach, które się lubią* (SDS: 289).

[50] In English, the idiom a white collar-worker is used in a slightly different meaning, i.e. 'the professional or office worker who wears a shirt with a white collar' (PDEI: 6).

[51] The unit *młode wilki/wilczki* is of textual origins: *Młode wilki* [lit. young wolves] is the title of a film directed by Jarosław Żemojda (1995). It shows young people who want to become rich very quickly, which involves illegal dealings, e.g. smuggling. One of the few dictionaries which includes the unit gives the following meaning: 'niedoświadczeni ludzie, którzy opierają swoją wartość na brawurze, żywiołowości, sile przebicia, braku kompleksów' (WSF: 136) [lit. inexperienced people whose merits are bravery, dynamics, clout, lack of complexes], which alludes to the qualities of the film characters. In the modern Polish language, the female form *młode wilczyce* [lit. young she-wolves] is also used.

sentenced to life] or *skazany na karę śmierci* [lit. sentenced to capital punishment], negative states or ill fate, as attested in the following examples: *skazany na samotność* [lit. sentenced to loneliness], *skazany na zapomnienie* [lit. sentenced to being forgotten], *skazany na przegraną* [lit. sentenced to failure][52].

The word *sukces* evokes positive connotations and its occurrence in the unit violates the standard collocation pattern. The effect of incongruity contributes to the novelty of the expression, creating a special stylistic effect, thus increasing the attractiveness of the phraseme in question.

Since the expression is relatively new one, not all dictionaries include it. Among those which contain the phraseme in question (ISJP, WSFJP), all register its general meaning 'bound to be successful' and label the expression as humorous. In general dictionaries, the unit tends to be included as a subentry of the verb *skazać/skazywać* 'to sentence', either as an expression, like in the following example:

żart. ktoś skazany na sukces 'o kimś, kto ma zapewnione powodzenie' (USJP, 3: 1223) [lit. about somebody who is sure to be successful],
    or as illustration of a general meaning:
'używane też, zwykle żartobliwie, w połączeniu z rzeczownikami nazywającymi coś, co postrzegamy jako przyjemne':
    Myślę, że jesteś skazany na sukces...
    ...człowiek skazany na wolność (ISJP, 2: 590)
[lit. Also used, usually in a humorous way, in combination with nous naming something that is perceived as pleasant:
    I think that you are sentenced to success...
    ...a man sentenced to freedom].

Similarly, in the phraseological dictionary, the phraseme is placed under the headword *skazany*. The expression occurs in the following

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[52] In Polish phraseology, there is another expression with the past participle in question: *być skazanym na siebie samego* [lit. 'to be sentenced to oneself], with a variant form *być ska-zanym na własne siły* [lit. to be sentenced to one's own forces] (USJP, 3: 1223). This unit evokes negative connotations, such as: loneliness, hardships, difficult situation etc. Generally speaking, the presence of the word *skazany* is associated with negatively evaluated phenomena.

example sentence: *dzien. żart.* 'mieć określone przeznaczenie, doznawać jakiegoś losu': *Był skazany na sukces* (WSFJP: 706) [lit. *journalistic humorous* 'to have a given destiny, a particular fate': He was sentenced to success].

Yet, in the monograph on new phraseological units, Beata Nowakowska (2005: 51) mentions two meanings of the analyzed phraseme:

1) 'to be bound to be successful because of a given person's talents, skills, competences etc.',

2) 'to be bound to be successful as a result of having influential family members, friends, acquaintances etc.'.

The first meaning refers to the success as the effect of a given person qualities, either inborn or acquired, whereas the other one emphasizes the external influences of the success. As for the first meaning, the evaluative connotation is strongly positive: the forecast, according to which it is sure that somebody will be achieving success, is based on a given person's qualities. It means that it will be done independently of others, without external influences. [As to the] other meaning, it evokes negative evaluative connotation, stressing that the success is undeserved and thus alluding to nepotism (Szerszunowicz 2016)[53].

The fact that dictionaries focus on the first meaning is by no means surprising. The analysis of the corpus material (NKJP) shows clearly that it dominates in terms of occurrences. Out of 143 occurrences, the unit used in its first meaning accounts for 136, while in the other one – only for 7.

In terms of collocability of the unit, the analysis also offers new findings. The examples excerpted from lexicographic sources are focused on man, i.e. in the frame X (JEST) SKAZANY NA SUKCES, X is a word for human being. In fact, the corpus examples show that lexemes in this position may be the names of persons, objects, activities, states etc.

In the corpus material, 66 occurrences refer to human beings. For e.g., in the following excerpt, one uses the name of a job combined with a first name and a surname:

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[53] In Polish phraseology, several units refer to being successful because of relations, for instance, *krewni i znajomi królika* [lit. Rabbit's relatives and friends] 'persons who are related to influential people and thus are given the positions they do not really deserve'. The expression comes from the Polish translation of *Winnie-the-Pooh* by Irena Tuwim.

A reżyser Grzegorz Chrapkiewicz? Jak zwykle, skazany na sukces (murowane 200 przedstawień) (NKJP)

[Lit. And director Grzegorz Chrapkiewicz? As usual, sentenced to success (200 performances guaranteed)].

The names comprise the words referring to men, women and children as well as groups of persons:

1. Names of human beings

1.1. Names of a single person & plural forms

– name and surname (*Katarzyna Grochola*, *Pat Cox*)

job, function, position etc. (*architekt* 'architect', *doradca* 'advisor', *inwestor* 'investor', *kulomiot* 'shot putter')

– other names (*dzieci* 'children', *goście* 'guests, visitors', *juniorzy* 'juniors', *pracowite osoby* 'hard-working persons')

1.2. Collective names (terms for groups of people)

– names of nations (*Amerykanie* 'Americans', *Holendrzy* 'the Dutch', *naród* 'nation')

– names of organizations, clubs, music groups etc. (*drużyna sportowa* 'sports team', *klub* 'club', *zespół* 'band').

As many as 77 occurrences describe various objects, activities, states processes etc., which shows clearly that a variety of names can be used instead of a lexeme referring to human beings. On the basis of the analysis of the corpus examples, the following categories of nouns which may fill the X-position can be distinguished:

2. Names of man-made objects

2.1. Names of texts of culture

– films, books, songs (*ich filmy* 'their films', *jej piosenki* 'her songs', *Shrek*, *ten album* 'this album')

2.2. Names of technical achievements and related objects

– piece of equipment, programs, systems etc. (*GPS Central Locator*, gra *Enter the Matrix* 'the game *Enter the Matrix*', *Linux*, *strona o budowaniu domów* 'house construction website', *Windows 10*)

2.3. Other names (*złoty* 'Polish national currency – lit. gold')

3. Names of events, activities and states

3.1. Names of events (*koncert* 'concert', *spektakl* 'performance')

3.2. Names of activities and states (*biznes w sieci* 'on-line business', *debiut książkowy* 'literary debut', *inicjatywa* 'initiative', *kandydowanie* 'being a candidate', *projekt* 'project', *serbska kontrofensywa* 'Serbian counteroffensive', *wielkie przedsięwzięcie* 'a great undertaking')

4. Names of geo-political areas and other geographical objects

4.1. River names (*Odra* 'the Oder')

4.2. Country names (*Polska* 'Poland', *Stany Zjednoczone* 'USA', *Zimbabwe*)

4.3. Names of administration units (*miasto* 'city', *gmina* 'a Polish administrative unit, municipality')

5. Names of other phenomena

5.1. Names of institutions (*instytucje* 'institutions', *PIPUiF* – Polska Izba Pośredników Ubezpieczeniowych i Finansowych 'The Polish Chamber of Insurance and Finance Intermediaries', *przedsiębiorstwo* 'enterprise', *samorządy* 'self-governments')

5.2. Other names (*miejsce w Trybunale* 'places in the Tribunale', *pomysły Google* 'Google ideas', *rzeczy* 'things').

As can be observed from the examples, both appellative names and proper ones for all categories, i.e. 1-5, can be used in the X-position. It can be assumed that new categories may be added in course of time, which could be placed in the last of the groups.

As for modification of the phraseme, only in one example, which is given below, a descriptive constituent was added to the word *sukces* – in this sentence, it is called *totalny* 'total': *Ten film jest skazany na sukces totalny* (NKJP) [lit. This film is sentenced to total success].

More components were added before the past participle: most of them are inserted to intensify the meaning of the phraseme. In the following quotation, the element *po prostu* 'simply' indicates the obvious character of a given person being successful, which actually is implied by the phraseme itself:

Mogę z czystym sumieniem napisać, że każdy, kto pragnie osiągnąć sukces i jest gotów zacząć działać, po przeczytaniu niniejszej publikacji

będzie miał taką dawkę pozytywnej energii i motywacji do działania, że będzie po prostu skazany na sukces

[lit. I can write honestly that each person who wants to achieve success and is ready to start doing things, after reading the present publication will have such a dose of positive energy and motivation to work that will simply be sentenced to success].

Other words used in this function include such lexemes as: *nieuchronnie* 'unavoidably', *praktycznie* 'practically', *wręcz* 'just', *z góry* 'in advance'.

The phraseme in question shows a preference for certain lexico-syntactic structures like *wydawało się, że X jest skazany na sukces, X musi być skazana na sukces, mówi się już, że jest skazana na sukces, można powiedzieć, że był skazany na sukces*:

Czyli z jednej strony to był naturalny etap w rozwoju polskiego rynku ubezpieczeń, a z drugiej konkretny bodziec. Czy w związku z tym można powiedzieć, że PIPUiF była skazana na sukces? (NKJP)

[Lit. It means that on one hand, it was a natural stage in the development of the Polish insurance market, on the other, a concrete stimulus. Can on say that because of it the Chamber of Polish Insurance and Finance Intermediaries was sentenced to success?]

The fact that certain patterns of the phraseme use have already been established is indicative of its status as a well-stabilized language unit. The status is also confirmed by another observation. In the corpus material, there are only two occurrences of the analyzed phraseme given in quotation marks, both of which are presented below:

Nawet jeśli Polska jest obecnie "skazana na sukces" w postaci kilku lat dobrej koniunktury, to może go odnieść w różnej skali (NKJP)

[lit. Even if Poland is currently "sentenced to success" with a few years of good economic situation, it may achieve it in a various scale].

Jednym z sukcesów technologii jest podobno "przewidzenie" przyszłego statusu Nory Jones – według speców z Barcelony, Norah i jej piosenki były od początku "skazane na sukces" (NKJP)

[lit. One of the technology success is supposed to be "foreseeing" Norah Jones's future status – according to specialists from Barcelona, from the very beginning, Norah and her songs were "sentenced to success"].

Generally speaking, using a given expression in quotes may be the signal of its ongoing fixedness[54]. The next step is to use the expression without them, which means that the language users treat it as a fixed multiword combination – a ready-made chunk of language to be used in discourse.

2. The phraseme *skazany na sukces* as a candidate for a widesprad idiom

In the Polish language, the phraseme at issue tends to be used in various ways by language users. It is employed in press texts, public discourse and everyday conversations. From a cross-linguistic perspective, the following questions could be posed: Does this expression function in other languages, for instance, in English? Is it used in the same form? Does it belong to widespread multiword units?

Widespread idioms, i.e. idioms having the same lexical structure and identical figurative core meaning in various languages, is a term used by Elisabeth Piirainen whose outstanding research extends to the languages throughout the whole Europe, which was a complete novelty in the area of idiom research (Piirainen 2008: 243). The scholar discusses the units in many papers and two monographs: the first presents the theoretical

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[54] In the case of the modern Polish language, this process can be observed when phraseological borrowings enter the language. Many English loan phrases are first used as calques in press articles in which they are given in quotes. Gradually, the marks vanish and the phrasemes are used the same way as regular multiword expressions.

assumptions and idioms of textual origins (2012) and the second (2016a) is a continuation of the work, offering new insights[55].

As for English lexicographic sources consulted, the expression *sentenced to success* is not included. It can be assumed that in certain contexts, it could be used figuratively, yet, it lacks the quality of fixedness. In the corpus examples (COCA), out of 3,660 examples, the vast majority, more than 90 %, refer to punishment, as illustrated below:

Tonight, former Louisiana Democratic Congressman William Jefferson has been sentenced 13 years in prison for bribery and corruption (COCA).

Common collocates include: *life, probation, death, forced labor, to live under lock and key, short jail terms, a five-year prison sentence, federal prison.*

Only several examples refer to situations, conditions or states which do not result from legal matters. Most of them describe health problems, which is illustrated by the following excerpts:

A LEG UP FOR A CRUTCH INVENTOR, INJURY IS THE MOTHER OF INVENTION IN THE SUMMER of 2005, Jeff Weber took a fall in the backyard of his Minnesota home, broke his heel, and was sentenced to 13 weeks on crutches (COCA).

Far from a life sentenced to relentless disability, Zach Nielson is among a growing group who feel as if their MS never happened (COCA).

The corpus search offers examples of humorous use of the expression:

Rather than complain, she contented herself with making faces at Blanche, who appeared entirely too happy to see her younger sister sentenced to kitchen duty (COCA),

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[55] Among the issues discussed in papers, it is worth mentioning such issues as common features in the phraseology of European languages from cultural and areal perspectives (Piirainen 2010), the causes of the existence of widespread idioms (Piirainen 2015) and the underlying figurative source domains (Piirainen 2016b).

and figurative employment of the phrase without introducing the jocular tone:

When that is done, students will no longer be sentenced to reading texts that are far below their grade level, essentially independently, in the presence of their teacher. Instead, the teacher will serve as a primary scaffold, assisting students up the staircase of informational text complexity (COCA).

In all the corpus examples, the common denominator is the negative connotation of the noun used in the phrase. The word *success* does not appear in the material.

The search with the WebCorp tool does not offer much, either, with two examples, excluding the film titles:

I once heard a speaker use the statement, "I have been sentenced to success!" I heard that almost twenty years ago, yet it still sticks in my head.
Sentenced to success (article title).

It can be concluded that the Polish unit *skazany na sukces* and the English potential counterpart sentenced to success have a different status in the respective languages.

While considering the English candidates for the equivalent of the Polish phraseme, it is worth considering the English title of a book containing advice for business woman: *Designed for Success: The 10 Commandments for Women in the Workplace* (Scumaci 2007) was translated into Polish as *Skazana na sukces. 10 przykazać skutecznej bizneswoman* [lit. Sentenced to success. 10 commandments of an effective businesswoman] (Scumaci 2014)[56]. The phrase *to be designed for something*, defined as 'to be intended for particular purpose', is included in lexicographic source (e.g. MED: 375).

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[56] Another title which employs the phrase is *Designed for Success: 13 Principles for Life Changing Success* (Golden 2012 [2008]).

If the book title is transformed into a pattern, then it takes the following form: X IS DESIGNED FOR Y, where X is filled by the word *a businesswoman* and Y – by *success*. The search for to *be designed for* in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) shows that X tends to be a name of an inanimate object and Y can be either a name of a human being or a term describing an object, a process, a function etc., as illustrated below:

The many black-and-white portraits of obscure artists in bowler hats and bow ties reveal a thriving, bohemian cast of characters: one sofa, we learn, was "designed for the actor Otto Boleska", another for "Professor Fr. Zaviska" (COCA).

What good is there to be gained by trying these murderers, these mass murderers, these war criminals in civilian courts made – that have rules designed for conventional crimes committed by conventional criminals as Attorney General Mukasey once said? (COCA)[57]

In fact, in the corpus material, there is only one occurrence of the expression *designed for* containing the word *success: Even with an expert guide and equipment designed for success, hand-dipping is a challenge* (COCA), still with the X-position filled in with an inanimate object – *equipment*. Although there might be some similarity, since the use of the structure – like in the case of the Polish phraseme – deviates from what is expected, the stylistic effect seems to be weaker, less contrary to what is predicted by the listener. In the combination of *designed for* and a noun evoking positive connotations, *designed for* implies a desirable result[58].

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[57] Many different nouns were used to fill in both positions, for instance, X-position: *an e-book, a program, a tool, rules, the kitchen, a connector, a course, an appliance, a solarium, workshops, mini snowmobiles, chutes, fragrance water spray*; Y – animate objects: *an older population, homeless people, them, black women, non- programmers, Frederick Augustus III, students, wealthy white families, skiers, teachers, pastors*; Y – inanimate objects: *your kitchen, air-seat, skis, extra-loose soil, easy high-volume OEM, electric water heaters*; Y – purpose, function etc.: *repair, low maintenance, speed, performance, this purpose, use*.

[58] The Polish past participle *skazany na* evokes negative connotations, but in the analyzed expression, it co-occurs with a positively marked word – *sukces*. Therefore, the effect is likely to be much stronger in the case of the Polish phraseme.

Another potential English equivalent is the one used in the aforementioned film titles, i.e. *most likely to success*, which – likewise *designed for* – differs in stylistic properties.

In the case of the Italian language, the verb *condannare* is used in a similar way to that of its Polish equivalent *skazywać* does. Primarily, it functions in legal discourse, in which it collocates with terms for punishment, for instance, *condannare a morte* 'to sentence to death', and with those describing crimes, for instance, *condannare per furto* 'to condemn for theft'. The verb *condannare* also combines with words and phrases evoking negative *connotations* like *condannare a vivere nella miseria* [lit. to sentence to life in poverty] or *condannare all'insuccesso* [lit. to sentence to failure].

The lexicographic sources, either general dictionaries (DeM) or those of phraseological units (BMQ), consulted for the needs of the present study do not contain the phrase which would be a close Italian equivalent of the Polish phraseme – *condannato al successo*. The corpus search did not bring any surprising results, with typical collocations such as: *condannato a tre anni* [sentenced to three years], *condannato all'ergastolo* [sentenced to life imprisonment] (CoLFIS)[59].

In all the corpus material, the only example related to the Polish phrase in terms of semantics and stylistic value is observed in a short press text about Sylvester Stallone's comeback in an action film written by Piera Detassis who titled it *Condannato all'eroismo* [lit. Sentenced to heroism].

Yet, the search with the WebCorp® tool showed that in fact, the phraseme is used in the Italian language: there were as many as 37 occurrences in various texts[60]. In one of the examples, the word condannato is given in quotes: *Hoffenheim vince, anche il Napoli è "condannato" al successo, che però potrebbe bastare* [lit. Hoffenheim wins, although Napoli is sentenced to success, but it could be enough].

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[59] In the composed corpus of 5,302 units, there were also examples with the preposition *per* 'for', indicating the reason, for instance: *condannato per omicidio* 'convicted of murder', *condannato per stupro* 'convicted of rape', *condannato per violenza carnale* 'convicted of violence'.

[60] From a linguo-cultural perspective, the factors of cross-linguistic similarity comprise: common diachronic origins, shared cultural background, borrowing, shared cognitive patterns (Pamies-Bertrán 2010: 31).

In other texts, as in the ones given below, the expression is used as a multiword combinations. The first excerpt discusses a portable camera:

E una miniversione solo digitale esiste già. Josef Spichtig, il nuovo amministratore delegato, è condannato al successo

[lit. And an only digital miniversion has already existed. Josef Spichtig, the new CEO, is sentenced to success],

while the second one presents a book. In this case, an adjective follows the noun *successo*, as attested below:

Preceduto da un battage pubblicitario degno di una merce di lusso ("Dan Brown" è, infatti, oramai, un brand globale riconoscibilissimo e seguitissimo), il romanzo "Inferno", nella sua duplice versione, cartacea e digitale, appena edito da Mondadori, è parso immediatamente condannato al successo planetario (di vendita e di lettura) (...)]

[lit. Preceded by marketing hype deserved by a luxury product (in fact, "Dan Brown" is a global brand, widely recognized with a great number of followers), the novel *Inferno*, in its two versions, paper and digital, already published by Mondadori, has immediately seemed sentenced to a global success (in terms of sales and readership) (...)].

The use of the expression shows that it appears in texts discussing various subjects and may undergo modifications.

Furthermore, in one of the corpus texts, the word play is employed – the surname of the person described is *Fortuna*, which is identical to an appellative name *fortuna* 'fortune, good luck' which alludes to success:

*Di lui si sa che fa **l'attore, il regista, lo sceneggiatore, il musicista e che ha lavorato con Virzì, Battiato, Tornatore** solo per citare i più famosi, ma in pochi sapevano il lato amoroso di **Corrado Fortuna,** che con il cognome che porta è quasi **condannato al successo***

[lit. He is known to be an actor, a director, a script writer, a musician who has worked with Virzì, Battiato, Tornatore, just to name a few famous

persons, but few have known the romantic side of Corrado Fortuna who with the surname he has is almost sentenced to success].

Using it for ludic purpose reflects the figurative potential of the expression at issue. It is worth adding that the unit is used in the title of a book by Hans Helmut Kirst who wrote *Condannato al successo* in 1974. To sum up, it can be said that certain similarities are observed in the use of the Polish phraseme and its Italian equivalent.

3. Conclusions

The linguo-cultural analysis of the phraseme *skazany na sukces* shows that the expression has a well-established status in Polish phraseological stock. Its semantic potential and stylistic value make it a useful phrase from language users' perspective, which is corroborated by corpus examples.

As a relatively new unit, the phraseme tends to be underrepresented in lexicographic works, the majority of which provides only one meaning of the unit and limit the examples to those with human beings as objects of sentences containing the expression in question. The entry should provide a more detailed presentation of the properties of the unit with adequate examples of its use.

From a cross-linguistic perspective, the phraseme can be analyzed as a candidate for a widespread multiword combination. The preliminary research conducted for English and Italian shows that the unit is used in a similar way in the Italian language, but not in English. A study comprising a bigger number of languages is necessary to determine how widespread the expression is.

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after Joanna Szerszunowicz

Points to be commented and discussed

1. Why do you think the expression *sentenced to success* violates the rules of collocability? Would you explain the cause?

2. The author is of the opinion that the expression *sentenced to success* violates the rules of collocability since it can be expected that the component following the past participle should rather be a word from the field of crime or a name of a phenomenon evoking negative connotations. Do you share the opinion of the author?

3. The author assumes that the phrase in question is likely to draw language users' attention when they encounter it in the process of communication. Could you share the expectations of the author? Will you supply your arguments?

