

**APPLIED LINGUISTICS PERSPECTIVES
ON REPRODUCIBLE MULTIWORD UNITS:
FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEXICOGRAPHY**

VOLUME EIGHT

INTERCONTINENTAL DIALOGUE ON PHRASEOLOGY
University of Białystok, Poland

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UNIVERSITY OF BIAŁYSTOK PUBLISHING HOUSE
BIAŁYSTOK 2020

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Typesetting: Stanisław Żukowski

The volume has been financed by the Philological Department
of the University of Białystok

ISBN 978-83-7431-677-4

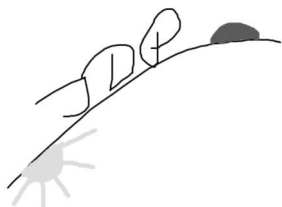
University of Białystok Publishing House
15-328, Białystok, 20B Świerkowa Street
phone number: 857457120, e-mail: wydawnictwo@uwb.edu.pl,
<http://wydawnictwo.uwb.edu.pl>

Printed and bound by: volumina.pl Daniel Krzanowski

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Introduction

Over the last decades, phraseological research has been developing intensively, to a great extent thanks to the progress made in the fields of cognitivism and corpus linguistics. Nowadays, with new methodological conceptions and tools, scholars view phraseological stock from a variety of perspectives, among which two are of paramount importance in terms of pragmatic linguistics. The first angle is adopted in phraseodidactics, a subdiscipline of phraseology, in which fixed expressions viewed as language units that have to be acquired by learners. The second area of exploration, phraseolexicography, comprises a plethora of studies focused on the description of phraseological units in dictionaries, either monolingual or bilingual.

Taking into consideration the role of language learning and the dictionary status in the modern world, the results of phraseodidactic and phraseographic studies contribute greatly both to the development of phraseology and to the improvement of coursebooks and lexicographic works. The present volume is composed of nine papers which offer insight into selected research problems from those two areas: in the former, dealing with the communicative aspects, phraseological errors, phraseology in coursebooks, desemantisation of idioms in FLT; in the latter, discussing phraseology in dialectal lexicography, lexical changes in multiword expressions in dictionaries, nationality idioms and their description in dictionaries as well as an onomasiological approach in bilingual phraseology.

The volume begins with Ana Ćavar and Ivana Vidović Bolt's paper titled *Phraseological Competence and Stability of Structure in Phraseological Units* which aims to discuss the correlation between Croatian native speakers' linguistic communicative competence and the comprehension of phraseological units (PUs). Although fixedness is considered a defining feature of such

items, modifications are common in the process of communication. The authors conducted an innovative research study in the seventh grade of elementary school and the second grade of high school in order to determine to what extent the native users of Croatian view phraseological units as ones with a fixed structure. The focal issue of the study is the perception of the units with substituted constituents.

In turn, Ewa Dubowik-Baradoy in her paper *Schwierigkeiten polnischer Muttersprachler bei der Übersetzung polnischer Phraseme ins Deutsche. Bericht anhand von redaktionellen Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen im Alltag* discusses issues related to her experience in the “Germanistik. Internationales Referatenorgan mit bibliographischen Hinweisen” in Tübingen. The research corpus includes short reviews, e-mail correspondence and other forms of written and oral communication with persons of Polish origin. Other material comprises everyday communication with Polish native speakers who live in Germany. The difficulties that arise in the translation from Polish into German result from both the specificity of the language, in particular the grammatical differences, and cultural aspects. The paper sheds light on such issues as the greetings and polite forms and the description of professions and groups. Moreover, it gives an insight into problems with articles, those related to translation of phrasemes. The chapter also presents syntax-related difficulties. Finally, attention is paid to phonetics, in particular, to the so called “Polish accent”. The issues are discussed from the perspective of phraseology, dialogue analysis, stylistics and pragmatics.

Nataša Kurtuma’s contribution *Phraseologische Sachgruppen in DaF-Lehrwerken* deals with phraseological units from the perspective of foreign language teaching on the example of teaching German as a foreign language. The general aims of the study are twofold: first, to discuss the quantity of phraseological units in selected coursebooks; second, to investigate the fields, to which the items in question belong; to indicate the types of multiword expressions appear with the greatest frequency. The paper contains the discussion and analysis of the results of a study of selected German coursebooks used at two levels, B1 and B2 conducted by the Author.

Liudmila Liashchova’s paper *Phraseological Errors in a Foreigner’s Talk Discourse and Their Reasons* aims to determine the types of errors in using Russian idioms made by a native English speaker – a journalist who has an advanced level of proficiency in Russian. Furthermore, the scholar attempts at determining the reasons for these errors. The author states that the problem which occurred in the use of some Russian phraseological units tend to result from the native language interference and insufficient semantization of the Russian phraseological units by the person. To some extent, it is related to the

description of the semantics, pragmatics, and usage of fixed expressions in lexicographic sources which are available.

Clara Ureña Tormo contributed a paper titled *Desautomatization of Spanish verbal idioms: an application to language teaching* whose focal issue is the phenomenon of creative modifications in discourse. The scholar investigates the transformations of Spanish idioms by means of morphosyntactic procedures, which result in the desautomatization of their form. The study offers key guidelines for teaching idiom desautomatization as part of the grammar contents, with a view to providing learners with tools for proper interpreting idiom modifications in discourse. The practice proposed by the Author is bound to enhance students' communication skills by developing their competence of using the Spanish language.

Lexicographic research is also well represented in this volume. Erica Autelli's paper *Phrasemes in Genoese and Genoese-Italian lexicography* discusses the state of the art of dialectal monolingual and bilingual phraseography on the example of the Genoese and Genoese-Italian lexicography. The article begins with the definition of the term *Genoese* and a presentation of the Genoese and Genoese-Italian dictionaries compiled so far. The scholar comments of their shortcomings, drawing attention to, inter alia, the cross-linguistic correspondences. *GEPHRAS* is the first dictionary that contains both synchronic and diachronic Genoese and Italian phrasemes, including collocations, idioms, comparative, communicative and structural phrasemes. The project, being a model for further phraseographical studies, contributes greatly to preserving Genoese.

The paper titled *Lexikalische Veränderungen bei Phraseologismen mit der Bedeutung 'materieller Zustand des Menschen' (19.–20. Jahrhundert)*, whose Author is Svitlana Melnyk, discusses lexical changes occurring in phraseological units describing the material status of man. The research corpus of 516 phraseological units is composed of German units from the end of the 18th c. till today. In the analysed material, verbs and nouns are the components that undergo changes most frequently. The substituted lexical elements are divided into groups and discussed in detail.

The article *Onomasiological dictionary in bilingual phraseology* written by Snežana Popović draws attention to onomasiological dictionaries which are not very common among phraseographic works, claiming that there is a need for a well-organized bilingual onomasiological dictionaries of phraseological units. The Author emphasises that the compilation of a bilingual onomasiological dictionary is far more difficult than the creation of a similar monolingual lexicographic work. The paper discusses a specifically devised thesauri-like system of Czech onomasiological dictionary, its metalanguage and def-

initions on the example of a bilingual phraseological dictionary of Czech and Serbian.

Another paper discussing broadly understood lexicographic aspects is contributed by Monika Woźniak who analyses practical aspects of nationality idioms in terms of dictionary users' perception. Her paper titled *Nationality idioms across monolingual dictionaries for learners of English* focuses on old stereotypical ideas concerning nationality which nowadays tend to be considered biased and inappropriate viewed as images of foreigners across languages fixed in nationality idioms which may be attractive to L2 learners. It is assumed that offering them such information is likely to arouse an interest, yet, it has to be admitted that the lack of reliable information may cause confusion. The paper briefly discusses the ways of presenting cultural information in lexicographic works. The author compares the inclusion and treatment of selected English idioms containing two constituents, *Dutch* and *French*, in free-access monolingual learner's dictionaries with printed editions of learners' idiom dictionaries compiled by the corresponding publishers.

As already mentioned, phraseodidactics and phraseography are two sub-branches of phraseology that combine a theoretical perspective with a practical approach within one research framework of applied linguistics. Thanks to the topical and methodological diversity, the book offers a panoramic view of the current research problems in these two areas. Therefore, the studies can be recommended for not only phraseologists, lexicographers and foreign language teaching specialists, but also other linguists, philology students and persons who are interested in language, its teaching and description.

Białystok, December 2020

Joanna Szerszunowicz
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PART I

**PHRASEOLOGICAL COMPETENCE:
PROBLEMS AND ERRORS IN FLT**

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Phraseological Competence and Stability of Structure in Phraseological Units

Abstract. The purpose of this paper is to examine the correlation between linguistic communicative competence of Croatian native speakers and the comprehension of phraseological units (PUs) with established form and fixed structure. The fixed structure is considered to be a relative feature in studies on PUs, mainly because of variations in different characters. However, it is obvious that modifications (or deviations from the form) in which PUs are most often found in writing are still subject to additional considerations and examinations. In order to examine this issue, a research was carried out in the seventh grade of elementary school and the second grade of high school. The purpose of the research materials was to examine to what extent Croatian native speakers consider PUs as linguistic units with a fixed structure, i.e. whether they find acceptable even the PUs with internal substitution of components.

Key words: *communicative competence, modification of PU structure, internal substitution of PU components.*

1. Introduction

In the last fifteen years the term “phraseological competence” has become fairly standard in applied linguistics. The term covers the ability to identify, understand and appropriately use phraseological units (PUs) – conventionalized and to some degree fixed multi-word units whose meaning cannot be (fully) derived from the meanings of their individual lexical constituents. At the same time, the term generally subsumes the ability to understand and appropriately use figurative expressions – metaphorical expressions, phraseological units, proverbs and some collocations. The ap-

pearance of the term was triggered by the proliferation of the term “communicative competence” in applied linguistics scholarship since the 1980s. The most prominent model of communicative competence in language teaching today is the model of communicative language competence described in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*¹ (2005). In this document, communicative language competence is defined as “the competence of using language appropriately in concrete communicative situations, which is further divided into three components: linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic competence. Linguistic competence is further divided into lexical, grammatical, semantic, phonological, orthographic and orthoepic competence” (ibidem: 111–112). Both in this and in other models of communicative competence found in the applied linguistics literature², phraseological competence is not awarded the status of a discrete competence; rather, it is commonly considered as a component of lexical competence or, more recently, as a so-called transversal competence which is based on various aspects of language competence: morphosyntactic, semantic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic (Alessandro 2011: 2015). Since this paper focuses on proficiency in PUs, the development of phraseological competence will be viewed from this aspect. In this respect, we will be interested in the ability to identify, understand and use phraseological units as multi-word units with fairly stable structure, whose meaning can generally not be derived from the primary meanings of their lexical components (Menac 1970/1971; Fink 1993; 2002 etc.). Based on this definition and such description of PUs, a highly developed phraseological competence (Szerszunowicz 2007: 93–94) relates to the ability to associate PU with appropriate written and spoken genres, the ability to assess when it is necessary to replace PUs with their non-figurative meaning equivalents, as well as the ability to understand modified PUs, i.e. those in which the usual ordering of components is disrupted or those that are the product of combining two figurative expressions. Apart from the aforementioned, a well-developed phraseological competence entails the ability to “comprehend the cultural allusions contained in the units, especially those of idiomatic character” (Szerszunowicz 2007: 91).

¹ In Croatian – *Zajednički europski referentni okvir za jezike* (2005).

² The most comprehensive overview of the models of communicative competence in the linguistics literature in Croatian can be found in Bagarić Medve (2012).

2. The development of phraseological competence

The acquisition of knowledge of phraseology is a gradual and lengthy process in the course of which we acquire PUs by means of exposure to language and normally through multiple encounters with such units (Nippold, Taylor 1995). The acquisition of PUs is described as a process involving several degrees³, starting from literal meanings of their constituents through partial understanding to full understanding of the figurative meaning (Kuvač Kraljević, Lenček 2012). The ability to understand PUs is predicated on the speaker's chronological age and a sufficiently developed metalinguistic consciousness, as well as the ability to make functional use of contextual information (Levorato, Cacciari 2002). The initial stage in the development of phraseological competence is generally placed at the age of five or six, when children also begin to understand the figurative meanings of linguistic units to a greater degree (Nippold, Rudzinski 1993). A marked stage in the development of phraseological competence, accompanied by enrichment and rising complexity of the phraseological repertory, occurs between the ages of six and ten (Vulchanova et al. 2011). The differences in the understanding of PUs between children and adults gradually diminish up to the age of eleven (*ibid.*) or fifteen according to some authors (Kempler et al. 1999), at which point the differences in understanding between children and adults cease to be prominent. Although children after the age of eleven start to resemble adult speakers in their ability to understand figurative expressions, differences in the phraseological competence between children and adults are still rather marked. Apart from differences between ten-year-olds and adults, significant quantitative as well as qualitative differences have also been observed between adult speakers and adolescents (Nippold 2005; Vulchanova 2011). It has been shown that adult speakers and adolescents differ in their assessment of the semantic transparency of PUs, whereby adult speakers frequently assess these units as less transparent. That is ascribed to adult speakers' better mastery of the phraseological repertory, which entails a greater focus on the figurative meaning and a lower sensitivity to the semantic analysis of the literal and figurative meanings of PUs (Ackerman 1982, as cited in Nippold, Rudzinski 1993). In other words, a higher presence of semantic analysis in the understanding of PUs is to be expected in speakers whose knowledge of phraseology is not yet fully consolidated.

³ A more concise description of the stages in the acquisition of figurative competence can be found in Levorato, Cacciari (2002).

Although the acquisition of figurative competence in the mother tongue has been studied in various languages, for example in English, Italian, Bulgarian and Croatian (Nippold, Taylor 1995; Levorato, Cacciari 2002; Vulchanova et al. 2011; Kuvač Kraljević, Lenček 2012), the results of these experiments have had a fairly insignificant impact on the teaching of phraseological content in the first language. This is also confirmed by the findings of published work aimed primarily at investigating and assessing the ways of teaching phraseological content in the foreign language (Kržišnik 1998; Vidović Bolt 2013), while the acquisition of phraseological competence in the context of the native language remains on the margins of interest in this kind of research (Požgaj Hadži 2007). This can be partly accounted for by the way in which the phraseological repertory is acquired in the first language, more specifically by the fact that since the initial stages of understanding figurative meanings, phraseological units in the first language are largely acquired indirectly, through exposure to language. Consequently, as could be expected, a significant connection between the degree of development of a person's reading skills and their phraseological repertory has been confirmed (Levorato, Cacciari 2002). Further, relating to the reproduction of PUs, the process of acquiring phraseological knowledge has long been linked to overlearning, namely, it was considered to be a process of learning PUs by heart. Today, however, it is considered that various processes of acquiring figurative expressions underlie the acquisition of phraseological knowledge. Put differently, the range of a speaker's phraseological repertory is highly dependent on the individual's ability to make inferences about the meaning of the phraseological unit based on the meaning of at least one of its constituents, which also depends on the unit's transparency, the factor that makes it possible to infer the meaning of the PU on the basis of the semantic analysis of components (Gibbs 1987, as cited in Nippold, Taylor 1995), as well as on the informativity of the context in which the unit appears in the discourse. Finally, unlike the stages in the development of lexical knowledge, which are relatively precisely quantified⁴, it may be concluded that the phraseological component of lexical competence is still insufficiently explored, since we do not yet have estimates of what would constitute the phraseological minimum or the phraseological optimum in the first or a foreign language.

⁴ For additional information see Nation (1990) and Nippold (2006).

3. Language use and some aspects of phraseological knowledge

The research we present takes as its starting point the studies of phraseological competence in the first language that have identified a threshold after which differences in the understanding of figurative expressions between adults and children increasingly diminish, while some differences between adolescents and adult speakers persist. With these findings in mind, our research focuses on the possible differences in the use of phraseological units between 13 and 16-year-olds in the Croatian language. We start from uses of phraseological units which were identified to differ from the dictionary form provided in the *Hrvatski frazeološki rječnik* (HFR), a Croatian dictionary of phraseological units by Antica Menac, Željka Fink-Arsovski and Radomir Venturin, in the sense that the fixed components of the PU are internally substituted, for example *kad se sve zbroji i oduzme* (lit. *when everything is added up and subtracted*) > **kad se sve oduzme i zbroji* (*lit. *when everything is subtracted and added up*). The aim was to determine whether these were just occasional examples that reflect phraseological word plays and various modifications of PUs, or whether it was the case of increasingly frequent new forms that might be offered as a dictionary form in the same dictionary entry, as is the case with, for example, the phraseological semi-compound *amo-tamo* (lit. *hither-thither*) or *tamo-amo* (lit. *thither-hither*) (HFR: 21).

4. Research aims and hypotheses

The aim was to investigate to what extent native Croatian speakers conceptualize PUs as conventionalized units of language with considerably fixed structure, the meaning of which does not add up from the sum of their components. More specifically, we wanted to find out whether and to what extent the speakers regard PUs involving specific structural changes as acceptable and, consequently, whether there is a link between the development of language communicative competence and a possible fixing of the structure of individual PUs in the speakers' language use. In other words, the research aimed to find out whether and to what extent adolescents found acceptable the PUs that were recorded in use, namely those in which components that are generally fixed in terms of their position were mutually substituted (e.g. **⟨nema⟩ ni glasa ⟨ni traga⟩ komu, čemu (od koga, od čega)*, (lit. **⟨neither⟩ sound ⟨nor trace⟩ to somebody, to something (of somebody, of something)*), **vika i cika* (*lit. *shouts and shrieks*), which in turn would be evidence of a shift from the frequent definition of PUs, also found in a Croatian language text-

book, according to which PUs are “fixed expressions with unaltering order of constituents and unaltering meaning” (Bišćan et al. 2014: 58) and according to which the dictionary form of the PUs is by all means preferred over other forms, e.g. *(nema) ni traga (ni glasa) komu, čemu* (od koga, od čega) (lit. *(neither) trace (nor sound) to somebody, to something* (of somebody, of something)) and *cika i vika* (lit. *shrieks and shouts*) respectively. Starting from this aim, the following hypotheses were formed:

H1 Although PUs are described as language units with a rather fixed structure, adolescent speakers find to some extent acceptable those changes that involve internal substitution of constituents that generally have a fixed position in the structure of the PUs.

H2 The development of phraseological competence can (also) be traced along the lines of the acceptability of the internal change of place between the components of the PUs – secondary school participants in the research rate as less acceptable those forms that differ from the dictionary form and give preference to the forms of PUs that are provided by authors investigating PUs.

H3 The development of phraseological competence (higher sensitivity to PUs transformations, especially changes in the ordering of components with fixed positions) will correlate positively with more developed language communicative competence, which is operationalized in the research by means of the number of books read and the final grade in the Croatian language as a school subject.

5. Participants

A quantitative research study was conducted in three Croatian elementary schools and one secondary school located in Zagreb in November of the academic year 2017/18. Since the aim was to determine possible differences in the use of PUs in the course of the development of this aspect of communicative competence in adolescents, participants were chosen with a view to their expected metaknowledge of PUs, which, according to the curriculum, are introduced as a phenomenon in the final (eighth) grade of primary school, as well as with a view to the expected development of language communicative competence, which was supposed to be predicated on greater exposure to language and the participants’ maturation.

The research therefore included students in the seventh grade of primary school, who were expected not to have theoretical knowledge of PUs, and

students in the second grade of secondary school, who were supposed to be more proficient in the phraseological lexical component of competence. There were altogether 222 participants, 48.2% of whom (N = 107) were students in the seventh grade of primary school, and 51.8% (N = 115) were secondary selective school students. The gender ratio was 87 males and 134 female students. Data on the final grade in the Croatian language for the sixth grade of primary and the first grade of secondary school respectively were collected: 8.2% of participants (N = 17) got D as their final grade⁵, 29.5% (N = 61) got C, 37.7% (N = 78) got B and 24.6% (N = 51) got A.⁶ Methodologically, this would constitute a non-probabilistic deliberate sample of students in the seventh grade of primary and second grade of secondary school, chosen on the basis of the syllabus of the school subject Croatian language.

6. Methodology

The research was conducted by means of a questionnaire given to participants during their regular Croatian language lessons. The questionnaire included altogether 15 PUs the meaning of which the participants were familiar with, which was pretested on participants in the seventh grade of primary school (N = 58).

In the course of the authors' continuous monitoring of PUs in which the substitutions of place between the components with regularly fixed positions were recorded, the most frequent cases were identified in the corpus of utterances belonging to various functional styles. Since the findings from the collected corpus indicated that the substitution most frequently occurred in the PUs containing at least two constituents (nouns, adjectives or verbs) linked with a conjunction, an adverb or a dash (semi-compounds), the choice of the PUs was guided by the criterion of frequency and the 7th-grade participants' familiarity with these PUs, which was determined by pretesting. On the basis of these criteria a survey questionnaire was formed, containing the following PUs: *bez glave i repa je što* (sth has neither head nor tail, sth is without rhyme or reason (HEFR), lit. without head and tail is sth), *biti slika i prilika koga, čega* (the very image of sb (HEFR), lit. to be the image and appearance of sb, of sth), *boriti se rukama i nogama* (fight tooth and claw (nail) (to do sth) (HEFR), lit. to struggle with arms and legs), *cika i vika* (lit. shrieks and shouts), *crno na*

⁵ In the Croatian system D = 2 (dovoljan 'satisfactory'), C = 3 (dobar 'good'), B = 4 (vrlo dobar 'very good') and A = 5 (odličan 'excellent').

⁶ 6.8% of participants did not answer the question about the final grade.

bijelo (in black and white (HEFR), lit. black on white), *⟨i⟩ danju i noću* (day and night (HEFR), lit. ⟨both⟩ in the day and at night), *dok je svijeta i vijeka* (forever and ever (HEFR), lit. as long as there is world and time), *⟨i⟩ gol i bos* (barefooted (HEFR), lit. ⟨both⟩ naked and barefoot), *htjeti i ovce i novce* (want to have it both ways (HEFR), lit. to want both the sheep and money), *kad se sve zbroji i oduzme* (lit. when everything is added up and subtracted), *kao nebo i zemlja* [razlikovati se etc.] (be different as night and day (HEFR), lit. like heaven and earth [to differ etc.]), *⟨nema⟩ ni traga ⟨ni glasa⟩ komu, čemu* (od koga, od čega) (⟨there is⟩ no trace of sb, of sth or ⟨there is⟩ not trace of sb, of sth (HEFR), lit. ⟨neither⟩ trace ⟨nor sound⟩ to sb, to sth (of sb, of sth)), *od vrha do dna* (from top to bottom (HEFR), lit. from the top to the bottom), *plus-minus* (lit. plus-minus) and *pružio se koliko je dug i širok tko* (sb fell full length (HEFR), lit. stretched as long and wide as somebody is). All 15 phraseological units are recorded in the aforementioned dictionary of Croatian phraseological units, but the final form of the PU was chosen by the authors since existing variations were omitted – e.g. variations involving nouns (*cika* (*krika*, *skrika*) i *vika* (HFR: 59)) (lit. shrieks (screams, squeaks) and shouts) or verbs (*htjeti* (*željeti* i sl.) i *ovce i novce* (HFR: 403)) (lit. to want (wish for etc.) both the sheep and money (HFR: 403)). The decision on the choice involving variant constituents was made on the basis of their frequency in Croatian web corpora (hrWaC⁷ and Riznica⁸); e.g. the phraseological unit *htjeti i ovce i novce* (lit. to want both the sheep and money) was chosen because the verb *htjeti* (to want), which the dictionary lists as the first variety, is also more present in the corpora than its counterpart *željeti* (to wish for) (*htjeti i ovce i novce* (lit. to want both the sheep and money) – hrWaC 32 tokens, *željeti i ovce i novce* (lit. to wish for both the sheep and money) – hrWaC 7 tokens, which is also the case with the noun offered as the first choice in the phraseological unit *cika* (*krika*, *skrika*) i *vika* (lit. shrieks (screams, squeaks) and shouts) – (*cika i vika* (lit. shrieks and shouts)) – hrWaC 80 tokens, Riznica 4 tokens; *krika i vika* (lit. screams and shouts) – hrWaC 16 tokens, Riznica 8 tokens; *skrika i vika* (lit. squeaks and shouts) – hrWaC 4 tokens, Riznica 0 tokens).

⁷ Croatian web corpus (hrWaC), containing almost 1.9 billion tokens, is the largest digital corpus of the Croatian language. It contains texts from news portals, forums and official web sites, largely texts belonging to the newspaper, colloquial and administrative styles of the standard Croatian language. <http://nlp.ffzg.hr/resources/corpora/hrwac/>

⁸ Croatian Language Repository Riznica – The Croatian Language Corpus is assembled from selected texts in the Croatian language, covering various functional domains and genres. It includes canonical works of Croatian fiction and other written sources spanning the period from the second half of the 19th century (the period of concerted efforts in the standardization of modern Croatian) to the present day, containing published work of different genres and domains (scientific publications, university textbooks, fiction translated by distinguished Croatian translators, online journals and newspapers, etc.). <http://riznica.ihj.hr/index.hr.html>

The chosen PUs were presented to participants in multiple choice tasks. In each task four sentences were listed. One sentence featured the PUs in the form recorded in the referenced dictionary (a), another sentence featured the PU with a change of place between PU constituents with normally fixed position (c), while the remaining two sentences featured different autosemantic or synsemantic words introducing a different form of the idiom, which disrupted the form of the PU (b and d).

For better understanding, the example with the PU *dok je svijeta i vijeka* (lit. *as long as there is world and time*) is provided below:

- a) *To su pravila koja će vrijediti dok je svijeta i vijeka.*
- b) *To se sigurno neće promijeniti dok je svijeta i dok je vijeka.*
- c) *Ta će pravila vrijediti dok je vijeka i svijeta.*
- d) *To se neće promijeniti dok je i svijeta, ali i vijeka⁹.*

The participants were asked to circle all the sentences that they found acceptable. The questionnaire included general information about the participants, their grade, their age, gender, mother tongue, final grade in the Croatian language in the previous grade and the information on the number of books read in the previous year, where the participants chose one of the answers offered on a Likert-type scale: a) none, b) up to five, c) up to ten, d) up to fifteen or more books. The time needed for filling in the questionnaire was determined by pretesting and it was set at about 15 minutes.

7. Results and discussion

In order to test the research hypotheses, the analysis included several statistical tests. The correlation between specific variables was tested by the Pearson correlation coefficient. The differences in the phraseological competence between the seventh-grade primary school and the second-grade secondary school participants were tested by means of the t-test. Part of the results is expressed in percentage and other statistical indicators are also provided.

Within the first hypothesis we wanted to determine whether and to what extent the participants considered acceptable the modifications of PUs that were offered (and not just the forms recorded in dictionaries, with no variations), especially those modifications that included changes in the ordering of components that are normally fixed. The acceptability of the PUs contain-

⁹ Lit. a) *These are rules that will abide as long as there is world and time.* b) *This will certainly not change as long as there is world and as long as there is time.* c) *These rules will abide as long as there is time and world.* d) *This will not change as long as there is both world as well as time.*

ing such changes is presented in the percentage of the answers chosen in the questionnaire. For easier reference the results for each PU are presented in the following way – the first figure refers to the form of the PU taken from a dictionary or other relevant source, this is followed by the figure for the form of the PU where components were mutually substituted, and the final two figures refer to forms in which the structure of the PU is altered by expanding some elements, i.e. by incorporating autosemantic and synsemantic words into the phraseological unit.