4. What domain can the expression *sentenced to success* be associated with from the perspective of Anglo-American culture?

5. What titles of French, American and Polish films does the author mention to give the reader a hint at the origin of the that species of oxymoron?

6. In Polish culture, as J. Szerszunowicz points out, apart from such associations – rather not immediate to most native speakers of Polish, one can easily relate the phraseme *skazany na sukces* to the language of the post-

transformation reality. Do you differ from here? Would you supply the arguments?

7. Being part of the new layer of Polish phraseology, the expression can be used, according to the author, to refer to persons who are bound to be successful. Could you illustrate the statement with a context from corpora?

8. The aim of the paper is to discuss the Polish unit *skazany na sukces* from a linguo-cultural perspective, is it not?

9. What other important aspects of semantics, stylistic value and cultural background does the researcher bear in mind taking up this study?

10. Do you think the philologist – taking into consideration the properties of the phraseme – will analyze the unit as a candidate for a widespread idiom, offering a preliminary study of the status of corresponding expressions in the language?

11. How does the author connect the emergence of new phraseology with changes in the politics and economy of Poland?

12. In what numerous ways did the political and economic transformation and related changes influence the Polish language (Warchoł-Scholttmann 2009)?

13. How did it contribute to lexis and idiomatic stock (cf. Chlebda 2001: 159)?

14. Many new multiword expressions were coined, among them those referring to the sphere of professional life and work environment, like the unit *skazany na sukces*, mentioned by Beata Nowakowska (2005) along with other expressions such as *łowca/łapacz głów* 'head hunter', *wyścig szczurów* 'rat race' and *emigrant podatkowy* 'tax emigrant'. Could you qualify the newly appeared set expressions according to the type of the semantic transference of their components?

15. What other spheres of life did the transformation of 1989 in Poland influence, besides politics and economy?

16. What influence did it have on social perception of many phenomena, one of which is achieving success?

17. As the author points out, in the period of Communism, it was regarded impossible to achieve success without political support of the ruling party. In the common opinion, its members were given high positions

irrespective of their qualification and skills. Therefore, being successful was likely to inspire doubts on whether a given person was honest in moving up the career ladder. Generally speaking, promotion and wealth seemed to be out of reach from a man-in-the-street perspective. Could you comment on the social background in Poland at that time, as described by the author of the paragraph?

18. What kind of change meant the introduction of the new system as the author puts it?

19. What kind of work culture did foreign companies, especially American corporations, having started to operate on the Polish market, try and introduce?

20. In Communism, many Poles' attitude towards working was summarized by the saying *Czy się stoi, czy się leży tysiąc złotych się należy* [lit. whether you are standing or lying, you will be paid one thousand zlotys 'it does not make any difference whether you work or not, you will be paid the same amount of money']. What is your opinion on the social politics in the country at that period?

21. Could this approach be adopted in the corporate culture, in which competence, hard work and involvement were expected from all employees, to be later rewarded with promotion?

22. What feelings and what desire did the new reality awake in the Poles?

23. The people started to feel dependent not so much on the state, but on their own skills, engagement, diligence, did they not?

24. As the author puts it, success began to be desired and perceived as a goal in life, very much related to the sphere of labor, which is attested by such expressions as: *sukces zawodowy* [lit. professional success], *samorealizacja w pracy* [lit. self-realization at work], *możliwości rozwojowe* [lit. development possibilities] or *satysfakcja zawodowa* [lit. work satisfaction]. Could you define the level of abstraction of those new set expressions?

25. Could you prove that new phraseology describes work as an attractive area where one can achieve success and satisfaction?

26. The author points out that the word *sukces* 'success' started to occur in new collocations, some of which are *sukces kulinarny* [lit. culinary success], *sukces teatralny* [lit. theatrical success], *sukces czytelniczny* [lit. reading success] or *sukces handlowy* [lit. trade success] and for more collocations of the word *sukces* the author refers the reader's attention to *Słownik dobrego stylu, czyli o wyrazach, które się lubią* (SDS: 289), which reflects the change of social perception of success and shows its importance in language users' opinion. Would you study the corpora contexts with the new word combinations containing the word *sukces* with the view of their quantitative analysis?

27. What new set expressions were coined in Polish, referring to ambitious and energetic persons?

28. Apart from the expression *skazany na sukces*, the following one came into use: *białe kołnierzyki* [lit. white collars] 'ambitious employees especially those in corporations'. Do you happen to know that in English the idiom *a white collar-worker* is used in a slightly different meaning? Could you reproduce that meaning?

29. Could one find in English any phraseological equivalents for the following Polish new phraseol1gfical units: *młode wilki/wilczki* [lit. young wolves/wolf cubs] 'young energetic persons, pushing hard to achieve success, with no complexes', *młody zdolny* [lit. young talented] 'a young talented, energetic and ambitious person'?

30. Could you prove that from a linguistic perspective, the phraseme *skazany na sukces* is based on a semantic incongruity effect, as the author puts it?

31. What connotations does the word *sukces* evoke: positive or negative?

32. Do you think that its occurrence in the unit violates the standard collocation pattern?

33. Would you give arguments for that the effect of incongruity contributes to the novelty of the expression, creating a special stylistic effect, thus increasing the attractiveness of the phraseme in question?

34. Since the expression is a relatively new one, not all dictionaries include it.

35. What meaning of the phraseme in question is registered in dictionaries (ISJP, WSFJP)? Why do they label the expression as humorous?

36. As a subentry of what verb does the unit tend to be included in general dictionaries?

37. What meanings of the phraseme under discussion were singled out by Beata Nowakowska in the monograph on new phraseological units? Do you think it was a justified semantic discrimination? What arguments could you terminate pro and contra?

38. About two decades ago the following two meanings of the phraseme *skazany na sukces* were singled out and defined in the monograph on new phraseological units: 1) 'to be bound to be successful because of a given person's talents, skills, competences etc.', 2) 'to be bound to be successful as a result of having influential family members, friends, acquaintances etc.'. Would you agree to the author's suggestion?

39. What kind of success does the first meaning refer to? How would you qualify the evaluative connotation of that meaning?

40. And what about the second meaning? What kind of success does the second meaning refer to? How would you qualify the evaluative connotation of that second meaning?

41. Which of the two meanings refers to the success as the effect of a given person qualities, either inborn or acquired?

42. Which of the two meanings emphasizes the external influences of the success?

43. Would one maintain the author's idea that the evaluative connotation is strongly positive, as far as the first meaning is concerned, i.e.: the forecast, according to which it is sure that somebody will be achieving success, is based on a given person's qualities? Does it mean that something will be done independently of others, without external influence?

44. Could you approve of the author's comment on the other singled-out meaning which evokes negative evaluative connotation, stressing that the success is undeserved and thus alluding to nepotism, according to J. Szerszunowicz?

45. Will one maintain the author's criticism stating that the focus of the dictionaries on the first meaning is by no means surprising?

46. Would one find the author's arguments here, that consist in the following, substantial: the analysis of the corpus material (NKJP) shows clearly that it dominates in terms of occurrences; out of 143 occurrences, the unit used in its first meaning accounts for 136, while in the other one – only for 7?

47. What new findings does the analysis also offer in terms of collocability of the unit under study?

48. The examples excerpted from lexicographic sources are focused on man, i.e. in the frame X (JEST) SKAZANY NA SUKCES, X is a word for human being. What linguistic fact does it prove?

49. What new data on the distribution of the analyzed phraseme does the author manage to find out by means of the corpus study? In what way does it help the researcher?

50. In fact, the corpus examples show that lexemes in this position may be the names of persons, objects, activities, states etc. What do they testify to?

51. Why is it important to know how many occurrences in the corpus material refer to human beings?

52. The names comprise the words referring to men, women and children as well as groups of persons:

1. Names of human beings

1.1. Names of a single person & plural forms

– name and surname (*Katarzyna Grochola*, *Pat Cox*)

job, function, position etc. (*architekt* 'architect', *doradca* 'advisor', *inwestor* 'investor', *kulomiot* 'shot putter')

– other names (*dzieci* 'children', *goście* 'guests, visitors', *juniorzy* 'juniors', *pracowite osoby* 'hard-working persons')

1.2. Collective names (terms for groups of people)

– names of nations (*Amerykanie* 'Americans', *Holendrzy* 'the Dutch', *naród* 'nation')

– names of organizations, clubs, music groups etc. (*drużyna sportowa* 'sports team', *klub* 'club', *zespół* 'band').

Would you find that grouping consistent? Could you supply the arguments pro and contra?

53. How many occurrences describe various objects, activities, states processes etc., which shows clearly that a variety of names can be used instead of a lexeme referring to human beings? What is the impact of that corpus excerpt?

54. What categories of nouns – that may fill the X-position – can be distinguished on the basis of the analysis of the corpus examples?

55. Could you ennumerate the nouns which may fill the X-position and can be distinguished as Names of man-made objects?

56. Could you ennumerate the nouns which may fill the X-position and can be distinguished as Names of events, activities and states?

57. Could you ennumerate the nouns which may fill the X-position and can be distinguished as names of geo-political areas and other geographical objects?

58. Could you ennumerate the nouns which may fill the X-position and can be distinguished as names of any other phenomena?

59. Would one maintain the author in her assumption that new categories may be added in the course of time, which could be placed in the last of the groups?

60. Will you comment on the modification of the phraseme – only in one example – which is given below, a descriptive constituent was added to the word *sukces* – in this sentence, it is called *totalny* 'total': *Ten film jest skazany na sukces totalny* (NKJP) [lit. This film is sentenced to total success]? What additional meaning does the phraseme get in this case?

61. What is the function of much more components that are found to have been added before the past participle? Do you think that most of them are inserted to intensify the meaning of the phraseme as in the following quotation, where the element *po prostu* 'simply' indicates the obvious character of a given person being successful, which actually is implied by the phraseme itself?

62. What other words could you name that are used in the function under discussion?

63. What fact is indicative of the phaseme status as a well-stabilized language unit?

64. The fact that certain patterns of the phraseme use have already been established is indicative of its status as a well-stabilized language unit, is it not?

65. What kind of another observation is its status also confirmed by?

66. Generally speaking, using a given expression in quotes may be the signal of its ongoing fixedness, may it not?

67. What is the next step to use the expression?

68. What form of the expression use means that the language users treat it as a fixed multiword combination, i.e. a ready-made chunk of language to be used in discourse?

69. Can this process be observed in the case of the modern Polish language when phraseological borrowings enter the language?

70. In what form are many English loan phrases first used in press articles in which they are given in quotes?

71. Under what circumstances do the phrasemes start to be used the same way as regular multiword expressions?

72. Does the phraseme at issue tend to be used in various ways by language users in the Polish language?

73. It is employed in press texts, public discourse and everyday conversations, is it not?

74. From a cross-linguistic perspective, the following questions could be posed: Does this expression function in any other languages, for instance, in English? Is it used in the same form? Does it belong to widespread multiword units?

75. What did Elisabeth Piirainen mean while making use of the term widespread idioms?

76. Could your name the term that was used by Elisabeth Piirainen to indicate idioms having the same lexical structure and identical figurative core meaning in various languages?

77. Whose outstanding research of set expressions, phrasemes and idioms extends nowadays to the languages throughout the whole Europe?

78. What linguistic method, which Elisabeth Piirainen used, was a complete novelty in the area of idiom research (Piirainen 2008: 243)?

79. Could you develop the authors summary consisting in that the scholar discusses the units in many papers and two monographs: the first presents the theoretical assumptions and idioms of textual origins (2012) and the second (2016a) is a continuation of the work, offering new insights?

80. Among the issues discussed in Elisabeth Piirainen's papers, it is worth mentioning such issues as common features in the phraseology of European languages from cultural and areal perspectives (2010), the causes of the existence of widespread idioms (2015) and the underlying figurative source domains (2016b). Could you decipher every of the novelties mentioned?

81. As for English lexicographic sources consulted, the expression *sentenced to success* is not included. What linguistic fact does it testify to?

82. Could you comment on the author's assumption that in certain contexts the expression *sentenced to success* could be used figuratively, yet, it lacks the quality of fixedness?

83. What examples of humorous use of the expression under study does the corpus search offer?

84. Would you find out examples of figurative employment of the phrase without introducing the jocular tone?

85. Will you qualify the difference of humorous and figurative employment of the phraseme under analysis in the following contexts:

(a) Rather than complain, she contented herself with making faces at Blanche, who appeared entirely too happy to see her younger sister sentenced to kitchen duty (COCA).

(b) When that is done, students will no longer be sentenced to reading texts that are far below their grade level, essentially independently, in the presence of their teacher. Instead, the teacher will serve as a primary scaffold, assisting students up the staircase of informational text complexity (COCA)?

86. Could you maintain that in all the corpus examples, the common denominator is the negative connotation of the noun used in the phrase?

87. The word *success* does not appear in the contexts, does it? Could you explain the phenomenon?

88. Since the search with the WebCorp tool does not offer much, either, with two examples, excluding the film titles, could you analyze the Google-Books corpus?

89. How many times have you encountered the phrase *sentenced to success* as an article title in BNC? COCA? Google-Books?

90. Would you affirm that the author coped with the job to write that the Polish unit *skazany na sukces* and the English potential counterpart *sentenced to success* have a different status in the respective languages?

91. In what way the title of the English book *Designed for Success: The 10 Commandments for Women in the Workplace* was translated into Polish? Does the translation fit, in your opinion?

92. How is the phrase *to be designed for something* defined in the lexicographic source (e.g. MED: 375)?

93. Why does the author suggest the following: if the book title is transformed into a pattern, then it takes the following form: X IS DESIGNED FOR Y, where X is filled by the word *a businesswoman* and Y – by *success*? What is the final target of her analysis here?

94. What is the reason of the author's search for to *be designed for* in COCA that shows that X tends to be a name of an inanimate object and Y can be either a name of a human being or a term describing an object, a process, a function etc.?

95. How would you explain that in fact, in the corpus material, there is only one occurrence of the expression *designed for* containing the word *success: Even with an expert guide and equipment designed for success, hand-dipping is a challenge* (COCA), still with the X-position filled in with an inanimate object – *equipment*?

96. Could you give arguments pro and contra for the author's statement: although there might be some similarity, since the use of the structure – as well as in the case of the Polish phraseme – deviates from what is expected, the stylistic effect seems to be weaker, less contrary to what is predicted by the listener?

97. As it is stated by the author, in the combination of *designed for* and a noun evoking positive connotations, *designed for* implies a desirable result. Would one have any objections here?

98. Would you take it for granted that another potential English equivalent is the one used in the aforementioned film titles, i.e. *most likely to success*, which – likewise *designed for* – differs in stylistic properties? Would you comment on that difference?

99. In what way, in comparison to the Italian language, is the verb *condannare* used to that of its Polish equivalent *skazywać* does?

100. The verb *condannare* also combines with words and phrases evoking negative *connotations* like *condannare a vivere nella miseria* [lit. to sentence to life in poverty] or *condannare all'insuccesso* [lit. to sentence to failure]. How will the author be able to apply that information to the comparative analysis of the phrasemes in question?

101. Why do the lexicographic sources, either general dictionaries (DeM) or those of phraseological units (BMQ), not contain the phrase which would be a close Italian equivalent of the Polish phraseme – *condannato al successo*?

102. Did the corpus search bring any surprising results, with typical collocations such as: *condannato a tre anni* [sentenced to three years], *condannato all'ergastolo* [sentenced to life imprisonment] (CoLFIS)?

103. In the composed corpus of 5,302 units, there were also examples with the preposition *per* 'for', indicating the reason, for instance: *condannato per omicidio* 'convicted of murder', *condannato per stupro* 'convicted of rape', *condannato per violenza carnale* 'convicted of violence'. What was the impact of their contextual study?

104. In what texts (in all the corpus material) was it possible to discover the only example related to the Polish phrase in terms of semantics and stylistic value?

105. What linguistic information could be deduced from a short press text about Sylvester Stallone's comeback in an action film written by Piera Detassis who titled it *Condannato all'eroismo* [lit. Sentenced to heroism]?

106. What kind of search showed that in fact, the phraseme in question is used in the Italian language revealing that there were as many as 37 occurrences in various texts?

107. In what examples is the word *condannato* given in quotes?

108. In what texts is the expression used as a multiword combinations?

109. What method helps the author find out that the use of the expression shows that it appears in texts discussing various subjects and may undergo modifications?

110. Would you compare the following Italian context illustrating the use of the phraseme *condannato al successo* and its translation into English and comment on its relevance: *Di lui si sa che fa l'attore, il regista, lo sceneggiatore, il musicista e che ha lavorato con Virzì, Battiato, Tornatore solo per citare i più famosi, ma in pochi sapevano il lato amoroso di Corrado Fortuna, che con il cognome che porta è quasi condannato al successo* [lit. He is known to be an actor, a director, a script writer, a musician who has worked with Virzì, Battiato, Tornatore, just to name a few famous persons, but few have known the romantic side of Corrado Fortuna who with the surname he has is almost sentenced to success]?

111. The linguo-cultural analysis of the phraseme *skazany na sukces* shows that the expression has a well-established status in Polish phraseological stock, does it not?

112. Would you agree with the author that its semantic potential and stylistic value make it a useful phrase from language users' perspective, which is sustained by corpus examples?

113. Could you agree with the author who states that being a relatively new unit, the phraseme under study lacks representation in lexicographic works, the majority of which provides only one meaning of the unit and limit the examples to those with human beings as objects of sentences containing the expression in question?

114. Would you maintain that the entry should provide a more detailed presentation of the properties of the unit with adequate examples of its use?

115. Can one agree to the statement that from a cross-linguistic perspective the phraseme can be analyzed as a candidate for a widespread multiword combination?

116. Are you of the opinion that a study comprising a bigger number of languages is necessary to determine how widespread the expression is?

Theme 6

**A FRAMENET CONSTRUCTICON APPROACH
TO CONSTRUCTIONAL IDIOMS**

Introduction

Constructional idioms, sometimes also called "phraseme constructions" ('Phrasem-Konstruktionen', Dobrovol'skij 2011), "model constructions" ('Modellbildungen'), "sententence schemata" ('Satzschemata') (Häusermann 1977: 31, Thomas 2014: 52, among others) or, maybe most prominently, "phraseological template" ('Phraseoschablonen', Fleischer 1997: 130ff.), constitute an interesting but still under-studied subclass of idioms. Constructional idioms are characterized by rather fixed but lexically underspecified syntactic structures (Booij 2002: 301–302; Taylor 2012: 69ff.). There is a huge range of different (sub-)types of constructional idioms, among them reduplication constructions, like (1a), exclamatory constructions, like (1b), grammatical phrasemes, like (1c), and more specific constructions, like the WXDY construction (1d), and the Incredubility Response construction (1e).

1. a) Tag für Tag
       'day by day'
   b) Was für ein schöner Tag ist das!
      'What a beautiful day this is!'
   c) Sie mag keinen Lachs geschweige denn Muscheln.
      'She does not like salmon let alone mussels'.
   d) Der und Doktor?
      'Him, a doctor?'

What does it take to account for constructional idioms from a usage-based perspective? What are the syntactical and semantic properties of constructional idioms, and which constraints are at work? To put it differently, what do we have to know in order to use and understand constructional idioms appropriately? Finally and importantly, what's the (grammatical) status of constructional idioms as integral parts of a linguistic

system? In this article, having such issues in mind, we offer a new approach to constructional idioms. In particular, we argue that a FrameNet construction approach helps to better understand the nature of constructional idioms. On the one hand, it allows to capture the diversity of constructional idioms in the continuum between grammar and lexicon as well as in the continuum between idiomatic and non-idiomatic units. On the other hand, a FrameNet Constructicon approach offers new ways to account for the mechanisms licensing instances of these constructions.

The article is structured as follows. The next section discusses characteristics of constructional idioms with a specific focus on constructionist issues. Section 3 introduces the FrameNet Constructicon approach and presents results of a case study on the exclamative construction *Was für* + NP (which we consider a central member of the large family of constructional idioms). Finally, Section 4 provides a brief summary and outlook.

1. The nature of constructional idioms

Following Booij (2002: 301 – 302), constructional idioms are syntactic constructions with a (partially or fully) non-compositional meaning contributed by the construction, in which – unlike idioms in the traditional sense – only a subset (possibly empty) of the terminal elements is fixed.

Beyond their schematic nature, constructional idioms share with other idioms all basic properties (cf. Feilke 2007; Burger 2015: 15 – 29; Dobrovol'skij 2011; Dobrovolskij/Piirainen 2008: 52ff.; Staffeldt in prep.). Most importantly, they are polylexical and lexicalized but irregular, both syntactically and semantically; furthermore, due to their schematicity, they are modifiable, at least to some extent, while exhibiting at the same time robust structures that language users can reproduce as formulaic units. Finally, they behave like a 'model' in that their stable syntactic structures allow to generate a potentially infinite number of instances with the same schematic meaning[61].

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[61] Confer also Feilke who relates constructional idioms to phraseological templates: "Usually, on the surface the syntactic construction is bound to a specific lexicogrammatical element with valence potential (for example, a conjunction or preposition) which in turn is always interpreted synsemantically by means of the meaning of the construction" (Feilke 2007: 67; our translation).

With respect to their form-side, constructional idioms vary considerably. For example, like in (2), they can take different forms of lexically specified phrasal units with at least one external slot.

2. a) Wie kommt's, dass…?
        'Why is it that…?'
  b) ganz gleich…
     'no matter…'
  c) wie dem auch sei….
     'be that as it may…'
  d) Weg mit…
     'Away with…'
  e) …geschweige denn…
     '…let alone…'
  f) ein [Mann] von [Format]
     'a [man] of [stature]'

At the same time, they may also surface as sentences or sentence-like structures as exemplified in (3).

3. a) [Ich] und [Golf spielen]?!
     ' [Me] and [playing golf]'
  b) Je mehr […], desto […]
     'the more […] the […]'
  c) Was macht [mein Buch] [in deinem Regal]?
     'What's [my book] doing [in your shelf]?'
  d) Was für [ein Tag]!
     'What a [day]!'
  e) [Der] ist unter [die Phraseologen] gegangen.
     '[He] can be found among [the phraseologists]'.
  f) Du hast gut [reden].
     'You can [talk]'.
  g) Es ist zum [Heulen].
     'It is enough to make you [weep]'.

Just like other grammatical constructions, constructional idioms carry meanings of their own. While phraseological analyses tend to be motivated by the lexicographic endeavour to document the multitude and diversity of idioms (Comrie 1994, Mel'čuk 1995, Burger 2015, from a crosslinguistic perspective also Piirainen 2006), the complementary interest of a constructional approach is first and foremost to figure out and describe "the rules that license 'new' linguistic signs based on other linguistic signs" (Fillmore et al. 2012: §2.2). In other words, the main focus of a constructional approach lies on investigating the requirements for (the range of) individual realizations of these constructions. These requirements can be described in terms of constraints. With regard to constructional idioms, for example, consider the German reduplication construction with the preposition *an* ('by'/'at'/ to').

4. a) Seite an Seite
       'side by side'/'alongside'
   b) Kopf an Kopf
      'head to head'
   c) Tür an Tür
      'next door'
   d) Schulter an Schulter
      'shoulder to shoulder'
   e) Stoßstange an Stoßstange
      'bumper to bumper'
   f) Rücken an Rücken
      'back to back'

For one, constraints concern semantic properties of the slot-fillers. In the reduplication construction with *an* the slots are restricted to concrete nouns, while abstract nouns are not licensed (cf. *Gerechtigkeit an Gerechtigkeit* ['justice by justice'], *Freude an Freude* ['joy by joy'], *Gott an Gott* ['God by God'], etc.). There are also syntactic constraints at work. In the reduplication construction with *an* only bare nouns are licensed to enter the slots (cf. *die/eine Schulter an der/einer Schulter* ['the/a shoulder

to the/a shoulder'], *kleiner Kopf an kleinem Kopf* ['small head to small head']). Moreover, some constructions undergo discourse-functional constraints. To exemplify, consider the so-called Incredubility Response construction as illustrated in (3a) (for an extensive analysis see Lambrecht 1990). As the name suggests, an Increduly Response construction is a response to a preceding turn. The construction is thus discourse-functionally constrained in such a way that it is only licensed to instantiate the second part of an adjacency pair. Overall, one major goal of a constructional analysis is to reveal such constraints in order to capture the usage conditions of grammatical constructions.

There is some evidence that idiomaticity correlates with productivity; the higher the token frequency is, the more idiomatic the construction gets. For example, based on the German Reference Corpus[62], a quantitative analysis of a random sample of 10,000 instances of the reduplication construction with *an* reveals that the most idiomatic instance *Seite an Seite* ('side by side') make up 45 % of all instances (cf. Ziem in press). Hence, the very high token frequency of *Seite* ('side') predicts a very high degree of idiomaticity.

This finding points to another characteristic of constructional idioms. They can neither be entirely delegated to the lexicon nor to the grammar. More precisely, there are a few, but not many, instances that indeed deserve an own lexicon entry, most prominently, the highly idiomatic reduplication construction *Seite an Seite* ('side by side'). In contrast, most of all instances clearly do not belong to the lexicon; they are compositional in that their meaning derives from the schematic meaning of the reduplication construction *NP an NP* ('NP by NP') combined with the lexical meaning of its nominal slot-fillers. This means, in turn, we have to find a place for the (schematic) reduplication structure itself. The constructionist answer to this issue is to presume a continuum between lexicon and grammar; in this continuum, the reduplication construction is located more closely to the grammar pole. Needless to say, such a unified approach to linguistic units, be they lexical or grammatical/structural, presupposes that lexicon and

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[62] Cf. http://www1.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/korpora.html, last access: August 18, 2017.

grammar are not different in nature[63]. Also in the case constructional idioms, the assumption of a lexicon-grammar continuum is essential to account for their great (structural and semantic) diversity.

2. A FrameNet constructicon approach: the case of exclamative constructions

The ultimate goal motivating a FrameNet Constructicon approach is to identify and describe all constructions constituting a language's grammar in such a way that everything language users have to know in order to appropriately use and understand a construction is captured. Beside semantic, pragmatic, discourse-functional and syntactic specifications, a full-fledged description of a construction also comprises information about relations to other constructions. The entire network of constructions constituting a grammar is called a 'construct-i-con'. Technically, a constructicon is thus the result of the grammaticographic endeavour to document both the full range of constructions of a language and the ways the constructions are intervowen with one another. Additionally, from a cognitive point of view, a construction should reflect a language user's linguistic knowledge respectively his or her competence (in a pre-Chomskyian sense). Ideally, the 'grammaticographic' and 'mental' constructicon should be aligned with one another and finally coincide.

It goes without saying that setting up a constructicon is a long-term goal that necessitates not only immense intellectual efforts but also massive funding. However, it is worth to get started. Constructions that are located in the transition area between lexicon and grammar appear to be an interesting starting point, mainly because they are usually overseen, or at least under-studied, in traditional grammars. Constructional idioms belong to this group of neglected linguistic phenomena.

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[63] Bücker argues that "phraseology discusses the differences between idiomatic and non-idiomatic constructions against the background of a 'box-metaphorical' (Himmelmann 2004: 21) understanding of a systematical opposition between grammar and lexicon" (2012: 34; our translation). If this is true, a constructionist account to idioms might also turn out to be helpful to refine and adjust methodological and theoretical concepts underlying analyses of idioms.

One interesting subtype of constructional idioms is the family exlamative constructions. Even though there is a good deal of literature addressing exclamatives in German (for an overview, cf. d'Avis 2013), surprisingly little is known about the semantic, pragmatic and syntactic constraints specific to each of the members of this construction family, let alone the relations holding among them. In what follows, we introduce annotation categories required for constructional analyses as well as analysis guidelines for the constructicographic work (Section 3.1). For illustration, we present the *Was für + NP* construction as a central member of the family of exclamative constructions (Section 3.2) and discuss results of a corpus analysis (Section 3.3). Finally, based on the empirical results achieved, we compile a sample construction entry for the *Was für + NP* construction (Section 3.4).

From annotated corpus data to construction entries

The FrameNet constructicon approach aims at integrating constructions into a lexical frame-type database (Fillmore 2008; Fillmore et al. 2012; for an overview Ziem 2014). To succeed, we draw on annotation categories and formalisms developed in the Berkeley pilot project (Fillmore et al. 2012). The constructional annotations help describe and define a construction appropriately. The most important annotation categories are the Construction Evoking Element (CEE), the Construction Elements (CE), and the construct. In addition, we introduce a new annotation category called Correlated Element (CorE).

At the beginning, it is helpful to identify the **CEE**. Just like a frame-evoking element in FrameNet, a CEE provides an explicit link to the respective target structure (here: the construction). Generally, a CEE is defined as the linguistic unit evoking a construction (Fillmore et al. 2012: Section 2.2). In (1b) – *Was für ein schöner Tag ist das!* ('What a beautiful day this is!'), it is the string of words *was für* that evokes the exclamative construction. A CEE thus constitutes the lexical 'anchor' of a construction. Note, however, that such lexical elements are often missing. This is because not all constructions entail fixed lexical constituents. The more schematic a

construction gets, that is, the more a construction is located towards the grammar pole in the lexicon-grammar continuum, the more likely it is that it does not include one or more fixed lexical items. The distransitive construction, for example, is defined by its structural properties alone.

The **construct** equates with the linguistic expression licensed by the exclamative construction. A construct is therefore an instance resp. an individual realization of the construction. The span of the construct is annotated by curly brackets. In (1b) the construct encompasses *was für ein schöner Tag* ('what a beautiful day').

CEs can be defined as those constituents, or slots, of a grammatical construction that are instantiated by the respective parts of constructs. Following FrameNet annotation conventions, CEs are tagged with square brackets, while subscripts are used for labelling meaning or function. An exclamative construction, for example, essentially entails the CE Stimulus denoting the event or entity triggering the emotion of surprise (see Section 3.2 and 3.3).

Finally, a **CorE** is a word, or a string of words, that co-occurs with a construction in such a way that it enhances, or supplements, a (semantic, pragmatic, discourse-functional, syntactic) property of a construction. In the case of exclamative constructions, modal particles, such as *aber*, *denn*, *doch*, *vielleicht*, among others, are used to function as CorEs in that they reinforce the speaker's surprise conveyed by the exclamative construction.

It exemplifies the annotations regarding the CEE, CEs, and the construct licensed by the construction. In addition to such semantic annotations, each CE and CEE is annotated syntactically (in terms of phrase type, part of speech, and grammatical function; cf. Section 3.3).

5. {WAS_FÜR[CEE Was für] [STIMULUS ein schöner Tag]} ist das!

Collecting and analyzing all relevant information for each grammatical construction is a challenging and very costly empirical task. In order to proceed both efficiently and consistently, it is necessary to have precise annotation guidelines and a uniform workflow guiding all

construction analyses in the same way. To reduce efforts, the workflow should benefit from computational resources wherever possible. We therefore developed a partly computational work routine consisting of five consecutive steps (http://gsw.phil.uni-duesseldorf.de/, last access: August 18, 2017).

a) **Subcorporation & preliminary analysis**: Using existing corpora (particularly the DWDS corpus and the German Reference Corpus[64]), the first step aims at setting up a corpus of typical instances of the constructions addressed[65]. Once a set of corpus examples are identified and extracted, a preliminary analysis serves to help provisionally determine (semantic, pragmatic, discourse-functional, syntactic) properties peculiar to the respective constructions. At this stage, also CEs are identified and tentatively defined to prepare semantic annotations.

b) **Parsing Pipeline**: The parsing pipeline includes automatic annotations of part of speech, using the TreeTagger (Schmid 1995) as well as phrase type and grammatical function by means of the BerkeleyParser (Petrov et al. 2006).

c) **WebAnno**: For semantic annotations, we use the web-based annotation software WebAnno[66] which allows a wide range of project-specifically defined linguistic annotations (cf. Castilho et al 2016).

d) **Construction Analyzer (CA)**: The Construction Analyzer is a web-based program that we developed for two purposes. First, it helps to automatically transform annotations into the annotation style used in the Berkeley FrameNet Constructicon. Second, more importantly, it facilitates analyses of the annotations in several ways; for example, it identifies syntactic realization patterns of constructions as well as possible realizations of CEs and CEEs. Currently, CorE is implemented as an additional annotation layer.

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[64] Cf. http://www.dwds.de and http://www1.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/korpora.html, last access: August 18, 2017.

[65] In FrameNet, this preliminary work is called "subcorporation"; this step subsumes "the automatic processes used to extract example sentences for annotation from the corpus" (Fillmore et al. 2003).

[66] https://webanno.github.io, last access: August 18, 2017.

e) **Compilation of Construction Entries**: Finally, the results obtained from these analyses are carefully evaluated and interpreted with respect to their relevance for compiling a construction entry. Ideally, a construction entry should contain all information licensing a construct (for illustration, see Section 3.4).

In Section 3.3 and 3.4, we illustrate the workflow by means of the *Was für* + NP construction. Previously, we briefly introduce this construction in the context of the family of exclamative constructions.

Was für + NP (*'What + NP'*) *as constructional idiom*

In order to illustrate the FrameNet constructicon approach we now turn to an exemplar analyses of the *Was für* + NP construction. This construction is considered as a prototype of an exclamative expression (Ziem/Ellsworth 2016: 165). Its function is to express a speaker's surprise regarding a certain entity, e.g. an object, an event or a situation while the truth of the sentence proposition itself is presupposed (Näf 1996, Michaelis 2001, Rett 2009, d'Avis 2013). In example (6), for instance, the speaker verbalizes his or her surprise about the size of the mentioned present which deviates from what (s)he would expect based on former experiences.

6. Was ist das für ein großes Geschenk!
   What is this for a bigpresent!
   'What a huge present this is!'

Structurally, the exclamative looks like a question. It contains the interrogative pronoun *was* ('what') and exhibits the same word order as regular questions. However, it is not part of a typical question-answer-pairing, since no answer is being expected, cf. the examples in (7).

7. a) *A*: Was ist das für ein großes Geschenk! – *B*: *Größer als ein Schuhkarton.
     '*A*: What a big present! – *B*: *Bigger than a shoe box'.
   b) *A*: Wie groß ist das Geschenk? – *B*: Größer als ein Schuhkarton.
     '*A*: How big is the present? – *B*: Bigger than a shoe box'.

Furthermore, in contrast to questions, *Was für* + NP exclamatives follow a different intonation pattern and carry an exclamative accent, e.g. *Was ist das für ein GROsses Geschenk*! In written language, the exclamation mark (along with the context) indicates that the sentences is not to be interpreted as a question[67]. In addition, modal particles such as *aber, auch, denn, doch* and *vielleicht* are often used to support the exclamative function (D'Avis 2013: 177); for illustration see (8a).

    8. a) Was ist das denn für ein großes Geschenk!
       'What a big present!'
    b) Das ist aber/vielleicht ein großes Geschenk!
     'This is a big present!'

Note that in most languages, including English, modal particles do not support, let alone trigger exclamatives. In German, however, certain modal particles can turn sentences surfacing as syntactically regular declarative into exclamative sentences. This is the case in (8b) where *vielleicht* (lit. 'perhaps') resp. *aber* (lit. 'but') triggers an exclamative reading.

Coming back to the *Was für* + NP exclamatives, it is remarkable that they are more flexible than questions in terms of word order. The finite verb cannot only appear in the second position but also at the end of the sentence, compare (9) and (6). D'Avis (2013: 186) notes that there is no functional difference between verb-second order and clause-*final* position, yet there might be stylistic differences (see Näf 1996: 143f.).

    9. Was für ein großes Geschenk das ist!
      What for a big present this is!
      'What a big present this is!'

The literature focuses almost exclusively on analyses of complete sentences of the *Was für* + NP exclamatives. However, especially in spoken

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[67] Note, however, that the exclamation mark is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for identifying exclamative sentences (cf. Näf 1996, 146).

language the following short variants of the above discussed examples seem to be very common. The copula construction (*das ist ein* X) is often reduced to the NP since it only serves a grammatical function, i.e. assigning some kind of category (a certain characteristic or type) to the subject.

10. a) Was für ein großes Geschenk!
    'What a big present!'
 b) Was für ein Geschenk!/Was ein Geschenk!
    'What a present!'

The examples show that the particular property evoking the reaction of surprise (here, the size of the present) can either be explicitly expressed by the speaker – typically in form of a scalar adjective, such as *big* in (10a). However, it can also be omitted like in (10b). Here, the context helps to decide in which way the entity addressed, i.e. the garden, deviates from the expectation. It is also possible that the nominal head itself contains a degree reading, e.g. the noun *Schrecken*, 'fright' (cf. Ziem/Ellsworth 2016: 166f.). In all these cases, we are dealing with a gradient element taking a particular high or low value on a scale which triggers the speaker's reaction.

Some researchers consider this scalar implicature as constitutive for exclamative expressions (see Michaelis 2001, Zanuttini/Portner 2003: 46, Rett 2009). However, such an analysis exclude cases such as (10a,b) (for further discussions, see Zifonun et al. 1997: 671, D'Avis 2013: 172 and 176–179, Ziem/Ellsworth 2016: 166f.). Here, the mere existence of a certain entity or situation is responsible for the speaker's astonishment. This type can be classified as *fact exclamatives* ('Fakt-Exklamative', cf. Zifonun et al. 1997: 671). Instances such as (11) fall into this category; however, Zifonun et al. seem to restrict this class of fact exclamatives to instances such as (11c).

11. a) Was für ein Fehler!
    'What a mistake!'
 b) Was für eine Zeit, um an Weihnachtsdeko, zu denken
    'What a time to be thinking of Christmas decorations'.

c) Der spielt ja doch gut.

  'He plays well, indeed.'

Until now, there is no corpus study which deals with the formal and functional properties of exclamative expressions in general and with the *Was für* + NP in particular. Thus, answers to the following questions (among others) still remain open:

− Are exclamative constructions realized more frequent as complete sentences or as fragments? Why?

− Which is the preferred word order (verb-second order or clause-*final* position)?

− Under what conditions do gradable elements show up, and if they show up, are they realized implicitly or not?

− Which kind of modal particles combine with *Was für* + NP?

Was für + NP construction: a case study

In the framework of the German constructicon project, we conducted a case study using the corpora of the DWDS[68] for the *Was für* + NP construction. The study marks a starting point for future work aiming at building an empirically based inventory of the entire exclamative construction family. We will come back to the members of this family in Section 3.4.

With the help of the DWDS syntax query[69], we extracted instances of the *Was für* + NP constructions in the newspaper "Die Zeit" (2016) and annotated the 50 most recent hits; the precision rate[70] was very high: Only two cases were classified as false positives, cf. (12) and (13). One case appeared multiple times so that its duplicates were excluded from the sample.

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[68] Abbreviation for: *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* ('Digital Lexicon of German') (Klein/Geyken 2010); access: www.dwds.de.

[69] We used *'Was für' && !* for the corpus search which combines *Was für* as fixed string with an exclamation mark, cf. https://www.dwds.de/d/suche#korpussuche.

[70] The recall value needs to be evaluated in future studies.

12. Die Leute wissen gar nicht, was für ein großartiger Gitarrist Johnny ist! 'The people had no idea, what a great guitarist Johnny is!'

(Die Zeit online, 27.05.2016)

13. Was für ein Bild er damals abgab, als die Schotten mit deutlicher Mehrheit gegen seinen Traum, [sic!] ein unabhängiges Schottland abgestimmt hatten!

'What a public image he exhibited at that time, when the scots had voted with great majority against the dream of an independent Scotland!'

(Die Zeit online, 11.06.2016)

In the next step, we automatically annotated part of speech, phrase type and grammatical function (see Section 3.2 for technical details). For the manual semantic annotations, we used the web-based annotation software WebAnno: The multiword unit *was für* which evokes the exclamative construction functions as the Construction Evoking Element (CEE). The scope of the surprise which arises due to a mismatch of an expected and an actually given state of affairs (a fact or a gradable property of an object) equates with the Construction Element (CE) STIMULUS[71]. The annotated sample was then imported into the Construction Analyzer, in order to quantify the different syntactic patterns of the construction and to visualize how the elements of the construction are realized syntactically (phrase type, grammatical function). In what follows, the main findings are summarized.

The first interesting observation concerns the sentence structure. Strikingly, only 4 out of 50 exclamatives contain a finite verb, cf. the examples in (14) for illustration. Three of them show verb-second order, only one exhibit clause-*final* position (see 14b). Since the latter is a more than 80-year old citation, one might hypothesize that it is verb-second word order which dominates the was für + construction in present German.

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[71] Note that the degree specifying the extent a Stimulus brings about the speaker's surprise is not a CE on its own. Drawing on the Emotion_object frame in FrameNet, Ziem and Boas (2017) assume Degree to be a CE; however, the scalar interpretation of the Stimulus is a function of the exclamative construction as a whole rather than being triggerred by a CE.

14. a) Was für ein ehrfürchtiges Schweigen da eintritt!

     'What a reverent silence there is!'

<div align="right">(Die Zeit, 25.05.2016)</div>

b) "Was für eine sonderbare Familie sind wir!", schrieb Klaus Mann 1936 (…)

"What a peculiar family we are!", Klaus Mann wrote in 1936 (...)

<div align="right">(Die Zeit online, 15.09.2016)</div>

The vast majority of our corpus examples are fragments, realized in two syntactic patterns:

a) *Was für ein* + N (29 instances),

e.g. *Was für ein Jahr!* 'What a year!'

<div align="right">(Die Zeit online, 25.04.2016)</div>

b) *Was für ein* + adjective + N (17 instances),

e.g. *Was für eine trickreiche Lösung!* 'What a tricky solution!'

<div align="right">(Die Zeit, 25.07.2016)</div>

Note that in both cases the NP can also be expanded by attributes, e.g. *Was für ein Start der Azzurri!* ('What a start of the Azzuri!') or *Was für ein großer Wurf für Hamburg!* ('What a great success for Hamburg!'). However, non-complex NPs like in the examples above are the most frequent in the data (26/50). Furthermore, the patterns reveal that it is more common to implicate the gradient element than to verbalize it by means of an adjective attribute. Looking at the adjectives, we find both positive (e.g. *wundervoll* 'wonderful', *toll* 'great') and negative (*übel* 'sick; bad', *geizig* 'stingy') evaluations. The N-slot in the *Was für ein* + N-type is predominantly filled with a noun indicating a degree interpretation of the exclamative expression, e.g. *Blödsinn* 'nonsense', *Jahr* 'year', *Energie* 'energy'. However, some examples instantiate fact exclamatives, e.g. *Was für ein Rückschritt!* 'What a step backwards!'.

Interestingly, there seems to be no correlation between the *Was für* + NP exclamative and modal particles; in our data sample, the modal particle is not used at all. Potential Correlated Elements (CorEs) are attributes specifying the gradient element (cf. 15a) or interjections (cf. 15b) intensifying the moment of surprise.

15. a) Was für eine <u>herrlich</u> altmodische Sturmkante!

   'What a wonderfully old-fashioned stormhow!'

<div align="right">(Die Zeit online, 13.06.2016)</div>

   b) <u>Um Himmels willen</u>, was für eine Zumutung!

   'For God's sake, what an imposition!'

<div align="right">(Die Zeit, 03.11.2016)</div>

One possible explanation is that the CEE *was für* (in combination with an exclamative intonation pattern and an exclamation mark, respectively) is already strong enough to indicate the exclamative function. Thus, there are no particles necessary to distinguish the construction from questions. Following this line of argumentation, we hypothesize that there is a stronger need for modal particles in exclamatives missing a salient CEE. For example, (8b) shares all properties with declarative sentences; its only distinguishing feature is the modal particle.

Compiling a construction entry

The findings discussed in the previous sections provide the basis for compiling a first version of a construction entry for the *Was für* + NP construction, cf. table.