As can be observed from the results, the participants significantly prefer the forms of the PUs that are recorded in dictionaries. At the same time, the highest percentage of acceptability is awarded to PU modifications containing internal substitution of components, which indicates that participants, especially younger ones, also find forms that differ from the dictionary form to be acceptable to some extent. The results in all the answers from the questionnaire also show that participants, especially the group in the second grade of secondary school, exhibit a markedly higher degree of preference for the forms of PUs that do not contain modifications. In the secondary school group, for eleven out of fifteen tasks the percentage of acceptability of the dictionary form of the PU ranges from 91.3% (N = 105), for the PU *kad se sve zbroji i oduzme* (lit. *when everything is added up and subtracted*), to 98.3% (N = 115), for the PU *kao nebo i zemlja* [razlikovati se etc.] (lit. *like heaven and earth* [to be different etc.]). The lowest percentage of acceptability, recorded for the PU *cika i vika* (lit. *shreaks and shouts*), was 78.3% (N = 90). What has to be pointed out is that modifications of PUs containing internal substitution of components are the most acceptable kind of modified structure for 16-year-old participants as well, although to a considerably lower degree. In seven out of the total of fifteen answers the percentage of acceptability of the structures involving substituted components goes above 10%, ranging from 18.3% (N = 21), for the PU *kad se sve zbroji i oduzme* (lit. *when everything is added up and subtracted*), to 27.8% (N = 32), for the PU *gol i bos* (lit. *naked and barefoot*¹⁰). The highest percentage of acceptability of the forms with internal substitution of constituents was recorded for the PU *cika i vika* (lit. *shrieks and shouts*), with the modification **vika i cika* (lit. **shouts and shrieks*) – it was a high 45.9% (N = 102) for the entire sample. It is interesting that the form with substituted components is rather frequent in the corpora as well – it has 29 tokens in the hrWaC and 3 tokens in the Croatian Language

¹⁰ It is indicative that the form *barefoot and naked* is recorded together with the dictionary form *naked and barefoot* in the works of some Croatian authors, for example the *Frazeobibliografski rječnik* by Ž. Fink Arsovski, B. Kovačević, A. Hrnjak (2017: 148).

Table 1. The percentage of acceptability of PU and modifications in the primary school group, the secondary school group, and in the total sample

PU	ANSWERS OFFERED	Seventh grade of primary school – the percentage of answers chosen (%)	Second grade of secondary school – the percentage of answers chosen (%)	Acceptable structures altogether (%)
<i>dok je svijeta i vijeka</i> (lit. as long as there is world and time)	a) the form recorded in the dictionary	56.7	80.9	68.5
	b) the form with internal substitution of PU constituents	29.0	22.6	25.7
	c) expansion	19.6	9.6	14.4
	d) expansion	18.7	1.7	9.9
<i>(i) gol i bos</i> (lit. (both) naked and barefoot)	a) the form recorded in the dictionary	58.9	89.6	74.8
	b) the form with internal substitution of PU constituents	45.8	27.8	36.5
	c) expansion	14.0	1.7	7.7
	d) expansion	11.2	1.7	6.3
<i>htjeti i ovce i novce</i> (lit. to want both the sheep and money)	a) the form recorded in the dictionary	67.3	93.0	80.6
	b) the form with internal substitution of PU constituents	35.5	20.9	27.9
	c) expansion	17.8	1.7	9.5
	d) expansion	10.3	4.3	7.2
<i>kad se sve zbroji i oduzme</i> (lit. when everything is added up and subtracted)	a) the form recorded in the dictionary	65.4	91.3	78.8
	b) the form with internal substitution of PU constituents	26.2	18.3	22.1
	c) expansion	21.5	8.7	14.9
	d) expansion	16.8	0.9	8.6
<i>(nema) ni traga (ni glasa)</i> komu, čemu (od koga, od čega) (lit. (neither) trace (nor sound) to somebody, to something (of somebody, of something))	a) the form recorded in the dictionary	64.5	93.9	79.7
	b) the form with internal substitution of PU constituents	32.7	7.8	19.8
	c) expansion	8.4	8.7	8.6
	d) expansion	28.0	8.7	18.8

Source: own research.

Repository Riznica. These results can be accounted for by a higher frequency of the word *shouts* in the Croatian language, but at the same time they indicate that relevant corpus and research data should be taken into account in considering possible additions to dictionary entries. As the results show, altering the structure through expansion is less acceptable to participants, and the percentage of affirmative answers for most examples does not go above 10%. A higher percentage for the examples in which such structures were assessed as acceptable, for example 28.7% (N = 33) for the PU *plus-minus* in the form **plus ili minus*, might be explained by the reasoning that the participants do not perceive a hyphenated PU as a fully fixed unit. Based on the participants' answers concerning the chosen examples of PUs and the acceptability of the modified ordering of their components in table 1, the first hypothesis can be considered to be confirmed.

Within the second hypothesis, we wanted to determine whether the degree of acceptability of modified structures of PUs changes in the seventh grade of primary and the second grade of secondary school, more specifically, whether the acceptability of modified PUs can provide insight into the development of phraseological competence in the observed period. Although the previously presented results speak in favour of the second hypothesis, the differences between the two groups of participants were additionally tested by means of a t-test. The results are shown in table 2.

Table 2. T-test analysis – acceptability of modified structures in PUs in the primary and secondary school group (N = 222)

	N	M	SD	T	P
Seventh grade of primary school	107	6.4	3.48	9.24	000
Second grade of secondary school	115	10.7	3.4		

Source: own research.

The t-test ($t = 9.24, p < 0.001$) statistically confirmed the difference in the acceptability of modified lexical ordering of phraseological units between the two groups of participants, the 7th grade primary school and the 2nd grade secondary school students. In short, modified PUs are more acceptable to thirteen-year-old participants, and the degree of acceptability of such structures significantly decreases up to the age of sixteen. These results attest to a marked development of phraseological competence in the observed period, which is in line with previous findings concerning the development

of phraseological competence, which continues up to the adult age (Nippold, Rudzinski 1993). These results also indicate that the internal substitution of components with fixed position is a relevant indicator of the development of phraseological competence, which in turn confirms the second hypothesis.

Finally, the confirmed differences in phraseological competence can probably be attributed to maturation, that is, a better development of language communicative competence in sixteen-year-olds, which is most significantly predicated on a greater exposure to language. In the experiment the language communicative competence component was operationalized through the variables of the final grade in the Croatian language in the sixth grade of primary and the first grade of secondary school respectively, as well as the Likert-type scale estimate of the number of books read. The results are presented in table 3.

Table 3. Correlation coefficient between the averages of correct answers, the final grades in Croatian and the number of books read in the total sample

The average of correct answers	The final grade in Croatian	The number of books read
0.60	0.15	0.38*

* $p < 0.05$

Source: own research.

As can be observed from the results, the link between a higher final grade in the Croatian language and greater stability of PU structures was not confirmed. These results could possibly be accounted for by the criteria used for choosing the PUs included in the questionnaire. As the research focused on the acceptability of the modifications of phraseological structures, the basic precondition for including PUs in the survey questionnaire was familiarity of the sixth and the second grade participants with the chosen PUs. Looking at the characteristics of the phraseological units included in the questionnaire, we may say that the included examples belong to the general vocabulary of the Croatian language as they largely belong to the colloquial and, in part, newspaper style. This can probably also account for the results concerning the correlation between the number of books read and the lower acceptability of modified PUs. As can be seen, a weak correlation was confirmed between the number of books read and the percentage of correct answers. Taking into account that exposure to reading is the most important factor in the development of reading competence, which has a crucial effect on the entire communicative competence, and not only its lexical compo-

ment¹¹, it was expected that the connection between reading and phraseological competence would be more strongly confirmed, as indicated by previous findings (Levorato, Cacciari 2002). The results can again be accounted for by the choice of examples included in the questionnaire, which the participants in the pretesting identified as PUs that they were familiar with and used to some extent.

Finally, as the experiment was conducted among students in selective secondary schools, in order to test whether the high degree of phraseological competence indicated by the results was predicated on the positive selection of participants, a t-test analysis was conducted to compare the results for primary school participants whose final grade in Croatian was A with the results for secondary school participants. The results are shown in table 4.

Table 4. T-test analysis – comparing the averages of correct answers between 6th grade and secondary school participants who had the final grade A in Croatian

	N	M	SD	T	P
Primary school	28	6.75	3.83	5.40	000
Secondary school	115	10.72	3.4		

Source: own research.

The statistically confirmed difference ($t = 5.40$, $p < 0.001$) between primary and secondary school participants points to differences between these two groups that are the result of a higher cognitive and, consequently, linguistic, development of sixteen-year-old participants. In other words, the results show that the differences found between the phraseological competence of thirteen and sixteen-year-olds are the result of the maturation and better language communicative competence of older participants. Based on this, the third hypothesis can also be considered confirmed.

8. Conclusion

The results of the conducted quantitative research provide insight into some aspects of the participants' phraseological competence, primarily

¹¹ For a more comprehensive account of reading competence within Croatian language as a school subject see Ćavar (2017), and for more on the link between reading and the lexical component see Santrić Marta, Ana Ćavar, Marko Alerić (2019).

the fact that in the observed period, between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, phraseological competence undergoes significant development. As one aspect of phraseological knowledge, the acceptability of internal substitution of constituents in PUs with a fixed ordering of components was confirmed, as the research traced the development of phraseological competence through the acceptability of modified structures of PUs. The observed examples, extracted both on the basis of language use and the use of these PUs recorded in electronic corpora, showed that structural modifications of PUs were acceptable to participants to some degree, especially so in the case of modifications involving the mutual substitution of components in PUs with a fixed position of components. It was also shown that a higher degree of language communicative competence involves a higher degree of phraseological competence, which is reflected, among other things, in the stabilization of the structure of PUs. Consequently, sixteen-year-olds found structural modifications of PUs significantly less acceptable and they, without fail, gave preference to the dictionary form of the PU in all the examples offered. However, it should be taken into account that the substitution of PU components with a fixed position (and ordering) does not necessarily attest to insufficient familiarity with the PU, but is also witness to various linguistic tendencies, such as modifications, phraseological wordplay, as well as the frequency and widespread use of individual components of the PU (e.g. in the case of the aforementioned PU *cika i vika* (lit. *shrieks and shouts*) and **vika i cika* (lit. **shouts and shrieks*), the form was assessed as acceptable by a high 45.9% of participants). The observed and described phenomena and the results of this research can be considered as a relevant indicator for similar and future research in the domain of phraseological competence, but also in the field of lexicography, in terms of possible additions to dictionary entries, primarily in new editions of dictionaries of PUs.

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Competencia fraseológica y estabilidad de la estructura en las unidades fraseológicas

Resumen

El presente trabajo indaga sobre el desarrollo de la competencia fraseológica en adolescentes de trece y dieciséis años, si las modificaciones estructurales de unidades fraseológicas (UF) en croata como su lengua materna, las consideran aceptables. Los resultados muestran que los participantes consideran las modificaciones estructurales de las UF aceptables hasta cierto punto, sobre todo las modificaciones que implican la sustitución de componentes normalmente fijos en la unidad fraseológica, y que la aceptabilidad de las estructuras fraseológicas modificadas disminuye con el desarrollo de la competencia fraseológica.

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Schwierigkeiten polnischer Muttersprachler bei der Übersetzung polnischer Phraseme ins Deutsche. Bericht anhand von redaktionellen Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen im Alltag

Abstract. Die vorliegenden Überlegungen resultieren aus dem langjährigen Berufsalltag in der Redaktion "Germanistik. Internationales Referatenorgan mit bibliographischen Hinweisen" in Tübingen. Das Korpus bilden Kurzrezensionen, der E-Mail-Austausch und andere Formen der schriftlichen und mündlichen Kommunikation mit Personen polnischer Herkunft. Weiteres Material lieferte die Alltagskommunikation mit polnischen Muttersprachlern, die in Deutschland leben. Die Schwierigkeiten der Übersetzung vom Polnischen ins Deutsche entstehen sowohl durch die sprachlichen als auch durch die kulturspezifischen Besonderheiten beider Sprachen, oft handelt es sich um typische Probleme mit der deutschen Grammatik. Einzelne Abschnitte des Referats betreffen: die Anreden und Höflichkeitsformeln, Formen der Begrüßung und Verabschiedung, Berufs- und Gruppenbezeichnungen, Probleme mit dem Artikel, mit der Übersetzung der Phraseme und mit der Syntax. Der letzte Abschnitt ist der Phonetik, dem sogenannten "polnischen Akzent", gewidmet. Das gesammelte Material wird anhand konkreter zahlreicher Beispiele dargestellt und vom Blickwinkel der Phraseologie, Gesprächsforschung, Stilistik und der Pragmatik aus betrachtet und kommentiert.

Schlüsselwörter: *Polnisch-Deutsch, Phraseologie, Sprachfehler, Polnische Native Sprecher, Lexikographie*

1. Einleitung

Wenn jemand "Tschüss" zur Begrüßung sagt oder davon spricht, dass er *durch die Brücke* geht – dann ist es wahrscheinlich ein Pole.

Seit 31 Jahren lebe ich in Deutschland, beobachte und sammle systematisch, welche Phänomene der deutschen Sprache meinen Landsleuten die größten Probleme bereiten. Das Material für das Referat lieferten Kurzre-

zensionen, der E-Mail-Austausch und andere Formen der schriftlichen und mündlichen Kommunikation (während meiner 18-jährigen Tätigkeit in der Redaktion "Germanistik. Internationales Referatenorgan mit bibliographischen Hinweisen" in Tübingen). Weitere Beispiele stammen aus der Alltagskommunikation. Eine Umfrage unter den in Deutschland lebenden polnischen Muttersprachlern hat ergeben, dass die korrekte Verwendung der Artikel und der Syntax die größten Schwierigkeiten mit sich bringen. Es gibt allerdings große Unterschiede zwischen den Polen, die in der Schule oder im Studium Deutsch gelernt haben, und denjenigen, die als Gastarbeiter oder Spätaussiedler nach Deutschland kamen und als erstes die gesprochene Sprache gehört haben. Die Art und Weise, wie man Deutsch gelernt hat, beeinflusst auch die Aussprache – den letzten Abschnitt meines Referats widme ich der Phonetik, dem sogenannten "polnischen Akzent".

Eigentlich sollte ich mein Referat auf Polnisch halten, weil die Zusammenstellung den polnischen Deutschlernenden und –lehrenden dienen soll – mehr praktisch als theoretisch¹. Auf die Notwendigkeit der Glossierung von Phraseologismen in polnischer Sprache hat schon Krzysztof Nerlicki (2013: 129–142) in seinem Aufsatz über die emotiven Formeln in deutsch-polnischen Wörterbüchern aufmerksam gemacht.

Der große Lexikograph Helmut Henne (2006), langjähriger Betreuer der Redaktion *Germanistik*, hat uns immer davor gewarnt, die falschen Formen zu wiederholen. In diesem Referat lässt sich das leider nicht vermeiden: Um auf die häufigsten Fehler polnischer Muttersprachler aufmerksam zu machen, muss ich die falschen Formen oder Redewendungen zitieren (sie werden im Druck kursiv markiert, im Kontrast zu den korrekten Formen im Fettdruck).

2. *Ob der Herr weiß?* – Anreden und Höflichkeitsformeln

Die Höflichkeitsformeln und Anredeverhältnisse sind kulturgeprägt², die Gepflogenheiten der beiden Nationen sind in dieser Hinsicht leider sehr unterschiedlich. Im Polnischen stammen die Anreden teilweise noch aus dem Feudalismus: *przepraszam Panią* in der dritten Person: *Ich entschuldige mich bei der Dame, Czy Pan wie?: Ob der Herr weiß?* – solche Formeln würden dem Charakter und der Tradition der deutschen Sprache widersprechen. Die typisch

¹ Zur Zusammenstellung der phraseologischen Wörterbücher Polnisch-Deutsch und Deutsch-Polnisch vgl. Lisiecka-Czop, Madgalena (2009) und Frączek, Agnieszka; Lipczuk, Ryszard (2004).

² Zur Kulturgeprägtheit vgl. Rasmussen, Gitte (2000).

polnische Anrede *Pan/Pani* lässt sich ins Deutsche nicht übertragen. Gelegentlich wird jedoch genau dies versucht und es sind solche skurrilen Phraseme zu hören wie *Wir wollen die Herren bitten ... etwas zu tun* (im Sinne von: *Chcielibyśmy, żeby panowie... coś zrobili*, statt richtig zu sagen: *Wir möchten Sie bitten... etwas zu tun*. Oder *Ich bin Herrn Direktor sehr dankbar* (*Jestem wdzięczny panu dyrektorowi*) statt *Ich bin Ihnen sehr dankbar, Herr Direktor!* – das Beispiel zeigt sowohl den Einfluss der 3. Person als Höflichkeitsform als auch die Probleme mit dem Modus und der Wortstellung im Satz.

Polnische Kinder wenden sich auch an die nicht mit ihnen verwandten Personen mit den Worten: *ciociu/wujku* (*Tante/Onkel*). In Deutschland wäre das undenkbar, die Bezeichnung *Tante* ist hier teils sogar negativ besetzt. Wenn man sich aber an die Verwandten wendet, gehört im Deutschen der Vorname dazu: *Hallo, Onkel Hans!*, nicht *Hallo Onkel* (*Cześć, wujku*), *Auf Wiedersehen, Tante Ute!*, nicht *Auf Wiedersehen, Tante* (*Do widzenia, ciociu!*). Im Gegensatz zum Deutschen wird im Polnischen bei der Anrede sehr häufig das Diminutiv benutzt: *Tomku, Piotrusiu* darf man in Polen auch zu Erwachsenen sagen, *Peterchen* dagegen entspricht nicht dem deutschen Usus, es klingt sogar ironisch.

Die deutsche Sprache bildet drei Anredeformen: Herr/Frau + Nachname und "Sie-Form", Vorname in Verbindung mit der "Sie-Form" und Vorname in Verbindung mit der "du-Form". Die polnische Anrede *Pani Ewo*, lässt sich in Deutsch nicht wiedergeben, die Möglichkeit Herr/Frau + Vorname existiert nicht. *Frau Anna, ich danke Ihnen!* – verwenden nur polnische Muttersprachler. Korrekt wäre es zu sagen: *Ich danke Ihnen, Frau Bauer!* (mit dem Nachnamen) oder *Ich danke Ihnen, Anna!* oder *Ich danke dir, Anna!*, je nach Nähe oder Distanz des Sprechers.

Im Deutschen gehört der Nachname zur Anrede, sowohl in Gesprächen als auch in der Schriftsprache:

Pani doktor – Frau Doktor Bauer

Pani magister/Panie magistrze – Frau Müller bzw. Herr Schmidt.

Magister ist in Deutschland kein Titel, in Österreich wendet man sich mit der Wendung *Herr/Frau Magister* an Apotheker, ein Magister wird in Deutschland nur mit seinem Nachnamen angesprochen.

Pani profesor/Panie profesorze – Frau/Herr Professor Müller

Herr/Frau Professor als Anrede von Lehrern im Gymnasium ist nur in Österreich, nicht aber in Deutschland üblich. Der Titel Professor wird nur im universitären Bereich verwendet, wobei es viel höflicher ist, Professoren mit ihrem Titel und dem Nachnamen anzusprechen: *Herr Professor Müller, Frau Professor Mayer.*

Die korrekte Anrede in den Briefen lautet:

Sehr geehrter Herr Professor Bauer!

Sehr geehrte Frau Doktor Klett! (unbedingt mit dem Nachnamen, aber ohne den Vornamen, nicht: *Sehr geehrte Frau Doktor Johanna Klett!*)

Sehr geehrte Frau Amsel! (nicht: *Sehr geehrte Frau Magister Anna Amsel!* und auch nicht: *Sehr geehrte Frau Anna Amsel!*)

Die Entsprechung der Anrede *Proszę Państwa* oder *Szanowni Państwo* unterscheidet sich im Deutschen je nachdem, ob es sich um eine mündliche Anrede (z.B. am Anfang eines Vortrages) oder um die Schriftsprache handelt. Mündlich sagt man *Meine Damen und Herren!*, in der Korrespondenz dagegen *Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren!*

Waldemar Czachur (2009) untersucht in seiner kontrastiven deutsch-polnischen Analyse die *Inszenierte Nähe in den Neujahrsansprachen*.

Bei der Analyse fällt auch auf, dass das Polnische über ein breiteres Spektrum an möglichen Anredeformen verfügt als das Deutsche. Die deutschen Kanzler verwenden nur eine Formel: "Liebe Mitbürgerinnen und Mitbürger", während die polnischen Politiker zur Begrüßung am häufigsten "Szanowni Panstwo!" gebrauchen. Nicht selten wird diese Formel mit einer anderen kombiniert, um präziser den Adressaten zu definieren, z.B. "Szanowni Panstwo! Drodzy Rodacy!" (Czachur 2009: 257) Die Formen "Pan! Pani!" – haben alltäglich-offiziellen Charakter, während die Lexeme Mitbürgerinnen und Mitbürger im Gegensatz zu Bürgerinnen und Bürger eine gemeinschaftliche, jedoch institutionell-offizielle Färbung haben. (Czachur 2009: 258)

3. *Tschüss!* – Begrüßung, Verabschiedung

Das mentale Lexikon beeinflusst die polnischen Muttersprachler auch bei der Begrüßung und Verabschiedung. Im Gegensatz zu anderen slawischen Sprachen (vgl. Tschechisch *dobré ráno*) gibt es im Polnischen keine Form für *Guten Morgen*, daher sagen die Polen schon früh am Morgen *Guten Tag*. Sie verwenden auch *Tschüss* zur Begrüßung. Der ähnliche Klang vom polnischen *Cześć* und dem deutschen *Tschüss* täuscht, denn die beiden Worte haben unterschiedliche kommunikative Funktionen. Etymologisch leitet sich das *Tschüss* von *adieu* (*adieu* → *adjüüs* → *atschüs*) her, was wörtlich *mit Gott* bedeutet und ausschließlich zum Abschied benutzt wird. Das polnische *Cześć* stammt von *czcić*, *honor* (Ehre) und wird sowohl zur Begrüßung als auch zum Abschied verwendet.

Durch Analogie zum polnischen *Serwus wszystkim* sagen Polen *Serwus allen!*, üblicher wäre allerdings: *Serwus zusammen!* (*Serwus* gilt als typisch österreichische Begrüßung). *Unsere Kollegin sei begrüßt!* – als wörtliche Übersetzung von *Witamy koleżankę* – klingt auf Deutsch pathetisch (wie *Ave Caesar*), stattdessen würde man *Grüß dich, Helga!* (unbedingt mit dem Vornamen) sagen.

Das polnische *Co u ciebie słychać?* wird falsch als *Was gibt es bei dir?* übersetzt (man könnte diese Frage in einem anderem Kontext verwenden, z.B. *Was gibt es bei dir zum Essen?*). Die deutsche Standardformel lautet: *Wie geht's?*, eventuell auch *Was gibt es Neues bei dir?* – *Was gibt's?* dagegen ist unhöflich.

4. Kollege – Berufs- und Gruppenbezeichnungen

Bei den Berufs- und Gruppenbezeichnungen sind es vor allem die *Faux amis du traducteur*, scheinbare Äquivalente und irreführende Fremdwörter³, die zu Missverständnissen führen (Lipczuk et al. 2001).

- (1) *koledzy* – während im Polnischen die Bezeichnung ganz breit verstanden und verwendet wird (Schule, Studium, Arbeit, lockere Freundschaft, Bekanntschaft, sogar dann, wenn es nur ein Kontakt mit einem völlig Unbekannten in einer zufällig ähnlichen Situation ist), beschränkt sich im Deutschen die Verwendung des Wortes *Kollege* auf Arbeitskollegen. In der Schule dagegen sind es Kameraden, im Studium – Kommilitonen.
- (2) *urzędnik* – auf Deutsch gibt es zwei Möglichkeiten des Übersetzens: *Angestellter* oder *Beamter* (*urzędnik państwowy*, der keine direkte polnische Entsprechung hat). Ein Lehrer kann entweder als Beamter oder als Angestellter arbeiten, je nachdem mit welchem Vertrag er eingestellt worden ist.
- (3) *rektor* – es gibt an den deutschen Universitäten zwei Funktionen: *Rektor* (zuständig für die wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter) und *Präsident* (für die Verwaltung und Organisatorisches).

³ Ryszard Lipczuk hat in seinem *Lehr und Übungsbuch zur deutsch-polnischen und polnisch-deutschen Übersetzung* viele Übungen zur Übersetzung in verschiedenen Fach- und Sondersprachen zusammengestellt. Er macht ferner auf sog. "Faux Amis, zwischensprachliche Homonyme, Inter-Homonyme, interlinguale Analogismen, interlinguale Homonyme, interlinguale Paronyme, lexikalische Scheinidentitäten, scheinbare Äquivalente, Pseudoäquivalente, Pseudo-internationalismen, irreführende Fremdwörter" (Lipczuk et al. 2001: 10) aufmerksam. Weitere Lehrbücher stammen ebenfalls von Lipczuk, Ryszard (1997, 1994), sowie Koch, Hermann; Koch, Christa; Posor, Maria (1979).

- (4) *promotor* – nicht: *Promotor*, sondern *Doktorvater*.
- (5) *emeryt* – so bezeichnet man auf Polnisch alle Personen, die im Ruhestand sind. In Deutschland werden nur Professoren emeritiert, Beamte werden pensioniert, Angestellte, Arbeiter und andere Mitarbeiter – gehen in die Rente.
- (6) *artyści* – während diese Bezeichnung im Polnischen Künstler aller Art bedeutet, sind es im Deutschen nur Zirkusartisten.
- (7) *konferansjer* – nicht: *Ansager*, sondern *Moderator*.
- (8) *lekarz ordynator* – nicht: *Ordinator*, sondern *Oberarzt*.
- (9) *współpracownik* – *Mitarbeiter* (breit verwendete Bezeichnung).
- (10) *kooperant* – nicht: *Mitarbeiter* (s.o.), sondern *Geschäftspartner*.
- (11) *interesent* oder *petent* – nicht: *Petent*, sondern *Kunde* oder *Antragsteller*.
- (12) *pasażer* – *Fahrgast*, nicht: *Passagier* (Ausnahme: *Flugzeug* oder *Schiff*).

5. Ich muss noch Album machen oder Probleme mit dem Artikel

Der Artikel bereitet den polnischen Muttersprachlern die größten Probleme. Verwendet man in konkreten Fällen einen bestimmten oder einen unbestimmten Artikel? Wann darf man den Artikel weggelassen? Zusätzliche Schwierigkeiten verursacht die Tatsache, dass das Genus/Sexus der Substantive sich in den beiden Sprachen oft unterscheidet. Das Neutrum kommt im Deutschen viel häufiger vor als im Polnischen; die Endung *-a* generiert im Polnischen das Femininum.

Die Worte, die gleich klingen und sich auch semantisch nicht unterscheiden, weichen im Genus ab: *das Dach/ten dach*, *das Problem/ten problem*, *das Referat/ten referat*, *das Album/ten album*, *das Sofa/ta sofa*, *der Wodka/ta wódka*, *die Syntax/ten syntaks*. Ich ertappe mich selbst immer wieder dabei, dass ich unbewusst das polnische Genus bei verschiedenen deutschen Worten benutze, auch wenn sie ganz anders klingen, z.B. @ *die Klammeraffe* statt *der Klammeraffe* (wegen des polnischen *ta małpa*).

Die Worte, die im Polnischen keine Singularform haben (pluralia tantum), werden von Polen auch im Deutschen so behandelt, z.B. *die Hose (spodnie)*, *die Brille (okulary)* werden als Plural verstanden und dekliniert. Es fällt den polnischen Muttersprachlern auch schwer zu verstehen, dass abhängig vom Kontext ein bestimmter oder unbestimmter Artikel semantische Unterschiede machen kann: *der Freund – przyjaciel* im Sinne *chłopak*, *ein Freund – przyjaciel* (einer von vielen Bekannten).

Der häufigste Fehler der polnischen Muttersprachler besteht jedoch darin, dass sie den Artikel weglassen:

Die Mehrzahl der Lehrer ist jedoch [der] Meinung ...

Bleib, ich mache noch [einen] Tee.

Ich muss noch [ein] Album machen.

das ist [ein] zu langes Beispiel

Manchmal verwenden die Polen den Artikel an den Stellen, wo man ihn weglassen sollte: in den festen Redewendungen oder bei den Verallgemeinerungen, statt *Ich war in Gedanken: Ich war in meinen/den Gedanken.*

6. Durch die Brücke gehen oder Probleme mit Phrasemen

Die kulturspezifischen Besonderheiten, die verschiedenen kommunikativen Funktionen der Phraseme und auch die grammatischen Unterschiede zwischen beiden Sprachen sind sehr groß. Die theoretischen Grundlagen zu diesem Thema liefert Barbara Komenda-Earle (2013) im Aufsatz *Semantik und Pragmatik von Phraseolexemen aus gebrauchstheoretischer Sicht*. Dass es zu einem "interkulturellen Missverständnis" zwischen Polen und Deutschen kommen kann, zeigt Reinhold Schmitt (1997) in seinem Artikel *Ich werde Sie sehen lassen oder: Über Möglichkeiten und Grenzen interaktiver Kulturvermittlung*. Überlegungen von Seiten der Gesprächsforschung sowie aus interkultureller und soziolinguistischer Sicht finden sich in Ricarda Wolfs (1997) Aufsatz *Dumm gelaufen: Strukturelle Gründe für das Schicksal einer Gesprächsinitiative*.

Trotz der Zugehörigkeit zum gleichen Kulturkreis und trotz der Jahrhunderte langen Kontakte zwischen dem Deutschen und dem Polnischen ist der Prozentsatz der volläquivalenten Sprichwörter sehr gering, geringer als man erwarten könnte.

– schreibt Sylwia Firyn (2012: 93). Im Zentrum meiner Interessen liegen jedoch nicht die Sprichwörter, sondern die Phraseme. Durch Analogie zum Polnischen werden falsche Worte, meistens falsche Präpositionen, verwendet. Hier eine Zusammenstellung der oft falsch übersetzten Phraseme (falsche Form: kursiv – korrekte Form: fett gedruckt):

- (1) *ni żuk ni żaba* – weder Fleisch noch Frosch (statt **Fisch**)
- (2) *brać coś za dobrą monetę* – etwas für wahre Münze nehmen (statt **bare Münze**)
- (3) *Co ma być, to będzie* – nicht: Was sein soll, wird sein, sondern **Es kommt, wie es kommen muss**

- (4) *jestem twardy* – nicht: *Ich bin aus Stahl*, sondern *Ich bin **hart im Nehmen***
- (5) *myć podłogę* – nicht: *Fußboden waschen*, sondern *Fußboden **putzen** oder **nass wischen***
- (6) *iść do pracy* – nicht: *in die Arbeit*, sondern ***zur** Arbeit gehen*
- (7) *krok po kroku* – nicht: *Schritt nach dem Schritt*, sondern *Schritt **für** Schritt*
- (8) *list/E-Mail/SMS do kogoś* – nicht: *Brief/E-Mail/SMS zu jemandem*, sondern ***an** jemanden*
- (9) *na forum internetowym* – nicht: *beim Internetforum/beim Chat*, sondern ***im** Internetforum/**im** Chat*
- (10) *brać w czymś udział* – nicht: *sich bei etwas beteiligen*, sondern *sich **an etwas** beteiligen*
- (11) *chodź tu* – nicht *Komm hier!*, sondern *Komm **hierher!***
- (12) *Wchodź do środka!* – nicht *Komm mal rein!*, sondern *Komm **bitte rein!*** (Die Partikel *mal* würde eine künftige Einladung bedeuten und nicht, dass man jemanden herein bitten möchte).
- (13) *już idę* – nicht: *Ich gehe schon*, sondern *Ich gehe **jetzt***
- (14) *już muszę iść* – nicht: *Ich muss schon gehen*, sondern *Ich muss **jetzt** gehen* (Man verwendet die Partikel *schon* in einer Frage, oder wenn man staunt: *Gehst du schon?*)
- (15) *skakać z radości* – nicht: *aus Freude springen*, sondern ***vor** Freude*
- (16) *z całego serca* – nicht; *aus ganzem Herzen*, sondern ***von** ganzem Herzen*
- (17) *umrzeć na zakażenie* – nicht: *auf Blutvergiftung sterben*, sondern ***an** Blutvergiftung*
- (18) *zimno mi w stopy* – nicht: *Es ist mir kalt in die Füße*, sondern ***an den** Füßen*
- (19) *mężczyzna po 60-ce* – nicht: *ein Mann nach 60*, sondern ***über** 60*
- (20) *iść przez most* – nicht: *durch die Brücke gehen*, sondern ***über** die Brücke gehen* (durch die Brücke kann man bohren)
- (21) *wyrzucić przez okno* – nicht: *durch das Fenster hinauswerfen*, sondern ***aus** dem Fenster*
- (22) *zjąć bieliznę z suszarki* – nicht: *aus dem Wäscheständer nehmen*, sondern ***vom** Wäscheständer*
- (23) *na wysokim stanowisku* – nicht: *mit hoher Position*, sondern ***in** hoher Position*
- (24) *Pani jest dla mnie za dobra* – nicht: *Sie sind zu gut für mich*, sondern *Sie sind zu gut **zu mir*** (Die Frau ist zu gut für den Kerl – wäre möglich, ein Gegenstand könnte zu gut für mich sein)

- (25) *było nam bardzo miło* – nicht: *Es war uns sehr nett*, sondern *Es war sehr nett*
- (26) *przyszło mi do głowy* – nicht: *es ist mir in den Kopf gekommen*, sondern *in den Sinn*
- (27) *niezmiernie mi przykro* – nicht: *Es tut mir unheimlich leid!* (das ist umgangssprachlich), sondern *Es tut mir aufrichtig leid!* (in der Schriftsprache)
- (28) *ściskam cię mocno* – nicht: *Sei fest umarmt*, sondern *Fühl dich umarmt!*
- (29) *duża buźka* – nicht: *einen großen Kuss*, sondern einen **dicken** Kuss
- (30) *wszystkiego najlepszego* – nicht: *Alles Beste!*, sondern **Alles Gute!**
- (31) *wielkie dzięki* – nicht: *Riesen Dank!*, sondern **Tausend Dank!**
- (32) *dziękuję gorąco* – nicht: *Ich danke Ihnen zutiefst!*, sondern *Ich danke herzlich!* (zutiefst ist mit traurigen Gefühlen verknüpft, z.B. *zutiefst getroffen*, in der Verbindung mit starken Gefühlen – veraltet)
- (33) *dziękuję za dobre słowo* – nicht: *Danke für Ihr gutes Wort!*, sondern *Danke für Ihre guten Worte!* (ein gutes Wort für jemanden einlegen bedeutet jemanden empfehlen – *kogoś polecić*)
- (34) *uprzejmie proszę to przeczytać* – nicht: *Ich bitte höflichst darum, das zu lesen*, sondern *Ich bitte Sie, das zu lesen* (*darum* ist in diesem Satz überflüssig, *höflichst* ist gar nicht wirklich höflich, es klingt ironisch und bedeutet eher Druck als Höflichkeit)
- (35) *trudno* – nicht: *passiert*, sondern **kann passieren**, semantisch näher wäre es *ist egal*, *Schwamm drüber*, *da lässt sich nichts machen* oder *hat nicht sollen sein*. (*Trudno* gehört zur polnischen Lebensphilosophie und lässt sich ins Deutsche schlecht übertragen. Es wird in vielen Situationen, die man nicht ändern kann, benutzt und bedeutet, dass man sich mit dem Schicksal arrangiert hat.)

Weitere Probleme bringt die Verwendung von *ale* vs. *sondern*. *Towar jest nie tylko dobry, ale jeszcze tani* – nicht: *Die Ware ist nicht nur gut, aber auch noch billig*, sondern *Die Ware ist nicht nur gut, sondern auch noch billig*. Nach einem negierten Satzteil leitet *sondern* das Gegenteil ein, anders ausgedrückt: nach der Verneinung wird *ale* zu *sondern*. Die Verneinung im Deutschen entspricht nicht immer der Negation im Polnischen: *Czy nie przeszkadzam?* – nicht: *Störe ich nicht?*, sondern *Störe ich?* bzw. *Störe ich gerade?*

7. Das gibt nicht oder Probleme mit der Syntax

Die Ellipse – das charakteristische Merkmal der polnischen Sprache – führt dazu, dass die polnischen Muttersprachler auch im Deutschen einzel-

ne Satzteile weglassen, meistens fehlt das Subjekt (am häufigsten wird *es* weggelassen), die Personalpronomen oder Teile des Verbes.

Das gibt nicht statt Das gibt es nicht (To niemożliwe)

Grüß dich, [meine] Liebe! (Witaj, kochana)

Ich danke für [deine] Gastfreundschaft! (Dziękuję za gościnę)

Er wird (am) Nachmittag [da sein] (On będzie po południu)

Sie wird ein Star [werden] (Ona będzie gwiazdą)

Das wird morgen [sein] oder (...) [stattfinden] (To będzie jutro)

Weder bin ich Jesus noch habe [ich] Alzheimer (Ani nie jestem Jezusem, ani nie mam Alzheimera)

7.1. Probleme mit dem Verb

Bei zusammengesetzten Verben⁴ wird das **Präfix** weggelassen oder wechselt:

an- vs. *ein-* *anschlagen* statt *einschlagen*

anschließen/einschließen – (*przyłączyć/dołączyć*) *Ich schließe mich meinen Vorrednern an, aber mich eingeschlossen (mniej wliczając)*

anstellen/einstellen – *Man wird eingestellt (oder angestellt), aber etwas anstellen (ausfressen – coś przeskrobać), etwas einstellen (aufhören – wstrzymać, przerwać)*

abgeben/zurückgeben – *Bitte geben Sie die Tests ab!* (sagt die Lehrerin)
nicht: *zurück* – vs. *Gib mir bitte das Buch zurück!* (sagt eine Kollegin)

abrunden/aufrunden (*zaokrąglić sumę*) – Auf Polnisch gibt es für beides nur eine Bezeichnung, daher sagen Polen in beiden Fällen *abrunden*.

richten/ausrichten – *Richte deiner Frau Grüße von mir [aus]!*

sehen/aussehen (*ładnie wyglądasz*) – *Du siehst schön [aus]!*

ziehen/zuziehen – *Ziehen Sie hinter sich die Tür kräftig [zu]!*

ändern/verändern (*ale się zmieniłaś*) – nicht: *Du hast dich aber geändert, sondern Du hast dich verändert*

bringen/mitbringen (*przyniosę ci książkę jutro*) – *Ich bringe dir das Buch morgen [mit]!*

rauchen/aufrauchen – *Ich habe meine letzte Zigarette aufgeraucht (wypaliłem) statt geraucht.*

⁴ Zur Valenzforschung in Deutschland und Polen vgl. Szreiber, Marta 2012.

7.2. Falsche Verwendung der Tempora bzw. Modi

Die polnischen Muttersprachler verwenden den Konjunktiv viel zu selten, man hört:

Ich wollte mich entschuldigen (chciałem/-am) statt Ich möchte mich entschuldigen.

Ich werde dir sehr dankbar sein statt Ich würde dir sehr dankbar sein – wieder wurde hier, durch Analogie zum Polnischen, Futur statt Konjunktiv verwendet.

Dass das neue Jahr sei besser als das vorige (Oby przyszły rok był lepszy) Möge das neue Jahr besser als das alte sein!

Ein Missverständnis kann auch durch unterschiedliche Aspektualität in den beiden Sprachen entstehen. Während eines Fußballspiels fragt ein Pole: *Wer gewinnt?*, antwortet ein Deutscher: *Ich weiß es nicht, das Spiel ist noch nicht zu Ende.* Er hat nämlich die Frage als *Kto wygra?*, nicht als *Kto wygrywa w tym momencie?* aufgefasst. In dieser Situation würde man auf Deutsch sagen: *Wer führt? (Kto prowadzi?). Wer gewinnt?* entspricht dem polnischen *wygra* (Futur, vollendeter Aspekt), nicht dem Wort *wygrywa* (Präsens, unvollendeter Aspekt).

Es ist mir auch aufgefallen, dass die polnischen Muttersprachler die Passiv-Formen viel seltener verwenden als es im Deutschen üblich ist. Bei unpersönlichen Formen benutzen sie meistens die Phrase *man macht*, selten *es wird gemacht*.

7.3. Probleme mit der Wortstellung

Sogar fortgeschrittene Studenten verwenden manchmal unbewusst die polnische Syntax: *Frau Doktor, wir wollen Sie bitten, ein wenig früher heute Schluss zu machen...* In diesem Satz sieht man Beispiele für mehrere typische Fehler: der Nachname fehlt, die Wortstellung und der Modus sind falsch. Korrekt wäre es zu sagen:

Frau Doktor Seiler, wir möchten Sie bitten, heute ein wenig früher Schluss zu machen.

Helga, wollen wir Kaffee trinken? statt *Wollen wir einen Kaffee trinken, Helga?* (der Artikel wurde weggelassen, die Wortstellung ist falsch).

Ich wollte dir, Tanja, herzlichst danken! (als Analogie zur *Chciałem ci, Taniu, jak najserdeczniej podziękować!*) statt: *Ich möchte dir herzlich danken, Tanja!* (*herzlichst* ist übertrieben).

*Morgen um 19 Uhr im Lesesaal organisiere ich ein Treffen statt: Morgen um 19 Uhr **organisiere ich** im Lesesaal ein Treffen* (die Wortstellung ist falsch).

8. Polnisches Akzent oder Probleme mit der Phonetik

Eine korrekte Aussprache ist für alle festgelegt (*Siebs* als Standardwerk), die meisten Polen (mich eingeschlossen) sprechen mit sogenanntem Akzent. Er entsteht durch Interferenz mit bestimmten Artikulationsgewohnheiten der Erstsprache, wobei es wieder große Unterschiede gibt, ob es sich um Polen handelt, die in der Schule bzw. im Studium Deutsch gelernt haben oder zuerst die gesprochene Sprache (ggf. Umgangssprache/Dialekt) gehört haben. Im ersten Fall wird die Artikulation stark an die geschriebene Sprache angelehnt, im zweiten – wird die Aussprache vereinfacht, viele Laute werden weggelassen (man kann es “hören”, dass die Probanden nicht wissen, wie die Worte geschrieben werden).

Das redundante phonetische Merkmal des Polnischen ist die Stimmhaftigkeit der Laute [*tomek*] vs. [*domek*], im Gegensatz zum Deutschen, in dem die Stimmhaftigkeit nicht so entscheidend ist (je nach Region werden viele Konsonanten oft stimmlos ausgesprochen), *gucken* wird meistens [*ku:ktɨ*] ausgesprochen.

Für das entscheidende Merkmal des Deutschen: lange und kurze Vokale, hat dagegen ein Pole kein Gespür (die polnische Sprache kennt nur kurze Vokale), es fällt ihm schwer *fühlen* [*fy:lɨ*] (*czuć*) und *füllen* [*fvɫɨ*] (*napelniać*) zu unterscheiden. Polnische Muttersprachler können auch nur mit Mühe nachvollziehen, dass die Verdoppelung der Konsonanten in der Rechtschreibung, einen kurzen Vokal davor bedeutet – dass die Verdoppelung nicht doppelt ausgesprochen wird, wie das im Polnischen der Fall ist – vgl. das polnische [*anna*] und das deutsche [*ana*].

Das deutsche Phonem [*o*] realisiert ein Pole meistens viel zu kurz und zu offen [*ɔ*]: *Ofen* [*ɔfɛn*] statt [*o:fɔɨ*], *Mond* [*mɔnt*] statt [*mo:nt*]. Das deutsche Phonem [*e*] spricht ein Pole wie *ä* [*ɛ*] aus, im Deutschen befindet sich [*e*] phonetisch näher zu [*i*] als im Polnischen, daher wird oft [*e*] durch einen Diphthong [*ɛɛ*] substituiert: *neben* [*nɛɛbɛn*] statt [*ne:bm*], *Lehne* [*lɛɛnɛ*] statt [*le:nə*]. Die Vokalsubstitutionen der Nichtmuttersprachler hat Barbara Eisen (2001) in ihrem Buch *Phonetische Aspekte zwischensprachlicher Interferenz* zusammengestellt⁵.

⁵ Vgl. Eisen (2001: 66) und Tabelle zum Polnischen Eisen (2001: 177).

Zu Beginn des Sprachenlernens machen auch die Umlaute Schwierigkeiten (vgl. Eisen 2001: 43): *ü* wird durch [i] substituiert, *ö* durch [ɛ], in den polnischen Nachrichten hört man [ʃrɛdɛr] statt [ʃrœdɛr] (Schröder). Ein polnischer Gastarbeiter hat erzählt, dass er im Supermarkt statt um *zwei Tüten* um *zwei Titten* [tɪtɛn] gebeten hat. Ähnlich muss ein Pole aufpassen, dass er nicht *schwules Wetter* statt *schwüles Wetter* sagt.

Die Aussprache der Vokale führt zu Missverständnissen, besonders, wenn es sich um Eigennamen handelt (Hornef oder Horneff, Scheel oder Schell). Dazu zwei kleine Anekdoten aus eigener Erfahrung. Während eines Arztbesuchs habe ich behauptet, dass ich *allergisch gegen Polen bin*. Ich meinte natürlich *die Blütenpollen*. Erst als der Arzt gelacht hat, wurde es mir bewusst, dass ich [pɔ:lɔn] mit langem [o:] ausgesprochen habe. *Deshalb musste ich emigrieren* – ich reagierte schnell.

Ein zweites Beispiel: Der Name der polnischen Kosmetikfirma *Inglot* wurde von einer deutschen Frau als *Inglott* (mit zwei *t*) geschrieben. – “Mit einem *t*” – sagte die Polin. “Ach, also [ɪŋɡlɔ:t]” – von der Deutschen mit langem [o:] ausgesprochen. “Nein, mit einem [t] und kurzem [ɔ]” – sagt die Polin.

r wird im Deutschen nicht rollend ausgesprochen, besonders im Auslaut und in der Verbindung *er* ist es kaum hörbar. *Peter* wird durch polnische Muttersprachler als [pɛtɛr] statt [pe:tɛr] ausgesprochen, *Pilar* wird als *Pila* verstanden, *bitter* [bitɛr] wird mit *bitte* [bitɔ] verwechselt, statt *Beamter* wird *Beamte* geschrieben. Das führt dann auch zur Bildung der hyperkorrekten Form: *ein Junger* statt *ein Junge*.

ng wird im Deutschen innerhalb eines Morphems als nasales [ŋ] ausgesprochen. Bei der typisch polnischen Aussprache hört man allerdings *Anfang* [anfank] statt [anfaj], *lange* [langɛ] statt [lanjɔ], *Schlange* [ʃlange] statt [ʃlanjɔ].

Ch [x] nach *i* und *e* wird zu [ç], stattdessen hört man aus polnischem Munde das polnische [ʃ] (noch *palataler*, wenn man so sagen darf): *ich* [ʧis] statt [ʧiç], *handlich* [hantliʃ] statt [hantliç].

Nur wenige Sprecher des Deutschen als Fremdsprache verfügen über eine akzentfreie Aussprache; oftmals erkennt der Muttersprachler bei entsprechender Erfahrung am Akzent die Herkunft des Sprechers. – schreibt Inessa Helwig-Fabian (2007: 19).

Nach 30 Jahren in Deutschland spreche ich Deutsch mit Akzent, (*ich* als [ʧis] z.B.). “Ihr Akzent besteht darin, dass Sie alles so deutlich aussprechen” – haben mir die Kollegen aus der Universitätsbibliothek gesagt. “Als Migrantensprache hat Polnisch eine Tradition seit 1870” – schreibt Uwe Hinrichs (2013: 134) in seinem Buch *Multi Kulti Deutsch*.

Obwohl Hunderttausende Polen in Deutschland leben, ist Polnisch als *player* im *language melting pot* eher unauffällig, weil auch die Sprecher sozial unauffällig, integriert und aufwärtsmobil sind. Polen (...) sprechen oft gut deutsch und sind eher an ihrem (schlesischen) Akzent erkennbar. (...) Das Polnische verstärkt die slavische Komponente im deutschen Sprachkonzert, der (slavischen Akzent) und typisch slavische (Fehler) (z.B. Ausfall des Artikels). (Hinrichs 2013: 134)

9. Fazit

Über den Umstand hinaus, dass Polen grundsätzlich das [r] zu stark betonen und sowohl den Artikel als auch *es* beim Sprechen vergessen, gibt die Untersuchung weitere Antworten auf die Frage, wie man einen Polen an seinem deutschen Sprachgebrauch erkennen kann. Außer dem Akzent liegt es an einer Vielzahl von kleinen, beharrlichen Fehlern. Die Gründe dafür liegen auf der Hand: Zum einen trägt jeder polnische Muttersprachler das mentale Lexikon der Erstsprache in sich, das das Sprechen und Schreiben auf Deutsch unbewusst beeinflusst. So wird vom Polnischen ins Deutsche oft **wörtlich** übersetzt – daher rührt folglich die lange Liste der falsch übersetzten Phraseme, die in der Untersuchung erfasst wurden. Zum anderen existieren große Unterschiede im Bereich der kulturellen Gepflogenheiten; sichtbar wird dies u.a. in der sehr voneinander abweichenden Verwendung der Höflichkeitsformen beider Sprachen. Weitere Probleme verursachen den polnischen Muttersprachlern die scheinbaren Äquivalente und zwischensprachlichen Homonyme sowie eine Vielzahl “irreführender” Fremdwörter. Die Diskrepanz zwischen einer synthetischen (Polnisch) und einer analytischen Sprache (Deutsch) macht den Spracherwerb darüber hinaus so schwer: Das Polnische kommt ohne Artikel aus und verfolgt ganz andere Regeln der Syntax (Wortstellung, Aspekt). Sicher wäre ein Lexikon polnisch-deutscher Redewendungen mit polnischer Glossierung (die diese Aspekte hervorhebt) ein gutes Hilfsmittel, die häufigsten Fehler zu vermeiden und DaF-Lernern wie auch – Lehrenden den Umgang mit der deutschen Sprache zu erleichtern – möge mein Artikel als Anregung dazu dienen.

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The Difficulties of Polish Native Speakers in Translating Polish Phrasemes into German. A Report Based on Editorial Experience and Observations in Everyday Life

Summary

The present considerations are based on many years' work in the editorial office of the journal "Germanistik. Internationales Referatenorgan mit bibliographischen Hinweisen" in Tübingen. The examined corpus consists of short reviews, e-mail exchange and other forms of written and verbal communication with persons of Polish origin. Further material was provided by everyday communication with Polish native speakers living in Germany. The difficulties of translating from Polish into German arise from the linguistic and cultural specificities of both languages. They are very often related to Poles' typical problems in the area of German grammar. The paper discusses the following issues: the salutations and politeness formulas, forms of greeting and farewell, professional titles and group titles, problems related to the use of the article, the translation of the idioms and difficulties concerning the syntax. The focal issue of the paper is the compilation of poorly translated phrases and idioms contrasted with the correct forms. The last part of the work is dedicated to phonetics, so-called "Polish accent". The collected material will be presented by discussing concrete examples, analyzed and commented on from the perspective of phraseology, discourse analysis, stylistics and pragmatics. The study shows clearly that a Polish-German dictionary of phrases with Polish glossary would be a good tool for Polish native speakers who learn German.

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Phraseological Errors in a Foreigner's Talk Discourse and Their Reasons

Abstract. The aim of the paper is to reveal the types of errors in using Russian idioms that were made by a native English speaker with an advanced level of proficiency in Russian, as well as to find out the reasons for these errors. The author states that the speaker under study, a journalist, has good knowledge of the Russian phraseological stock and great skill in using it in his talk discourse. The author argues, however, that the revealed in the course of study subtle flaws and inadequacies in the use of some Russian phraseological units by the native English speaker in his almost perfect Russian discourse are the results of the native language interference and insufficient semantization of the Russian phraseological units, which is partly related to the incomplete lexicographic data about their semantics, pragmatics, and usage.

Key words: *phraseological units, Russian idioms, English native speaker, phraseological errors, frequency of idioms usage data*

1. Introduction: Phraseological units and their major characteristics

The results of corpus investigations (Sinclair 1991) proved that our speech, no matter how creative it may be, is full of restrictions, prefabricated and memorized formulas and patterns, i.e., it is full of phraseological units. “**Phraseological units**” (PhUs) are multiword language chunks, possessing features of a word and a phrase and naming a complex conceptual structure like *a scenario* (*A person is known by the company he keeps; a bull in a china shop; Hobson's choice*) or *a frame* (*red tape; small talk*).

In contrast to free phrases they are ready-made and believed to be *syntactically unproductive*, or *frozen*, and lexically *fixed*, or *set*. No alterations are possible there, even the process of passivization as in *to kick the bucket* ‘to die’ → **the bucket is kicked* ‘the water container is struck out with the foot’. Some phraseological units, however, admit certain variations. For example, to de-

note the idea of unfitness of a person for a position, activity or relationship with someone we may use in English the phraseological unit *a square peg in a round hole* or *a round peg in a square hole* (the first variant of the idiom is, however, more frequently used). Or another example, to speak about similarities in manners, behavior, interests, ideals, etc. between parents and their children we may say *Like father, like son* or *Like mother, like daughter* or *Like father, like child* or *Like parents, like children* or *Like parent, like child* and all the variants of the idiom are accepted in the language. Moreover, recent corpus-based research (Geeraert et al. 2017: 80) has illustrated that idioms are not as fixed or rigid in form as previously assumed).