Pilot entry for the Was für + NP construction

Name	*Was_für* + NP ('*What for* + NP')
Example	{WAS_FÜR[KEE Was für] [STIMULUS ein KorE überaus hartes Los]!}
Grammatical category	*Was_für* + NP
Evoked frame(s)	Stimulus_Focus, Stimulus_Emotion

Definition	In this exclamative construction, a STIMULUS evokes the speaker's emotion of surprise. By using this construction, the speaker expresses his or her respective emotion. In factive exclamatives, such as *Was für ein Fehler!* ('What a mistake!'), the construction expresses the speaker's surprise about the fact described. In scalar exlamatives, such as *Was für ein (großes) Geschenk!* ('What a [big] present!'), the construction serves to express that the Stimulus deviates extremely from what has been expected ('extremely big').
	The construction comprises two elements: the multiword unit **Was für** introducing the construction and the right-adjacent NP denoting the object of surprise and, occasionally, its surprising property resp. properties (STIMULUS).
	Was für serves as the construction-evoking element (CEE). The Stimulus, in the form of an NP, follows the CEE. If the NP only consists of an indefinite article and a noun, the informative focus of surprise lies on the noun (resp. the denoted concept); alternatively, if the noun is specified by a gradable adjective, the focus lies on the object's property denoted by the adjective.
	Corpus example:
	{WAS_FÜR[CEE Was für] [STIMULUS ein wundervoller Tag!}
	('{WHAT[CEE What] [STIMULUS a wonderful day]!}')

Structure (Form)	Structurally, the *Was für* + NP construction consists of a lexically fixed element, i.e. the CEE *was für* as well as an abstract slot which can be filled by an NP referring to an indefinite but specific Referent. Sub-types: *Was für ein* + N; *Was für ein* + adjective + N
Relations to other Cxns	<u>Semantic relations</u> Quasi-synonymous NP-constructions: *Welch ein* + N ('What a + N'); *Solch/So ein* + N ('Such a + N') The *Was für* + NP construction is a central member of the exclamative construction family. NP-fragments (e.g. *Dieser Typ!* 'This guy!'; *Allein diese Frage!* 'This question alone!'; *Ein Hai!* 'A shark!') inherits from the Was für + NP construction. This also applies for V1-sentences *(Ist das eine tolle Idee!* 'What a great idea!'). Both the factive *dass*-clause exclamative (*Dass das Wetter so schön ist!* 'This is such a beautiful weather!') and the complementary scalar *wie*-clause exclamative (*Wie schön das Wetter ist*! 'How nice the weather is!') are subtypes of the *Was für* + NP construction. The more specific WXDY cxn (*Was macht mein Tagebuch auf deinem Tisch?* 'What's my diary doing on your desk?') uses the *Was für* + NP construction. It is more specific in that it presupposes an interactional setting in which the WXDY construction relates to a joint experience of speaker and hearer.

CEE (*Was für* + **NP**)	Multiword unit that evokes and introduces the exclamative construction *Was für* + *NP*. <u>Corpus example</u>*:* Die Knef [CEEwas für] ein Leben! ('Knef, [CEEwhat] a life!')
CE(s)	Name: STIMULUS The object resp. the property of an object evoking the emotion <u>Corpus example:</u> Was für [STIMULUSein stolzer Auftritt]! ('Was [STIMULUSa prideful performance]!')
Correlated Element(s) (CorE)	Sometimes elements cooccur with the *Was für* + NP construction. Such Correlated Elements (CorE) have different functions. In case of an adverb the CorE specifies the gradable adjective (which co-constitutes the Stimulus) and additionally emphasizes the extreme position of an imagined scale, that is, it additional stresses the genuine function of exclamatives. Interjections enhance the exclamative function and often serve as a clue for interpreting the surprise (positive or negative surprise, etc.). <u>Corpus examples:</u> {WAS_FÜR[CEE Was für] [STIMULUS ein [CorE überaus] hartes Los]!} ('{WHAT[CEE What] [STIMULUS an [CorE extremely] tough draw]!}') {WAS_FÜR[CorE Um Himmels willen,] [CEEwas für] [STIMULUS eine Zumutung]}! ({WAS_FÜR[CorE For God's sake,] [CEEwhat] [STIMULUS an imposition}!)

The entry not only documents the characteristics of the *Was-für* + NP construction but also provides information about its relations to other constructions in the constructional network. Based on its formal and functional properties, the *Was für* + NP construction acts as a central member of the family of exclamative constructions; therefore, it is closely related to the expressions listed in Figure. The list illustrates the range of formal variation. The constructions are ranked in terms of their formal complexity and, in turn, semantic schematicity.

Full clause exclamatives,   e.g. V1-sentences, V2-sentences, *dass*-sentences
NP-Fragments,   e.g. *Welch ein* + N ('*What a* + N'); *Solch/So ein* + N ('*Such a* + N')
Bare-APs,   e.g. *Schön!* ('Beautiful!')
Fixed exclamative expressions,   e.g. *Oh nein! Verdammt!*

Was für + NP construction and form-wise related exclamative constructions

The members of the family of exlamative construction also differ in terms of their abstractness: There are both lexically open constructional idioms surfacing as sentence or phrase templates as well as lexically more or less fixed expressions. There are more detailed corpus studies necessary to reveal their formal und functional similarity and differences.

3. Conclusions

Constructional idioms constitute an interesting subclass of idioms because, in contrast to idioms in the traditional sense, they are not fully lexically specified. As a result, they cannot easily be integrated in a lexicon; rather, they share essential properties with grammatical units, particularly, their slots undergo constraints that restrict the range of elements licensed to enter. Taking the family of constructional idioms as a starting point, one of

the main objectives of this article was to introduce the FrameNet Constructicon approach in order to show that such an approach can master these challenges.

A case study of the *Was für* + NP construction – a prototype of an exclamatives in German – helped to illustrate the methodological procedure applied. In total, the workflow consists of five steps, (a) subcorporation & preliminary analysis, (b) automatic syntactic annotation by means of a *Parsing Pipeline*, (c) manual semantic annotation with *WebAnno*, (d) analysis with the *Construction Analyzer* (CA), and (e) compilation of a construction entry which entails, among other pieces of information, a description of the construction's internal structure including its constituents and the requirements the constituents have to meet. The corpus analysis based on the newspaper "Die Zeit" (2016) revealed some interesting insights about the *Was für* + NP construction. In contrast to what one might expect from written discourse, the construction predominately comes in form of fragments and not as complete sentences. Two main NP-types could be identified with the help of the CA: *Was für ein* + N & *Was für ein* + adjective + N. The gradient element which takes a particular high or low value on a scale and thus triggers the speaker's surprise is most of the time indirectly expressed (*scalar exclamatives*) or even missing (*fact exlamatives*). While modal particles often support the exclamative reading in exclamative expressions, our data sample indicates no correlation between the *Was für* + NP construction and modal particles.

Beyond the case of constructional idioms, the FrameNet Constructicon approach may be applied to any other type of phrasemes (and other constructions). In line with other constructionist approaches, the basic idea is that any component of a language system can, and indeed should, be described in a uniform way. Constructional idioms are an interesting test case since they are located in the transition area between lexicon and grammar. As we hope to have shown in this article, they indeed fit, into the language system just like fully regular expressions and grammatical structures.

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<div align="right">

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</div>

Points to be commented and discussed

1. What group of set expressions constitute an interesting but still under-studied subclass of idioms?

2. Do you happen to know any other nominations/terms for constructional idioms (suggested by W. Fleischer, J. Häusermann, D. Dobrovol'skij, E. Piirainen, et al)?

3. Could you comment on the relevance of the suggested terms for constructional idioms, which are sometimes also called "phraseme constructions"/Germ. 'Phrasem-Konstruktionen', "model constructions"/ Germ. 'Modellbildungen', "sententence schemata"/Germ. 'Satzschemata'

or, maybe most prominently, "phraseological template"/Germ. 'Phraseoschablonen'?

4. Would you explain what is meant by G. Booij and J.R. Taylor in the statement: constructional idioms are characterized by rather fixed but lexically underspecified syntactic structures (Booij 2002: 301–302; Taylor 2012: 69ff.)?

5. There is a huge range of different types and subtypes of constructional idioms, isn't there? Which can you name among them?

6. Would you maintain the author who is of the opinion that constructional idioms embrace such reduplication constructions as exclamatory constructions, as grammatical phrasemes, and more specific constructions as the WXDY construction and the Incredibility Response construction? Will you give your arguments?

7. What does it take to account for constructional idioms from a usage-based perspective?

8. What are the syntactical and semantic properties of constructional idioms, and which constraints are at work?

9. What do we have to know to enable ourselves to use and understand constructional idioms appropriately?

10. What is the grammatical status of constructional idioms as integral parts of a linguistic system?

11. What does the new approach to constructional idioms (as claimed by the author to have been used) to constructional idioms consist in?

12. In what way does a FrameNet construction approach help to better understand the nature of constructional idioms?

13. Does a FrameNet construction approach allow to capture the diversity of constructional idioms in the continuum between grammar and lexicon as well as in the continuum between idiomatic and non-idiomatic units?

14. Does a FrameNet Constructicon approach offer any new ways to account for the mechanisms licensing instances of these constructions?

15. What section of the paper discusses characteristics of constructional idioms with a specific focus on constructionist issues?

16. What section of the paper introduces the FrameNet Constructicon approach and presents results of a case study on the exclamative construction *Was für* + NP (which the authors consider a central member of the large family of constructional idioms)?

17. In what way do the authors describe the nature of constructional idioms?

18. What basic properties – beyond their schematic nature – do constructional idioms share with other kinds of idioms?

19. Would you demonstrate their polylexical and lexicalized but irregular character, both syntactically and semantically?

20. Due to what feature are constructional idioms modifiable, at least to some extent?

21. Would you prove the author's point of view that constructional idioms behave like a 'model' in that their stable syntactic structures allow to generate a potentially infinite number of instances with the same schematic meaning?

22. Could you agree with H. Feilke who relates constructional idioms to phraseological templates reasoning as follows: usually, on the surface the syntactic construction is bound to a specific lexico-grammatical element with valence potential (for example, a conjunction or preposition) which in turn is always interpreted synsemantically by means of the meaning of the construction?

23. Why do they write that with respect to their form-side, constructional idioms vary considerably? Would you exemplify the suggestion?

24. Do you think constructional idioms can carry meanings of their own?

25. Will you illustrate the authors' point of view consisting in that just like other grammatical constructions, constructional idioms carry meanings of their own?

26. Would you give pro and contra for the following phrase: while phraseological analyses tend to be motivated by the lexicographic endeavour to document the multitude and diversity of idioms, from a cross-linguistic perspective also the complementary interest of a constructional approach is

first and foremost to figure out and describe "the rules that license 'new' linguistic signs based on other linguistic signs" (Fillmore et al. 2012: §2.2)?

27. Would you insist on the opinion that the main focus of a constructional approach lies on investigating the requirements for the range of individual realizations of these constructions?

28. Would you consider the German reduplication construction with the preposition *an* ('by'/'at'/'to') with regard to constructional idioms?

29. Would you comment on the constraints of group on that concern semantic properties of the slot-fillers: in the reduplication construction with *an* the slots are restricted to concrete nouns, while abstract nouns are not licensed (cf. *Gerechtigkeit an Gerechtigkeit* ['justice by justice'], *Freude an Freude* ['joy by joy], *Gott an Gott* ['God by God'], etc.)?

30. Are there any syntactic constraints at work?

31. In the reduplication construction with *an* only bare nouns are licensed to enter the slots (cf. *die/eine Schulter an der/einer Schulter* ['the/a shoulder to the/a shoulder'], *kleiner Kopf an kleinem Kopf* ['small head to small head']). What are your objections here?

32. Moreover, as the authors state, some constructions undergo discourse-functional constraints. Would you consider the so-called Incredibility Response construction as illustrated in (3a) and exemplify the case?

33. Will you comment on the abstract: As the name suggests, an Increduly Response construction is a response to a preceding turn. The construction is thus discourse-functionally constrained in such a way that it is only licensed to instantiate the second part of an adjacency pair?

34. Would you maintain that one major goal of a constructional analysis is to reveal such constraints in order to capture the usage conditions of grammatical constructions?

35. Could you find out any evidence that idiomaticity correlates with productivity?

36. Could you give arguments for the observation that the higher the token frequency is, the more idiomatic the construction gets?

37. Would you comment on the result of A. Ziem's analysis based on the German Reference Corpus[72] – a quantitative analysis of a random sample of 10,000 instances of the reduplication construction with *an* reveals that the most idiomatic instance *Seite an Seite* ('side by side') make up 45 % of all instances; hence, the very high token frequency of *Seite* ('side') predicts a very high degree of idiomaticity?

38. Will you give your arguments for the following: this finding points to another characteristic of constructional idioms; they can neither be entirely delegated to the lexicon nor to the grammar?

39. More precisely, there are a few, but not many, instances that indeed deserve an own lexicon entry, most prominently, the highly idiomatic reduplication construction *Seite an Seite* ('side by side'). What is the mechanism of sematic transfer here?

40. Would you maintain the authors' note: in contrast, most of all instances clearly do not belong to the lexicon; they are compositional in that their meaning derives from the schematic meaning of the reduplication construction *NP an NP* ('NP by NP') combined with the lexical meaning of its nominal slot-fillers?

41. Does that mean, in turn, that we have to find a place for the schematic reduplication structure itself?

42. How would one account for the constructionist answer to the 4issue that consists in presuming a continuum between lexicon and grammar in which (in this continuum) the reduplication construction is located more closely to the grammar pole?

43. Could one approve of such a unified approach to linguistic units, be they lexical or grammatical/structural, which presupposes that lexicon and grammar are not different in nature?

44. Is the assumption of a lexicon-grammar continuum is essential to account for their great (structural and semantic) diversity?

45. J. Bücker argues that "phraseology discusses the differences between idiomatic and non-idiomatic constructions against the background

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[72] Cf. http://www1.ids-mannheim.de/kl/projekte/korpora.html, last acess: August 18, 2017.

of a 'box-metaphorical' understanding of a systematical opposition between grammar and lexicon" (Bücker 2012: 34). Do you agree here to A. Ziem's assumption that a constructionist account to idioms might also turn out to be helpful to refine and adjust methodological and theoretical concepts underlying analyses of idioms?

46. What is the ultimate goal motivating a FrameNet Constructicon approach as the authors put it?

47. Under what circumstances it is possible to identify and describe all constructions constituting a language's grammar in such a way that everything language users have to know to enable themselves to appropriately use and understand a construction is captured?

48. What information about relations to other constructions do semantic, pragmatic, discourse-functional and syntactic specifications, a full-fledged description of a construction also comprise?

49. Bearing in mind their statement – the entire network of constructions constituting a grammar is called a 'construct-i-con' – would you share the authors' point of view that technically, a constructicon is the result of the grammaticographic endeavour to document both the full range of constructions of a language and the ways the constructions are intervowen with one another?

50. What kind of a language user's linguistic knowledge should a construction reflect from a cognitive point of view?

51. Could one illustrate the idea that the 'grammaticographic' and 'mental' constructicon should be aligned with one another and finally coincide?

52. Undoubtedly, setting up a constructicon is a long-term goal that necessitates not only immense intellectual efforts but also massive funding. Do you agree to the authors' statement that it is worth to get started? What are your arguments here?

53. Why do constructions that are located in the transition area between lexicon and grammar appear to be an interesting starting point? Is it mainly because they are usually overseen, or at least under-studied, in traditional grammars? Or could one point out to any other reasons?

54. Would you maintain the authors' idea that constructional idioms belong to that group of neglected linguistic phenomena?

55. Why is the analysis started with such a subtype of constructional idioms as the family exlamative constructions?

56. Why does the linguist take into consideration (a) a good deal of literature addressing exclamatives in German, (b) surprisingly little knowledge about the semantic, pragmatic and syntactic constraints specific to each of the members of this construction family, let alone the relations holding among them?

57. Why do they start with introducing annotation categories required for constructional analyses as well as analysis guidelines for the constructicographic work (Section 3.1)?

58. For what purpose do the authors present the *Was für + NP* construction as a central member of the family of exclamative constructions (Section 3.2) and discuss results of a corpus analysis (Section 3.3)?

59. The FrameNet constructicon approach aims at integrating constructions into a lexical frame-type database. What methods and techniques do the authors appeal to with the view of their research aim?

60. Why do they draw on annotation categories and formalisms developed in the Berkeley pilot project (Fillmore et al. 2012)?

61. Why are they sure that the constructional annotations help describe and define a construction appropriately?

62. What are the most important annotation categories, as the authors put it?

63. What are the abbreviations for the Construction Evoking Element and for the Construction Elements?

64. Why do they introduce a new annotation category called Correlated Element (CorE) in addition?

65. Why does the author claim it is helpful to identify the CEE At the beginning?

66. Just like a frame-evoking element in FrameNet, a CEE provides an explicit link to the respective target structure (here: the construction), does it not?

67. Why is a CEE defined as the linguistic unit evoking a construction?

68. What element constitutes the lexical 'anchor' of a construction? Why are such lexical elements often missing? Is this because not all constructions entail fixed lexical constituents?

69. Will you comment on the directly/non-directly proportional dependence: the more schematic a construction gets (that is, the more a construction is located towards the grammar pole in the lexicon-grammar continuum), the more likely it is that it does not include one or more fixed lexical items?

70. The distransitive construction is defined by its structural properties alone, is it not?

71. Why does the construct equate with the linguistic expression licensed by the exclamative construction?

72. Can CEs be defined as those constituents, or slots, of a grammatical construction that are instantiated by the respective parts of constructs? When are CEs tagged with square brackets (while subscripts are used for labelling meaning or function)?

73. Do you think that an exclamative construction essentially entails the CE Stimulus denoting the event or entity triggering the emotion of surprise (see Section 3.2 and 3.3)?

74. Could you point out to a missing part in the following definition of a CorE: a CorE is a string of words that co-occurs with a construction in such a way that it enhances, or supplements, a (semantic, pragmatic, discourse-functional, syntactic) property of a construction?

75. Why are modal particles (such as *aber, denn, doch, vielleicht,* among others), used in the case of exclamative constructions? Do you think they are able to reinforce the speaker's surprise conveyed by the exclamative construction?

76. Why is each CE and CEE annotated syntactically (in terms of phrase type, part of speech, and grammatical function; cf. Section 3.3), in addition to such semantic annotations?

77. Undoubtedly, collecting and analysing all relevant information for each grammatical construction is a challenging and very costly empirical task, is it not?

78. In order to proceed both efficiently and consistently, it is necessary to have precise annotation guidelines and a uniform workflow guiding all construction analyses in the same way. What do the authors suggest to lessen the difficulty?

79. Being confident in that the workflow should benefit from computational resources wherever possible, the linguists therefore developed a partly computational work routine consisting of five consecutive steps (for details see: http://gsw.phil.uni-duesseldorf.de/) to reduce efforts of the researcher. Could you examine the algorithm and argue its effect?

80. Do you approve of the sequence of steps in: (a) the first step aims at setting up a corpus of typical instances of the constructions addressed; (b) once a set of corpus examples are identified and extracted, a preliminary analysis serves to help provisionally determine (semantic, pragmatic, discourse-functional, syntactic) properties peculiar to the respective constructions; (c) at this stage, also CEs are identified and tentatively defined to prepare semantic annotations?

81. What does step 1 – Subcorporation & preliminary analysis – consist in? Could one approve of the components?

82. What is the name of the step that includes automatic annotations of part of speech, using the TreeTagger (Schmid 1995) as well as phrase type and grammatical function by means of the BerkeleyParser (Petrov et al. 2006)?

83. For what annotations do they use the web-based annotation software WebAnno which allows a wide range of project-specifically defined linguistic annotations (cf. Castilho et al 2016)?

84. For what two purposes do they develop a web-based program *the Construction Analyzer (CA)*?

85. Would you comment on their perspective functions: (a) first, it helps to automatically transform annotations into the annotation style used

in the Berkeley FrameNet Constructicon; (b) Second, more importantly, it facilitates analyses of the annotations in several ways; for example, it identifies syntactic realization patterns of constructions as well as possible realizations of CEs and CEEs?

86. Currently, CorE is implemented as an additional annotation layer, is it not? What are your arguments here?

87. What is the essence of Compilation of Construction Entries?

88. Are the results obtained from those analyses carefully evaluated and interpreted with respect to their relevance for compiling a construction entry?

89. Should a construction entry contain all information licensing a construct (for illustration, see Section 3.4)?

90. In what Section do they illustrate the workflow by means of the *Was für + NP* construction? Why do they previously briefly introduce this construction in the context of the family of exclamative constructions?

91. What construction do they turn to in order to illustrate the FrameNet constructicon approach?

92. What construction is regarded as a prototype of an exclamative expression (Ziem/Ellsworth 2016: 165)?

93. Will you prove that the function of *the Was für + NP construction* is to express a speaker's surprise regarding a certain entity, e.g. an object, an event or a situation while the truth of the sentence proposition itself is presupposed?

94. Structurally, the exclamative (6) looks like a question: it contains the interrogative pronoun *was* ('what') and exhibits the same word order as regular questions. However, it is not part of a typical question-answer-pairing, is it? Could you give reasons for that?

95. What formal (phonetical, lexical, syntactical) markers could prove that *Was für + NP constructions* are not questions?

96. What modal particles are often used to support the exclamative function of the pattern?

97. In what Germanic languages can certain modal particles turn sentences surfacing as syntactically regular declarative into exclamative sentences?

98. According to the linguists, coming back to the *Was für* + NP exclamatives, it is remarkable that they are more flexible than questions in terms of word order. Wil you give your arguments here?

99. Why do the literature focuses almost exclusively on analyses of complete sentences of the *Was für* + NP exclamatives?

100. Would you agree to the authors' statement that, however, especially in spoken language the following short variants of the above discussed examples seem to be very common?

101. Do you maintain that the copula construction (*das ist ein* X) is often reduced to the NP since it only serves a grammatical function, i.e. assigning some kind of category (a certain characteristic or type) to the subject?

102. Does the context help to decide in which way the entity is addressed, like in (10b)?

103. Would you agree that in all those cases we are dealing with a gradient element taking a particular high or low value on a scale which triggers the speaker's reaction?

104. Some researchers consider this scalar implicature as constitutive for exclamative expressions (see Michaelis 2001, Zanuttini/Portner 2003: 46, Rett 2009). Could it be regarded as a perspective way in analysis?