Besides being complex language signs containing features of both lexical and syntactic language units, PhUs are also **cultural signs**. They contain a lot of history and culture of the language community they are used in, and studying PhUs we learn a lot about the country and its people. Thus, and the English saying *to carry coals to Newcastle* means 'to do something that is obviously superfluous'. This meaning has arisen from the fact that *Newcastle* is a city in northeast England where coal is mined, so naturally, there is no need to carry coals there.

Phraseological units are exclusively various in etymology, meaning, structure, and function, and accordingly there are various definitions and classifications of them.

Semantically phraseological units demonstrate different degree of transparency, i.e., motivation, or ability to be comprehended by mere combining the meanings of their components. Accordingly, V. V. Vinogradov (1947) and later N. M. Shanskiy (1969) distinguished between:

- completely demotivated **phraseological fusions** (or **idioms**): *a mare's nest* 'an illusory discovery; a complex and difficult situation, a muddle',
- partially demotivated **phraseological unities**: *to show one's teeth* 'to be unfriendly',
- slightly demotivated and quite transparent **phraseological collocations**: *to meet the requirements* 'to satisfy the conditions/requirements', and
- transparent habitual phrases, or **set-expressions**: *in time* 'before the latest possible time'.

Structurally phraseological units are also different: they may correlate to different types of **word collocations** (both **grammatical**: *red tape*; *to have a nose*; *to have sticky fingers*; *Sleep tight!* and **ungrammatical**: *by and by*; *so far so good*) or to fully fledged **sentences** (as *Life is not a bed of roses.*).

Functionally phraseological units are also very diverse. As reproducible ready-made language unities, PhUs perform a number of different functions, among them are:

- **cognitive:**
 1. accumulative: they gather historical and cultural data about the speech community (*mad as a hatter* 'The expression has its origins in the effects of the chronic mercury poisoning that hat manufacturers commonly experienced by 18th and 19th century because of the use of mercurous nitrate in felt hats'),
 2. thought and emotion provoking: to activate other more prototypical concepts in the hearer's mind to make the object of communication more clear: *Jim flirts with his sister-in-law only because she's forbidden fruit*,
- **referential:**

to refer to a concept of an action, state, thing, quality, quantity or event: *pull an invisible string; to be under the thumb of smb; a bag of bones; a baker's dozen*,
- **communicative:**
 1. stating the affairs and conveying information as in: *A house is not a home. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing*,
 3. structuring a discourse and keeping it going: to begin, end a discourse or act as a filler in it: *What shall we speak about? You are kidding! That's it! ... you know, What's the world coming to?*, etc. "Idioms are like lubricants that make language run and flow smoothly" (Jabboori, Jazza 2013: 9),
- **pragmatic:**
 1. illocutionary: to deliver the speaker's intention, like giving an opinion, advice, command, etc., in a more polite and indirect way: *First catch your hare then cook him. Don't count your chickens before they are hatched*,
 2. regulatory: to regulate the degree of social proximity between the communicators: (Informal) *Stay/keep in touch!* – suggests an easy, relaxed attitude, tone; (Formal) *Look forward to hear from you*,
- **stylistic:**
 1. expressive (to express emotions that add "colour" to everyday discourse and make it less boring): *Once in a blue moon I spend time with my parents. Damn it!* or to express emotions and attitude towards the object of conversation: *banana republic; flea pit*,
 2. compressive (to make speech laconic): *Say when* 'say when I am to stop pouring in your glass'; *Life is not a bed of roses* 'a situation, activity or life is not always comfortable and easy',
 3. allegorical (to speak indirectly through symbolic figures about actual situation): *Birds of a feather flock together* 'people of the same sort or with the same tastes and interests will be found together', etc.

Phraseological units are usually **based on some key (pivotal) words** but as language units PhUs do not belong to the basic vocabulary of a language.

PhUs are **characteristic of an adult speech** and are acquired quite late, usually after 6 years old. Sporadically they may appear in their speech much earlier though they may not be comprehended fully (Питеркина 2009).

Focusing attention on the role of phraseological units in a language system, many scholars also point out that:

- phraseology is not just periphery and but the heart of the language (Ellis 2009, 1–14),
- phraseological units make up a significant part in vocabulary of any language. It is estimated that the number of only idiomatic expressions in English is at least 25,000 (Jackendoff 1997),
- PhUs are used in various spheres and styles of discourse,
- they are a valuable source of knowledge about culture and history.

2. Phraseological units in foreign language didactics

Foreign language teachers agree that idioms play an important role in teaching a foreign language because they lead to a better proficiency and a higher fluency in a foreign language. “Being familiar with a wide range of idioms and able to use them accurately and appropriately are among the distinguishing marks of a native command of the language and trustworthy indicators of the proficiency of foreign learners” (Cowie et al. 1993: xi).

Yet, there are some **stumbling blocks** that prevent PhUs from being in the focus of foreign language didactics due to a number of factors. Phraseological units:

- are not easily semantically decomposable and comprehensible, and for this reason they need special attention. Thus, the PhU *It's a piece of cake* ‘something that is simple to accomplish’ or *to chew the fat* ‘to talk without a purpose’ can hardly be understood from the text, they should be explained first and then learned,
- are not the only possible naming units of the concepts; to express a certain concept other ways may be learned by a foreigner and he or she may not need the PhU for a long time: *by and by* = ‘eventually’, ‘ultimately’, ‘finally’, ‘one day’,
- are not straightforwardly recognizable and extractable from the text. For example, a non-native English speaker can hardly say that the advertising headline *Introducing a luxury car that will not take you for a ride* (The New Yorker, Oct. 7, 1985) includes the phraseological unit *take smb*

for a ride the two meanings of which 1. 'to kill, finish off smb'; 2. 'to inflate, deceive smb' are played up here,

- their limits of variations and restrictions are not lexicographically recorded, that is why it is not easy for a foreign language learner to be creative with PhUs.

3. Typology of phraseological errors made by foreign learners of Russian

The factors mentioned above keep PhUs at the periphery in didactics, especially in teaching and learning a foreign or second language. As a result foreign language learners either avoid phraseological units in their speech or make too many errors (Alkarazoun 2015).

The papers dedicated to analysis of errors made by foreign language learners of Russian phraseological units (Садыгова 2016 et al.) point to the following problematic issues in acquisition Russian:

- **in comprehension:**

In addition to difficulties in identification, PhUs may cause wrong inference of their meaning out of the context. Thus, the Russian PhU *яблоку негде упасть* which literally means 'apple has nowhere to fall' may be understood by a foreign learner as the characteristic feature of an apple-tree which is generously fruitful-bearing and there is no place for a more apple on the ground under it, instead of the correct figurative meaning of the PhU 'the place is overcrowded, there's not an inch of room, there's no room to move'. One should use at least a phraseological dictionary to acquire its meaning, etymology and use.

- **in production:**

1. Being driven by innate language creativity and not being aware of phraseological restrictions, foreign students learning Russian often violate lexical and grammatical stability of a PhU by:

- replacing a word in a PhU by a synonymic or a more general one: thus, instead of *львиная доля* ('lion's share') they may say *львиная часть* ('lion's part');
- shortening or extending a PhU because of the native language interference (or no obvious reason): for example, instead of *оставлять желать лучшего* (lit.: 'to leave to wish better') they may mistakenly say *оставлять желать много лучшего* (lit. to leave to wish *much* better) – this intensifier in the PhU is possible in English (cf. Eng.: *leave much to be desired*) but not in Russian;

- blending, or contaminating, i.e., mistakenly associating and interacting two PhUs and thus making a third PhU not existing in the language: for example, instead of *играть роль* ('to play a role') и *иметь значение* ('to have meaning') they may say *играть значение* ('to play meaning');
- using wrong grammatical forms: thus, instead of *бабушка надвое сказала* 'the grandmother said with a double meaning, ambiguously, with the implication that the event on question will not happen' (the adverb *надвое* 'ambiguously, with a double meaning') they may say *бабушка на двоих сказала* 'the grandmother said in two' where *на двоих* is a numeral with a preposition.

2. Russian foreign language learners quite often do not take into account the stylistic register of a PhU; for example, they may inappropriately use a stylistically marked PhU in a neutral general discourse: instead of *Командир приказал уходить* 'The commander offered to leave' they may say *Командир приказал сматывать удочки* 'The commander offered to up sticks'. Another example: instead of *Среди слушателей были студенты, которые плохо говорили по-русски* 'Among the audience there were students who spoke Russian poorly' foreign students learning Russian may inappropriately use for the concept 'to speak poorly' a Russian colloquial phraseological unit *не вязать лыка* (lit. not to knit bast) which means that a person is so drunk that he cannot even talk or do the simplest things.

These common errors in the use of phraseological units revealed in the speech of foreign students learning Russian are characteristic of the students with the level of **proficiency not higher than intermediate** when they have already acquired much information about the language structure and system but may not be proficient enough in appropriate use of phraseological units. But the use of phraseological units by those who are at **the advanced level** of foreign language learning reaching native-like fluency is currently not studied sufficiently enough.

4. Deviations in use of phraseological units by an English native speaker fluent in Russian

At the advanced level of language proficiency the use of phraseological units in the talk discourse may cause less obvious yet serious problems for foreigners.

Let us have a look at the kinds of errors that a very proficient Russian language learner (an English, or rather American, native speaker) makes while using Russian phraseological units in his talk discourse.

The research is carried out on the material of samples of talk discourse by Michael Bohm, the American journalist and political analyst who has lived in Russia for almost 20 years, was married a Russian woman and has a daughter. He speaks fluent Russian though with a slight accent. In one of his interviews, he stated that he even began to think exclusively in Russian (American journalist Michael Bohm: 2018). Michael Bohm is a regular guest on Russian TV political talk shows where he makes wide use of Russian phraseological units. Listening to Michael Bohm's political talk discourse and reading interviews with him, a native speaker, however, cannot get rid of a feeling that something is wrong with his Russian, but one can hardly say what is wrong there.

In order to clear out this issue, we examined the interview with Michael Bohm taken by Alexander Mel'man and published 20.11.2015 in *Moskovskij komsomolets* titled *Мальчик для битья (Whipping boy)* (Мельман 2015).

The results of the carried research show that apart from a slight accent, Michael Bohm practically does not seem to make gross grammatical or lexical errors in his discourse.

We have discovered, however, two major deviations in Michael Bohm's speech concerning phraseological units:

1. their excessive use in his talk discourse, and,
2. their slightly inadequate use.

Let us consider them in more detail.

1) The excessive use of PhUs in talk discourse

This interview is of 2302 words where almost half of them, 1043 words, were used by Michael Bohm in his 63 answers to questions. Thus, an average answering utterance according to the word counter is approximately 16 words.

The results also confirm that unlike many other foreigners speaking Russian, Michael Bohm's talk discourse is highly idiomatic and, moreover, he skillfully deviates the learned forms of PhUs and adapts them to the communicative situation, which demonstrates his native-like phraseological competence.

He uses them freely in different parts of a sentence: he finishes his answers with an idiom, may use it in the middle of his answer, or may start his answer with an idiom paraphrasing the question (*Майкл, кто Вас прислал?* 'Michael, who sent you here?' – *Каким ветром занесло, да?* 'What wind brought me here, right?').

All in all, in this interview, Bohm used 22 idioms of different semantic and structural complexity (metaphoric phraseological fusions and phrase-

ological unities; proverbs and sayings; citations) that make up 100 words in total, that is, each his 10th word is part of an idiom:

- (1) *Каким ветром занесло?* 'What wind brought me here?',¹
- (2) *не в деньгах счастье* 'happiness is not in money',
- (3) *игра в одни ворота* 'one gate play',
- (4) *я не из воздуха беру* 'I do not take from the air',
- (5) *ты уж сильно сгущаешь краски* 'you really exaggerate, dramatize', lit: 'you condense colours',
- (6) *безапелляционно видеть ситуацию в черно-белом цвете* 'categorically/flatly see the situation in black and white',
- (7) *чушь полная!* 'complete nonsense!',
- (8) *подыгрывать кому-то* 'to play up (to)',
- (9) *а жалеют в России – значит, любят* 'and if in Russia they have pity – it means they love',
- (10) *служить власти – значит, петь их песню* 'to serve the authorities means to sing their song',
- (11) *это громко сказано* 'it's a big word' lit.: 'it is said loud',
- (12) *дело не в количестве, а в качестве* 'it is not a matter of quantity but of quality',
- (13) *смотреть свысока* 'to look down',
- (14) *авось пронесет* 'maybe it will blow over',
- (15) *напиться в хлам* 'to get really drunk',
- (16) *жестко поговорить* 'to talk tough',
- (17) *«Мы рождены, чтоб Кафку сделать былью», как саркастически здесь говорят* 'We were born to make Kafka come true', as they caustically say here' (a remake of the Soviet song "Мы рождены, чтоб сказку сделать былью" 'We were born to make a fairy-tale come true' where *Kafka*, the name of the German writer, whose topics were based on absurdity and fear, sounds similar to the Russian word *skazka* (сказка) 'fairy-tale'),
- (18) *«вражеская точка зрения»* 'the enemy's point of view' (Soviet mass media cliché),
- (19) *«американская военизна»* 'American military/war mongers' (Soviet mass media cliché),
- (20) *еще не вечер* 'it's not evening yet',
- (21) *настолько метко, что у них бледный вид* lit: 'so aptly that they have a pale appearance'.

¹ Idiomaticity of a phrase may be lost or partially lost while rendering its meaning and form into another language.

Michael Bohm also uses a great number of Russian set-expressions and phraseological word-collocations that indicate his advanced level of Russian as a foreign language which can already be called his second language:

- (1) *с точностью до наоборот* 'exactly the opposite',
- (2) *по собственной инициативе* 'on their own initiative',
- (3) *на сто процентов* 'for one hundred percent',
- (4) *это не дело* 'this is not good, it won't do',
- (5) *занимать нишу* 'occupy a niche',
- (6) *чувствовать себя в безопасности* 'feel safe' (lit.: 'feel oneself in security'),
- (7) *поддаваться на что-то* 'succumb to something',
- (8) *противоречить самому себе* 'contradict yourself'
- (9) *надо по любви* 'one should do it for love',
- (10) *просто душики* 'just darlings',
- (11) *иметь ввиду* 'to keep in mind'
- (12) *для кого как* 'it depends' (lit.: 'for whom how'),
- (13) *стоит ходить* 'worth going',
- (14) *он фанат этого дела* 'he is a fan of this business',
- (15) *между прочим* 'by the way',
- (16) *иметь кое-какие сбережения* 'to have some savings',
- (17) *у меня нет русского «авось»* 'I do not have the Russian "avos"' ('possibly/hopefully'),
- (18) *тьфу-тьфу!* (чтобы не сглазить) 'ptew – ptew! (not to jinx it); 'knock on/touch wood',
- (19) *он мне не конкурент* 'he is not a competitor to me',
- (20) *пожертвовать финансовым состоянием ради чего-то* 'donate financial condition for the sake of something', etc.

But is such intensive use of phraseological units normal or excessive?

It is not easy to answer this question. It should be admitted that: first, little is known about statistics of usage of phraseological units in different languages and styles and there is no average data about it so far; second, frequency use of PhUs is individual. However, the majority of idioms have low frequency (Баранов et al. 2016).

Intuitively native Russian speakers understand that Michael Bohm uses too many phraseological units in his talk discourse. To check the intuition about the excessive use of PhUs by Michael Bohm we analyzed for the sake of comparison a similar interview in Russian with a former Soviet/Russian and later British journalist Maria Slonim, the daughter of the well-known Soviet revolutionary and diplomat, who immigrated in 1974 to the USA and later to Great Britain. The interview was taken by another journalist from

the same paper *Moskovskij komsomolets* Elena Svetlova and published there on July, 29 2018 under the title *В Англии я немножко outsider* ('In England, I am a bit of an outsider') (Светлова 2018).

The analysis shows a **different verbal behavior of the native Russian interviewee**. There are 2128 words in the interview (174 words less than in the previous interview); in contrast to Michail Bomb, two thirds of the total number of words (1589) were uttered by the interviewee. Maria answered 30 questions, thus an average answer to each question includes 53 words – more than three times as many as Michael's answer. However, it is just natural as she speaks her native language and consequently she is more fluent and loquacious than Michael speaking a foreign language. Social factors including gender difference may also matter here.

However, the most interesting thing is that Maria Slonim being a Russian native speaker uses almost three times fewer idioms than Michael Bohm does.

In Maria's discourse, there are no proverbs but there are many phrasesemes and non-phraseological collocations that are common of Russian speech:

- (1) *переживания выпали на долю* 'experiences fell to the lot',
- (2) *сердце рвется от / сердце оборвалось* 'heart breaks from / heart breaks',
- (3) *что-то всколыхнется в душе* 'something stirs in the soul',
- (4) *страх сидит в подкорке* 'fear sits in the subcortex',
- (5) *репутация у меня немножечко теперь подмоченная* 'my reputation now is a little bit tarnished' (lit.: 'is slightly damped'),
- (6) *(в разговоре) находится (с тобой) на одной волне* '(in conversation) is on the same wavelength (with you)',
- (7) *граница проходит* 'the border passes',
- (8) *трубы проходят* 'the pipes pass',
- (9) *кампания развернулась* 'the campaign unfolded',
- (10) *цистит разыгрался* 'cystitis broke out',
- (11) *здороваться при встрече* 'say hello' lit. greeting when meeting people,
- (12) *переправляться на пароме* 'to ferry',
- (13) *прожить долгую и счастливую жизнь* 'to live a long and happy life',
- (14) *нарушить границу* 'to trespass the border',
- (15) *нарушить вид* 'to break the view',
- (16) *причинить урон* 'to cause damage',
- (17) *бросить курить* 'to stop smoking',
- (18) *отражаться на ком-то* 'to reflect on someone',

- (19) *произвести впечатление* 'to make an impression',
 (20) *крепкая водка* 'strong vodka',
 (21) *разве что* 'except that',
 (22) *ходи не ходи* 'doesn't matter if you go or don't go',
 (23) *у меня сто лет нет...* 'I haven't had a hundred years...',
 (24) *непонятно, куда они деваются* 'it is not clear where they disappear'.

2) Inadequate use of PhUs in talk discourse

Going back to the analysis of Michael Bohm's discourse, it should be mentioned that another peculiarity of his Russian is very subtle yet inadequate use of phraseological units. The cases of obvious deviations of PhUs usage are very rare. For example, the Russian phrase *иметь бледный вид* (lit. to have a pale look, appearance) is not shortened. The English verb 'to have' when used in constructions is often omitted in their Russian equivalents, but not in this idiom. The phrase uttered by Michael Bohm *Настолько метко, что у них бледный вид* (lit. So aptly that they pale look) is ungrammatical, though it is understandable.

The subtle **inadequacies** registered in M. Bohm's discourse are as follows:

- **establishing erroneous synonymity of PhUs**

Thus, the direct question *Майкл, кто Вас прислал?* 'Michael, who sent you here?' does not presuppose an answer in the form of a question, moreover, the answer with an idiom *Каким ветром занесло, да?* 'What wind brought me here, right?' is not a synonym to the journalist's question. The interviewer's question is more about CIS or any other spy organization, while Michael's paraphrased question is used to express surprise to the unexpected guest who according to the myth was brought by the winds. These questions are not synonymic, Michael obviously avoided the answer. His answer does not fit the context, but maybe it was done on purpose.

- **the use of a calque, loan translation, literal translation of an English PhU which is semantically transparent and similar to the Russian PhU**

An example of such subtle inadequate use of phraseological units in Russian discourse committed by M. Bohm is *Служить власти – значит, петь их песню* (lit. to serve the authorities is to sing their song). In Russian instead of *петь чью-то песню* 'to sing someone's song' we say either *петь дифирамбы*; *петь хвалу* 'to sing praises' or *плясать под чью-то дудку* (lit. to dance to someone's pipe). However, the meaning of the expression *петь чью-то песню* 'to sing someone's song' is understandable, transparent, easily deduced. It does not cause any problems in understanding. But it is not a Russian idiom, it is rather a calque, loan translation, literal translation

of an English idiom. (Cf.: an anti-apartheid song and single written and performed by British group UB40 in 1986: *We will fight for the right to be free / We will build our own society / And we will sing, we will sing / We will sing our own song*).

- **blending PhUs**

The third type of minor inadequacy in Russian phraseological units usage committed by M. Bohm is a blended new PhU that appeared in his speech. Thus, the idiom *безапелляционно видеть ситуацию в черно-белом цвете* (lit.: categorically see the situation in black and white) does not exist in Russian. It is a blending of two Russian idioms: *безапелляционно заявить* 'to declare categorically' and *видеть в черно-белом цвете* ('to see in black and white').

Another example of this kind of an error is the idiom *брать из воздуха* (lit. to take from air) in the meaning 'make up' is not registered in Russian dictionaries. We usually say in this context *брать с потолка* (lit. to take from the ceiling). There are some idioms with the word *воздух* 'air' in Russian but they have different meaning: *питаться воздухом* (lit. to eat air) 'to live on air'; *делать деньги из воздуха* (lit.: to make money out of air) 'to make money out of thin air'. Probably, this expression is a kind of blend of the two phraseological units *брать с потолка* (lit. to take from the ceiling) и *делать деньги из воздуха* (lit. to make money out of air).

- **incomplete semantization of PhU**

Still another, the fourth type, of minor inadequate use of Russian phraseological units in speech discourse that was made by M. Bohm is caused by incomplete semantization of PhU. Thus, the Russian PhU *ещё не вечер* (lit. it is not evening yet) has the following meanings: 1. 'not all is lost yet, there are still chances and opportunities', and 2. 'it is not old age yet'. Neither of them fits the context where Bohm speaks about feeling safe in Moscow and that he was not aggressively attacked in the darkness by anyone.

However, this optimistic phrase *ещё не вечер* 'not all is lost, there are still chances, opportunities' may be interpreted here as a sign of his humor, irony, and thus be regarded as communicatively successful.

5. Possible reasons for M. Bohm's deviations in the use of Russian idioms

Reasons for phraseological errors in discourse, especially in a foreigner's discourse, may be plentiful. However, so far little is known about the use of phraseological units in discourse. The pioneering work in this field has

been done so far by Anita Naciscione (2010) in *Stylistic Use of Phraseological Units in Discourse*, yet many aspects of this problem remain to be unclear. As a result, the issues of reasons for phraseological errors and adequate teaching of phraseological units remain to be *terra incognita*.

The detected deviations in the use of Russian phraseological units in the discourse of an American native speaker may be related to the following major factors:

1. The excessive use of PhUs in M. Bohm's talk discourse may be accounted for:

• **the systemic factor**

Some scholars note that PhUs are used in Russian more frequently than in some other languages (Ласкарева, Федотова 2008: 315–328), and M. Bohm takes into account this information. However there are no reliable data about comparative frequency of usage of phraseological units in different languages or any reliable data about the use phraseological units in different types of discourse in Russian.

• **pragmatic reasons**

M. Bohm is a foreigner, which is why his desire not to be taken as an alien, to sound friendly, impressive, next to a native speaker in his talk discourse is especially strong. To make the communicators' distance closer he intuitively makes a wide use of phraseological units that serve this function. Moreover, idioms and other phraseological units are powerful linguistic means that can leave a lasting impression on the hearer. They also help to continue the conversation, "keep the ball rolling". And then, they help a foreigner to match a native speaker in economy, expressive flexibility and accuracy.

Though phraseological units create the desired friendly atmosphere (the journalist notes that after the first answer to his question, and it was an idiom *Каким ветром занесло?* – they started using the informal pronoun *ты* instead of *Вы* referring to each other), the excessive use of idioms and clichés finally create the impression that Michael is **not sincere**. He hides behind his idioms, becomes invisible, makes the speaker draw inferences and be responsible for them. In the long run, the expressive, informative and appealing functions of the speaker's discourse become weak. As George Orwell (1946) wrote in his essay *Politics and the English Language*, "By using stale metaphors, similes, and idioms, you save much mental effort, at the cost of leaving your meaning vague, not only for your reader but for yourself". Finally, as a communicator, Michael Bomb becomes less interesting than he could have been.

2. The reasons for major and minor errors in phraseological units use in M. Bohm's talk discourse may be indicative of his knowledge shortfalls accounted for "insufficient learning" of these complex language units which, in turn, is due to "insufficient lexicographic information" about PhUs in dictionaries.

Linguists today are well aware that phraseological units are not self-contained language units independent of the context where they are used, and that the appropriate use of a PhU in discourse should take into account prototypical precedent texts with it and different socio-cultural nuances of its usage.

But the lexicographic practice is still lagging behind. Yet foreign language learners still rely predominately on the dictionary data about PhUs which give only some general information about their semantic, structural and stylistic characteristics. Rich linguistic and cultural information about phraseological units is very insufficient there. PhUs are usually decontextualized there or have limited verbal illustration; the degree and boundaries of their variation are usually not presented; etymological information can be found only in specialized dictionaries. The situation is improving with new computer technology but not quickly enough.

6. Conclusion

Though a relatively patchy picture of the phraseological errors found in the Russian speech of a single English speaking foreign language learner has been presented here, nevertheless a number of interesting findings are revealed.

First of all, for a foreign language learner, even at the advanced level of his/her language proficiency, using phraseological units in discourse is a kind of a shibboleth – a speech pattern that distinguishes one language group of people from others. The conducted research revealed the excessive and slightly inadequate usage of Russian phraseological units by a native American and near-native Russian speaker. The cases of subtle inadequacies in PhUs usage by the foreigner indicate their incomplete semantization which may be due to insufficient lexicographic information about PhUs in dictionaries, and the inclination of the speaker to blend them in speech or to calque from his native language.

The mechanism of PhUs use in discourse, their frequency of usage and variation still need further investigation as well as more comprehensive lexicographic presentation.

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Errores fraseológicos en el discurso hablado de un extranjero y sus razones

Resumen

El objetivo del artículo es revelar los tipos de errores en el uso de modismos rusos realizados por un hablante nativo de inglés con un nivel avanzado de competencia en lengua rusa, así como descubrir las razones de estos errores. El autor afirma que el hablante en estudio, un periodista, tiene un buen conocimiento de la fraseología rusa y una gran habilidad para usar estas unidades léxicas en su discurso. Sin embargo, el autor argumenta que sutiles fallas e insuficiencias en el uso de algunas unidades fraseológicas rusas reveladas en el discurso ruso casi perfecto por parte del hablante nativo de inglés se deben a la interferencia de la lengua materna y a la semantización insuficiente de las unidades fraseológicas rusas, que están en parte relacionadas con los datos lexicográficos incompletos sobre su semántica, pragmática y uso.

PART II

IDIOMS AND PHRASEMES IN FLT

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Phraseologische Sachgruppen in DaF-Lehrwerken

Abstract. Deutsche benutzen oft und gerne Phraseologismen. Deutschlernende haben aber oftmals Probleme mit der phraseologischen Kompetenz. Eine von den Lernschwierigkeiten ist die Unklarheit, welche phraseologischen Einheiten zu erwerben sind, da sie in der deutschen Sprache sehr zahlreich sind und verschiedene Lehrwerke oftmals voneinander abweichende feste Wortgruppen beinhalten. Aus diesem Grund setzen wir uns in diesem Beitrag unter semantischem und strukturellem Aspekt mit Phraseologismen in den am meisten im Unterricht benutzten DaF-Lehrwerken (Niveaustufe B1 und B2) aus. Die Untersuchung hat das Ziel herauszufinden, in welchem Maß Phraseologismen überhaupt in den gewählten Lehrwerken eingebettet sind. Weiter stellt sich die Frage, welchen phraseologischen Sachgruppen sie angehören. Schlussendlich wird untersucht, welche Typen von festen Strukturen am häufigsten vorkommen. Mithilfe dieser Analyse wird für Lernende und Lehrende klarer, welche Sachgruppen und welche festen Wendungen in der Phraseodidaktik präferiert werden. Lernprobleme und das Desinteresse beim fremdsprachlichen Erwerb von Phraseologismen sollten von Anfang an im DaF-Unterricht vorgebeugt werden, da sie für die Kommunikation mit Muttersprachlern der deutschen Sprache sehr bedeutsam sind.

Schlüsselwörter: *DaF, Phraseologismen, phraseologische Sachgruppen, Lehrwerkanalyse, phraseologische Kompetenz*

1. Einleitung

Phraseologismen spielen eine wichtige Rolle, wenn es um das Fremdsprachenlernen geht. Im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht wurden sie lange Zeit als kompliziert angesehen (vgl. Eismann 1979: 565). Immer noch ist dieses Problem anwesend – das sollte sich aber ändern. Muttersprachler der deutschen Sprache greifen oft auf phraseologische Einheiten zurück, wenn sie etwas besser erklären oder beschreiben möchten. Manchmal ist die tägliche Kommunikation zwischen Menschen mithilfe von Phraseologismen bildhaf-

ter und dynamischer zu gestalten und gerade deswegen wird häufig phraseologisch sprachlich ausgedrückt.

Aus diesem Grund sollten Phraseologismen als ein obligatorisches Sprachmittel, wenn es um das Fremdsprachenlernen geht, verstanden werden. Vor allem ist es hilfreich, wenn man damit bekannt gemacht wird, welche festen Strukturen beim Phraseologieerwerb am meisten präferiert werden. Damit in Bezug ist es auch wichtig zu wissen, welche phraseologischen Sachgruppen bevorzugt werden, um aus der großen Menge des phraseologischen Korpus, das Wichtigste leichter zu erwerben.

Die folgende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit phraseologischen Einheiten, welche in gängigen DaF-Lehrwerken (Niveaustufe B1 und B2) vorkommen. Der Fokus wird auf frequente feste Strukturen gesetzt, die dann nach zwei Aspekten untersucht werden:

- a) dem onomasiologischen (wörtliche Ebene) und
- b) dem typologischen (strukturelle Ebene).

Mit der qualitativen und quantitativen Methode wird also eine Übersicht von frequenten Phraseologismen und frequenten phraseologischen Sachgruppen in DaF-Lehrwerken präsentiert. Diese Ergebnisse werden dann mithilfe der Lehrwerkanalyse, Exzerption und der Klassifikation unter semantischem und strukturellem Aspekt bekommen.

Lehrwerke, welche bei der Analyse benutzt worden sind, können wie folgend aufgelistet werden:

- 1) *Ausblick* (Kursbuch und Arbeitsbuch), Niveaustufe B1,
- 2) *Ausblick* (Kursbuch und Arbeitsbuch), Niveaustufe B2,
- 3) *Em-Neu* (Kursbuch und Arbeitsbuch), Niveaustufe B1,
- 4) *Em-Neu* (Kursbuch und Arbeitsbuch), Niveaustufe B2,
- 5) *Sicher* (Kursbuch und Arbeitsbuch), Niveaustufe B1,
- 6) *Sicher* (Kursbuch und Arbeitsbuch), Niveaustufe B2.

Das Ziel dieser Analyse ist es einen Beitrag für den fremdsprachlichen Phraseologieerwerb zu leisten sowie eine Grundlage für weitere Untersuchungen zu schaffen. Diese Arbeit plädiert für eine intentionale Implementation von Phraseologismen in den fremdsprachlichen Unterricht, da feste Strukturen in der zwischenmenschlichen Kommunikation eine äußerst wichtige Rolle aufweisen.

2. Phraseologie, Phraseologismen und phraseologische Merkmale

Phraseologie ist kein einfaches sprachliches Phänomen (Wotjak 1992: 104) und nicht alle Phraseologen sind sich einig, wenn es um das Defi-

nieren dieser Disziplin und deren Untersuchungsgegenstand geht. Fleischer (1997: 3) und Bräuer (1979: 67) z. B. meinen, dass Phraseologie als "sprachwissenschaftliche Teildisziplin von Lexikologie" anzusehen ist und dass sie sich "mit der Erforschung der Phraseologismen beschäftigt". In der Phraseologieforschung bestehen nach Ansicht der meisten Phraseologen zwei Anschauungen von Phraseologie:

- a) Phraseologie im weiten Sinne (vgl. dazu Burger 1998: 12–14; Fleischer 1997: 2–4; Ehrhardt 2014: 6–7),
- b) Phraseologie im engen Sinne (vgl. dazu Stein 1995: 21; Burger 1998: 14; Fleischer 1997: 2).

Zum Untersuchungsgegenstand dieser sprachlichen Disziplin gehören sehr unterschiedliche Konstruktionen von Wörtern. Diese Heterogenität von phraseologischen festen Strukturen gehört theoretisch gesehen zu den größten Problemen und Herausforderungen der Phraseologieforschung. Aus diesem Grund haben sich wohl verschiedene Definitionssysteme von phraseologischen Einheiten entwickelt.

Laut Hümmer (2007: 76–77) werden Phraseologismen als "feste, lexikalisierte Verbindungen mehrerer Einzellexeme" und als "Lexikoneinheiten mit besonderem Status betrachtet" und so den freien Wortverbindungen gegenübergestellt. Phraseologismen haben einen Mehrwortcharakter und eine innere syntaktische Strukturiertheit und stellen das Lexikon einer Sprache dar. Sie werden durch folgende phraseologische Merkmale gekennzeichnet, welche sie von den nichtphraseologischen Wortgruppen unterscheiden (vgl. Burger 2003; Donalies 2009; Fleischer 1997):

- a) Polylexikalität: Das Bestehen von Konstruktionen aus mehr als einer Komponente, die eine feste Einheit bilden
- b) Festigkeit: Die immer wiederkehrende Kombination von Wörtern, welche

Muttersprachlern genau in dieser Verbindung (mit möglichen Varianten) bekannt ist, wobei die Austauschbarkeit von Komponenten zur Veränderung der Signifikanz führt,

- c) Idiomatizität: Ungleichheit zwischen phraseologischer und wörtlicher Bedeutung bei Lexemen,
- d) Reproduzierbarkeit: Prozess, bei dem die schon festen Konstruktionen in der Kommunikation verwendet werden,
- e) Lexikalisierung: Prozess, bei dem es zur Speicherung von festen Wortverbindungen in einem Lexikon kommt.

3. DaF-Unterricht aus phraseologischer Perspektive

Beim Erwerb von Fremdsprachen haben die vier sprachlichen Fähigkeiten (Sprechen, Hören, Lesen, Schreiben) sowie Grammatik und Rechtschreibung im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht eine besonders wichtige Rolle. Oft wird aber dabei der lexikologischen Teildisziplin wenig Achtung geschenkt. Ettinger (2007: 893) zufolge sollte aber der Erwerb von phraseologischen Einheiten eine primäre Rolle im Fremdsprachenunterricht einnehmen. Vor allem weil Phraseologismen zum "lexikalischen Inventar natürlicher Sprachen" gehören (Jesenšek 2006: 137).

Der Erwerb von fremdsprachlichen festen Strukturen ist zugegebenermaßen eine komplizierte Aufgabe, sowohl für Lehrende als auch für Lernende. Die meisten Phraseologen sind aber der Ansicht, dass den phraseologischen Einheiten im fremdsprachlichen (DaF) Unterricht vom Anfang des Erwerbs eine größere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt werden sollte (vgl. Kühn 1992; Köster 1998; Jesenšek 2000; Hallsteinsdóttir 2001; Kržišnik 2001; Petermann 2001). Damit ist auch Ulbricht (1989: 98) einverstanden, indem er meint, dass die phraseologische Kompetenz als "ein Qualitätsmerkmal der Sprachbeherrschung" anzusehen ist.

Seit Anfängen der Phraseologieforschung beschäftigen sich viele Forscher mit der Frage, wie feste Strukturen im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht intentional und ohne größere Probleme zu lernen sind. Dabei darf nicht außer Acht gelassen werden, dass, um den Phraseologierwerb im Unterricht für Deutsch als Fremdsprache intentional integrieren zu können, Lehrwerke, welche ein solches Vorhaben unterstützen, von großer Bedeutung sind. Vor allem sollte nicht vergessen werden, dass eine wichtige Basis für eine zielorientierte Entwicklung von Lehrmaterialien zweifellos die richtige Auswahl der zu vermittelnden Phraseologismen für den DaF-Unterricht ist (vgl. Bergerová 2009; Durčo 2001).

4. Klassifikation von Phraseologismen unter onomasiologischem Bezug

Diese Klassifikation basiert nach Verhältnissen von lexikalischen Einheiten im Bereich des Wortschatzes, d. h. nach paradigmatischen Beziehungen. Anders gesagt, es ist eine Eingliederung von Phraseologismen nach thematischen Gruppen – in dieser Arbeit bezüglich zur wörtlichen Lesart von Phraseologismen (vgl. Burger 2003: 189; Fleischer 1997: 173).

Spricht man also von der wörtlichen Ebene, werden Phraseologismen nach Sachgruppen oder Kernwortfeldern mit onomasiologischem Bezug klas-

sifiziert und sind dementsprechend in onomasiologischen Wörterbüchern aufzufinden. Bei einer solchen Eingliederung von phraseologischen Einheiten sollte auf die "innere logische Verknüpfung" besonders geachtet werden, denn die Komplexheit "liegt in der Schwierigkeit, die Ausgangsbereiche von Metaphern überhaupt in eine sinnvolle und intersubjektiv akzeptable Ordnung zu bringen" (Burger 2003: 190).

Fleischer (1997: 182–185) und Burger (2003: 190) zufolge können im Wortschatz folgende phraseologische Sachgruppen/Kernwortfelder als frequent angesehen werden:

- Somatismen (1) *Eine scharfe Zunge haben,*
- Zoomorphismen (2) *Zwei Fliegen mit einer Klappe schlagen,*
- Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Wetter (3) *Schnee von gestern,*
- Phraseologismen mit Zahlen (4) *Seine fünf Sinne zusammennehmen,*
- Ritterlicher Kampf und Waffen der Feudalzeit (5) *Jmdn. aus dem Sattel heben,*
- Geschirr (6) *Eine trübe Tasse sein,*
- Technik im 19. Jh. (7) *Mit Dampf arbeiten,*
- Nahrung (8) *Jmdm. etwas aufs Butterbrot schmieren,*
- Jüngste Entwicklungen (9) *Nicht alle Daten im Speicher haben,*
- Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Familie (10) *Die Mutter aller Schlachten,*
- Film (11) *Ein Stück Film fehlt,*
- Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Pflanzen (12) *Zwischen Baum und Borke stehen,*
- Fußball (13) *Ein Eigentor schießen,*
- Kleidungsstücke (14) *Sich auf die Socken machen,*
- Haus, Haushalt (15) *In Teufels Küche kommen,*
- Phraseologismen mit Farbbezeichnungen (16) *Sich grün und blau ärgern.*

5. Klassifikation von Phraseologismen unter strukturellem Bezug

Um eine zielgerechte strukturelle Einteilung von Phraseologismen, welche aus dem Korpus gewonnen sind, zu bekommen, wurde bei dieser Analyse auf zwei verschiedene Klassifizierungen eingegangen, und zwar nach Wolfgang Fleischer (1997) und Harald Burger (2003).

Damit in Bezug entstand eine Neustrukturierung von festen Konstruktionen, da beide Kategorisierungen auf verschiedenen Aspekten beruhen und in manchen Punkten voneinander abweichen (vgl. z. B.: Burger 2003: 45 mit Fleischer 1997: 131–132).

Die aus zwei Kategorisierungen entstandene Klassifikation beinhaltet vier Kategorien in Anlehnung an Harald Burger (Nominative Phraseologismen, Zwillingsformeln, Komparative Phraseologismen und Kinegramme) und fünf Kategorisierungen in Anlehnung an Wolfgang Fleischer (Phraseoschablone, Festgeprägte prädikative Konstruktionen, Phraseologismen mit syntaktischer Leerstelle, Phraseologismen mit pronominalen Komponenten und Negate).

Diese strukturelle Mischklassifikation auf die in dieser Arbeit besonderer Wert gelegt worden ist und mithilfe der die gewonnenen Phraseologismen aus typologischer Sicht eingeordnet wurden, kann wie folgend aufgelistet werden:

- Phraseoschablone,
- Nominative Phraseologismen,
- Festgeprägte prädikative Konstruktionen,
- Phraseologismen mit syntaktischer Leerstelle,
- Phraseologismen mit pronominalen Komponenten,
- Negate,
- Zwillingsformeln,
- Komparative Phraseologismen,
- Kinegramme.

5.1. Zu Merkmalen struktureller Gruppen von Phraseologismen

Phraseoschablone: Die erste Subgruppe der Mischklassifikation bilden die Phraseoschablone. Sie haben die Funktion der Vertiefung von Signifikanz und können unterschiedlich gebildet werden. Es sind also Konstruktionsmuster mit einer festgeprägten Modellbedeutung, welche "bei Ausfüllung des Modells mit entsprechendem lexikalischem Material" Wortverbindung erzeugen, "deren allgemeine Bedeutung durch die Bedeutung des Modells bereits vorbestimmt ist" (Fleischer 1997: 131). Es handelt sich dabei um syntaktische Strukturen, deren Einbeziehung in die Phraseologie oftmals umstritten ist. Es lassen sich insgesamt 15 Strukturen unterscheiden (dazu mehr in Fleischer 1997).

Nominative Phraseologismen: Sie bezeichnen Objekte und Vorgänge. Sie entsprechen "einer syntaktischen Einheit unterhalb der Satzgrenze" (Burger 2003: 37) und weisen das Merkmal der Polylexikalität auf. Der Idiomatizität nach können drei Gruppen unterschieden werden: a) Idiome, b) Teil-Idiome und c) Kollokationen. Diese Strukturen sind mit den Merkmalen der Lexikalisierung und Festigkeit gekennzeichnet.

Festgeprägte prädikative Konstruktionen: Diese festen Verbindungen von Wörtern sind durch eine gewisse Variabilität der Elemente, die obligatorisch sind, gekennzeichnet. Sie sind dem lexikalischen Bezug her stabil, dem kommunikativ-grammatischen Bezug her aber variabel. Der Dativ der Person kann und muss also mit unterschiedlichen Personenbezeichnungen aufgefüllt werden. Wichtig dabei ist, dass "das Subjekt des Satzes, in den der Phraseologismus eingebaut wird, eine feste Komponente dieses Phraseologismus" sein sollte (Fleischer 1997: 85).

Phraseologismen mit syntaktischer Leerstelle: Sie haben das Merkmal des Vorhandenseins "eines obligatorischen syntaktischen Strukturelements mit variabler lexikalischer Füllung" (Fleischer 1997: 84) und dienen zur Benennung von Erscheinungen, Eigenschaften, Handlungen, Zuständen und Gegenständen. Das obligatorische Element muss aber kein Subjekt des Satzes sein, wie es der Fall bei Festgeprägten prädikativen Konstruktionen ist. Diese Strukturen sind dem kommunikativ-grammatischen Aspekt her nicht immer von ihnen zu unterscheiden.

Phraseologismen mit pronominalen Komponenten: Sie haben in den meisten Fällen folgende Merkmale: a) ein obligatorisches Pronomen **alle** oder **alles**, b) ein neutrales, obligatorisches Personalpronomen **es**, c) ein obligatorisches Pronominaladverb **da-**, welches oft einen Verweis auf den folgenden Nebensatz hat, d) ein unveränderbares Reflexivum **sich**, welches "nicht regulär nach der Person variabel ist" (Fleischer 1997: 88), e) attributive oder nichtattributive Grundzahlen (meistens bis zur Grundzahl 13), f) ein obligatorisches Indefinitpronomen.

Negate: Fast alle Phraseologismen haben die Möglichkeit des Negierens. Es bestehen aber feste phraseologische Konstruktionen, die aus dem Aspekt ihrer Struktur und Semantik her keine Negierungsmöglichkeiten besitzen. Die Negation ist bei ihnen also stabil, sie müssen aber der Semantik nach keine Negierung ausdrücken – das sind Negate. Phraseologismen "in denen ein Negationselement zum obligatorischen Komponentenbestand" gehört (Fleischer 1997: 91) sind als eine alleinstehende Gruppe von phraseologischen Einheiten zu erfassen.

Zwillingsformeln: Diese festen Wortverbindungen sind durch eine charakteristische Struktur gekennzeichnet und bestehen aus semantisch verwandten Wörtern. Es kann sich dabei um Synonyme oder Antonyme handeln und sind oft durch einen Reim oder eine Alliteration gekennzeichnet. Sie beinhalten also "zwei Wörter der gleichen Wortart oder auch zweimal dasselbe Wort" und werden mit einem Verknüpfungselement, meistens Konjunktion oder Präposition, verbunden (Burger 2003: 45). Die Reihenfolge der einzelnen Komponenten ist fast immer fest.

Komparative Phraseologismen: Sie haben die Funktion des Vergleichs (einer physischen oder psychischen Eigenschaft) oder einer expressiven Verstärkung und bestehen in den meisten Fällen aus drei Komponenten: a) dem Vergleichsobjekt, b) dem Vergleich und c) dem Vergleichsmaß. Solche Strukturen sind mit einer Konjunktion verbunden und bilden so zusammengesetzt semantisch gesehen eine Ganzheit. Sie können als eine Verstärkung des Adjektivs oder Verbs fungieren. Bezüglich zur Syntax übernehmen sie die Rolle einer Adverbialbestimmung oder eines Attributs.

Kinegramme: Burger weist darauf hin, dass solche Strukturen zum Kodieren und sprachlichen Festhalten des herkömmlichen nonverbalen Verhaltens dienen. Als Subgruppe von diesen festen Strukturen sind die **Pseudo-Kinegramme** zu verstehen. Sie werden benutzt, wenn "das mit dem Phraseologismus bezeichnete nonverbale Verhalten heute nicht mehr praktiziert wird und daher nur noch die phraseologische Bedeutungsebene erhalten geblieben ist" (Burger 2003: 46).

6. Zum Analyseverfahren

Das Erstellen des Korpus für diese Untersuchung wurde mithilfe von systematischer Exzerption von Phraseologismen aus Lehrwerken für DaF der Niveaustufe B1 und B2 vorgenommen.

Dabei wurde darauf geachtet, dass:

- Phraseologismen, welche in den untersuchten Kurs- und Arbeitsbüchern mehr als einmal vorkamen, in den späteren Prozess d. h. nach dem semantischen und strukturellen Analyseverfahren untersucht worden sind,
- Beispiele von Phraseologismen nicht in der Negation vorkommen, es wurden also nur Affirmative analysiert,
- Synonyme und Antonyme im Korpus als alleinstehende phraseologische Wortverbindungen untersucht worden sind,
- **Varietäten** von Phraseologismen in die Analyse miteinbezogen wurden.

6.1. Das Analyseverfahren bei der onomasiologischen und strukturellen Kategorisierung

Das gewonnene Korpus beinhaltet 563 phraseologische Einheiten, welche zielorientiert in die bereits vorgestellte onomasiologische und strukturelle Klassifikation eingeordnet worden sind. Burger meint, dass "welche und wie viele Klassen man im einzelnen bildet, hängt nicht zuletzt vom Ziel der jeweiligen Untersuchung ab, womit Klassifikationen immer ein gewisses Maß an Ad-hoc-Entscheidungen" sind (Burger 2003: 33).

Bezüglich zur strukturellen Klassifikation von Phraseologismen, konnten alle neun bereits vorgestellten Gruppen von phraseologischen Einheiten besetzt werden und der Frequenz nach untersucht werden. In Anlehnung an Burgers Ansicht und nach dem onomasiologischen Klassifikationsprozess wurde aber deutlich, dass nicht alle Kategorien mit exzerpierten phraseologischen Einheiten besetzt werden konnten.

Nur einige von den vorgestellten Kategorien konnten im analysierten Korpus in Betracht gezogen werden und das mit kleineren Erweiterungen in der Kategoriendefinierung:

- a) Die Subklasse Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Wetter wurde in die Kategorie Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Natur und Naturerscheinungen umbenannt,
- b) Die Subklasse Phraseologismen mit Zahlen wurde in die Kategorie Phraseologismen mit Grund- und Ordnungszahlen umbenannt,
- c) Die Subklasse Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Haus, Haushalt wurde in die Kategorie Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Küche, Haus, Haushalt umbenannt.

Beim Analysieren kam es dazu, dass nicht nur einige Phraseologismen in die bereits vorgestellten Klassifikationen mit onomasiologischem Bezug nicht passen konnten, sondern es kam dazu, dass neu gebildete Kategorien entstehen sollten, da man zu gewissen Resultaten kam:

Während der Untersuchung wurde nämlich deutlich, dass sehr viele Phraseologismen eine abstrakte Komponente (Substantiv) beinhalten, aber in keine der genannten Kategorien einzuordnen sind. Genauso bemerkbar wurde, dass sich Phraseologismen mit Komponenten, welche mit der Zeitmessung d. h. mit der Zeit in Verbindung gesetzt werden konnten, zu einer Gruppe von Phraseologismen entwickelten.

So wurden in diese Arbeit zwei weitere Kategorien implementiert:

- a) Kategorie Abstraktes und
- b) Kategorie Zeit, Zeitmessung.

Die untersuchten phraseologischen Einheiten konnten also in folgende onomasiologische Gruppen eingeteilt werden:

- Somatismen,
- Zoomorphismen,
- Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Natur und Naturerscheinungen,
- Phraseologismen mit Grund- und Ordnungszahlen,
- Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Küche, Haus, Haushalt,
- Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Abstraktes und
- Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Zeit, Zeitmessung.

Bei der Analyse wurden zwei Erscheinungen beachtet:

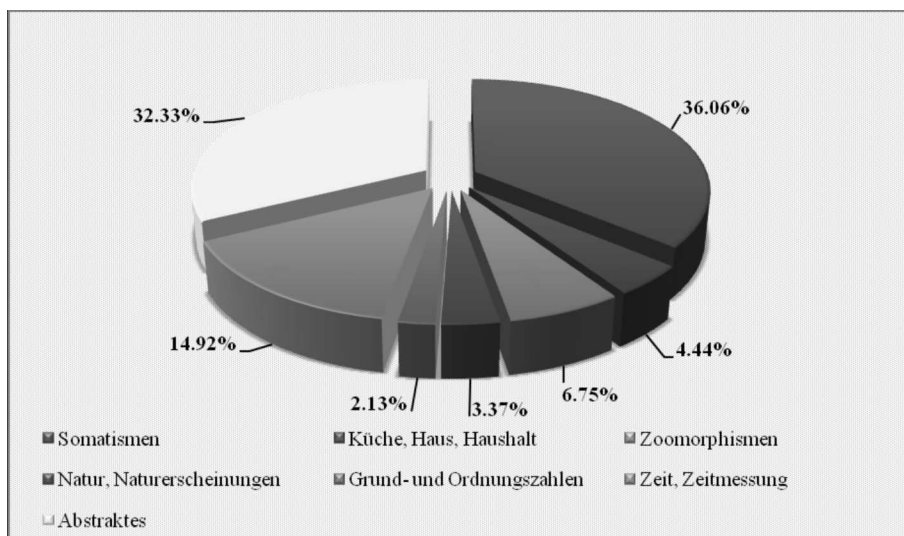
- a) Das Vorkommen von zwei Substantiven in einem Phraseologismus bedeutete, dass das Erste in Betracht genommen und nach dem onomasiologischen Aspekt eingegliedert worden ist.
- b) Beim Vorkommen von Numeralia und Substantiv in einem Phraseologismus, wurde die Numeralia erstrangig berücksichtigt.

7. Zu Ergebnissen der vorgenommenen Analyse

Diese Untersuchung beschäftigte sich mit Phraseologismen, die in internationalen DaF-Lehrmaterialien auf der Niveaustufe B1 und B2 vorkommen. Es sollte mithilfe der qualitativen und quantitativen Methode herausgefunden werden, welche festen Strukturen dem onomasiologischen und typologischen Bezug her am häufigsten vorkommen.

Die Ergebnisse bezüglich zur Untersuchung von frequenten Phraseologismen der wörtlichen Ebene mit onomasiologischem Bezug nach, können auf folgende Art und Weise, wie es im Diagramm 1. gezeigt wird, vorgestellt werden.

Diagramm 1. Frequenz von phraseologischen Sachgruppen in DaF-Lehrwerken



Quelle: eigene Forschung.

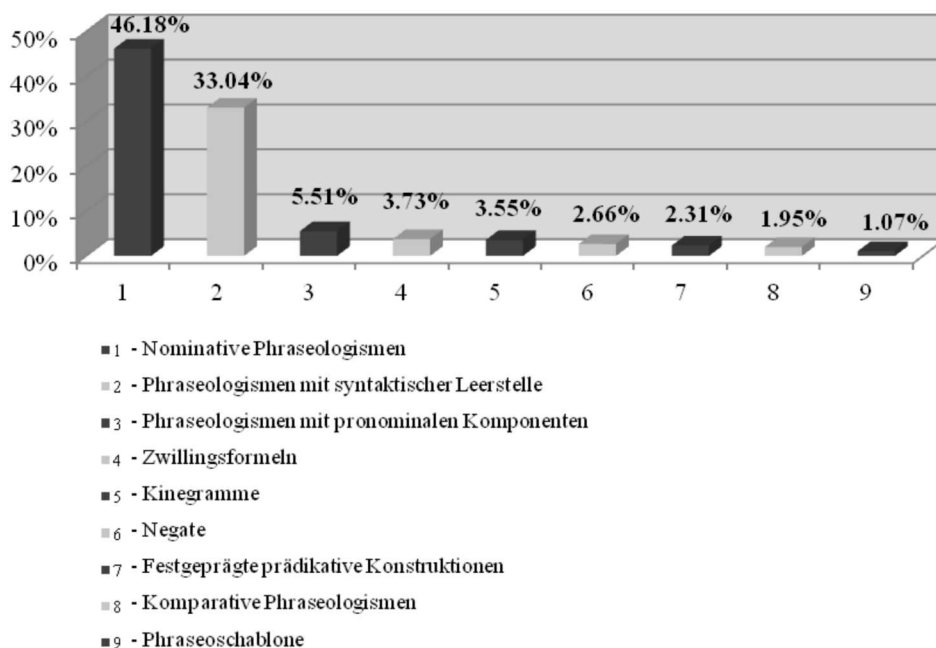
Anhand vom Diagramm 1. kann man erkennen, dass zwei phraseologische Sachgruppen (Somatismen und Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Ab-

straktes) in den untersuchten DaF-Lehrwerken am markantesten vorkommen. Phraseologische Einheiten kamen in 203 Fällen (36.06%) vor, in denen sie der wörtlichen Ebene nach zu Somatismen gezählt werden konnten. Komponenten, welche als abstrakt bewertet wurden, kamen 182 mal (32.33%) im analysierten Korpus vor.