105. The researchers are sure that the mere existence of a certain entity or situation is responsible for the speaker's astonishment. As far as they suggest this type can be classified as *fact exclamatives* ('Fakt-Exklamative', cf. Zifonun et al. 1997: 671) and instances such as (11) fall into this category *(Was für ein Fehler!)*

106. Are exclamative constructions realized more frequent as complete sentences or as fragments? Why?

107. Which is the preferred word order (verb-second order or clause-*final* position)?

108. Under what conditions do gradable elements show up, and if they show up, are they realized implicitly or not?

109. Which kind of modal particles combine with *Was für* + NP?

110. Do you agree with the linguist stating that until now there is no corpus study which deals with the formal and functional properties of exclamative expressions in general and with the *Was für* + NP in particular, thus, answers to the latter questions (107 – 110 among others) still remain open?

111. Why did the linguists appeal to the corpora of the DWDS[73] for the *Was für* + NP construction when they decided to conduct a case study in the framework of the German constructicon project?

112. What arguments do the linguists supply to prove that the study marks a starting point for future work aiming at building an empirically based inventory of the entire exclamative construction family?

113. With the help of the DWDS syntax query they extracted instances of the *Was für* + NP constructions in the newspaper "Die Zeit" (2016) and annotated the 50 most recent hits. Was the precision rate was very high? How many cases were classified as false positives?

114. Do you think that the recall value needs to be evaluated in future studies?

115. In what way did the researchers annotate part of speech, phrase type and grammatical function (see Section 3.2.) Will you give technical details?

116. What web-based annotation did they make use of for the manual semantic annotations? Why? Could you explain the reason?

117. Do you maintain the authors stating that the multiword unit *Was für* which evokes the exclamative construction functions as the Construction Evoking Element (CEE)?

118. Why was the annotated sample then imported into the Construction Analyzer?

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[73] Abbreviation for: *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* ('Digital Lexicon of German') (Klein/Geyken 2010); access: www.dwds.de.

119. What steps did the researchers undertake in order to quantify the different syntactic patterns of the construction and to visualize how the elements of the construction are realized syntactically (phrase type, grammatical function)?

120. Could you summarize the main findings of the research at that stage?

121. Why do you think the first interesting observation concerns the sentence structure?

122. Why do the researchers find it striking that only 4 out of 50 exclamatives contain a finite verb (cf. the examples in (14) for illustration)?

123. Might one hypothesize that it is verb-second word order which dominates *the Was für* + construction in present German, since that construction is a more than 80-year old citation?

124. Would you explain why the vast majority of the corpus examples are fragments, realized in two syntactic patterns:

a) *Was für ein* + N (29 instances),

e.g. *Was für ein Jahr!* 'What a year!'

(Die Zeit online, 25.04.2016)

b) *Was für ein* + adjective + N (17 instances),

e.g. *Was für eine trickreiche Lösung!* 'What a tricky solution!'

(Die Zeit, 25.07.2016)

125. Furthermore, the patterns reveal that it is more common to implicate the gradient element than to verbalize it by means of an adjective attribute. Would you comment on the reason?

126. Looking at the adjectives, they find both positive (e.g. *wundervoll* 'wonderful', *toll* 'great') and negative (*übel* 'sick; bad', *geizig* 'stingy') evaluations. Would you find it interesting to investigate their difference in frequency?

127. Why did the authors find out no correlation between the *Was für* + NP exclamative and modal particles?

128. Could one agree to the authors' point of view that one possible explanation is that the CEE *was für* (in combination with an exclamative

intonation pattern and an exclamation mark, respectively) is already strong enough to indicate the exclamative function?

129. Following this line of argumentation (there are no particles necessary to distinguish the construction from questions) the researchers hypothesize that there is a stronger need for modal particles in exclamatives missing a salient CEE: for example, (8b) shares all properties with declarative sentences; its only distinguishing feature is the modal particle. Could you supply some other contexts to maintain that point of view?

130. A case study of the *Was für* + NP construction – a prototype of an exclamatives in German – helped to illustrate the methodological procedure applied, did it not? Could you suggest any ways to modify that procedure?

131. How many steps does the workflow consist of (in total)?

132. Would you summarize the procedure of each of the five steps: (a) subcorporation & preliminary analysis, (b) automatic syntactic annotation by means of a *Parsing Pipeline*, (c) manual semantic annotation with *WebAnno*, (d) analysis with the *Construction Analyzer* (CA), and (e) compilation of a construction entry which entails, among other pieces of information, a description of the construction's internal structure including its constituents and the requirements the constituents have to meet?

Theme 7

IDIOMS, TOPIC, THEME: THE ROLE OF VOCABULARY IN GETTING THE MESSAGE ACROSS

[The author has] already quoted Sinclair (1991) on the difficulty of finding recurrent patterns among the huge amounts of casual collocations in any corpus. This difficulty suggests that most vocabulary items, whether single or multiword, have a low frequency in relation to the total language output of an individual or a group even in a single day, let alone a longer period. However, elsewhere in the same work (ibid.: 116), Sinclair observes:

Because of the low frequency of the vast majority of words, almost any repeated collocation is the most unlikely event, but because the set of texts is so large, unlikely events of this kind may still be the result of chance factors.

One such chance factor is the decision of language-users to foreground topics or aspects of given topics which strike them as important through the repetition of certain expressions. In Table 6.2 (conflict) violent campaign (21, 25) is repeated. *Campaign of violence* (twice) and *A total fire ban has been declared indefinitely* (four times) were also repeated in different news reports, but these repetitions were not included in the relevant figures. Far more common than repeated collocations are repeated idioms and single words. It is this latter kind of repetition that will be the subject of this section.

Certain vocabulary items underpin the topic of discourse, not simply at the level of what it is about but, if academic, also on the level of the thesis that is being argued over and above subject matter. If literary, such items underpin the theme in contradistinction to content, especially story content.

These repeated items function as 'text-forming' repetitions, to use a term borrowed from Hoey (1991: 57) by virtue of forming a chain of connections in the discourse containing them. Any discourse, unless it serves a phatic function, seeks to make a point which the addressee has to deduce from what is written or spoken. The difference between the point of the

discourse as a whole and its content is the difference between high- and low-level information. How high- and low-level information is conveyed in two types of discourse (examples (1) and (2)) through the repetition of relevant vocabulary is the concern of the rest of this section. Additionally, (1) and (2) indicate the factors that may lead to lexical repetition.

In (1), *whistleblowers*, a variation of *blow the whistle on sth*, *dissent*, and *suppression* gain prominence because the longer discourse they are taken from warrants their repetition in terms of both high- and low-level information.

Examples (1a to e) are excerpts from this longer discourse taken from *Australian Campas Review Weekly* (7 April 1993: 4).

1. a) Eric Aubert reports from last weekend's conference on intellectual suppression in Canberra:
Whistleblowers in chorus on dissent (headline)
... The diversity of cases presented by the whistleblowers themselves (none of the claimed suppressors were there) to a conference on intellectual dissent and whistleblowing in Canberra last weekend left little doubt that suppression is endemic in Australian society.

Blow the whistle on sth in various forms appears twenty times in the feature article of 1,090 words that (1a to e) are taken from. Various forms of suppress appear twenty-two times and various forms of dissent appear eight times. The article depends on the reader knowing the meaning of the key lexical item, *blow the whistle on sth*, 'stop sth one disapproves of on social, ethical, etc. grounds', to make its point.

The subject of the article (low-level information) is the retaliatory penalties meted out to many whistleblowing academics in order to silence them by different vested interests. The point of the article (high-level information) is the political implication of whistleblowing for both the academic and wider community:

1. b) ... the clearest message from the conference was that traditional methods of rectifying suppression – ombudsmen, trade unions, tribunals and using members of parliament in most cases do not work.

The three items repeated throughout the article, as well as the issue their association in the one discourse signifies, appear in (1a). Both *whistleblowers* and *suppressors/suppression* generate *ad hoc* related expressions, many of them paraphrases of each other specific to this text; additionally, as with the earlier collocational clusters generated by conflict and conflict resolution, this text also yields several collocations in antonymous oppositions specific to it. Table 6.2 shows these paraphrasal similarities and oppositions.

Whistleblowing is a form of dissent; consequently, the two are semantically and collocationally related in this discoursal context, though not necessarily outside it:

1. c) *Whistleblowers* in chorus on *dissent*

d) a conference on intellectual *dissent* and *whistleblowing*

e) The conference was organised jointly by the Intellectual *Dissent* in Australia network and *Whistleblowers* Anonymous.

The means used by society's vested interests to control whistleblowing and dissent is suppression. The last term is used nineteen times: *cases of suppression, tactics against suppression*, etc. All these repetitions connect up directly or indirectly with references to whistleblowers or their activities and so are genuinely text-forming, elaborating as they do on the main point of the discourse. Discourses such as (1) are, therefore, ideal for demonstrating the way lexical repetition and collocational patterns establish connections between facts, maximizing the coherence of the 'message' conveyed.

	Whistleblowers		**Suppressors**
1	people who resist what they see as suppression	A	alleged suppressors
2	academics who speak out	B	employers
3	Whistleblowers Anonymous (which decide to rename itself Whistleblowers Australia) a support group for people who have blown the whistle on corruption ...	C	very rich and powerful organizations
4	dissenters/dissident	D	a warning to vested interests that attacks will not be tolerated
5	Intellectual Dissent in Australia network	E	A common tactic used by the employers was to refer whistleblowers to psychiatrists
6	One whistleblower was sent to a total of eight psychiatrists. This practice fits in with the most common form of action used against dissenters ...		
7	nut case radicals or part of a 'crazy fringe'		

Example (2), a literary discourse, exemplifies a more sophisticated use of repetition than (1) does:

2. Then Henry let her down: for two reasons. He couldn't stand her mother. Her mother *couldn't stand him*. And anyone Mrs Bodoin *could not stand* she managed to sit on, disastrously. So Henry had writhed horribly feeling his mother-in-law *sitting on* him tight, and Virginia after all, in a helpless sort of family loyalty, *sitting* alongside with her mother. Virginia didn't really want to *sit* on Henry. But when her mother egged her on, she couldn't help it.

<div align="right">(D.H. Lawrence, Mother and Daughter 1967: 9)</div>

Example (2) has a total of twelve verbs excluding *managed* used here as a catenative. *Cannot stand* occurs three times and forms of *sit on/sit* four times in this total. This repetition has both thematic and rhetorical point. The two verbs contrast in their literal senses: an upright position *stand* with a non-upright one, *sit*. The idioms differ in form and meaning: *stand* must co-occur with a negative form when it is part of the idiom meaning 'have a strong dislike for sb/sth' and *sit* needs *on* when part of the idiom meaning 'handle sb firmly', 'put sb in their place'. In the power game presented in (2), figuratively speaking, Mrs Bodoin can't stand Henry so she sits on him, while Henry can't stand Mrs Bodoin, but since he lacks her forceful energy he can't sit on her, leaving her, as a result, the victor. Lawrence plays on both the literal and the non-literal senses of *can't stand* and *sit on* giving the reader by this kind of play an ironic assessment of the battle of the sexes at the higher thematic level.

Two classes of metaphorical idioms were identified in Chapter 3. English has isolated idiom metaphors exemplifying different facets of a concept like strategy. *Blow the whistle on sb* belongs to this class. Idioms like *sit on sb*, on the other hand, belong with idioms constituting families such as those with *up* (joy) and *down* (grief). This second class consists of idioms contrasting with each other. Thus, *Sit on sb* contrasts with *stand up to sb* 'resist strongly'. Some other phrasal verbs showing similar contrasts are: *turn up sth* (like a radio) 'increase the volume of', *turn down* 'decrease the volume of', *build up* 'nourish in order to strengthen', *pull down* 'cause to diminish in strength', etc. Lawrence's wit created by the way he uses his verbs makes (2) more suitable for advanced stylistic analysis than (1).

[The author] began this section by referring to the factors that could lead to lexical repetition. One such factor is subject matter. Where synonyms may not be available as in scientific, medical, or legal terminology, a word has to be repeated. Example (1) does not belong to any of these registers. *Whistleblowers* is repeated for different reasons: its conciseness, its function as the part of an organization's title, and the fact that the article is about whistleblowers. In (2) repetition not only reinforces the theme of this text, it is also a stylistic technique enhancing the complementarity of *not stand* and *sit on*, both literally and idiomatically. In summary, subject matter, register,

and stylistic skills leading to cohesive lexical links across a discourse are three factors determining lexical repetition.

1. Practicalities

Introduction

The foregoing chapters, as well as the preceding sections of this chapter, focus on the description, categorization, and analysis of idiomatic expressions, an exercise intended to demonstrate and account for the ubiquity of idioms [The author] referred to at the beginning of this book. The 'practicalities' of both chapter and section titles point to the utilitarian value of such an exercise. Apart from the intrinsic value of a description of multiword expressions, what other purpose can such an account serve? The rest of this section attempts to answer this question.

The role of idioms in language learning

Prefabricated language

It is only relatively recently that books devoted to multiword expressions have appeared. [The author] has discussed three such works (Smith 1925; Makkai 1972; Strassler 1982) in Chapter I. The works [The author] looks at here, with one exception, are very different, having as they do, a primarily utilitarian purpose. Even the exception (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992), though theoretically oriented, contains many insights relevant to language teaching and learning. From a theoretical point of view, it is Nattinger and DeCarrico who cast the most light on the role of prefabricated multiword expressions in language acquisition. Many of these expressions correspond to what [the author is] calling idioms, though Nattinger and DeCarrico term them *lexical phrases*, reserving idiom for expressions like *hell for leather*, *by the way*, etc. which admit no variation whatsoever.

Nattinger and DeCarrico observe (ibid.: xv) that recent research into language learning pays more attention to how rules are learnt, rather than to the goals of such learning. Picking up prefabricated expressions constitutes one of the means of acquiring language whether this is a first (L1) or second (L2) language. Nattinger and DeCarrico focus on an advanced stage of L2 acquistion, namely the mastery of academic English, spoken (lectures) and

written (the formal essay and the scripted lecture). The academic register is a highly complex one requiring a distinctive organization and signposting devices functioning as creators of coherence and intelligibility in such discourse.

Nattinger and DeCarrico pick out two major classes of lexical phrases: those which organize discourse at the global level (e.g. *let me start with X*, *the first thing is*, *by the way*, *in a nutshell*) and at the local one (e.g. i*n other words; not only X, but (also) Y; where was I?*). These categorizations of lexical phrases are accompanied by accounts of their functions: *the first thing is* introduces a topic, *by the way* indicates a topic shift, and *in a nutshell* summarizes the discourse (ibid.: 94 – 6). Nattinger and DeCarrico observe that academic lectures are full of such multiword expressions. Teaching language-learners these expressions sharpens their skill in recognizing the overall structure of a lecture, in other words, they are trained in a top-down mode of information processing. Such training also helps them produce lecture-style discourse, if necessary.

Idioms employable in a range of discourse types, besides the academic, have the same general function: they save language-users composing texts entirely from scratch by enabling the interweaving of the *ad hoc* and the conventional. [The author] now turns to two workbooks presenting language-users with collections of idioms as aids to understanding and using this most opaque component of the vocabulary.

Peaty's *Working with English Idioms* (1983) and McLay's *Idioms at Work* (1987) introduce learners to sets of idioms classified under various headings. Peaty classifies idioms according to their grammar in sentence context: phrasal verbs without an object (e.g. *wake up*), separable phrasal verbs (e.g. *put (it) on*), inseparable ones (e.g. *call on sb*), and so on. Each idiom is defined and appears in an invented sentence. Peaty foregrounds the grammar of idioms, McLay foregrounds their functions. The latter's classification of idioms into those signifying knowing, agreeing, contradicting, disagreeing, and so on make clear her pragmalinguistic concerns. The idioms in McLay's book are contextualized in short invented dialogues.

A feature of McLay's workbook, one which links up with the sections on interlingual lexical phrases in Nattinger and Decarrico (1992), are the translation equivalents she provides from French, German, Spanish, and Italian for the English idioms listed in each lesson unit. These equivalents illuminate some similarities, but much more so the dissimilarities in the five languages drawn upon. The examples that follow are restricted to English, French, and German. While *Je l'ai sur le bout de la langue* and *es liegt mir auf der Zunge* are very close to *It's on the tip of my tongue*, the body-part image of *know sth like the hack of one's hand* changes to one of apparel in *le connait comme le fond de sa poche and kenne es wie meine Westentasche*. The special genius of the source and target languages, in terms of their idioms and their idiomatic design, is foregrounded by translation. The target language could impose a spareness of expression in translation brought on, for example, by greater possibilities of deletion than the source language permits. No translator or language-teacher can afford to ignore idioms or idiomaticity if a natural use of the target language is an aim. Such a consideration obviously underlies McLay's presentation of parallel idioms in the languages named above.

McCarthy's *Vocabulary* (1990) is a teacher's handbook and so very different from the workbooks of Peaty and McLay. Unlike Peaty and McLay, McCarthy draws extensively on current semantic and psycholinguistic theory to foreground two major concerns in vocabulary teaching:

1. The role of gestalts in mental lexicons: words are stored as single and multiword units as well as in associative gestalts.

2. The role of knowledge of the world in understanding and using the vocabulary.

Pragmalinguistic concerns such as these lead McCarthy to the following:

1. Attention to word frequency and range based on corpus data.

2. Learnability and the learner's needs.

3. Discourse and register.

4. Student autonomy and student input, e.g. the student compiled vocabulary notebook consisting of both single and multiword expressions.

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5. Learning strategies, e.g. inference, a form of meaning construction.

6. The use of naturally-occurring data in exercises.

A concept reflecting both the gestalt notion and the centrality of knowledge of the world in learning vocabulary is that of topic (McCarthy 1990). Topic offers a basis for organizing vocabulary in a notional-centred way for teaching purposes, as well as for devising topic-based exercises, and as such links up with 3 listed above. I have already shown how common collocations can be collected and highlighted in terms of a specific topic (see conflict and conflict resolution, and how these also show up lexical relations such as homonymy, antonymy, and loose forms of synonymy. What follows is intended to illustrate stated student needs and student input (see 2 and 4 listed above). Example (3) to (6) below were composed by the students at the Institute of Languages of New South Wales as a response to tasks designed to teach them the use of idioms selected from their notebooks. Additionally, these tasks reflect the results of a needs analysis in which vocabulary learning was given high priority due to its perceived importance in understanding the print and broadcast media and in conversation.

Perfect machinery

3. If your company need any heavy machinery or mechanical equipment for construction works, do not hesitate – *call now*!!! We can offer you one of the best equipment in Australia. Our machinery always *sell like hot cakes*! *Do not miss your chance*!

4. *Racking your brain* about choosing car's alarm! Just call us, we are *on the ball* and we will *put our finger on* it.

Call now, it will not *cost* you *an arm or a leg.*

5. *A:* Bill, could I ask you? I have a problem ...

B: Yes, sure. I'm listening.

A: You know, yesterday we bought a new software, and I spent a whole day trying to run it, but ...

B: Oh, *I'm sorry. Don't ask me. I haven't a clue*! Really you know, I'm absolutely hopeless in personal computers ...

6. Tom, how we prepare alcoholic drink from grape?

Don't ask me. I haven't a clue. You know, I'm hopeless at chemistry.

The rationale underlying these two types of tasks, the composition of advertisements and conversations, derives from the stated needs of the Institute students.

Understanding advertisements in the broadcast and print media is important for survival in a consumer society. The usefulness of a copywriting task is twofold. It gives the learner practice in using multiword expressions with a wide range of interpersonal functions and frequencies (*call now*, *don't miss the chance of sth*, etc.), as well as ideational idioms of varying frequencies (*rack one's brains*, *in the red*, *sell like hot cakes*, *on the ball*, etc.). Active use ensures an item a place in the learner's mental lexicon in terms of production and reception. Additionally, the copywriting task familarizes the learner with the advertising register: advertisements show a concentration of idiomatic expressions, figurative ones being frequent. An advertisement that uses only literal language is unusual (see also Cook 1992 and Carter and McCarthy 1995, both of which contain numerous suggestions for related teaching procedures).

Composing dialogues relates to the need of these L2 students to communicate with the locals in face-to-face and telephone conversations. Interpersonal idioms dominate here (*you know*, *I'm sorry*, *I'm listening*, *How are you?*, etc.), though ideational ones also occur. Noteworthy is the way these learners are directed to clusters of idioms, the interpersonal and the ideational complementing each other in a coherent way.

Idioms, knowledge of the world, and inference

Inference is a form of meaning construction, essentially the same for single and multiword expressions: knowledge of the world plays a part in the semantics of both types, but the following discussion focuses on inferring idiomatic meaning. We draw inferences almost all the time in our daily lives, especially in responding to language, chief among sign systems. In so doing we draw conclusions, though not always consciously, based on whatever information is available. (For further related discussion see Low 1988 and, with particular reference to language teaching, Nesi 1995.)

For example, that *beech* is a noun and a kind of tree can be inferred from its co-occurrence with *a* and *branches*, given that the function of the indefinite article and *branches* as a word is known in:

7. Jack sat down beneath the branches of a beech.

Sublunary is a different case as its meaning can be deduced even out of context, if its parts can be decoded:

Sub-   lunar-   y
Beneath   the moon   adjective marker

However, a further inference is necessary in order to arrive at the meaning 'earthly', 'terrestrial': the earth lies beneath the moon in our view of the heavens.

What happens when the available information for decoding an expression yields several possibilities? *Bottom line* is a relatively recent idiom used in a wide range of contexts. Its source is accountancy where what the figures add up to appears on the bottom line of the accounts ledger: the total indicates the exact financial position. Figuratively, *bottom line* signifies 'what an issue/situation, etc. is about', 'the essentials'. The book-keeping origin of *bottom line* is clearest in (8):

8. a) [radio news bulletin]
The Treasurer felt obliged to reduce the *bottom line* Budget deficit of $16 billion.
b) [radio news bulletin]
That's the *bottom line* – that it costs $50,000 a day.

Even in (8a), the idiom's meaning will be clear only to those who already know its origin or its figurative sense. If *bottom line* was taken to refer to the last line of a ruled page, then (8b) could be interpreted as 'the limits of sth'. Both this interpretation and even 'ultimatum' are possibilities in (8c) in the context of North Korea's refusal to allow a UN inspection of its nuclear arsenal:

8. c) [radio news bulletin]
The US has now given North Korea its *bottom line* position.