Interessanterweise sind Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Zeit, Zeitmessung am dritten Platz, wenn es um die Vorkommenshäufigkeit im untersuchten Material geht. Sie kamen in 84 Fällen oder zu 14.92% vor. Überraschend war das Resultat mit Phraseologismen die zu Zoomorphismen gezählt werden konnten, da sie nur zu 6.75% im analysierten Material vorkamen, d. h. in 38 Fällen exzerpiert werden konnten. Phraseologismen im Sachgebiet Küche, Haus, Haushalt konnten in 25 Fällen (4.44%) dem Korpus entnommen werden. Am geringsten kamen Phraseologismen in Sachgebieten Natur, Naturerscheinungen und Grund- und Ordnungszahlen vor. Im ersten konnten 19 (3.37%) und im zweiten 12 (2.13%) phraseologische Einheiten aus dem gesamten Korpus von 563 Phraseologismen extrahiert werden.

Ergebnisse, die von der Frequenz von Phraseologismen dem strukturellen Aspekt her sprechen, werden im Diagramm 2. deutlich gemacht.

Diagramm 2. Frequente Typen von Phraseologismen in gängigen DaF-Lehrwerken



Quelle: eigene Forschung.

Anhand von Untersuchungen des phraseologischen Materials d. h. von phraseologischen Einheiten, die in DaF-Lehrwerken auf der Niveaustufe B1 und B2 vorkommen, konnte dem strukturellen Aspekt nach festgestellt werden, dass Nominative Phraseologismen mit 46.18%, (mit 260 exzerpierten phraseologischen Einheiten) die am frequentesten vorkommende Gruppe, bilden. Phraseologismen mit syntaktischer Leerstelle kommen im gesamten Korpus mit 33.04% (186 Phraseologismen) vor. Diese beiden Typen von Phraseologismen kommen als deutlich markanteste Subgruppen im ganzen Korpus von 563 phraseologischen Einheiten vor und nehmen insgesamt 79.22% aller exzerpierten Phraseologismen ein.

Phraseologismen mit pronominalen Komponenten konnten mit 5.51%, d. h. in 31 Fällen dem untersuchten Material entnommen werden. Zwillingsformeln und Kinegramme kamen in fast gleicher Anzahl im Korpus vor (21 und 20 extrahierte feste Strukturen) und bilden 3.73% und 3.55% des ganzen analysierten Korpus. Negate ließen sich aus dem untersuchten Material 15 mal (2.66%) entnehmen. Festgeprägte prädikative Konstruktionen kamen mit 2.31%, d. h. 13 Phraseologismen vor. Komparative Phraseologismen kamen nur mit 1.95% (11 extrahierten festen Einheiten) im Korpus vor.

Phraseschablone bilden mit 1.07% (6 Phraseologismen) die kleinste Gruppe von phraseologischen Einheiten, die in Lehrwerken für Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Niveaustufe B1 und B2) exzerpiert werden konnten.

8. Schlussfolgerung

Phraseologismen sind ein wichtiger Bestandteil jeder Sprache. Deutschlernende haben oftmals Probleme mit der phraseologischen Kompetenz, welche Teil der kommunikativen Fähigkeit ist. Aus diesem Grund ist es wichtig sich im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht mit Phraseologismen zu befassen. Sowohl für Lernende als auch für Lehrende ist es interessant zu erfahren, wie frequent phraseologische Einheiten in den am meisten im Unterricht benutzten Lehrwerken für Deutsch als Fremdsprache sind. DaF-Lehrwerke beinhalten oftmals voneinander abweichende Phraseologismen, die zu erwerben sind. In der vorgenommenen Analyse war der Fokus auf Lehrwerke, die für Lernende in Sekundarstufen und in der Erwachsenenbildung vorgesehen sind, gesetzt.

Das Ziel der Arbeit war herauszufinden, welche Phraseologismen dem onomasiologischen und strukturellen Aspekt nach am frequentesten in gängigen internationalen Lehrwerken auf der Niveaustufe B1 und B2 vorkommen, um auf diese Weise eine einheitliche Liste von festen Struk-

turen, welche im fremdsprachlichen Unterricht gut einsetzbar sein kann, zu bekommen.

Durch eine solche onomasiologische und strukturelle Einteilung von phraseologischen Einheiten kommt man zur Information, zu welchen wörtlichen und typologischen Ebenen die entnommenen phraseologischen festen Strukturen gehören. So können Deutschlernende den Eindruck davon bekommen, auf welche strukturellen und onomasiologischen Gruppen sie besonderen Wert legen sollten, da solche Strukturen den Analysen und den gewonnenen Ergebnissen nach als markant gekennzeichnet werden können.

Mithilfe der vorgenommenen Untersuchung konnte also festgestellt werden, dass in Bezug auf alle vorgekommenen phraseologischen Sachgruppen in den untersuchten DaF-Lehrwerken, Somatismen am häufigsten vorkommen. Es wurde auch deutlich, dass von allen exzerpierten Phraseologismen Nominative Phraseologismen am frequentesten im Korpus zu finden sind.

Der fremdsprachliche Phraseologieerwerb ist mit Lernschwierigkeiten verbunden. Eine von ihnen ist die Unklarheit, welche phraseologischen Einheiten überhaupt zu lernen sind. Da Phraseologismen in der deutschen Sprache sehr zahlreich und für die Kommunikation mit Muttersprachlern der deutschen Sprache bedeutsam sind, werden die Lernenden zusätzlich unsicher gemacht. Anhand von solchen Lehrwerkanalysen wird ein Bild davon bekommen, welche phraseologischen Sachgruppen und welche Typen von Phraseologismen in der Phraseodidaktik vorgezogen werden. So entsteht eine für die Deutschlernenden verfügbare Auflistung von frequenten phraseologischen Einheiten und den häufig vorkommenden phraseologischen Sachgruppen in gängigen DaF-Lehrwerken, welche im DaF-Unterricht gut einsetzbar sein kann.

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Onomasiological groups of phraseological units in textbooks for German as a foreign language

Summary

Phraseologisms are important part of every language and are often present in interpersonal communication. Germans often like to use fixed expressions. They are of great importance for both written and oral communication. However, students of German language have difficulties in developing phraseological competence, which is part of the overall language fluency. Acquiring the phraseological competence of a foreign language tends to cause learning difficulties. One of the issues is the large number of fixed expressions in German language and the fact that different textbooks often contain divergent phraseological units. This adds to the students' uncertainty when acquiring foreign language phraseology.

Therefore, this article deals with the German language phraseology in the most widely used textbooks for German as a foreign language. The aim of this research is to determine the extent to which phraseological units are present in the selected textbooks for German as a foreign language (levels B1 and B2). Further on, it deals with the question which onomasiological groups they belong to. In the end, it is examined which phraseological units and which onomasiological groups are most often present in the analyzed corpus. This textbook analysis provides an overview of the phraseological units and different onomasiological groups they belong to in various textbooks for German as a foreign language, so that they can be compared and classified by frequency. The goal of this analysis is to provide information on groups of phraseological units, viewed from the onomasiological aspect, and fixed expressions preferred in the didactics of a foreign language. The results obtained by textbook analysis, extraction and classification of phraseological units, viewed from semantic and structural aspects, can be used in foreign language teaching. The focus is on students in secondary and adult education.

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Desautomatization of Spanish verbal idioms: an application to language teaching

Abstract. Due to their acknowledged relative fixedness, phraseological units are likely to be subject to both institutionalized variations stored in dictionaries and creative modifications in discourse. Focusing on the second type of variation, this paper first analyses the manipulation of Spanish idioms by means of morphosyntactic procedures that lead to the desautomatization of their form (Corpas Pastor & Mena Martínez 2003; Penadés Martínez 2014). Secondly, it suggests key guidelines for teaching idiom desautomatization as part of the grammar contents included in the foreign language curriculum. The ultimate goal is to provide learners with the necessary tools to interpret idiom modifications in discourse correctly and improve their communication skills by increasing their proficiency in Spanish language.

Key words: *idioms, idiom variation, desautomatization, Spanish as a foreign language*

1. Introduction

In phraseological research, *reproducibility*, also termed *institutionalization* or *conventionalization* (Corpas Pastor 1996: 21), is the property by which phraseological units behave as prefabricated chunks in discourse. Thus, they are not generally produced, but reproduced (Zuluaga 2001: 71). This property is related to that of fixedness, as the repetition of a given form leads to its fixedness in the mental lexicon, which sometimes also involves a semantic change. However, fixedness in phraseological units is understood as a gradual property, as there is evidence that they may undergo variations (Langlotz 2006; Moon 1998).

Some Spanish authors suggest the existence of a continuum with different points of fixedness ranging from the most fixed units, at one end,

to the most variable ones at the other (Martí Sánchez 2005: 69–70; Mellado Blanco 2013: 317). Contrary to what one may think, it is claimed that these two phenomena, fixedness and variation, do not conflict, but rather, always go together (Montoro del Arco 2005: 127). What is more, as stated by Corpas Pastor (1996), the phenomenon of variation is possible, precisely, because of fixedness and reproducibility:

La modificación en contexto de las UFS, además de constituir un uso característico de las mismas, no está reñida con la estabilidad (semántica y formal) de la que gozan estas unidades, es más, precisamente depende de ésta y del conocimiento previo de las unidades originales que les sirven de base. (Corpas Pastor 1996: 233)

Literature proves that the variation of idioms is addressed in most handbooks of phraseology and has been investigated from several approaches¹. As a result, different proposals describing the alternative types of idiom variation are found in literature. From all of them, for the purpose of our study, we are especially interested in that of Burger (1998), which is set out in Corpas Pastor & Mena Martínez (2003: 185–193). First, two types of idiom variation are distinguished: on the one hand, the so-called *variants* cover institutionalized and systematic variation that can be recorded lexicographically in dictionaries, and, on the other, *modifications* involve occasional variation related to the use of idioms in discourse.

Second, variants may be lexical (e.g. *acudir/entrar al trapo*) (lit. to come/get into the cloth), structural (e.g. *irse a/de picos pardos*) (lit. to go out on grey-brown corners), or perspective-based (e.g. [alguien] *poner de los nervios* [a alguien]/[alguien] *ponerse de los nervios*) (lit. to put someone on the nerves/to put oneself on the nerves). Furthermore, modifications may affect the canonical surface structure, both when there is a change in the form of the idiom with no shift in meaning, and when there is a modification both in its form and meaning. Alternatively, they may impact the internal semantic structure, when idioms modify their meaning with no alteration of the base form. This paper focuses mainly on the first type, i.e. modifications which involve only a change in the canonical form of the idiom.

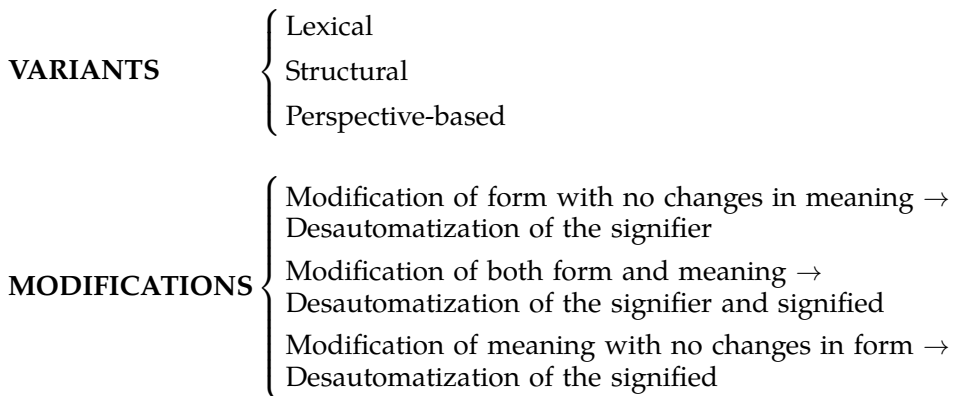
¹ Significant contributions are found in the phraseological research carried out in the European tradition (Burger 1998; Moon 1998; Zuluaga 1980), and in American linguistics, the latter being strongly influenced by Chomsky's generativism (Chafe 1968; Fraser 1970). Moreover, interesting proposals for idiom variation also come from the field of cognitive linguistics and psycholinguistics, based on various assumptions about the processing and interpretation of idioms (Cacciari & Glucksberg 1991; Langlotz 2006; Nunberg et al. 1994; Omazić 2008). References to the aforementioned works are made simply to mention a few examples.

2. The phenomenon of desautomatization

Related to the property of variation, the phenomenon of desautomatization, taken from Russian formalism, refers to the breaking up of the structural fixedness of phraseologisms². This means that, in the case of idioms, some of them may undergo syntactic transformations, just as free strings of words do. This reveals, therefore, the existence of some sort of syntactic relationship between the constituents of the idioms, and goes against the classical view of idioms as frozen units that function as long words.

According to Penadés Martínez (2014: 287–297), idioms can be desautomatized in three different ways, which, in our view, can be studied by direct analogy with the three types of idiom modification mentioned above. Following Saussure's distinction between signifier and signified, idioms can undergo desautomatization of the signifier; desautomatization of both the signifier and the signified; and desautomatization of the signified (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Classification of idiom variation in correlation with desautomatization



Source: own research based on Corpas Pastor & Mena Martínez (2003) and Penadés Martínez (2014).

As previously stated, this paper focuses on cases where only the form of an idiom is modified, so that its meaning is not directly addressed and does not change. However, it should be borne in mind that some of the grammatical processes involved in desautomatization may lead to changes in

² Montoro del Arco (2005: 146) gives a brief outline of differences in the terminology used to cover this linguistic phenomenon. Some popular terms are *deslexicalization*, *modification*, *manipulation* or *break* (from the Spanish *ruptura*).

the discursive meaning (e.g. topicalization) or in the meaning of the sentence (e.g. passivization), as in the following example:

- (1) *Sea honesto consigo mismo, si ella tiene otro hombre, ella debe decírselo y usted debe proceder a dejarla, recuerde que el orgullo debe ser echado a un lado cuando se presenta, pero es que esto no es cuestión de orgullo, es asunto de dignidad.* (Kociancich 1982)

The Spanish idiom *echar a un lado* (lit. to put aside) (*'no prestar atención o consideración a una cosa'*³) is desautomatized in (1) by taking the passive voice as in *ser echado a un lado*. While the meaning of the idiom remains the same, the active/passive distinction enables the speaker to construe the same situation from two different perspectives, resulting in a modification in the meaning of the sentence. Besides, prominence is given to the noun phrase *el orgullo* by shifting the direct object in the active sentence (*echar a un lado el orgullo*) to the subject position or sentence topic. In addition to passivization, idioms can also be desautomatized due to other morphosyntactic transformations such as pronominalization, topicalization, relativization, and anaphoric ellipsis⁴. Each of these will be discussed in detail in § 4.1.1. to § 4.1.5.

3. Reasons to include idiom variation and desautomatization in the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language

The body of research on how variation and desautomatization are addressed from an applied perspective to second language acquisition is far less extensive than its theoretical approach. While it may be partially understandable, this situation has left a gap in the research on proposals for teaching idiom variation and desautomatization in foreign language teaching, and

³ All idioms in examples (1)–(6) are obtained from the *Diccionario de locuciones verbales para la enseñanza del español* (Penadés Martínez 2002), a pedagogically-oriented dictionary including verbal idioms which are appropriate for teaching Spanish as a foreign language. Idiom definitions are taken from Penadés Martínez's *Diccionario de locuciones idiomáticas del español actual* (2019).

⁴ These types of modifications may receive different names depending on the author, and can be expanded by adding other processes involved in changing the lexical organization and the morphosyntactic structure of an idiom (see Corpas Pastor 1996: 240–256; Jaki 2014: 19–31; Langlotz 2006: 226–229; Naciscione 2010: 73; Penadés Martínez 2014: 283–284). Some of the transformations investigated in these works, which are likely to affect the meaning of an idiom, are not addressed in this paper.

more particularly, in the field of Spanish as a foreign language. Nevertheless, there are enough reasons to support the inclusion of these phenomena in the foreign language curriculum⁵. First and foremost, it is known that idioms constantly need to be integrated in context and actualized in discourse according to the syntactic rules of each language, for which the previous grammatical transformations (i.e. passivization, pronominalization, topicalization, relativization, and anaphoric ellipsis) and other processes are required. As the base form is modified, students may be prevented from recognizing the idiom and interpreting it correctly, which seems to justify the affirmation that language learners need to become familiar with the specific modifications that idioms may undergo.

A second reason is that teaching idiom modifications and desautomatization would reconcile phraseological units with freely-formed grammatical constructions in discourse, providing evidence that systematicity may also be found in phraseology. In fact, example (1) proves that some idioms may be subject to basically the same grammatical processes as free word combinations. This approach to phraseology, being in accordance with proposals within the cognitive-linguistic framework (Langacker 1987: 25; Langlotz 2006: 93–98), can bring benefits to learners of Spanish, who are likely to find multiwords units like idioms more accessible, due to their systematic patterns of syntactical behaviour.

The third and final reason is that teaching idiom desautomatization aims at helping learners to foster their knowledge of Spanish grammar and develop their linguistic competence. By doing this, learners are expected to improve their language proficiency, which ultimately provides them with skills to communicate effectively. This is an attempt to engage with the notions of ‘metaphorical competence’ (Acquaroni Muñoz 2008; Danesi 2016; Littlemore & Low 2006) and ‘idiomatic competence’ (Liontas 2017), and their potential association with linguistic and communicative competences in second language acquisition (Danesi 2016: 150; Liontas 2017: 8). Learners’ metaphorical and idiomatic competences would be enhanced by teaching them how figurative language and phraseology are manifested in real discourse, where desautomatization of idioms takes place.

⁵ General reasons for teaching idioms in second language courses are found in Liontas (2017). For teaching Spanish idioms in particular, see Penadés Martínez (2017) and Solano Rodríguez (2007).

4. Pedagogical guidelines on the teaching of desautomatization of Spanish idioms

In an effort to make a real impact on the practice of teaching desautomatization of Spanish idioms, this paper provides a set of specific guidelines, where three main ideas are suggested:

- integrating the teaching of idiom desautomatization into the Spanish course contents, basically in grammar and pragmatic contents,
- starting at advanced levels of language instruction⁶,
- and making use of authentic materials.

4.1. Integration into the Spanish language programme

In accordance with the first guideline, it is recommended that the teaching of desautomatization of idioms be integrated across the entire Spanish language curriculum, which we assume to be designed following the *Common European Framework for Reference of Languages* (Council of Europe 2001) and the Instituto Cervantes' *Plan Curricular* (2006). The main point here is to take the specific grammar contents that are considered appropriate for teaching in Spanish courses, in order to link them with the kind of grammatical transformations that idioms undergo when being desautomatized. This means that the grammar contents to be taught are not only applied to simple lexical units and freely-formed grammatical constructions, but also to multiword units like idioms. Consequently, this ensures the provision of a systematic treatment and proper methodological organization when teaching idioms.

Therefore, we offer (below) a general overview of the types of grammatical transformations that idioms can experience at clause level, leading to the desautomatization of their form. Every grammatical process is first exemplified by an excerpt containing a desautomatized idiom, and subsequently linked to a specific grammar or pragmatic content covered by the *Plan Curricular* (Instituto Cervantes 2006)⁷.

⁶ Note here that this assumption is unrelated to the fact that the teaching of some idioms may be appropriate for lower-intermediate levels of instruction. There is no agreement among experts on the starting point for teaching idioms: some authors (Gómez Molina 2000: 121; Leal Riol 2011: 44–58) contend that the teaching of idioms should start at basic levels, and then sequence their learning according to features like morphological complexity and semantic transparency. On the contrary, there are some others (Ettinger 2008: 102; Penadés Martínez 2004: 53; Ruiz Gurillo 2000: 263) that place the starting point at more advanced stages of learning, although some routine formulae and a few idioms can indeed be taught earlier.

⁷ The *Plan Curricular* addresses grammar contents in chapter 2. *Gramática*, while pragmatic contents are discussed in chapter 6. *Tácticas y estrategias pragmáticas*.

4.1.1. Pronominalization

- (2) *Todos los proyectos que se hicieron en torno al ferrocarril en la última campaña continúan immaculados. ¿Será tan difícil ofrecer ponderables sin que parezca política barata?, ¿tenemos acaso cara de pedir la luna a quienes no la tienen?* (El norte de Castilla 1999)

In example (2) the Spanish idiom *pedir la luna* (lit. to ask for the moon) (*'pedir una cosa imposible'*) has the noun phrase *la luna* substituted by the pronoun *la* in *la tienen*. Besides, the verb *pedir* (to ask for) keeps its original meaning, which requires the presence of the verb *tener* (to have), in the construction to ask [somebody] for [something] that he has. From the perspective of teaching practice, the process of pronominalization in desautomatization of idioms can be linked to the teaching of the grammar content: 3rd person direct object pronouns with grammatical gender and number inflection *lo, la, los, las*, established by the *Plan Curricular* at level A2 (section 7.1.2.).

4.1.2. Passivization

- (3) *En ese cuadro, la tercera figura a la derecha del general es un joven alto, pelirrojo, delgado, muy pálido, que con la mirada baja se concentra y procura reunir entereza y superar su estupor ante el hecho inminente de ser pasado por las armas sin juicio previo, defensa legal ni sentencia firme.* (Cascales 1984)

Example (3) shows that the idiom *pasar por las armas* (lit. to pass through the weapons) (*'fusilar a una persona'*) takes the passive voice as *ser pasado por las armas*, whereby no prominence is given to the agent. On the contrary, the perspective of the sentence is changed by focusing attention on the receiver of the action. The teaching of this process can be integrated into the study of the grammar content: the passive voice in action verbs and past participle uses, appropriate for level B2 according to the *Plan Curricular* (section 9.4.3.).

4.1.3. Topicalization

- (4) *No veas cómo me duele la pierna. – ¿La pierna? –le digo–. Saltos tentás que estar dando de alegría.* (Amilibia 1982)

Here the usual order of the sentence *tenías que estar dando saltos de alegría*, containing the idiom *dar saltos de alegría* (lit. to jump for joy) (*'sentir o manifestar una gran alegría'*), is modified by fronting the noun *saltos*, thus breaking

up the unity or integrity of the idiom. The process of topicalization in example (4) is used to put emphasis on the speaker's view that the other person has enough reasons to feel very happy. In terms of teaching practice, topicalization is included in the *Plan Curricular* at level C1 as a pragmatic strategy consisting of fronting the direct object in a sentence (section 1.4.2.), which can be used as the basis for teaching desautomatization of an idiom by fronting one of its component elements.

4.1.4. Relativization

- (5) *Cardín había estudiado con los jesuitas y para jesuita. Quizá siempre lo fue. Pero, entre las órdenes menores y mayores, llegó a la conclusión de que sus heterodoxas inclinaciones sexuales, su vocación y su terrible carácter tenían difícil acomodación, así que ahorcó los hábitos que ya iba a tomar y se fue a terminar Filosofía con Gustavo Bueno, en Oviedo.* (Jiménez Losantos 1995)

The idiom *ahorcar los hábitos* (lit. to hang one's habits) ('*abandonar la vida eclesiástica*') is desautomatized in (5) by a postmodifying relative clause. Accordingly, the noun phrase *los hábitos* performs as the antecedent of the relative clause introduced by the pronoun *que*, which functions as the direct object of the verbal periphrasis *iba a tomar*. The teaching of relativization applied to idiom desautomatization can be linked to the grammar content covered by the *Plan Curricular* at level B1 focusing on the relative pronoun *que* used in defining relative clauses (sections 7.2. & 15.2.).

4.1.5. Anaphoric ellipsis

- (6) *Paco Umbral no era un tipo fácil y, desde luego, ni era un cualquiera ni era vulgar. Te entraba por el ojo derecho o no te entraba. Pero, te gustase o no, representó, durante bastante tiempo, la conciencia intelectual en un mundo yermo de intelectuales.* (Jauregui 2007)

The constituent elements *por el ojo derecho* in (6) are omitted when the idiom *entrar por el ojo derecho* (lit. to get into the right eye) ('*gustar a una persona*') is repeated. Instead, the entire idiomatic structure should be *Te entraba por el ojo derecho o no te entraba por el ojo derecho*. Anaphoric ellipsis is included in the *Plan Curricular* as a pragmatic content, suggesting the teaching of grammar tools, such as anaphoric reference and ellipsis, in the construction and interpretation of discourse. This is appropriate for levels A1, A2, B2 and C1, depending on the difficulty level of the grammatical structures involved (section 1.1.1.).

4.2. Advanced levels of language instruction

As a second guideline, with regard to the starting point for teaching desautomatization of idioms, at least three reasons can be identified to support its inclusion, especially at advanced levels. Firstly, the syntactic transformations involved in desautomatization address grammar contents appropriate for teaching at levels A, B and C. When grammatical alterations are applied to complex units like idioms, understanding the idioms' inner complexity of form and meaning may turn out to be even more difficult. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to exclude idiom desautomatization from teaching at the initial stage of learning when the learners' proficiency level is too low.

Secondly, learners need to have previously learnt the canonical form of the idioms which are then targeted as desautomatized units at advanced levels. This implies that, at the preliminary stage, learners should have acquired a good level of knowledge of the features of idioms in terms of form, meaning, semantic relationships, language register and culture-based information. Only after that would they probably be ready to move forward and learn how idioms are desautomatized by means of a wide range of syntactical operations. Morphosyntactical operations involving nominal, adjectival and verbal inflection can, nevertheless, be included at the initial stage, as these only entail some minor changes in the idiom's structure which are unlikely to prevent learners from recognizing and understanding the idiom.

Thirdly, as far as reading comprehension is concerned, learners need a good command of the Spanish language to be able to understand texts containing desautomatized units, as these often reflect real-life Spanish language use. Moreover, some authentic texts are "too culturally biased" (Berardo 2006: 65), requiring a good knowledge of the target culture which is often acquired some time after starting to learn a language.

4.3. Authentic materials

Related to the third reason given above, using authentic materials in the teaching of desautomatization of Spanish idioms may prove positive. In fact, examples (1)–(6) are taken from a corpus of real texts, compiled specifically for lexicographic purposes, which I have been allowed to use for this paper. Texts from different fields of knowledge can be used, especially from literature, journalism and advertising, as experts agree that manipulation and desautomatization of idioms are particularly frequent in these genres (Corpas Pastor 1996: 233–234; Copras Pastor & Mena Martínez 2003: 184; Parizosca & Rajh 2017: 50). It should be stressed, though, that grammatical

adjustments might not be considered to be truly creative and may therefore be less common in advertisements and newspaper headlines (Jaki 2014: 22).

As always when teaching languages, but most importantly in the case of teaching desautomatization of idioms, context is crucial. As examples (1)–(6) show, presenting idioms in context is absolutely necessary for learners to identify the desautomatized units and offer a correct interpretation. Furthermore, using teaching materials based on authentic examples is believed to increase learners' motivation for learning a language, as they are dealing with instances of real language (Berardo 2006: 64; Parizosca & Rajh 2017: 63). However, it is necessary to ensure that texts are appropriate for learners' reading levels in order to avoid the opposite effect, of de-motivation (Berardo 2006: 65), and to be successful in the teaching process.

5. Pedagogical implications and conclusions

From the general guidelines outlined in § 4., some pedagogical implications can be highlighted in terms of specific activities for learning desautomatization of Spanish idioms in the classroom. Based on the proposal by Martí Sánchez (2014: 106–109), a set of exercises targeting both the identification and the production of idiom desautomatization are suggested below. These involve the following tasks: 1) to identify the canonical form of idioms which appear in different sentences with changes in their base form; 2) to recognize the particular grammatical transformations involved in the process of desautomatization, i.e. passivization, pronominalization, topicalization, relativization, and anaphoric ellipsis; 3) to undertake some grammar practice to make sure that learners master these contents, using different types of exercises, such as gap-filling, error correction, multiple-choice, etc.; and 4) to raise awareness of possible shifts in discursive meaning and connotations. These activities may be followed by an additional activity 5), whereby learners are asked to desautomatize an idiom in context, and a general reflection on how desautomatization influences both the syntactic stability and semantic unity of idioms (activity 6).

In connection with the last task, it has already been mentioned that theoretical studies on idiom variation, mainly inspired by a cognitive approach to phraseology, prove that most idioms do not function as long words that are syntactically frozen. On the contrary, their constituents can behave independently to some extent, following standard syntactic rules, and consequently, breaking up their structural fixedness. What is more, proposals have been made to explain the syntactic flexibility of idioms in semantic terms,

by relating their degree of syntactic versatility with their semantic features, mainly their semantic compositionality⁸ (Cacciari & Glucksberg 1991; Nunberg et al. 1994):

The hypothesis examined in several recent studies was that people's intuitions about the syntactic versatility of idioms are affected by the analyzability or decomposability of these figurative phrases (Gibbs & Nayak, 1989). Results from a variety of experiments demonstrated that normally decomposable idioms (e.g., *pop the question*) were found to be much more syntactically productive than semantically nondecomposable idioms (e.g., *chew the fat*). Abnormally decomposable idioms were not found to be syntactically productive because each part does not by itself refer to some component of the idiomatic referent, but only to some metaphorical relation between the individual part and the referent. (Gibbs 2014 [1993]: 63)

In sum, despite differences between research approaches to idiom variation and desautomatization, we propose that results from theoretical and descriptive studies should expand their scope towards their pedagogical implications when teaching languages. It would be beneficial that teachers were aware of the pervasiveness of phraseology in language and were provided with more concrete proposals to be implemented in the classroom as teaching materials for learning idiom desautomatization. For this purpose, the teaching guidelines and pedagogical implications outlined in this paper may be used as a starting point to be elaborated on them in future research. After all, most learners wish to learn real life uses of the target language to ultimately achieve near nativelike proficiency, and idiom modification has been proved to have a fundamental role in this respect.

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⁸ As Langlotz (2006: 30–36) reports, this view has been harshly criticized within the generative grammar framework. Yet some objections may also be found in research studies inspired by cognitive linguistics (Dobrovolskij 2007: 809–812, Langlotz 2006: 176–179) and other research paradigms (Bargmann & Sailer 2018: 1–29).

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Desautomatización de locuciones verbales del español: aplicación a la enseñanza

Resumen

El carácter gradual de la fijación formal de las unidades fraseológicas conlleva implícitamente la identificación de otro de sus rasgos definitorios: la variación. La capacidad de los fraseologismos para alterar su configuración formal se manifiesta,

bien a través de variantes institucionalizadas registradas en los diccionarios, bien mediante modificaciones derivadas de su uso en el discurso que, como consecuencia, pueden llevar a la desautomatización de la unidad. Este capítulo, que toma como objeto de estudio las locuciones verbales del español, aborda el proceso de desautomatización de la forma fraseológica, desde una doble perspectiva.

Por una parte, desde un punto de vista teórico-descriptivo, se exponen y ejemplifican los principales procedimientos sintácticos implicados en la desautomatización fraseológica, entre ellos, la pronominalización, la pasivización, la topicalización, la relativización y la elipsis anafórica. Por otra parte, desde una dimensión aplicada, se ofrecen una serie de pautas didácticas que orientan la enseñanza de la desautomatización de las locuciones en el aula de español como lengua extranjera. Estas directrices, que van acompañadas de indicaciones sobre actividades didácticas concretas para realizar en clase, se fundamentan en tres recomendaciones metodológicas: enseñar la desautomatización de manera integrada con los contenidos gramaticales y pragmáticos del currículo; reservar su enseñanza para niveles avanzados; y utilizar materiales auténticos adecuados al nivel de comprensión lectora de los aprendientes. Con esta propuesta se intenta arrojar luz a un campo de la investigación fraseológica, como es la desautomatización de las locuciones, que apenas ha sido explorado en sus aplicaciones a la enseñanza del español como lengua extranjera.

PART III

**PHRASEOGRAPHICAL ISSUES
FROM A MONO- AND BILINGUAL
PERSPECTIVE**

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Phrasemes in Genoese and Genoese-Italian Lexicography

Abstract. In this work, an overview on the state of the art of phrasemes in dialectal monolingual and bilingual lexicography will be given, focusing on the Genoese and Genoese-Italian lexicography. First, *Genoese* will be defined and then followed by a summary of the already existing Genoese and Genoese-Italian dictionaries. It will be shown that the Genoese lexicography lacks many important aspects, amongst others also the matter of phrasemes and their equivalents. *GEPHRAS*¹ is the first dictionary (focusing on *Genoese PHRASemes*) documenting both synchronic and diachronic phrasemes, with particular focus on collocations, idioms, comparative, communicative and structural phrasemes. The project will serve as model for further phraseographical studies and will help preserving Genoese.

Key words: *phraseography, phraseology, Genoese, Italian, dialect*

1. Introduction

Phraseology has achieved much importance in the last few decades, also as far as the Italian language is concerned (cf. e.g. Mollica 2015: 13). Still, phrasemes (according to a broad definition, cf. e.g. Burger ³2007) are not part of the studies based on many varieties and dialects spoken in Italy (cf. Cini 2005: 275), although some Tuscanian phraseological dictionaries even date back to the 16th century (cf. Autelli in progress). Most of the dialect dictionaries in Western Europe appeared in the second half of the 19th century (cf. Piirainen 2006: 197). Phrasemes do not only change as the years pass by, but are also used in several ways in the different geographic areas

¹ The project (P31321) is financed by the Austrian Science Fund FWF. Since July 2020 *GEPHRAS2*, a follow up project (P33303-G), has started. Also this project is financed by the Austrian Science Fund FWF. Both projects are led by Erica Autelli.

and can vary in every single language community (cf. Piirainen 2007: 530). Piirainen (2007) states that “[l]inguistic research on the phraseology of dialects is still in its infancy” (538) and that “[d]ialect phraseology is virtually non-existent in international or national compendia of dialectology” (533), as one does not often find idioms or collocations labeled as such in dialect lexicography (cf. Piirainen 2007: 533). This is partly the case with Genoese lexicography, which mostly includes proverbs and, eventually, some sayings, but until 2018, no so-called idioms or collocations (see chapter 3 for more information).

Many dialect dictionaries were compiled by laymen and there are only certain dialect dictionaries that welcomed phrasemes indicating them as such. With the exception of many Finnish dialect dictionaries containing phrasemes but not clearly classifying them (particularly idioms and proverbs are often incorrectly labeled), within the most well-known lexicographic works containing phrasemes or phrases listed as such are to be found the *EDD* (Wright 1898–1905), where they are labeled with “Phr.” (Piirainen 2007: 534) and *The New Hungarian Dialect Dictionary* (Lörinczy/Hoszu 1979–2010). The latter is structured by its linguistic phraseological units. Lately, dialect dictionaries seem to include more phrasemes (cf. Piirainen 2007: 534); however, in the case of Genoese, only a small part of phrasemes have been documented so far and they need to be labeled as such as in *GEPHRAS* (see chapter 3). Croatian, Russian and Low German dialect West-Münsterländisch studies are within the first based on dialectal phrasemes (cf. Matešić 1988; Piirainen 2000; Autelli in progress) and slowly there is a growing awareness of and interest in phraseology in dialect and/or in the other varieties (cf. e.g. Burger (2002); Zürer (2007)). Since the 90s of the 20th century, there have been more and more studies on contrastive phraseology. Still, many aspects have not been analyzed yet, in particular, there is the need to register more phrasemes in more languages (cf. Korhonen 2007: 587).

The term “phraseology” can be interpreted in several ways according to the different definitions (cfr. Autelli in progress). It can for example imply idioms or, generally speaking, phraseological units (cf. Zybatow 1998: 149–154). Proverbs have a much longer tradition in lexicography (cf. Piirainen 2007: 532), also in Italian dialect dictionaries (cf. Fanfani 2007: 981). In particular, Staglieno (1869) worked on the Genoese proverbs and in the 60s, Franceschi started a project for an *Atlante Paremiologico Italiano* (cf. Fanfani 2007: 918).

As far as idiomatic expressions is concerned, it is not always clear what exactly constitutes an idiom (cf. Dobrovol’skij 1995: 13). Usually idioms have

non compositional meaning, but they can have many more features such as opacity and figurative meaning (cf. Zybatow 1998: 155–156). Usually dialects are more flexible than the standard languages, so one is more likely to find more equivalents for a particular concept. Dialects also often contain somatisms (cf. Piirainen 2007: 535). However, it can also happen that some phraseological units have no correspondents in another variety (cf. Aijmer 2007: 566). In this case, they have zero equivalence and one needs to compensate with other translation strategies (cf. Korhonen 2007, 578). If a phraseme has one (exact) equivalent it is monoequivalent, while if it has more than one, it is polyequivalent (cf. Korhonen 2007, 577). In translation it can happen that the translator paraphrases, even though exact equivalents exist (cf. Zybatow 1998: 155). This also depends on the language knowledge of the translator. For a lexicographic work it is important to find the exact equivalents of the phrasemes that would work in different contexts and/or to explain their use. The different equivalents can have different syntactic structures (cf. Korhonen 2007: 580), but there are also many more factors that should be taken into account when translating (e.g. different cultures, regional customs, “[c]ulture-boundness of phraseological meaning” (Sabban 2007: 595), connotations and domains (cf. Sabban 2007: 596)).

Mogorrón Heurta (2014) argues that the same phrasemes have sometimes been associated with different regions in different dictionaries and thus there are still discrepancies (cf. Mogorrón Huerta 2014: 138). Pamies Bertrán (2017b) points out that some scientists maintain that it would be important to develop such studies through corpora and sociolinguistic analyses (through questionnaires) (cf. Cuadrado Rey 2016: 97–110). It could also be added that if no (phraseological) corpora already exist, it is important to peruse already existing dictionaries as a base and to ask people whose mother tongue is the diatopic variety and/or who know the diatopic variety well to participate in projects or questionnaires. One more important goal would be that of developing phraseological ATLAS (cf. Nikoláeva 2011: 16; cf. Pamies Bertrán 2017a: 25):

Un ejemplo muy cercano a este objetivo serían los trabajos realizados por dialectólogos del Centro Universitario di Geoparemiologia de Florencia (Franceschi 1994, 1999, 2000), el proyecto BFQS sobre las variedades “nacionales” en la fraseología de Bélgica, Francia, Suiza y Quebec (Lamiroy et al. 2010) o el proyecto badare, una base de datos de refranes meteorológicos en los dialectos de toda la Rumania (Gargallo et al. 2005–2008, 2010, 2011). (Pamies Bertrán 2017b: 62)

In particular, collocations have not been analysed much in dialectal phraseological works (cf. Pamies Bertrán 2017b: 67). Diatopical, diaphasical and

distritical varieties and (quasi) synonyms represent another challenge (cf. Pamies Bertrán 2017b: 69–70). One should distinguish between literal free combinations that are not considered as standard language and (figurative or semi-figurative) phrasemes used in certain contexts by a certain speaking community: mostly, the latter are interesting for the fields of dialectal phraseology (cf. Pamies Bertrán 2017b: 72).

2. Genoese dictionaries

2.1. A definition of Genoese

Genoese has been classified as part of Ligurian, but its status is still controversial (cf. Holtus / Metzeltin / Pfister 1989; Toso 1998; Autelli 2021), as it has been argued that it also belongs to the dialects above the isogloss La Spezia-Rimini and according to some, also to the Gallo-Italic dialects. It is also important to mention that it is actually a category on its own as it only shares certain features with other dialects and languages (cf. Autelli 2021). As for the term *Genoese* itself, there are many different definitions of it, as it is spoken in different varieties throughout Liguria. Other varieties of Ligurian are also to be found in adjacent areas (Tuscany, Piedmont and France), in Argentina (La Boca, Buenos Aires) and in the ex-Genoese colonies (in Corsica, in Sardinia and in the Principality of Monaco) (cf. Beniscelli / Coletti / Còveri 1992: 45; Toso 2002b: 26; Guasoni / Toso 2010: 10; Toso 2010).

In this work, the term *Genoese* refers to the urban diatopic variety of Genoa (which is mostly shared approximately in the area between Bergeggi and Moneglia, cf. Toso 2002a), but also to a Ligurian variety which is “definitely endangered” (UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger 1995–2010). However, there has lately been a revival of it, mainly due to newspapers, TV, music, theatre, poetry, cultural associations, courses, (didactic) books and Genoese programmes (cf. Autelli 2021), and it is estimated that around 460,000 people speak Genoese today (cf. Acquarone 2015a: 119). Phraseography could possibly play an essential role in helping preserve Genoese.

2.2. Status quo of the Genoese (and Genoese-Italian) lexicography

Although we can find several Genoese (and Italian) dictionaries and, additionally, the oldest documents in Genoese to be found date back to the 12th century, there is still a lot of work to be done in the (written as well

as oral) registration of Genoese, especially as far as phraseology is concerned (see chapter 2.3.1.).

As in many other dialects (cf. Piirainen 2007: 533), the beginnings of Genoese lexicography date back to the 19th century, with the following works (for more information see Autelli 2021): the very well-known *Vocabolario genovese-italiano* (1851, ²1876) by Casaccia, the works by Olivieri (1841, 1851), the *Vocabolario domestico genovese-italiano con un'appendice zoologica illustrato con tavole* (1857) and the *Vocabolario domestico genovese-italiano* (1868) by Paganini, *Proverbi in genovese con i corrispondenti in latino e in diversi dialetti* (1869) by Staglieno and the *Vocabolario tascabile genovese-italiano per il popolo* (1873) by P.F.B.. In the 20th and in the 21st century, the following dictionaries have been published so far (cf. Autelli 2021): *Dizionario moderno genovese-italiano e italiano genovese* (1910) by Frisoni, the *Nuovo vocabolario genovese-italiano* (1955) by Gismondi, the *Dizionario italiano-genovese* by Canevagli (1977), the *Vocabolario delle parlate liguri* (VPL, 1985–1992) by Toso / Petracco Sicardi / Cavallaro (1985–1992), the *Dizionario genovese pei bambini: primo insegnamento oggettivo in cromolitografia* by Schmucker (1981), *E parolle do gatto* and *E parolle de l'amö* by Dolcino (e.g. 1975, 1978), *Ancora proverbi genovesi* (1977) by Petrucci, the collection of *Parolacce genovesi* by De Carlo (1994) and the pocket dictionary by Toso (1998). Recently published dictionaries include the works by Olivari such as *Zeneise riso ræo* (2003, ²2006), the *Moderno dizionario rapido genovese-italiano italiano-genovese con Rimario* by Pessino (1995 e ²2011), the *Nuovo Vocabolario Italiano-Genovese* by Bampi (2008), the *Dizionario genovese* and the *Dizionario italiano-genovese* by Agostino (2006, 2013), the *Piccolo Dizionario Etimologico Ligure* by Fiorenzo Toso (2015c), the *Traduttore Italiano Genovese – TIG* and the *Modi di dire Genovesi: 1233 modi di dire tradotti e commentati con la pronuncia di tutte le parole genovesi* by Bampi (2015a, 2015b), as well as the online lexicographic works *Tolte dal Cassetto* (2004) and the 'Dizionario Italiano-Genovese' *Parole di Genova* (2009). In 2018, another Genoese-Italian dictionary was published (Bampi 2018). *GEPHRAS* (Autelli et al. 2018–2021, see chapter 3) is the newest and, together with *GEPHRAS2*, the only Genoese-Italian online dictionary which focuses on phraseology (especially on collocations and idioms) that includes the pronunciation of the phrasemes.

2.3. Problems of the Genoese (and Italian) dictionaries

Generally speaking, Genoese and Genoese-Italian lexicography unfortunately lacks many important aspects. First of all, the dictionaries do not have as many lemmas as one would expect and most of the time, they are fairly

unsystematic (with a few exceptions). The choice of criteria for the entries is random, of an amateur and non-scientific nature, and the contents is often simply copied from other dictionaries. Moreover, there are certain limitations as far as the possibility for searching lemmas is concerned (e.g. only from one direction to the other and only a few varieties). Further, most of the time it is not clear whether the words are still in use (and in which area), what their exact equivalent really is, what their register and connotations are, etc. Most of the time, no phonological correspondent is given, except for a few dictionaries where the graphemes of single lemmas are also given (see for example Figure 3).

In addition, there is the problem of the orthography. Several proposals have been made (cf. Acquarone 2015c), but only three dictionaries have been using the new proposal for orthography of 2015 so far, namely the *Piccolo dizionario etimologico ligure* (Toso 2015), *GEPHRAS: The ABC of Genoese in Italian Phrasemes (Collocations and Idioms)* (Autelli et al. 2018–2021, see chapter 3) and *GEPHRAS2: The D-Z of Genoese in Italian Phrasemes (Collocations and Idioms)* (Autelli et al. in progress). Another problem are the so called *paròlle do gatto*, i.e. swearing that has not been listed in certain dictionaries because it is considered too vulgar. However, such words are actually quite popular in the Genoese speaking community and they have entered many other books and types of collections and/or glossaries, especially those on sayings and proverbs.

2.3.1. Phrasemes in Genoese (and Genoese-Italian) dictionaries

Not many studies exist on dialectal phraseology (cf. Autelli / Konecny / Lusito in print). This is also an issue for lexicography, where phraseology is still subordinate to other fields (cf. Pamies Bertrán 2017, 57–58). As far as the phrasemes in Genoese (and Genoese-Italian) dictionaries is concerned, the dictionary entries are often anything but complete. As mentioned before, the phrasemes are not often labeled as such and not even mentioned in the preface (e.g. P.F.B. 1873 and *Tolte dal Cassetto* 2004). Casaccia (21876) uses one graphic symbol (that he calls “paragrafo” (usually “§”, in Casaccia it rather looks like an “S”)) in his Genoese-Italian lexicographical work: he writes in the user guide preceding the lemmas that “Il paragrafo [...] indica la frase, il dettato, il proverbio, ecc. dipendenti dal verbo, nome, ecc. riempitivo, a cui soggiaciono”.

In the following, several screenshots with entries of Genoese dictionaries will be given in order to provide an overview of the structure of the dictionaries:

Figure 1. Entries in the small online Genoese-Italian dictionary *Tolte dal Cassetto* 2004

Source: www.toltealcassetto.it/genova2004_dialetto_dizionario_a-c.htm

As one can see in Figure 1, some dictionaries are actually a kind of glossary, with single words and a few word combinations that are given in an extra box as part of examples (see the examples under the entry *Can (Chen)*, but not indicated as phrasemes).

Figure 2. Entries in the Italian-Genoese dictionary *TIG*

Source: www.zeneize.net/itze/lemmi.asp?chiave=a

In Figure 2 one can see that in *TIG* one can find some chunks as separate entries (such as *a tentoni = a tastón*) – still, phrasemes are not indicated as such.

Figure 3. Entries in the *Dizionario Italiano-Genovese. Parole di Genova* (2009)

The screenshot shows a web browser displaying the entry for 'Camallo' on the website www.paroledigenova.net. The page includes a navigation menu on the left, a main content area with etymology and usage information, and a table of phonetic transcriptions. The etymology section mentions 'Fascino', 'Fascioni', and 'Fascioni' as related terms. The table below shows the following information:

Info	Grafia ufficia	Grafia semplicitata	Prononcia (SAMP)
es. a.	camallo	camallo	[kaˈmalla]
es. p.	camalli	camalli	[kaˈmali]

Below the table, there are sections for 'Camallo sui vocabolari storici', 'Voci correlate', and 'Categorie'.

Source: www.paroledigenova.net/ze/index.php?title=Camallo.

In Figure 3 one can see an example taken from the '*Dizionario Italiano-Genovese*'. *Parole di Genova* (2009, now not to be found online anymore). Usually, no phrasemes were given in the upper part of the entry, but one could find some as part of some examples taken from other dictionaries. One could find the phonetic transcription of the single lexeme but one could not listen to it.

Figure 4. Entries in Genoese-Italian dictionary by Casaccia (1851)

piccinire, Coartare. — EITO part. Stretto.
A STREPELLI, Alla sfilata, Alla spiccio-
 lata. Posto avverb. vale Senz'ordine, Un
 dietro l'altro, e A pochi per volta.
A STREUPPE avv. A stormo, In truppa,
 A folla, A branchi, e vale In quantità,
 A molti per volta.
ASTROFOGGIÀ v. a. Abbatuffolare, Rab-
 batuffolare; Mettere, Avvolgere insieme
 confusamente in fascio, in batuffolo. §.
Pappè astrofoggiò; Carta aggrovigliata,
 spiegazzata, gualcita, raggrinzata V. *Am-
 mallocà*.
ASTRÛNÒU add. Intronato, fesso, smosso.
 Dicesi d'un vaso incrinato (*avvenòu*)
 o di campana che battendovi sopra manda
 un suono cattivo. §. *Ommo astrònuu*;
 Balordo, Mogio, Accasciato.
A STÛFFÒU V. A MACCHETTO.
A TASTON; A tastone, A tentone. Posto
 avverb. col verbo Andare, che anche co-
 munitamente dicesi Andare al tasto, vale
 Andare adagio e leggieri, quasi tasan-
 sono esser presi.
ATTACCÀ v. a. Attaccare, Appicare. §.
 Ussi anche per Cominciare: *Attaccà a
 battaglia*; Attaccar la battaglia, cioè Co-
 minciarla. §. *Attaccò i drappi*; Appicare,
 Appuntare i panni; dicesi allorquando si
 cuciono insieme per darli alla lavandaja.
 §. *Attaccò boga*; Accattar brighe, Attaccar
 lite. — ÀSE n. p. Attaccarsi, Appi-
 gliarsi, Appiccarsi. §. *Attaccòe*; Alter-
 care, Rissare, Arrisarsi; Far alterchi,
 risse. §. *Attaccòe commo e sanguette*;
 Appiccarsi come le mignatte; dicesi delle
 Persone nojose, di cui si dura fatica a
 liberarsene. §. *Attaccòe a-i spègi*; Ap-
 porsi alle pandette o al Sole; dicesi
 d'un cavilloso, che s'appiglia a qua-
 lunque cosa anche impossibile, che pens
 essergli giovevole. — ÒU part. Attaca-
 to, Appiccato, ecc. §. *Mèi attaccòu*; Po-
 mo gnasto, magagnato.
ATTASTÀ v. a. Tastare, Toccare. §. *Attastò*
 V. *Assazzò*.

Source: Casaccia 1851: 36.

In Casaccia (1851, see Figure 4) one can find chunks as entries such as *a taston*. In the entry, one can read that it is often used as part of a proverb, but it is given only in the Italian explanation. Other phrasemes are often indicated by a paragraph, but no distinction within the individual kinds of phrasemes is made. Moreover, the paragraph also indicates other data such as citations. From a phraseodidactic point of view, the explanations of idioms are useful, but they are written in a type of Italian that is not standard nowadays.

Figure 5. Entries in the Genoese-Italian dictionary by P.F.B. (1873)

A stùffòu. <i>A calca.</i>	Attempòu. <i>Attempato.</i>
A taston. <i>A tastone.</i>	Attende. <i>Attendere. Aspirare.</i>
A teito. <i>Sotto tetto.</i>	Attende ò sorchetto, ecc. <i>Tendere l'aiuolo.</i>
Atelliè. <i>Officina. Laboratorio.</i>	Attenzion. <i>Attenzione.</i>
Äto. <i>Alto. Elevato.</i>	Atterrà. <i>Atterrare, Abbatere.</i>
A tocca saro. <i>A birri e ladri.</i>	Atterrenà. <i>Ammontare.</i>
A tocchetti. <i>A minuzzolì.</i>	Atterri. <i>Atterrire.</i>
A tocchi. <i>A brani.</i>	Attesà. <i>Stirare, Tendere.</i>
A tombolon. <i>A tombolo.</i>	Attestà. <i>Attestare.</i>
A tòrsio. <i>A dòndolo.</i>	Attèsccegà. <i>Attossicare.</i>
A tracolla. <i>Ad armacollo.</i>	Attilàse. <i>Attilarsi.</i>
Atrettanto. <i>Altrettanto.</i>	Attilòu. <i>Attilato. Dipinto.</i>
Atrimenti. <i>Altrimenti.</i>	Attiràse. <i>Attirarsi.</i>
Atro. <i>Altro.</i>	Attissà. <i>Attizzare.</i>
Attaccà. <i>Attaccare. Appiccicare.</i>	Attornia. <i>Attorniare.</i>
Attaccalite. <i>Accattabrighe.</i>	Attortignà. <i>Attortigliare.</i>
Attaccàse. <i>Appigliarsi. Aggrapparsi.</i>	Attortignàse. <i>Aggrovigliarsi.</i>
Attaccàse con ün. <i>Altercare.</i>	Attortignòu. <i>Attorcigliato.</i>
Attaccàse a-i spegi. <i>Apporsi al sole.</i>	Attraccà. <i>Afferrare.</i>
Attaccavesti. <i>Attaccapanni.</i>	Attrazion. <i>Attrazione.</i>
Attaccòu. <i>Attacato. Guasto.</i>	Attressà. <i>Attrazzare.</i>
Attämassòu. <i>Malfatto. Tanghero.</i>	Attressatüa. <i>Attrazzatura.</i>
	Attressatüa. <i>Intrecciatura.</i>
	Attristà. <i>Attristare.</i>
	Attristàse. <i>Contristarsi.</i>
	Attrovà. <i>Ritrovare.</i>
	Attrovèuia. <i>Cortesia, Man-</i>

Source: P.F.B. 1873: 36.