Inferring the meaning of an expression like *bottom line* can result in misfires arising from choosing incorrect information as a cue to interpretation. Particularly relevant to the role of knowledge of the world in inferential strategies is the availability of specific information. Empirical regularities are discernible in generalities such as *Reindeer have antlers*, not in specificities: *Rudolph has a red nose* (Garnham 1985: 111). *Bottom line*, like most other idioms, conveys a very specific package of information, ignorance of which could cause the language-user problems. Additionally, an expression, whether an idiom or not, has to be first identified as literal or nonliteral:

9. Create jobs: let *fat cats* quit at 55. (The Australian 1 April 1976: 6)

It shows a mismatch between empirical regularities and what is asserted, if the latter is interpreted literally. Cats are not employed nor is fifty-five their normal life span. This kind of anomaly is likely to trigger a non-literal interpretation as a survey showed (Fernando and Flavell 1981: 53). A further cue to figurative interpretation is discoursal incoherence: if interpreted literally, non-literal expressions may not make sense in relation to their co-text.

The inferential strategies used to interpret vocabulary, in this case idioms, appear in the responses to a task set thirty-two native speakers (Fernando 1981), which is discussed below. The non-literalness of the task-based idioms is clear from their contextualization and the wording of the task:

A metaphor makes an implicit comparison. Which of these two phrases seems to you to be establishing a recognizable comparison? If you recognize a comparison state the points of similarity between X and Y which lead to the comparison.

10. a) Arctic^X University is a white^Y elephant.
    b) Public servants^X are fat cats^Y.

There were three types of responses to white elephant 'an useless though expensive object' originating in the practice of Siamese kings who gifted costly-to-maintain white elephants to retainers they wished to ruin.

1. Group 1 consisted of subjects who knew the idiom and responded accordingly.

2. Group 2 attempted to infer its likeliest meaning by drawing on their knowledge of the world in so far as it seemed relevant to (10a): X Y has not proved useful as a University. White elephants are sacred and therefore not used as workers.

White elephants though attractive do not last long, therefore Arctic University is unusual and attractive but not much use.

3. Group 3 identified the idiom with an extended use, a white elephant stall: *Arctic University is a white elephant* makes a comparison between an institution (i.e. education) and a secondhand opportunity shop. A white elephant stall is made of unwanted odds and ends. This too could apply to Arctic University.

Group 2 came closer to the sense of white elephant than Group 3, but Group 3 was being equally deductive. It just happens that the information used as evidence for their conclusion was inappropriate.

The moral to be drawn from these different conclusions is that correct inferences, especially in the case of non-literal expressions, are most likely to be drawn if language-users can access the right piece of information. Thus, knowing that cows are sacred in some cultures led to a similar conclusion for white elephants: in terms of work, they are useless.

My assumption regarding the role of knowledge of the world in assisting interpretation of vocabulary was borne out by the responses to *fat cat* (10b), 'a paid official who does little or no work'. The following are typical of the majority:

– The metaphor is suggesting that public servants get paid for doing nothing. Here an undesirable connotation is being given to fat cats. An

alternate view could be to see fat cats as cuddly and content – even this would suggest that public servants are pleasurably idle and loving it.

– X are assumed to be lazy and overpaid. Y are fat (overpaid/well fed) and do not earn their living (i.e. by chasing rats and mice).

– Fat cats are lazy according to the stereotype, so are public servants.

A stereotype plays an equivalent role to an empirical regularity in inference, which is what it does in the case of public servants and fat cats, a function recognized by the third respondent above. Overall, the responses to *fat cats* (10b) were accurate. Those which were off the mark attributed irrelevant features carried over from fat cats to public servants: sleepy, slow, immobile, awful, mean, etc. Both public servants and fat cats (pets) are experientially familiar, unlike white elephants (rarities), making a correct interpretation of the idiom likelier. The metaphor here is not yet fossilized.

Though having the same grammatical form as a definition, neither 10a nor 10b are like *philatelists are stamp collectors*. They function as evaluations, a function all my subjects were aware of. It is worth underlining that some metaphoric expressions involve very simple vocabulary and structure and that habits of inference can be developed at the very earliest stage of language learning. For example:

David is a lion
Jill is a real mouse
Manolo is an open book

In summary, inferring the meaning of vocabulary requires grammatical and situational knowledge, as well as an ability to see the relationship between a lexical item and its co-text. In other words, inference depends on access to different kinds of information. How can teachers help learners in this regard? The more samples of language of a topic-related sort learners are exposed to, the more focused and systematic practice they get in deduction. Such samples collected over time provide useful teaching and learning resources. The ten instances of *put/turn back the clock* is another such set. Study of the accompanying co-text and the different situations in which this idiom is used give learners the information for inferring what it

means. Asking learners to define *put/turn hack the clock*, or any other lexical item, using a collection of texts in which that item appears, gives them practice in using collocational and situational information as a basis for conclusions regarding the meaning of that item. Definition arrived at in this way is inference in action. Carter (1993) and McCarthy and Carter (1994, Chapter 4) discuss the importance of the development of inferential procedures in the development of language awareness in relation to language learning. See also James and Garrett (1991) for more general discussion relevant to this section.

2. Interlocutor, thinker, and experiencer/reporter

This section deals with the three interrelated roles assumed by the language-user in any act of communication [as presented in Chapters 2 to 5 in this book]. Additionally, it points to areas for further research in the relatively early stages of language development. When do ideational idioms, for example, appear in child language? What use can idioms be put to, especially in variations of ideational ones in forms of guided creative composition? Each functional role signals an interpersonal, a ratiocinative, and an informing/represen- tational aptitude. One of the major concerns of this book has been to show the workings of all three through an examination of idiomaticity and idioms, which, while exemplifying specific features and parts of the vocabulary, also exemplify these general aptitudes.

Interpersonal relations, verbal and non-verbal, are at the heart of social life. Such relations appear early as the interchange of smiles, cooings, and babblings between mother and infant shows. Baby talk constitutes a proto-language, often with discernible beginnings of interpersonal expressions such as *Tata*. Many parents teach children politeness routines in the early stage of their upbringing, for example, *Thank you*, *Excuse me*, etc. Apart from my own informal observations, some evidence for the early mastery of interpersonal expressions appears in Carter (1987: 150). Further evidence of the early mastery of interpersonal expressions is provided by the tendency children show of relying on dialogue in reporting their experiences (personal observations). The following comes from a primary school child:

11. [child's essay]

A bad day at the Museum

One day me and my mum went to the Royal Dinosaur Museum. When I got there I nearly tripped over a model. The lady who worked there said 'you will have to pay for it if you knock it over'.

'*Bossyboots*' I said quietly. She heard me and said 'you are a very cheeky young girl'.

'Is she *a mind reader or what*?'

After, my shoe lace came undone. Just my luck, the lady who worked there said 'your lace is undone'.

Me thinking she was a *mind reader* said in my mind 'I'll do it when I get to a model of a dinosaur'. Then she said '*are you deaf*?' I said NO then me and my mum went home.

At the more sophisticated adult level what we get, if the discourse is written, is not so much the use of interpersonal expressions, for example, *Is she a mind reader or what? Are you deaf?*, functionally similar to *Has the cat got your tongue?*, '*Bossyboots*', *I said*, and *Just my luck*, etc. as in (11), but a colloquial vocabulary and syntax to create a 'chatty' style signalling shared knowledge and attitudes as in (12), a supposed monologue of a former Australian Prime Minister, serving as a send up of his public stance of righteous indignation:

12. This is just typical of course. Things start going wrong and people immediately go *pointing the finger* at those who are to blame. *If that wasn't enough*, the trade unions decided they might want to *ditch the Accord*. Well, now is really *the winter of our discontent* if the leader of our Labour Party can't *count* on unswerving loyalty from the trade union movement. Anyone would think this is England.

<div align="right">(The Australian 29 June 1991: Review Section 3)</div>

The child relies mostly on dialogue, the adult on a blend of collo- quialisms (*ditch*, *if that wasn't enough*, *anyone would think*, etc.) and formalities (*the winter of our discontent* (Shakespeare's Richard III),

unswerving loyalty, etc.) to create an interactive style. While unswerving loyalty is an *ad hoc* collocation, *the winter of our discontent* is a saying. There were three instances of this saying in my corpus.

Connecting sentences by juxtaposition is the main means of establishing textual unity in both (11) and (12). Few conjunctions are used (*and*, *if*), but other types of connectives are present in both discourses: *when*, *who*, etc.

And, probably the most widely used connective, is one of the first to appear in child language (personal observation). However, depending on what they hear from adults around them, children are able to use relatively sophisticated connectives:

13. [child's essay]
Sophia and Christine are leaving. They are going to Ireland. *Speaking of Sophia* and Christina, Sophia made her first holy communion.

If that wasn't enough (12) is similar to *speaking of* but conveys, in addition, the evaluation *bad*. What signals the maturity of (12) is the range of its vocabulary (common collocations and idioms, formal and colloquial) as well as its much greater syntactic and semantic complexity in comparison with (11) and (13).

Ideational idioms are packages of information of varying degrees of complexity functioning as mini-commentaries on the world and its phenomena. The constructional homonymity of idioms such as *tighten one's belt*, *kick the bucket*, etc. could present special difficulties of interpretation and use to children and L2 learners. There were no idioms of this type from children below the age of twelve in my corpus, though this could be due to the smallness of my sample of child language in that age group in relation to the adult one. It is my impression, however, that ideational idioms come into their own only at a later stage of language development.

Ideational idioms are conventionally used as so many texts cited in this book show, but they also bring out homo ludens in the language-user, the urge to play on words in novel ways much more often than other types do, revitalizing both language and the passing moment. Journalists capitalize on

novel combinations and variations of ideational idioms, but other sorts of language-users are also capable of such play:

14. *Green light for blue-collar* reform. (The Australian 23 March 1993: 2)
15. We got married and *before we knew where we were we were knee-deep in babies*.

Whereas language-users can get by without ideational idioms, they would find it much more difficult to do without interpersonal and relational ones. It is for this reason that ideational idioms are prominent among particular groups, those whose bread and butter depends largely on their language skills, especially a ludic skill: journalists, writers, and entertainers. The other types are widely used by language-users of all ages and backgrounds beyond the protolanguage stage. (For an extensive discussion of verbal play and creativity, see Chiaro 1992.)

3. Conclusions

Though hardly the whole truth, words appear to hold the key to talking about the world, to creating new worlds and to influencing our fellows by this means Grammar reflects the ratiocinative processes associated with the intellect; while also reflecting similar mental processes in that the content vocabulary of a language symbolizes the typical with the unique particularities of real-life concretissima filtered out, such vocabulary conveys, none the less, various kinds of information of varying degrees of specificity as I have tried to show in the foregoing chapters, as well as in this one. Arguably, vocabulary mirrors the many-sided human personality more obviously than do other language components. The descriptive, representational role of lexis in relation to experiential phenomena is greater and more apparent than that of grammar in the functioning of lexicogrammar. The lexis also carries the greatest informational load in the interpersonal working of language, especially in informal speech where it is possible to use the grammar of utterances in which contracted forms and truncated syntactic units are the most natural, thereby highlighting content

vocabulary. Evidence for humans as thinkers appears in its most obvious form in their production of coherent discourse. Such discourse, typically directed at others, ranges from service encounters, small talk and other routines, to the familiar but non-routine, such as the once-explosive *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* and the lexically more novel *Skater on thin ice of truth* (headline). Both texts illustrate what the vocabulary can do even without drawing on the full resources of the grammar of a language, as well as the interweaving of the familiar and the new, so common in discourse.

In a very real sense the perception of the physical world and the creation of the non-physical one originates in the vocabulary though it does not stop there. Multiword expressions, whether conventional or *ad hoc*, provide an interface between the lexis and the grammar, and while they foreground vocabulary, they also illustrate powerfully the complementarity of the two evident in the term *lexicogrammar*. Lexis and grammar working together enable the use of the habitual and the creation of the new in order to communicate with others in ways that are familiar, but at the same time interesting and newsworthy.

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Points to be commented and discussed

1. In what way does D. H. Lawrence play on both the literal and the non-literal senses of *can't stand* and *sit on*?

2. What kind of impact does the author manage to give the reader by this kind of play?

3. By what means does the author achieve his target of giving the reader an ironic assessment of the battle of the sexes at the higher thematic level?

4. How many classes of metaphorical idioms were identified in Chapter 3?

5. Why has English isolated idiom metaphors exemplifying different facets of a concept like strategy?

6. Why does the second class consist of idioms contrasting with each other?

7. How does Lawrence's wit (created by the way he uses his verbs) make the text (2) more suitable for advanced stylistic analysis than (1)?

8. Why did the linguist begin this section by referring to the factors that could lead to lexical repetition?

9. Could you agree to the statement that where synonyms may not be available as in scientific, medical, or legal terminology, a word has to be repeated?

10. Could you describe the different reasons the word *whistleblowers* is repeated for?

11. Will you prove that in (2) repetition not only reinforces the theme of this text, it is also a stylistic technique enhancing the complementarity of *not stand* and *sit on,* both literally and idiomatically?

12. What chapters (as the preceding sections of this chapter) focus on the description, categorization, and analysis of idiomatic expressions, an exercise intended to demonstrate and account for the ubiquity of idioms the linguist referred to at the beginning of this book?

13. What is the role of idioms in language learning?

14. Could you define the actual time of the linguist's statement running as it is only relatively recently that books devoted to multiword expressions have appeared?

15. Why does the author write that the three such works (Smith 1925; Makkai 1972; Strassler 1982) she has discussed in Chapter I are very different, having as they do, a primarily utilitarian purpose?

16. Do you agree that even the exception (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992), though theoretically oriented, contains many insights relevant to language teaching and learning?

17. From a theoretical point of view, it is Nattinger and DeCarrico who cast the most light on the role of prefabricated multiword expressions in language acquisition, is it not?

18. Whose point of view do you maintain reading Ferdinando: Many of these expressions correspond to what I am calling idioms, though Nattinger and DeCarrico term them *lexical phrases,* reserving *idiom* for expressions like *hell for leather, by the way,* etc. which admit no variation whatsoever?

19. Picking up prefabricated expressions constitutes one of the means of acquiring language whether this is a first (L1) or second (L2) language, does it not?

20. What are those two major classes of lexical phrases that Nattinger and DeCarrico pick out?

21. Could you illustrate the statement that the categorizations of lexical phrases are accompanied by accounts of their functions?

22. Nattinger and DeCarrico observe that academic lectures are full of such multiword expressions. Will you confirm the observation?

23. Teaching language-learners these expressions sharpens their skill in recognizing the overall structure of a lecture, in other words, they are trained in a top-down mode of information processing. Do you agree here?

24. Could you illustrate the statement based on your own experience: Such training also helps them produce lecture-style discourse, if necessary?

25. Idioms employable in a range of discourse types, besides the academic, have the same general function: they save language-users composing texts entirely from scratch by enabling the interweaving of the ad hoc and the conventional.

26. Why does the author choose to turn to two workbooks presenting language-users with collections of idioms as aids to understanding and using this most opaque component of the vocabulary?

27. Peaty's *Working with English Idioms* (1983) and McLay's *Idioms at Work* (1987) introduce learners to sets of idioms classified under various headings. What is the difference in their approach?

28. Which of them classifies idioms according to their grammar in sentence context: phrasal verbs without an object (e.g. *wake up),* separable phrasal verbs (e.g. *put (it) on),* inseparable ones (e.g. *call on sb),* and so on?

29. Which of them foregrounds the grammar of idioms and which of them foregrounds their functions?

30. What classification of idioms into those signifying knowing, agreeing, contradicting, disagreeing, and so on makes clear its pragmalinguistic concerns?

31. Why are the idioms in McLay's book contextualized in short invented dialogues?

32. To which of those workbooks mentioned belong the feature that consists in the translation equivalents the author provides from French, German, Spanish, and Italian for the English idioms listed in each lesson unit?

33. Dou you think that those equivalents illuminate some similarities or the dissimilarities in the five languages drawn upon?

34. The special genius of the source and target languages, in terms of their idioms and their idiomatic design, is foregrounded by translation, is it not?

35. Do you agree to the statement that the target language could impose a spareness of expression in translation brought on, for example, by greater possibilities of deletion than the source language permits?

36. Do you maintain the author in that no translator or language-teacher can afford to ignore idioms or idiomaticity if a natural use of the target language is an aim?

37. Does such a consideration obviously underlie McLay's presentation of parallel idioms in the languages named above?

38. In what points is McCarthy's teacher's handbook *Vocabulary* (1990) very different from the workbooks of Peaty and McLay?

39. What are the two major concerns in vocabulary teaching that (unlike Peaty and McLay) McCarthy draws extensively on current semantic and psycholinguistic theory to foreground?

40. What is the role of gestalts in mental lexicons?

41. What is the role of knowledge of the world in understanding and using the vocabulary?

42. What five points do pragmalinguistic concerns such as those lead McCarthy to?

43. Did the author manage to show how common collocations can be collected and highlighted in terms of a specific topic (see conflict and confict resolution) and how these also show up lexical relations such as homonymy, antonymy, and loose forms of synonymy?

44. What tasks reflect the results of a needs analysis in which vocabulary learning was given high priority due to its perceived importance in understanding the print and broadcast media and in conversation?

45. Would you prove that understanding advertisements in the broadcast and print media is important for survival in a consumer society?

46. Why is the usefulness of a copywriting task twofold?

47. What gives the learner practice in using multiword expressions with a wide range of interpersonal functions and frequencies *(call now, don't miss the chance of sth,* etc.), as well as ideational idioms of varying frequencies *(rack one's brains, in the red, sell like hot cakes, on the ball,* etc.)?

48. Do you agree that active use ensures an item a place in the learner's mental lexicon in terms of production and reception?

49. Could you supply contexts illustrating that, additionally, the copywriting task familarizes the learner with the advertising register: advertisements show a concentration of idiomatic expressions, figurative ones being frequent?

50. An advertisement that uses only literal language is unusual, is it not? Have you ever encountered such an advertisement? Will you give examples?

51. Could you comment on the phrase: Composing dialogues relates to the need of these L2 students to communicate with the locals in face-to-face and telephone conversations. Interpersonal idioms dominate here *(you know, I'm sorry, I'm listening, How are you,* etc.), though ideational ones also occur?

52. Dou you maintain the author's view expressed in the phrase: Inference is a form of meaning construction, essentially the same for single and multiword expressions: knowledge of the world plays a part in the semantics of both types, but the following discussion focuses on inferring idiomatic meaning? What is your opinion on inferring idiomatic meaning?

53. Comment on the essence of the phrase: We draw inferences almost all the time in our daily lives, especially in responding to language, chief among sign systems. In so doing we draw conclusions, though not always consciously, based on whatever information is available. What parallels with the appearance of phraseological units does the author want to establish in this case?

54. What happens when the available information for decoding an expression yields several possibilities?

55. *Bottom line* is a relatively recent idiom used in a wide range of contexts, is it not?

56. Its source is accountancy where what the figures add up to appears on the bottom line of the accounts ledger: the total indicates the exact financial position. And what does *bottom line* figuratively signify?

57. Do you agree that even in (8a), the idiom's meaning will be clear only to those who already know its origin or its figurative sense?

58. If *bottom line* was taken to refer to the last line of a ruled page, then (8b) could be interpreted as 'the limits of sth'. Both this interpretation and even 'ultimatum' are possibilities in (8c) in the context of North Korea's refusal to allow a UN inspection of its nuclear arsenal: "The US has now given North Korea its *bottom line* position". Would you comment on them?

59. Inferring the meaning of an expression like *bottom line* can result in misfires arising from choosing incorrect information as a cue to interpretation. Do you agree here? Why?

60. What factors are particularly relevant to the role of knowledge of the world in inferential strategies? What do you think about the availability of specific information?

61. What is your attitude towards the opinion: Empirical regularities are discernible in generalities such as *Reindeer have antlers,* not in specificities: *Rudolph has a red nose* (Garnham 1985: 111)?

62. *Bottom line,* like most other idioms, conveys a very specific package of information, ignorance of which could cause the language-user problems. Could you decipher the corresponding/approximate problems here?

63. Would you interpret the meaning of the word combination *fat cats* in the sentence 'Create jobs: let *fat cats* quit at 55'?

64. An expression, whether an idiom or not, has to be first identified as literal or nonliteral, has it not?

65. Would you comment on the following observation: it shows a mismatch between empirical regularities and what is asserted, if the latter is interpreted literally. Cats are not employed nor is fifty-five their normal life span. This kind of anomaly is likely to trigger a non-literal interpretation as a survey showed (Fernando and Flavell 1981: 53)?

66. Would you object to the following: A further cue to figurative interpretation is discoursal incoherence: if interpreted literally, non-literal expressions may not make sense in relation to their co-text?

67. A metaphor makes an implicit comparison. Which of these two phrases seems to you to be establishing a recognizable comparison: (a) Arctic University is a white elephant. (b) Public servants are fat cats? If you recognize a comparison, will you state the points of similarity between X and Y which lead to the comparison?

68. In what way did the students define the meaning of the word combination *white elephant* in Group 1? In Group 2? In Group 3? Which of them were more exact in their definition?

69. What moral can be drawn from those different conclusions?

70. Does it mean that correct inferences, especially in the case of non-literal expressions, are most likely to be drawn if language-users can access the right piece of information?

71. Could you express your own opinion on: knowing that cows are sacred in some cultures led to a similar conclusion for white elephants: in terms of work, they are useless? Are you of the same opinion?

72. By what responses was the author's assumption regarding the role of knowledge of the world in assisting interpretation of vocabulary borne out?

73. Would you comment on: the metaphor is suggesting that public servants get paid for doing nothing? Here an undesirable connotation is being given to fat cats, is it not?

74. Could you explain or comment on: X are assumed to be lazy and overpaid. Y are fat (overpaid/well fed) and do not earn their living (i.e. by chasing rats and mice). Fat cats are lazy according to the stereotype, so are public servants?

75. A stereotype plays an equivalent role to an empirical regularity in inference, which is what it does in the case of public servants and fat cats (a function recognized by the third respondent above).

76. Could you characterize all the responses to *fat cats* as accurate? Was the metaphor fossilized in that case?

77. Those responses which were off the mark attributed irrelevant features carried over from fat cats to public servants: sleepy, slow, immobile, awful, mean, etc. Is your point of view different from it?

78. Why is the metaphor not yet fossilized in the case of *white elephants* (as compared to *fat cats*)?

79. It is because both public servants and fat cats (pets) are experientially familiar, unlike white elephants (rarities), making a correct interpretation of the idiom likelier, is it not?

80. It is worth underlining that some metaphoric expressions involve very simple vocabulary and structure, e.g.: David is a lion; Manolo is an open book; etc. Do you agree here that skills of inference can be developed at the very earliest stage of language learning?

81. Could you prove that inferring the meaning of vocabulary requires grammatical and situational knowledge, as well as an ability to see the relationship between a lexical item and its co-text?

82. Do you maintain that, in other words, inference depends on access to different kinds of information?

83. How can teachers help learners in this regard?

84. Would you explain the dependence: the more samples of language of a topic-related sort learners are exposed to, the more focused and systematic practice they get in deduction?

85. What samples collected over time provide useful teaching and learning resources?

86. Would you extract ten contexts from corpora with the expression *put/turn back the clock* and try and describe its meaning on having analyzed the extractions?

87. Will you supply arguments for: Study of the accompanying co-text and the different situations in which this idiom is used give learners the information for inferring what it means?

88. Would you confirm practically that asking learners to define *put/turn hack the clock,* or any other lexical item, using a collection of texts in which that item appears, gives them practice in using collocational and situational information as a basis for conclusions regarding the meaning of that item?

89. Could you affirm that definition arrived at in this way is inference in action?

90. Carter (1993) and McCarthy and Carter (1994, Chapter 4) discuss the importance of the development of inferential procedures in the development of language awareness in relation to language learning. Will you give your pros and contras?

91. What factor points to areas for further research in the relatively early stages of language development?

92. When do ideational idioms, for example, appear in child language?

93. What use can idioms be put to, especially in variations of ideational ones in forms of guided creative composition?

94. Each functional role signals an interpersonal, a ratiocinative, and an informing/representational aptitude. One of the major concerns of this [work] has been to show the workings of all three through an examination

of idiomaticity and idioms, which, while exemplifying specific features and parts of the vocabulary, also exemplify these general aptitudes. Does the author manage to achieve the target?

95. Why does the author write that interpersonal relations, verbal and non-verbal, are at the heart of social life?

96. Such relations appear early as the interchange of smiles, cooings, and babblings between mother and infant shows. What does the observation argue for?

97. Will you comment on the statement: Baby talk constitutes a proto-language, often with discernible beginnings of interpersonal expressions such as *Tata*?

98. Why do many parents teach children politeness routines in the early stage of their upbringing, for example, *Thank you, Excuse me,* etc.?

99. Where does some evidence for the early mastery of interpersonal expressions appear, apart from the author's own informal observations?

100. Could you comment on: Further evidence of the early mastery of interpersonal expressions is provided by the tendency children show of relying on dialogue in reporting their experiences (personal observations)?

101. As the author puts it, the child relies mostly on dialogue, the adult on a blend of colloquialisms *(ditch, if that wasn't enough, anyone would think,* etc.) and formalities *(the winter of our discontent* (Shakespeare's *Richard III*), *unswerving loyalty,* etc.) to create an interactive style. What are your personal observations on the point?

102. Will you give examples on how children are able to use relatively sophisticated connectives, depending on what they hear from adults around them?

103. Would you prove that ideational idioms are packages of information of varying degrees of complexity functioning as mini-commentaries on the world and its phenomena?

104. Why could the constructional homonymity of idioms – such as *tighten one's belt, kick the bucket,* etc. – present special difficulties of interpretation and use to children and L2 learners?

105. There were no idioms of this type from children below the age of twelve in the author's corpus. In what way can it be explained? Could it be due to the smallness of her sample of child language in that age group in relation to the adult one? Or do ideational idioms come into their own only at a later stage of language development?

106. Will you interpret the phrase: We got married and *before we knew where we were we were knee-deep in babies*?

107. Whereas language-users can get by without ideational idioms, they would find it much more difficult to do without interpersonal and relational ones. Will you illustrate the statement with actual situations?

108. Is it for this reason that ideational idioms are prominent among particular groups, those whose bread and butter depends largely on their language skills, especially a ludic skill: journalists, writers, and entertainers?

109. The other types are widely used by language-users of all ages and backgrounds beyond the protolanguage stage. Will you exemplify it?

110. Do you agree that words appear to hold the key to talking about the world, to creating new worlds and to influencing our fellows by this means?

111. Grammar reflects the ratiocinative processes associated with the intellect; while also reflecting similar mental processes in that the content vocabulary of a language symbolizes the typical with the unique particularities of real-life concretissima filtered out, such vocabulary conveys, none the less, various kinds of information of varying degrees of specificity as the author has tried to show in the chapter. Do you maintain the author's conclusion?

112. Do you find it disputable that vocabulary mirrors the many-sided human personality more obviously than do other language components?

113. Is the descriptive, representational role of lexis in relation to experiential phenomena greater and more apparent than that of grammar in the functioning of lexicogrammar? Could you ground your point of view?

114. Why could one state that the lexis also carries the greatest informational load in the interpersonal working of language, especially in informal speech where it is possible to use the grammar of utterances in

which contracted forms and truncated syntactic units are the most natural, thereby highlighting content vocabulary?

115. Evidence for humans as thinkers appears in its most obvious form in their production of coherent discourse. Such discourse, typically directed at others, ranges from service encounters, small talk and other routines, to the familiar but non-routine, such as the once-explosive Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and the lexically more novel Skater on thin ice of truth (headline). Would you comment on the abstract?

116. What do you think on the point: in a very real sense the perception of the physical world and the creation of the non-physical one originates in the vocabulary though it does not stop there?

117. Multiword expressions, whether conventional or ad hoc, provide an interface between the lexis and the grammar, and while they foreground vocabulary, they also illustrate powerfully the complementarity of the two evident in the term lexicogrammar. Could you supply the examples?

118. Lexis and grammar working together enable the use of the habitual and the creation of the new in order to communicate with others in ways that are familiar, but at the same time interesting and newsworthy. What is your opinion on the point?

Theme 8

FIEDLER'S VIEW ON PHRASEOLOGY

1. Terminology

The term 'phraseology' can be used, firstly, to name the field of study (phraseology research) and, secondly, to denote the set of linguistic units that are investigated in this field. The latter consist of phraseological units, which constitute the *phrasicon,* i.e. the block or inventory of idioms and phrases. Both meanings are relevant in this coursebook. The subject of our studies is the *phraseological unit (PU).* This term has been widely used recently, largely due to international cooperation between phraseology researchers and the dominant role the English language plays in the linguistic community[74]. It has to be considered of substantial significance that the term *PU* has equivalents in many languages, such as *unite phraseologique* in French, *фразеологическая единица* in Russian, *phraseologische Einheit* in German. In English-speaking research, *idiom* was the traditional term, as the titles of outstanding works on the topic illustrate (e.g. *Idiom Formation* by Charles Hockett 1956; *Idiom Structure in English* by Adam Makkai 1972; *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* 1979). However, this term has rarely been applied to idiomatic units only, but also serves as a hyperonym to cover many kinds of conventional multi-word units.

A glance at the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) shows us that the term *idiom* can be used in different ways:

la. The form of speech peculiar or proper to a people or country; own language or tongue.

lb. In narrower sense: The variety of a language which is peculiar to a limited district or class of people, dialect.

2. The specific character, property or genius of any language; the manner of expression which is natural or peculiar to it.

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[74] Cf., for example, the documents and publications of the European Society for Phraseology Research EUROPHRAS, and publications such as Naciscione (2001) and Allerton et al. (2004).

3a. A form of expression, grammatical construction, phrase etc. peculiar to a language; a peculiarity of phraseology approved by the usage of a language, and often having a significance other than its grammatical or logical one.

3b. A characteristic mode of expression in music, art or writing; an instance of this.

4. Specific form or property; peculiar nature; peculiarity.

5. Comb. Idiom neutral, an international language based on Volapük, devised chiefly by W. Rosenberger, and first published in English in 1903.

Based on the meaning of the Greek word *idiõma* ('peculiar feature'), the definitions quoted above pinpoint different aspects of an idiom. Whereas la and 1b reflect the more general uses of the term, which are described in modern linguistics as 'dialect' and 'sociolect', definition 2 refers to the traditional aim in language learning that sentences should be formed and used in the way a native speaker of that language would (cf. Stubbs 1997). In this sense, however, the whole language is to be considered *idiomatic* and there is no need for a term to characterize a special subgroup of linguistic units as such. Definitions 4 and 5 are irrelevant for the purpose of this book, since 4 refers to the general (i.e. non-linguistic) use of the word and 5 lists the name of a historical planned language project. It is, therefore, OED definition 3a that is the underlying definition for this book's approach − describing an idiom as "a peculiarity of phraseology approved by the usage of a language, and often having a significance other than its grammatical or logical one".

→ Exercise (1)

A review of phraseological dictionaries reveals that the term *idiom* (even when used in line with the OED definition 3a) is applied to very heterogeneous items, firstly, with regard to the structure of an idiom, and, secondly, to its characteristics of "having a signification other than its grammatical or logical one". The *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms (LDEI)* (1979) and the *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English (ODCIE)* (Cowie et al. 1983), for example, include items with both word group structure and sentence structure, and they do not differentiate

idiomatic units from non-idiomatic ones. It is therefore necessary to discuss the term *idiom* and its relationship to *phraseological unit* in more detail.

There are, however, still several competing expressions for *phraseological units.* As Anthony P. Cowie (1998: 161) puts it, "in the complex and rapidly developing field of phraseology, widely differing views are held as to the nature and naming of the linguistic categories involved". In a similar way, Rosamund Moon (1998:19) points out that "there is no generally agreed set of categories, as well as no generally agreed set of terms". The assessment "chaotische terminologische Vielfalt" (chaotic terminological variety) given by Klaus-Dieter Pilz (1981: 25) suggests that the same holds true for other languages, as well. In English, *cliche, fixed expression, multi-word lexeme, phraseme,* and *set phrase* are used synonymously with *phraseological unit* (cf. Burger et al. 2007). Further terms, such as *saying, proverb, routine formula,* are also applied to name specific subtypes of PUs. We shall resume this topic in Chapter 2, which deals with classifications.

2. The main characteristics of a phraseological unit (PU)

Polylexemic structure

PUs are polylexemic items, i.e. they consist of at least two independent words. See the following figure (based on Hansen et al. 1982: 13).
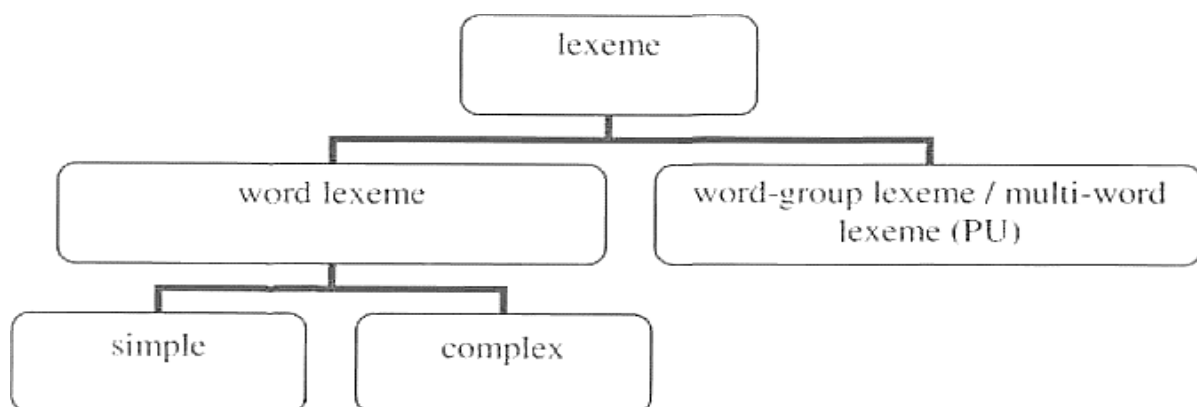
flame	flameproof	an old flame
Dutch	Dutchman	Dutch courage
end	endless	a sticky end

Word lexemes and PUs

The polylexemic structure as a delimitation criterion is treated differently by scholars. Charles Bally noted this feature as early as 1909. Referring to the form of a PU, he wrote that a phraseological unit ("unite phraseologique") could be recognized by the fact that "un groupe est compose de plusieurs mots *separes par l'écriture*" (p. 75, original emphasis; 'a group is composed of several separately written words'). Charles Hockett (1956; 1958), "the first linguist writing in English to examine idiom in the light of modern linguistic theory" (cf. Fernando/Flavell 1981: 4), however, included every linguistic item as long as its meaning "is not deducible from its structure" – from the single morpheme to complete texts:

Let us momentarily use the term 'Y' for any grammatical form the meaning of which is not deducible from its structure. Any Y, in any occurrence in which it is not a constituent of a larger Y, is an idiom. A vast number of composite forms in any language are idioms. If we are to be consistent in our use of the definition, we are forced also to grant every morpheme idiomatic status, save when it is occurring as a constituent of a larger idiom, since a morpheme has no structure from which its meaning could be deduced (Hockett 1958:177).

In contrast to Hockett, A. Healey (1968) excludes monomorphemic units from the definition of idioms. In his tagmemic classification, compounds are regarded as the lowest structural limit of idiomaticity, and sentences, such as proverbs and formulae, are seen as the upper limit. Compounds are also included by Adam Makkai (1972) (cf. 2.1).

As a defining criterion of a PU, polylexemic structure is, in fact, controversial. It seems to be questionable whether it is correct to choose size, i.e. the orthographic structure, as a basis for separating PUs from non-phraseological items. Language use sometimes contradicts this principle. For example, a phraseological word group can be transformed into a compound (e.g. *to pull the wires → wire-puller; to catch sb's eye → eye-catcher).* Furthermore, there are often discrepancies between languages. *Crocodile tears* is a PU in English (as is *крокодиловы слёзы* in Russian and equivalent expressions are in other languages), but *Krokodilstränen* in German is a compound and, therefore, not part of the phrasicon.

Nevertheless, it seems necessary to differentiate PUs from compounds, which are word lexemes that obey word formation rules. Expressions such as *egghead* or *birdbrain* share the features of idiomaticity (cf. 1.2.4) and connotative content (cf. 1.2.5) with PUs, but they are not accepted as part of the phrasicon. As compounds, they are the subject of word-formation. Therefore, the majority of phraseology researchers (e.g. Cowie 1998, Gläser 1986a, Moon 1998, Dobrovol'skij 1997, 2002) recognize the word group as the lower limit for PUs. As for the upper limit, PUs can take on the form of sentences, for example, proverbs such as *An apple a day keeps the doctor away* or *A friend in need is a friend indeed.* Quotations sometimes consist of several sentences and represent 'microtexts', such as *He who can, does. He who cannot, teaches.* This quotation has acquired the status of a phraseological unit mainly because it is frequently alluded to (cf. example [1]) and because it has its legitimate entry in dictionaries (cf. Cowie et al. 1983: 553; Rees 1997: 497). The following text provides the communicative setting of this quotation by way of modification:

1. "Those who can, can again".

Stability

The key feature which makes the PU distinctive from a random combination of words as a syntagma is its relative stability, i.e. its stable semantic and syntactic structure. In contrast to ad-hoc constructions, a PU is conventionalised in content and structure. Only over considerably long periods of time will PUs, if ever, change their meanings. As for the structure of a PU, substitution tests can be applied to prove the syntactic stability of a unit. Compare the following example:

A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.
*A sparrow in the hand is worth two in the bush.
*A bird in the hand is worth three in the bush.
*A bird in the cage is worth two in the bush.
*A bird in the hand is worth two in the tree.

Yet within definite constraints, PUs are variable. For this reason we call this defining criterion *relative* stability. There are structural variants, in

which the use of function words (prepositions, determiners etc.) or the spelling may vary, e.g. *by/in leaps and bounds; (as) dry as a bone; (all) shipshape and Bristol-fashion; sweet f.a./Fanny Adams,* or constituents inside the phrase can be used in the singular or plural, e.g. *not darken sb.*'s *door(s); down the tube/tubes; sow the dragon's/dragons' teeth.*

In addition, lexical constituents (autosemantic elements such as nouns, verbs, adjectives etc.) can vary: e.g. *to sweep sth under the rug/carpet; to burn one's boats/bridges (behind one); to throw/cast pearls before swine; to fill/fit the bill; a bad/rotten apple; break new/fresh ground.*

There are also expressions where both grammatical and lexical elements can be varied: *to put/have/lay a/one's finger to/on one's lips.*

So-called *phraseological synonyms* are a third type of variants. These are different PUs with an identical (or at least a similar) meaning. Let us take the verb 'to die' as an example. As a taboo in society, it has led to a large number of euphemistic expressions which are in fact PUs[75]. Compare, for instance, the following passage in Monty Python's sketch *The dead parrot:*

2. 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.

The humour of this passage is mainly based on the obvious overuse of expressions with the meaning 'to die' and the fact that they represent very different stylistic levels. Further expressions, such as *to pop one's clogs* or *to kick the bucket,* might be added. As the examples show, phraseological synonyms are based on different metaphorical images. To what extent they can be regarded as synonyms, i.e. as real equivalents, will be discussed later (cf. ch. 4.2). Suffice it to say at this stage that they are 'near' or 'quasi' synonyms.

→ Exercise (2)

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[75] Cf., for example, Heidi Anders's 342-page book *NEVER SAY DIE – Englische Idiome um den Tod und das Sterben* (1995).

Lexicalization

Lexicalization is the term used to describe the fact that a PU is retained in the collective memory of a language community. This characteristic is closely related to its stability. As a fixed and ready-made unit, a PU is recognized and accepted as a part of the language. Phraseological word groups and sentences are memorized holistically (i.e. as a whole) by the language users. Thus, they are not produced anew as random sequences of words are, but only reproduced. This is also the reason why it is often sufficient to mention only a particular element of a PU as a cue. A reader seeing *Great Earlybird Deals (The Weekend Australian* 12/13 February 2005) in a travel agency advertisement will have no problems in understanding what is being offered, being well familiar with the proverb *The early bird catches the worm;* and *Grapevine (Wetherspoon News* Winter 2004) seems to be an ideal title for a column in a magazine announcing the latest gossip about celebrities (e.g. *to hear sth on the grapevine).*

The process of lexicalization of a PU as a multi-word designation is not very different from the lexicalization of a simple word lexeme (cf. Bauer 1983: 45 – 50). It may start with a nonce-formation: a new expression is coined by a speaker or writer to fill some immediate need in finding an appropriate word. The new coinage catches on, it is gradually used by other speakers and becomes accepted as a lexeme – a process that is often called 'institutionalisation'. When it is lexicalized, it will be permanently incorporated into speakers' mental lexicons, often adopting a specialist function as well as idiosyncratic meanings.

Although lexicalization is closely linked with the currency and common usage of an expression in a language community, it does not mean that PUs are necessarily frequent. Corpus research has shown that "there are often wide discrepancies between implicit native-speaker knowledge of idioms, catchphrases, proverbs and other word-combinations and their frequency of occurrence in large-scale computer corpora" (Cowie 2003: 73). Furthermore, lexicalization does not necessarily mean codification in a dictionary. As the inventory of phrases, phraseology is unpredictable. New expressions are constantly making their way into language. In fact, PUs can originate in all fields of social life, such as entertainment (e.g. *Shaken, not*

stirred; Play it again, Sam; blind date; Can I call a friend?) or political events (e.g. *velvet revolution; the axis of evil; shock and awe; old/new Europe*).

Expressions like these have a tendency towards lexicalization. Some of them sink their roots in the language permanently, while others fall into disuse or disappear. It would not be appropriate to restrict the phrasicon of a language to expressions in dictionaries because, on the one hand, there are numerous innovative units that have not yet found their way into a dictionary due to their novelty and, on the other hand, reference books often contain obsolete material. As a result, lexicalization and reproducibility should not be misunderstood as a lack in productive and creative uses of PUs. This aspect will be elaborated in Chapter 3.

→ Exercises (3) (4) (5)

Idiomaticity

Idiomaticity is the term used to describe the common phenomenon that the meaning of an expression is difficult or even impossible to derive from the meanings of the constituents it is composed of. This phenomenon causes many problems for language learners, who usually know the meanings of all the words in a phrase (e.g. *pull* and *leg*) but are unable to deduce the meaning 'to tease sb' of the expression *to pull sb's leg*.

Florian Coulmas (1981a) describes idiomaticity as a universal property which a language needs to expand its expressive possibilities. It guarantees the functioning and flexibility of a language, which has to meet different communicative requirements in a changing world. Idiomaticity is treated here as an intralinguistic feature. Thus expressions such as *to hit the nail on the head* or to *lose one's head* are idiomatic in English because their meanings 'say sth. that exactly describes a situation' and 'become confused/lose control of oneself' cannot be decoded on the basis of their elements, and it is of marginal importance that there are similar expressions in other languages which might help us to understand them (cf. German *den Nagel auf den Kopf treffen;* French *perdre la tele*). In other cases, semantic and structural similarity may be misleading and prove to be *false friends*

(e.g. English *to beat about/around the bush* and German *auf den Busch klopfen*) (cf. Gläser 1999a; 2000).

Idiomaticity may be graded, i.e. PUs can have different degrees of idiomaticity. At one end of the scale there are real idioms, i.e. fully opaque expressions. At the opposite end of the scale, we find fully transparent PUs, which are, however, legitimately included in the phrasicon because they are polylexemic, stable, and lexicalised (cf. Gläser 1988). There are various theories to describe degrees of idiomaticity along this scale. For example, Fernando (1996: 35 – 36) distinguishes three subclasses: pure idioms ("a type of conventionalised, non-literal multiword expression"), semi-idioms (with "one or more literal constituents and at least one with a non-literal subsense"), and literal idioms (which "meet the salient criterion for idioms: invariance or restricted variation"). In a similar way, Cowie (1998), following Russian phraseology researchers (e.g. Amosova 1963; Kunin 1970), suggests a distinction between idioms, figurative idioms and restricted collocations. Whereas the first group includes "combinations that are 'unmotivated' (or semantically opaque) and often structurally fixed", figurative idioms represent "a partially motivated type, whose meaning can be seen as a metaphorical extension of some original literal sense", and in the third sub-category one constituent is used in a literal sense.

Following Uriel Weinreich (1969), Rosemarie Gläser (1986a: 55) differentiates between unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral idioms. In unilateral idioms (e.g. *black market*) one constituent has retained its literal meaning, which supports the decoding of its meaning. In bilateral idioms (e.g. *lame duck*), however, both constituents are used in figurative meanings. Gläser expands Weinreich's classification of PUs by a third group described as *multilateral idioms*. Multilateral idioms are units of more than two constituents with complex semantic relationships (cf. Gläser 1986a: 54) (e.g. *to bum the candle at both ends; to cut off one's nose to spite one's face*). In empirical analysis, the different sub-categories are sometimes difficult to distinguish because there are borderline cases. Fernando, as well as Cowie and Gläser, emphasize that, in the last instance, there are no hard and fast dividing lines between the overall sub-groups of idioms.

To sum up, with regard to idiomaticity we should keep two important aspects in mind. Firstly, idiomaticity is a typical, but only optional characteristic of a PU – Gläser (1986a: 54) regards the idiom as the prototype of a PU. Idioms are therefore a subset of PUs; they constitute the bulk of PUs within the phrasicon. Secondly, idioms are graded, i.e. the phrasicon includes units with different degrees of idiomaticity. A diagram consisting of a centre, a periphery and a transition area is an adequate model to illustrate this aspect (cf. 2.1).

Connotations

PUs are often used to put emphasis on the speaker's/writer's intention and to make a text more expressive. As we shall see in 3.2, PUs are applied with a large variety of functions – they serve to evaluate events and people, they are used to attract attention, to illustrate facts or to organize texts. They can promote solidarity on the part of the reader/listener, evoke humour and put people at ease. Their expressive character becomes obvious when we compare phraseological with non-phraseological uses:

3. He showed me forever that true love takes effort and involves *not caring two hoots* what other people think. (The Age Review, 12 February 2005)

 not care two hoots   'not care at all'

4. At 17, Johnson was a father. The few bob from gigs in pubs he wasn't old enough to drink in were not enough to *make ends meet*. (The Guardian, 13 August 2005)

 make ends meet   'earn enough money'

5. The press was in no hurry to retract their judgment and I couldn't just lie there, had to *take the bull by the horns* myself and remodel the image of me, change the perception of it anyway. (B. Dylan, Chronicles, 2004:120)

 take the bull by the horns 'act boldly and without delay'

6. And now the substitute, and what a substitute she proved on Tuesday. Thrilled to be. Look at that expression. That tells you volumes. And leading the job right there is the Olympic champion, her sister, now at Yale University, and thrilled. They used to ***fight like cat and dog*** and now they are terrific together. (Eurosport commentator Simon Reed about figure skater Emily Hughes and her sister; 23 February 2006)

fight like cat and dog   'quarrel fiercely'

The substitution of the PUs in the left column with the non-phraseological lexemes on the right in these examples leads to semantically comparable or even equivalent propositions. With regard to their connotative meanings, to the associations they trigger, however, there are losses. The sentences without the PUs are less pithy and less impressive. Gläser (1986a: 37) calls this capacity of a PU to express additional meanings its "intensifying function". Connotations can be subdivided into stylistic and expressive connotations. Stylistic connotations refer to the communicative situations in which PUs are normally used and to the relationship between speakers and hearers in them. PUs differ along a scale from 'formal' to 'informal'.

An idiom marked (formal) will tend to reflect a distant rather than a close relationship; be more likely to be associated with an official setting; and tend to suggest a serious or elevated tone: [...]
An idiom marked (informal) reflects an intimate rather than a distant relationship; a domestic rather than an official occasion; an easy, relaxed attitude: [...]

(Cowie et al. 1983: XXXIX)

To describe PUs in the broad "neutral" space between the limits represented by the labels 'formal' and 'informal', dictionaries generally apply a system of style markers or usage labels. These include:

literary   e.g. *a land of milk and honey; to give ear to; between Scylla and Charybdis*

archaic[76]	e.g. *the race is to the swift; the fairer sex; in the family way*
foreign	e.g. *coup de graces; per se; horribile dictu*
colloquial	e.g. *one too many; pull a fast one; over the hill*
slang	e.g. *to shit bricks; not know one's arse/ass from one's elbow*
vulgar[77]	e.g. *fuck all; to shoot the shit; when the shit hits the fan*

Expressive connotations reveal additional information about a speaker's subjective attitude towards the person or state of affairs denoted. PUs are used to show anger or irritation, to insult somebody, to refer to something unpleasant in a mitigated or indirect way, or to amuse the listener. In the same way as simple lexemes, PUs are therefore marked, for example, as *derogatory* (e.g. *to have a bun in the oven*), *euphemistic* (e.g. *to breathe one's last*), or *humorous*[78] (e.g. *and now for something completely different* – a catchphrase from *Monty Python's Flying Circus*). The difference between stylistic and expressive connotations is sometimes blurred, with inconsistent and overlapping labels in dictionaries. An expression such as *shit hot* ('very good') can be found marked as 'taboo', 'slang', or 'impolite', and it can be seen as both a stylistic and an expressive characteristic.

→ Exercises (6) (7) (8)

In addition, phonostylistic properties such as rhyme, rhythm and rhetorical devices contribute to the expressiveness of PUs. Many figures of speech manifest themselves in them. Compare the following examples:

give/lend a hand	metonymy
a hot potato	metaphor
to sweat blood	hyperbole
bits and pieces	tautology
as free as a bird	comparison
as busy as a be	alliteration
out of sight, out of mind	parallelism
the pot is calling the kettle	personification

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[76] Also termed 'old-fashioned' or 'dated'.
[77] Also termed 'taboo'.
[78] Also termed 'jocular' or 'facetious'.

Finally, there are PUs, such as frequently used routine formulae and fillers (e.g. *you know, let alone, of course, in fact*), which are not expressive/ Like its idiomatic structure, the connotative content of a PU is, therefore, a typical but only optional characteristic.

Transformational deficiencies

Phraseology researchers who follow a syntactic approach have paid special attention to the syntactic behaviour of PUs (or idioms in their terms) and in particular to their *transformational defects.* This term is related to the fact that idioms often resist syntactic transformations such as passivization *(*The bucket was kicked)* or topicalization *(fit was the bush that Tom beat around).*

→ Exercise (9)

Chafe (1968: 111) noted the following four properties of idioms: "their anomalous meanings" (i.e. non-compositionality), "their transformational deficiencies", "the ill-formedness of some of them", and "the greater text frequency of well-formed idioms relative to their literal counterparts".

→ Exercise (10)

Bruce Fraser (1970: 32) claims that "the idioms of English differ widely with respect to how frozen they are in terms of the application of various syntactic transformations". He presents these differences as a scale with six levels, a so-called frozenness hierarchy:

L6 Unrestricted
L5 Reconstitution
L4 Extraction
L3 Permutation
L2 Insertion
L1 Adjunction
L0 Completely frozen

Idioms such as *kick the bucket* and *beat about the bush,* which take only the gerundive transformation, are characterized as almost frozen (L1) at one end of the scale, whereas others such as *read the riot act to sb* are at

the other end (L6), and may undergo indirect object movement *(Peter read me the riot act),* passive transformations *(The riot act was read to me by Peter; I was read the riot act by Peter)* as well as the gerundive and action nominalization transformations *(Peter's reading the riot act to me was ...; Peter's reading of the riot act to me was ...).*

Fraser's rank-scale and the research into the transformational defectiveness of idioms in general have provided insight into the behaviour of PUs. Moreover, they have resulted in practical applications in lexicography. The *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English,* for example, indicates transformational constraints on the PUs included (cf. Fernando 1996: 10). However, we should bear in mind that the syntactic description of PUs comprises only one feature of their nature. Therefore, the characteristic of transformational constraints is, as Fernando/Flavell (1981: 13) put it, "a useful supportive criterion but not a definite one". It must be seen as closely related to the other characteristics (lexicalization, stability and idiomaticity) and is therefore only a complementary feature of the PU.

→ Exercise (11)

Other types of anomalies

In addition to the transformational defectiveness described above, two types of anomalies are worth mentioning with regard to PUs. These are, first, grammatical ill-formedness and, second, the occurrence of unique constituents. Both of these features only hold for a marginal set of PUs.

Grammatical ill-formedness was mentioned as one of the criteria on which Chafe based his definition of idioms (cf. 1.2.6). His examples of idioms which are not syntactically well-formed are *by and large, kingdom come* (as in *blow to Kingdom come* from the Lord's Prayer), and *trip the light fantastic* (from Milton's poem *L'Allegro*). Chafe (1968: 121) stresses that the anomalous character of expressions like these results from language history and the development of the language community:

Often the source of an idiom is well-formed at the time the idiom arises, only to pass out of the language of the idiom's users while its ghost remains as the idiom's literalization.

Compare the sources of the examples quoted:
John Milton: *L'Allegro* (Campbell 1990: 35, lines 33/34)

*Come, and **trip** it, as you go,*
*On **the light fantastic** toe;*

The Lord's Prayer (*The Book of Common Prayer,* 1662 version; cf. Rees 1997:114 – 115)

Our Father which art in Heaven,
Hallowed be Thy Name.
Thy Kingdom come,
Thy Will be done,
In Earth as it is in Heaven.

Deviant lexico-grammatical structures may be found in prepositional complements because of the absence of the definite article, e.g.: *for free, in full, at once, for good, at large, for sure, on the quiet, on the straight and narrow.* As Quirk et al. (1985: 424) state, in these phrases "the word-class status of the word following the preposition (or *the)* is indeterminate between adjective and noun".

Another kind of deviation is the omission of the definite article with countable singular nouns, such as in *at length, beyond belief, from scratch, at first sight, on foot, for sale, by word of mouth, from pillar to post, from dawn to dusk,* and *head over heels.* As the latter examples show, "'frozen' article use" (Quirk et al. 1985: 280) is especially typical of parallel binomial expressions, which, in addition, are linked by alliteration (cf. 2.2.2).

Some PUs, such as *short shrift, kith and kin,* and *to and fro,* contain so-called fossilized constituents *(shrift, kith, fro).* These constituents are unique lexical items that date from earlier periods of language history and are obsolete in present-day English. They have 'survived' in these particular phrases only. Moon (1998: 21) terms them *cranberry collocations*[79].

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[79] Cf. the term *cranberry morph* for unique morphemes, i.e. morphemes which occur in a single word only, with *cran-* in *cranberry* as one example of this.

Grammatical ill-formedness and the occurrence of unique constituents as marginal phenomena may be regarded as a strong proof of historical relics in the phrasicon of present-day English.

→ Exercises (12) (13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19) (20)

As a consequence of the discussions in this <…> chapter, we now arrive at the following definition of the PU (cf. Gläser 1986a: 16; 1998:125):

A phraseological unit (PU) is a lexicalized polylexemic linguistic unit which is characterized, in principle, by semantic and syntactic stability, and to a great extent by idiomaticity. Because of its optional connotative features, a PU may fulfil various pragmatic functions in discourse. PUs cover both word-like and sentence-like fixed expressions.

Exercises

1. Study the uses of 'idiom' and 'idiomatic' in the following quotations and assign them to the meanings listed in the OED as quoted above.

a) Indeed, Seidlhofer's preliminary findings appear to show that predictable learner 'errors' to which teachers would normally give much time and attention [...] are not in fact stumbling blocks to intelligibility in EIL [= English as an International Language]. What is more problematical is the asymmetrical use of ***idiomatic speech***, including metaphorical expressions, idioms, phrasal verbs and fixed expressions. (D. Davies *Varieties of Modern English,* 2005: 146)

b) He played on all the various planes, the full index of the old-time styles, played in all the genres and had the ***idioms*** mastered – Delta blues, ragtime, minstrel songs, buck-and-wing, dance reels, play party, hymns and gospel – being there and seeing him up close, something hit me. (B. Dylan *Chronicles,* 2004: 70)

c) It was certainly done most effectively for one culture some years ago when Romeo and Juliet were transposed into the ***idiom*** of youth group clash in modern New York in West Side Story. (G. Bolton *Drama as Education,* 1988: 92)

d) As there is a growing awareness, in the field of EFL [= English as a Foreign Language], of the importance of collocations for the teaching and

learning of truly idiomatic English (for this goal, collocations seem to be more important than ***idioms***), we will probably see, in the not-too-distant future, the publication of (more) material for the teaching of collocations to learners of different levels of proficiency. (J. Bahns "Lexical collocations: a contrastive view". In: *ELTJ* 47/1, 1993: 61)

e) What A.P. Herbert called jungle English is often called 'jargon'. This word has two principal meanings. One is confused unintelligible language and the other the technical terminology or characteristic ***idiom*** of a special activity or group. (Fisher Cassie, W./Constantine, T. *Student's Guide to Success,* 1989: 81)

f) From 1909, when Cubism emerged as a fully mature ***idiom***, through until the months immediately preceding the outbreak of war in 1914, it was to be not only very self-contained as a movement, but also in certain respects curiously unaccentuated. (J. Golding *Cubism. A History and an Analysis* 1907 – 1914, 1988: 54)

2. The variation of PUs can also result from the variation between British and American English. Find the equivalents of the following BE PUs in AmE. If necessary, consult the *OALD:*

(throw) a spanner in the works
a skeleton in the cupboard
not see the wood for the trees
touch wood
It never rains but it pours
hum and haw

3. In daily communication proverbs are often shortened. One word may serve as a cue to call up the whole proverb. Find the complete forms for:

the last straw
the early bird
clutch at straws
a rolling stone
a silver lining
call the tune

4. Find out the origin of the following PUs:

blood, sweat and tears

the 64-thousand-dollar question

5. Remember and analyse new coinages in your mother tongue that have recently entered circulation. What do you know about their origin? Do you think they have a chance of being established in the language permanently? (Examples in German might include: *Flasche leer; Wer zu spat kommt, ...*)

6. Study the following PUs and mark their connotations by using labels such as 'literary', 'colloquial', 'formal', 'slang', 'euphemistic' etc.

Manners maketh the man

to make bricks without straw

Adam's ale

to be called to one's eternal rest

a/the rat race

7. Study the expressions in bold print in the following sentences. What do they have in common and what makes them different?

a) Mr Otway is bisexual and only married Gillian because ***there was a bun in the oven***. (ODC/E 1983: 255)

b) And with Liv Tyler, Claudia Schiffer, and Julia Roberts currently ***in the family way***, there seems to be no let up on the press coverage of the stars' expanding waistlines. *(International Herald Tribune 9 October 2004)*

c) Bridget Moynahan – three months pregnant with her ex-boyfriend Tom Brady's baby – has the support of another woman who was dumped while she ***was expecting***. *(New York Post 1 March 2007)*

d) Leo's Girl Might ***Be Knocked Up.*** (Post *Chronicle* 12 April 2007)

8. Create a similar exercise by collecting expressions with the denotative meanings 'urinate/go to the toilet' and 'dismiss sb. from their job'.

9. Identify the PUs in the following examples. What figures of speech do they represent? (Sometimes more than one can be found.)

a) Just try to relax, dear. You make mountains out of molehills. (Arthur Miller *Death of a Salesman,* 1949:18)

b) I've got three girls who have got me absolutely under the thumb. (*The Age* 12 February 2005)

c) If I had cried my eyes out and got depressed, I am sure that would have spilled over on to them. (*Sunday Independent LIFE* 21 March 2004)

d) About 20 per cent of tickets will be sold for – £1 each way, on a first-come-first-served basis. (*METRO* 20 February 2004)

e) From the children's point of view, the perk of travelling with other families is the prospect [...] of holiday playmates. We hit the jackpot with a rat pack of five boys and two girls [...]. (*The Age* 12 February 2005)

f) War and peace in the countryside

Ramblers, cyclist and horse riders are all fighting for rights of way over the land. (*Financial Times* 7/8 August 1999)

g) "It's coming in dribs and drabs so far," said the group's director, David L. Shearer. (*The New York Times/Süddeutsche Zeitung* 13 June 2005)

h) [financial situation in higher education] 'It's a sore point with us at the moment, actually. I could easily bore you to death on the subject'. (D. Lodge *Thinks,* 1995: 46)

i) Is your memory like a sieve? (*The Independent* 3 September 2003)

j) Ian Dempsey presents The Breakfast Show on Today FM from seven o'clock to 10 every weekday morning. He is the jewel in the crown of the station. (*Sunday Independent LIFE* 21 March 2004)

k) I suppose Rainer needs that job like a hole in the head. (spoken example, Irish speaker, 9 December 2004)

10. Recapitulate the main ideas of transformational-generative grammar (Chomskyan grammar). Consult linguistic reference books (e.g. Crystal 1995, Gluck 2000). Why is idiomaticity seen as the 'stumbling block' (Weinreich 1969: 23) of this grammatical theory?

11. Read Chafe's article "Idiomaticity as an anomaly in the Chomskyan paradigm" (1968). What conclusion does Chafe draw?

12. Look up the PUs *kith and kin* and *to pass the buck* in the *ODCIE* by Cowie et al. (1983). What transformations are possible? How does the dictionary utilize the results of the representatives of transformational grammar in a practical way? Check your results on the basis of corpus work.

13. Explain why the following PUs violate the principle of well-formedness.

as sure as eggs is eggs

how come

dog eat dog

time and again

all of a sudden

ifs and buts

in the know

that's old hat

put pen to paper

14. The following words are no longer current in present-day English. Find the PUs in which they are used and explain their meanings.

spick

umbrage

loggerheads

bounden

akimbo

Find three more PUs with unique or phrase-bound constituents.

15. The presence of unique elements in PUs is not restricted to the English language. Find similar expressions in your mother tongue.

16. What is Ferdinand de Saussure's approach towards phraseology? Read the chapter on syntagmatic relations in his *Course in General Linguistics* (de Saussure 1966: 124/125). What does he mean by *idiom?* (Part Four. Geographical Linguistics, ch. 1,191)

17. Study Hockett (1958). What types of idioms does he distinguish? Comment on his classification.

18. Perform a substitution test with the help of native speakers of English. Choose PUs (e.g. *to have one foot in the grave*) and ask them whether variations of certain constituents (e.g. *foot → leg*) are used or acceptable.

19. Conduct a survey among a representative number of native speakers of German on the meaning of the phrase *passen wie die Faust aufs Auge.*

20. In recent years the traditional linguistic theory of phraseology has been influenced by findings of cognitive-psycholinguistic research. Study the relevant publications dealing with the main views on how PUs are stored in the mental lexicon and how the figurative and literal meanings are processed. Overviews are given, for example, by Cacciari/Tabossi (eds.) (1993), Moon (1998: 31–36), Hallsteinsdottir (2001: 29–45) and Vega-Moreno (2001), and Dobrovol'skij (2007). Concentrate on the following models: the idiom list hypothesis, the lexical representation hypothesis, the direct access hypothesis, the idiom decomposition hypothesis, the configuration hypothesis, the conceptual metaphor hypothesis, and the graded salience hypothesis.

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after Sabine Fiedler

Points to be commented and discussed

1. In what way can the term *phraseology* be used?

2. What term has been widely used recently, largely due to international cooperation between phraseology researchers and the dominant role the English language plays in the linguistic community?

3. What equivalents does the term *phraseological unit/PU* have in many languages?

4. What term has rarely been applied to idiomatic units only, but also serves as a hyperonym to cover many kinds of conventional multi-word units?

5. In what ways can the term *idiom* be used as it is registered in the *Oxford English Dictionary*?

6. What is the origin of the term *idiom*?

7. What are the essential features of idiom? What is the difference between the idiom and the phraseological unit?

8. Why does the author regard definitions 4 and 5 as irrelevant for the purpose of her studies?

9. Could you agree to the author's statement that OED definition 3a is the underlying definition for this book's approach – describing an idiom as "a peculiarity of phraseology approved by the usage of a language, and often having a significance other than its grammatical or logical one"?

10. Could you explain why The *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms (LDEI)* (1979) and the *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English (ODCIE)* (Cowie et al. 1983), for example, include items [on idiom] with both word group structure and sentence structure, and they do not differentiate idiomatic units from non-idiomatic ones.

11. Why does the author think it necessary to discuss the term *idiom* and its relationship to *phraseological unit* in more detail?

12. What is the difference in the idiom definition given by Anthony P. Cowie (1998: 161), Rosamund Moon (1998: 19), Klaus-Dieter Pilz (1981: 25) and Burger et al. (2007)?

13. Would you comment on the statement: in English *cliché, fixed expression, multi-word lexeme, phraseme,* and *set phrase* are used synonymously with *phraseological unit*; further terms, such as *saying, proverb, routine formula,* are also applied to name specific subtypes of PUs? Could you suggest the criteria to differentiate them?

14. In what way is the polylexemic structure as a delimitation criterion treated by scholars: (a) by Charles Bally, (b) by Charles Hockett, (c) by Fernando? What do their definitions have in common?

15. Could you prove that in contrast to ad-hoc constructions, a PU is conventionalised in content and structure?

16. Would you prove that phraseological synonyms are based on different metaphorical images?

17. What does the author mean stating that idiomaticity may be graded, i.e. PUs can have different degrees of idiomaticity?

18. Do you maintain that PU's expressive character becomes obvious when we compare phraseological with non-phraseological uses?

19. Will you illustrate the way phonostylistic properties such as rhyme, rhythm and rhetorical devices contribute to the expressiveness of PUs?

20. Why does the author single out the so-called anomalies in PUs?

CONCLUSIONS

The Manual embraces a set of different vectors in paradigmal 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 authors 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 (a) hystorical survey of phraseological studies, (b) traditions and innovations in phraseological research, (c) cognitive and semiological approaches to the reserach, (d) the levels of phraseological abstraction, (e) the problem of variability in phraseology, (f) the representation of phraseological metaphor in verbal discourse, (g) lingual-didactic value of idioms, their origin and cultural background and some others.

In the coming series of pre-planned volumes the authors are 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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