In Figure 5 we can see that there are dictionaries that list phrasemes as single entries, but they are not indicated as a separate category (see, for example, the last two examples at the bottom of the first column).

In Figure 6 one can see that some phrasemes are also to be found as simple entries, for example, in Paganini. However, they are not designed as such and they are not always in alphabetic order and are thus sometimes difficult to find.

As far as the pronunciation in Genoese is concerned, only a few Genoese dictionaries made or make it possible to find the phonetic transcription, such as in the *Dizionario Italiano-Genovese. Parole di Genova* (2009) and in Bampi's work (2015c), but both barely indicate the pronunciation of word

Figure 6. Entries in the domestic Genoese-Italian dictionary by Paganini (1837)

<p>cava premendola, il quale s'insala, e si serba per condimento.</p> <p>L'Uva, stando in sulle generali, si distingue in <i>bianca, rossa, e nera</i>; in <i>serrata o fitta</i>, e <i>spàrgola</i> (cioè con grappoli ad àcini rari); in <i>Uva per far vino, mangerécia, serbevole</i></p> <p>In particolare poi l' uva suol avere il nome della vite che la produce, e questa lo trae da qualche speciale carattere, dal luogo donde prima ci venne o dov'è esclusivamente coltivata ec.</p> <p>ALEÀTICO, <i>Aledico</i> e più comunemente <i>Leàtico</i>, s. m.</p> <p>ARBAËUA, V. <i>Gianchetta</i>.</p> <p>BARBARÓSSA, <i>Barbaróssa</i> s. f.</p> <p>ÛGA BARBERA, <i>Uva barbera, Barbarina</i>. È nera, e primeggia tra le uve del basso Monferrato.</p> <p>ÛGA BRAIËUA, <i>Uva bracchetto</i>, È indigena del contado di Nizza.</p> <p>ÛGA CANAIËUA, <i>Uva canaiòla, Canaiòla, Canaiuola</i>. È nera, più serrata che spargola, e per la sua dolcezza piace molto ai cani.</p> <p>ÛGA CORNETTA, <i>Uva galletta, Galletta</i>, Sorta d' uva di due fatte, cioè bianca e nera, la quale ha i granelli lunghetti e</p>	<p><i>Moscadèlla bianca, e il Moscatellòne di Spagna o di Salamanna</i>, bianco esso pure.</p> <p>NEBBIËU, <i>Nebbiòlo</i>.</p> <p>ÛGA PIGNËUA, <i>Pignuòla bianca, Uva claretta di Nizza</i>.</p> <p>ÛGA TRÈGGIA, <i>Pergolese</i>, Spezie d' uva duràcine e grossa, detta anche <i>Pèrgola</i> e <i>Brumèsta</i>, la quale basta sulla pergola tutto il verno, e ce n'ha della bianca, della rossa, e della nera. V. Crescenz. 4. 4. 13.</p> <p>VERMENTIN, <i>Vermentino</i>.</p> <p>ÛGA SARVÈGA, <i>Lambrusca, Raverusto, Ravirusto, Affricogna, Uoizzolo</i>, Frutto del Lambrusco, che è sorta di vite salvatica.</p> <p>ZEBIBBO, <i>Zibibbo</i>, Uva passa che ci viene in barili o in cestelli di Levante e di Sicilia. <i>Zibibbo</i> dieci pure una spezie d' uva ottima e dura che ha i granelli bislungi. Ve n' ha della bianca e della rossa.</p> <p>ÛGA PASSA, <i>Uva passa o pàssola o pàsula</i>, che il volgo dice <i>Uva pàssera</i>, Uva quasi cotta sulla vite dal sole, o seccata in forno - V.</p> <p>ÛGHETTA, <i>Uva di Corinto, Uva pàsola di Corinto</i> ecc., Uva d' àcini piccolissimi, che</p>
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Source: Paganini 1837: 90.

combinations (i.e. phrasemes). Moreover, no pronunciation audio is provided, which is offered in *GEPHRAS* (and in *GEPHRAS2*). This should help people learn Genoese and, especially, assist in preserving the language.

1.3.2. The phrasemes and their equivalents

Dictionaries in Genoese (and Genoese-Italian) mostly deal with single words, or if the translations of phrasemes are provided, they are often incomprehensible. In the following, a few examples of phrasemes found in these dictionaries (based on the lemma *àia*, 'air') with their translations will be given in order to show some of the problems of the equivalents given:

- (1) The Italian equivalents (also collocations or idioms) are not those of the 21st century, e.g.:
 - a. "*do paize* = aria nativa" (Casaccia 18762: 17; Frisoni 1910: 12)
→ Today, the Italian collocation would be, depending on the context, "*l'aria natia / di casa*".
 - b. "*cangiâ* - = mutare paese" (Frisoni 1910: 13)
→ Today, the collocation would be that of "*cambiare aria*", "*cambiare paese*". "*Mutare paese*" would mean something different (lit. 'to mutate the country').

- c. "*destende all'* - = sciorinare" (ibid.)
 → Except for the fact that the object is missing, the modern collocation could possibly be "stendere, appendere, mettere all'aria".
- (2) Sometimes, the connotations of the phrasemes (incl. idiomatic expressions) are missing:
- d. "*vive d'* - = campar con poco, vivere miseramente" (ibid.)
 → What is the connotation of the first equivalent? This is not clear in the entry.
- (3) The objectoids and/or valence aspects are missing, such as in:
- e. "*avei l'* - = rassomigliare, (fig.) aver alterigia, burbanza" (Frisoni 1910: 12)
 → Apart from the fact that the translation would have to be changed, in the Genoese collocation it is not shown what follows *äia* (*di qrc.*).
- (4) Sometimes, only one meaning is given, such as in:
- f. "*andare con le gambe all'* - = andare in rovina, in malora" (ibid.)
 → Problem: this could also be used in its literal meaning and not only as an idiomatic expression.
- g. "*cacciâ all'* - = mettere a soqqadro, sossopra" (ibid.)
 → Apart from the fact that "sossopra" is not commonly used nowadays, it is not clear whether the combination can be also used in its literal meaning.
- (5) Sometimes the translation is literal or it is not clear whether the meaning is literal or idiomatic and/or what the reference is, such as in:
- h. "*ëse basso d'* - = aver poca altezza (detto di locale)" (Frisoni 1910: 13)
 → Can this only be used literally or can the phraseme also be figurative? And what exactly is meant by "locale"?
- (6) The reference is not clear, such as in:
- i. "*ëse per l'* - = essere in disordine, in scompiglio" (ibid.)
 → In this case it is also not clear what it refers to (a person? A place?).
- (7) Often, some equivalents are given, but others are missing or wrong, such as in:
- j. "*ësighe quarcosa per l'* - = bollire qc. in pentola, esservi dell'oscuro all'orizzonte" (ibid.)
 → The modern Italian equivalent could be "c'è qualcosa nell'aria (fig.)"; if one uses "c'è qualcosa che bolle in pentola", it should also

be specified that it is used in its figurative meaning; the second equivalent is not clear because it is not clear how or in what context it is used.

(8) Often, some words are written in capital letters even when they should not be, such as in:

k. “- *averta* = Aria aperta, dicesi dell’Aria di campagna, che è libera e non impedita dalle case, ecc.” (Casaccia ²1876: 17)

→ The translation and the explanation are correct, but the capital letter is not (the reason it is like this is that the lexicographer decided to indicate the lemmas in this manner).

(9) Sometimes the explanations are not accurate, such as in:

l. “- *finn-a* = aria gelata, brezza, brezzolina” (Frisoni 1910: 12), Casaccia (²1876: 17) translated it as “Aria sottile, Aria gelata e cruda, specialmente la notte e la mattina di buon’ora; altrim. Brezza, Brezzolina V. *Brixa*”)

→ “gelata” is not correct as an equivalent and definition as given by Casaccia.

(10) Giving an explanation rather than a true equivalent, such as in:

m. “Addôçise l’äia = Raddolciare l’aria o il tempo, dicesi quando l’aria di fredda e cruda, diviene placida e benigna” (Casaccia ²1876: 17)

→ It is not clear how to say this in Italian.

(11) The translation is not exact and the context is missing, such as in:

n. “*tiâ all’[/]per l’* - = sparare in aria” (Frisoni 2005: 13)

→ Is this entry about sport or the military or something else?

Through a new phraseological project (*GEPHRAS*, see next chapter for more information), additional problems were identified for the translations of the phrasemes. The next question we will try to answer is: how to handle or should one handle the problems identified above? Further studies on the translations will follow.

3. *GEPHRAS*

So-called bilingual collocations dictionaries are still quite rare, not only as far as languages are concerned, but also regarding dialects and diatopic varieties. Although collocations dictionaries are very useful for users, there are only a few bilingual ones, such as those by Ilgenfritz / Stephan-Gabel / Schneider (1989), Benson / Benson (1993), Hollós (2014), Konecny /

Autelli (in progress), by Berti / Pinnavaia (in progress) (cf. Berti / Pinnavaia 2014: 515). A dialectal bilingual collocations dictionary is therefore a *novum* in several fields, in particular in linguistics and phraseology, lexicography and translation.

The aim of *GEPHRAS: The ABC of Genoese and Italian Phrasemes (Collocations and Idioms)* (cf. Autelli et al. 2018–2021) is that of creating a free phraseological Genoese-Italian online dictionary (on <https://romanistik-gephras.uibk.ac.at>), with focus on collocations and idiomatic expressions. The project team has created a dictionary with 100 Genoese lemmas beginning with <a>, , <c> and their diacritic varieties such as <æ> and <ç>. For the future, additional funds are foreseen to complete the dictionary with the remaining letters of the alphabet (through the follow up project *GEPHRAS2*, which will also include sample sentences and the IPA transcription of the phrasemes). This work is based on the urban variety of Genoese. However, in addition to the research based on dictionaries and on the translations of Italian phrasemes by Genoese native speakers, it is possible to collect and integrate further suggestions from the users who speak other varieties of Genoese. Indeed, more than 10,000 people surf the internet in Genoese (cf. Acquarone 2015b: 30) and would be able to contribute by sending an e-mail (to gephras@uibk.ac.at) with their proposals and suggestions. This is important as a typical problem of dialects is that “the mental phraseological lexicon, independently of the regional origin of the informants, varies considerably among speakers, especially as far as phraseological units are concerned which are marked as colloquial in current dictionaries” (Schmidlin 2007: 557).

By doing this research, the equivalents of the phrasemes are given in Italian, starting with the hypothesis that Genoese, despite not having the same status of Italian, has its own particularities (i.e. divergencies), also with regard to phrasemes and their conceptualizations (Autelli / Konecny 2015: 189) and needs to be learned as a separate diatopic variety. In addition to this, historical collocations and idioms (dating back to 1815) which can be found in *DESGEL: Dizionario Etimologico Storico Genovese E Ligure* (Toso in progress) are added to the entries. In each entry, collocations and idioms are separated and listed first according to their morpho-syntactic structure (the homepage allows many different types of searches), then in alphabetical order and, finally, further details on register and synonyms are given.

Anybody willing to learn or improve his/her Genoese can use the dictionary, particularly people speaking Italian with no knowledge of Genoese, but also people who would like to learn more on their own or use it for productive purposes. As Genoese co-exists with Italian (although it is not much spoken in the urban area), teachers of Genoese would also be able

to use this dictionary with their students in class, also using the pictures of the dictionary for phraseodidactic purposes. All in all, this project represents a complete innovation in the Genoese lexicographic area and is very important for the documentation and the survival of Genoese. Moreover, this work could serve as a model for many other language varieties and dialects (especially the endangered ones) where no similar lexicographic works exist yet.

3.1. The entries in *GEPHRAS*

3.1.1. The choice of the 100 “basic” lemmas

As no basic vocabulary of Genoese exist yet and the project only runs until April 2021, 100 substantives were collected as noun bases for the entries of the dictionary. The choice of the substantives is based on the following criteria and is handled as described below:

1. The 100 substantives serve as noun bases for the entries.
2. The substantives begin with the letters A, B and C, including their diacritic varieties.
3. As the letter C has far more words than A and B, the 100 words were not divided into three equivalent parts.
4. All 100 words are still in use and quite common in the Genoese community (here, the Genoese partners involved in the project play an important role for their language competence).
5. As Casaccia (²1876) is still the most important Genoese dictionary, all the chosen lemmas must also be part of it, with the exception of the so-called *paròlle do gatto*, which is swearing or vulgar language (such as *bellin*, also very common as *belin*, meaning ‘dick’/‘cock’), that is not included in Casaccia’s dictionaries.
6. *Paròlle do gatto* are included even if they have been excluded in many dictionaries (as they represent a part of the common usage).
7. The 100 lemmas are phraseologically relevant.
8. The lemmas should be listed in at least 3 Genoese dictionaries.
9. The lemmas are written according to the proposal of orthography of 2015 (cf. Acquarone 2015c).
10. Terms that begin with other letters other than A, B, and C today (e.g. *erbo*, which was once written with *æ*) are not included.
11. The Genoese lemmas and phrasemes are translated into Italian.
12. The most part of the phrasemes are taken from dictionaries and added by Genoese native speakers.

13. Further Italian phrasemes that are missing are added (also with the help of *Sketch Engine*) and translated into Genoese.
14. The dictionary is online (<https://romanistik-gephras.uibk.ac.at>). Although the dictionary is monodirectional (Genoese-Italian), one can also look for single words and phrasemes in both languages.
15. The entries are divided in case of homonymy, but not in case of polysemy.
16. Polyfunctional words such as *ciù* or *bon* are not included.
17. No modified forms (except for plural forms) such as diminutives and superlatives are included.
18. The lemmas belong to the language of everyday life and to several semantic fields, such as animals, food, city, society, house and furniture, people, clothing, nature as well as vulgar language.
19. In order to choose the lemmas, several kinds of dictionaries, most importantly the generic ones, but also didactic materials and booklets of sayings were perused.
20. All the lemmas are written in small capital letters (contrary to most Genoese-Italian dictionaries, such as those by P.F.B. (1873), Casaccia (1876), Frisoni (1910) and Schmucker (1981).
21. Vulgar language is limited in the dictionary as it is highly phraseological and there would be too much material on it in comparison to the rest.

3.1.2. The structure of the entries

The structure of the entries includes: lemma, Italian equivalent(s), etymology, collocations² [currently $N + Adj/AdjP$ (or $Adj + N$), $N + PreP$, $N + relative\ clause$, $Prep + Adj + N$ (or $Prep + N + Adj$), $N + Prep + N$ (lemma), $N (Subj) + V$ (or $V + N$ (predicative complement of the subject)), $V + N$ (*DirObj* or its predicative complement), $V + N$ (*IndirObj* or its predicative complement, or else agent complement)], further structures, idiomatic expressions [$N + Adj/AdjP$ (or $Adj + N$), $N + PreP$, (lemma) as (part of a) *Subj* or (part of a) predicative complement, (lemma) as (part of a) *DirObj* (including subordinate clauses), (lemma) as (part of an) *IndirObj* (including subordinate clauses), (lemma) as part of further idioms]. Also phrasemes in which the lemma is part of comparisons, part of communicative phrasemes or of structural phrasemes as well as historical phrasemes found in *DESGEL* (Toso in progress) are included.

² Within the section “collocations” we refer to a broad definition of collocation, thus also including very frequent free word combinations in order to preserve Genoese, but also including compounds that need to be learned similarly as collocations.

A simplified entry will be given in order to give a concrete example (based the lemma *arma*, ‘weapon’):

Figure 7. The sample entry of *arma* (‘weapon’) in Autelli et al. (2018–2021)

arma

arma

Collocations

N + Adj/Prep (or Adj + N)

Genese	Italian
arma antica	arma antica
arma atomica	arma atomica
arma automatica	arma automatica
arma biologica	arma biologica
arma chimica	arma chimica
arma esplosiva	arma esplosiva
arma bianca	arma bianca
arma inoffensiva	arma inoffensiva
arma potente	arma potente
arma proibita	arma proibita
arma scarregia, arma descarregada (JHSUS)	arma scarica
arma segreta	arma segreta

N + Prep

Genese	Italian
arma à doi taggi	arma a doppio taglio
arma d'offesa	arma d'offesa
arma da difesa, arma de defensiva	arma difensiva
arma da fuogo / da punta / da taglio / da tiro	arma da fuoco / da punta / da taglio / da tiro

N + relative clause

Genese	Italian
arma ch'a fonzionta ben	arma efficace

N + Prep + N (arma)

Genese	Italian
clammata a-e arma	chiamata alle armi
classa d'arma	piazza d'armi
porto d'arma	porto d'armi
trafigante d'arma	trafficante d'armi

V + N (Di/Oi) or its predicative complement)

Genese	Italian
abbassà o arma	deporre le armi
accattà un'arma	acquistare un'arma
addossivà un'arma, desvivà un'arma	comprare un'arma
allivà un'arma	usare un'arma
arrellà un'arma, retivà un'arma	impiegare un'arma
asconde un'arma	affilare un'arma
bandivà un'arma	ritirare un'arma
caregà un'arma	sequestrare un'arma
consegnà un'arma	nascondere un'arma
despoje un'arma	bandire un'arma
descarregà un'arma	caricare un'arma
delatignivà un'arma	consegnare un'arma
d'irize un'arma contra qqn.	deporre un'arma
manezcivà un'arma	scaricare un'arma
manovivà un'arma	delenere un'arma
piggivà o arma	dirigere un'arma contro qqn.
portivà un'arma contra qqn.	riovolgere un'arma contro qqn.
putivà un'arma in s'ar d'ott.	maneggiare un'arma
putivà un'arma	manovrare un'arma
reggivà o arma	prendere le armi
sequestivà un'arma	puntare un'arma contro qqn.
sà fteva un'arma	portare un'arma su qqn.
vende de arma	possare un'arma
	riprendere le armi
	sequestrare un'arma
	tirare fuori un'arma [sem.]
	stoderare un'arma
	vedere armi

Historical Phrasemes Found in DESGEL	
Historical phrasemes found in DESGEL	
Genoese	Italian
A-e arme!	crinando all'arma all'arma ogni gharzon (1747: DESGEL)
arma bianca	sercando un'arma bianca d'uria e buria (l m. s. XVII: DESGEL)
crinà a-e arme	crinando all'arma all'arma ogni gharzon (1747: DESGEL)
pòsà un'arma	vol' ghe farei posà n' arme à terra (1771: DESGEL)

Image



«Vegnì à l'arma bianca».

[ZE] O scignificato de st'espression idiomatica, ancheu feua de deuvia, o fù rappresento da unna persona che, con unna spà pontà verso a terra (ò sia, unna de tante «arme bianche» ch'èstè), a parla con franchessa e sincerità à unna segunda persona.

[IT] Il significato di quest'espressione idiomatica, oggi disusata, è rappresentato da una persona che, con una spada puntata a terra (ossia una fra le tante «arme bianche» esistenti), parla con franchezza e sincerità a un secondo individuo.

[EN] The meaning of this idiom (lit. 'to come to a white/blank weapon'; 'to speak freely'), which is no longer in use, is portrayed by a person in dark clothing speaking to another honestly and bluntly, while holding a white sword (one of the so called 'arme bianche', 'white weapons') that is pointed to the ground.

[DE] Die Konzeptualisierung dieses heute nicht mehr gebräuchlichen Idioms (Bedeutung: 'in aller Offenheit sprechen', wört. 'zur weißen / blanken Waffe kommen') wird durch einen Mann in dunklem Gewand dargestellt, der mit einem anderen offen und unverblümt spricht und sich dabei auf ein Schwert (jenseit auf eines der sog. 'blanken Waffen' bzw. 'Blankwaffen') stützt, das er in Händen hält und welches entsprechend der wörtlichen Bedeutung weiß ist.

Source: <http://romanistik-gephras.uibk.ac.at/lemma?entry=16>

As one can see, the entries are put in alphabetical order underneath each morphosyntactic category. Further details such as [volg.] (= vulgar), [dis.] (= disused) and [neg.] (= negative connotation) are also to be found in the dictionary (in square brackets []). As far as synonyms are concerned, they are listed underneath one another in order to allow for the single registration (especially for the pronunciation) of phrasemes. In the case the use is the same as in Genoese, the most similar Italian equivalents are listed as first, otherwise priority is given to the register. It is also possible to find the explanation of the idiomatic expressions. One can also find visualizations of some Genoese phrasemes (one Genoese phraseme per each lemma) at the bottom of each page.

3.1.3. The online interface

For the project, an end-user website (as mentioned above, on <https://romanistik-gephras.uibk.ac.at>) was developed in order to enable guests to search for words and phrasemes. The data is stored in an open-source

database system (MariaDB). The site is implemented in English, Italian, Genoese and German. It contains a static landing page with project information: the project, dictionary (= where the database is uploaded), illustrations, team, partners, contacts, bibliography, news. A subsite (= “dictionary”) lists all (100) Genoese (basic) words that are currently stored in the database, with the possibility to retrieve detailed information for each entry. On the top right of the “dictionary”, there is a search mask that represents the core functionality of the website. The search mask itself enables the users to:

- search for a single word (in either Genoese or Italian),
- search for a phraseme, e.g. for a collocation such as *ægua storbia* (‘murky water’) or an idiom such as *avei l’ægua inta bocca* (‘make somebody drool’),
- search with placeholders, collocations and idiomatic expressions, but also other kinds of phrasemes (structural, communicative and comparative),
- in order to use the special characters of Genoese (ç, æ, ä, â, à, î, î, ì, ë, è, ê, ö, ô, ò, ü, û, ù, ñ), an on-screen keyboard including these characters has been implemented; however, “similar” letters will also be found, so that no matter what orthography one uses, one will be able to find the entry in the dictionary,
- upon submitting the search query, a results list is presented to the users, which contains:
 - a list of single words that match the input (in Italian or Genoese) (it is also possible to write only parts of one word anticipated or posticipated by the symbol *, e.g. typing *ægu** one can find *ægua* ‘water’ or *ægue* ‘waters’),
 - a list of collocations that match the input (in Italian or Genoese),
 - a list of idioms that match the input (in Italian or Genoese),
 - a list of all other kind of phrasemes that match the input (in Italian or Genoese).
- an audible preview of the correct pronunciation in both Italian and Genoese for each result entry,
- the pronunciation of phrasemes is recorded as WAV, then converted to mp3 for the homepage; the pronunciation button is to be found after the word combination (i.e. on the right side),
- no pronunciation for the historical word combinations (taken from *DES-GEL*) is provided as the pronunciation would not be authentic,
- an autocompletion of the search terms is incrementally presented to the user as the search mask is filled (= it means that one can see some proposals of phrasemes while typing).

3.1.4. The images in *GEPHRAS*

Only a few Genoese dictionaries provide images (e.g. Schmucker 1981, mainly for children), and these often show the meaning of only one word. If word combinations accompany images, usually only the figurative or the literal meaning is given. Drawings of phrasemes are more often found in booklets or collections of sayings, such as in Ferrando / Ferrando 1979, where both literal and figurative meaning is given, which is quite rare:

Figure 8. *Andâ a cantâ in sciûnn'a[t]ra carassa*



Source: Ferrando / Ferrando 1979.

The illustrated phraseme (lit. ‘to go singing on another trellies, which actually refers to “a person who tries something out but is unwelcome because of his/her levity”’) shows the literal meaning with a trellies and the idiomatic meaning is made visible through the image of the man who does not want to welcome the person who has just arrived. Only one aspect could still be emphasized: that of the levity of the person waiting.

As *GEPHRAS* should help users learn and improve their Genoese, in addition to the Genoese phrasemes, their translations in Italian and their pronunciation are given. Moreover, each lemma is accompanied by an illustration

of one of the Genoese phrasemes. The illustrations are drawn by the Genoese artist Matteo Merli. The aim of the images is to highlight the divergent (but sometimes also convergent) conceptualizations of Genoese phrasemes from Italian ones. Both the literal and the idiomatic meaning of the Genoese phraseme is included in the picture. Two examples can be found below (one collocation on Figure 8 and one idiom on Figure 9):

Figure 9. *Æña affogâ* (= lit. 'sand on fire', which actually means 'hot sand')



Source: <http://romanistik-gephras.uibk.ac.at/lemma?entry=3>

Figure 10. *Anima longa* (= lit. 'soul long', which actually means 'beanpole')



Source: <http://romanistik-gephras.uibk.ac.at/lemma?entry=15>

As one can see, both the literal and the phraseological meaning of the Genoese phrasemes *æña affogâ* and *anima longa* are shown. In Figure 8, one can see that the sand is literally on fire and very hot – that is why the man's feet hurt. In Figure 9, you can see the literal meaning, which is 'soul long'; when the Genoese say somebody is a 'long soul', they actually mean that a person is very tall. We hope in this way to help assist with the learning, improving and preserving of Genoese.

Thanks to Almyria Wilhelm from the Department of American Studies of the University of Innsbruck for her help with the proofreading.

4. Conclusions

It has been shown that most of the Genoese (and Genoese-Italian) dictionaries lack many crucial aspects, partly due to their non-scientific nature, the lack of a systematic procedure, and problems with orthography, pronunciation, and especially phrasemes and their equivalents.

For the fields of phraseology/linguistics, lexicography and translation and for the survival of Genoese as a language, it is important to create an innovative lexicographic work such as *GEPHRAS* (and *GEPHRAS2*), which allows for the broadening of the collection of (actual and historical) phrasemes. This dictionary can also serve as a model for other phraseological works on other varieties, including languages, regionalisms and dialects.

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Phraseme in genesischer und genesisch-italienischer Lexikographie

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel zeigt, dass die dialektale Phraseographie noch in den Kinderschuhen steckt, u.a. da sehr viele dialektale Wörterbücher erst in der 2. Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts erschienen sind und häufig von Laien verfasst wurden. Vor allem was die Phraseologie anbelangt, weisen die meisten Wörterbücher des Genuesischen (einsprachig sowie Genuesisch-Italienisch) keine Systematik im Hinblick auf ihre Konzeptionskriterien auf. Viele der zweisprachigen Wörterbücher zeigen insbesondere Schwächen in Bezug auf die Angabe der italienischen Äquivalente. Das an

der Universität Innsbruck angesiedelte FWF-Projekt *GEPHRAS* (Autelli et al. 2018–2021) stellt in der die diatopische Variation betreffenden Phraseographie insofern ein Novum dar, als es der lexikographischen Erfassung unterschiedlicher Arten von Phrasemen – Kollokationen, idiomatischen Redewendungen, komparativen, kommunikativen und strukturellen Phrasemen – besondere Aufmerksamkeit schenkt. Hierbei strebt das online frei zugängliche Wörterbuch auch an, den Erhalt des Genuesischen zu fördern. Das Wörterbuch listet (in morphosyntaktischer und innerhalb der Einträge in alphabetischer Ordnung) geläufige Phraseologismen des Gegenwarts-Genuesischen und –Italienischen sowie historische Phraseme des Genuesischen auf. Darüber hinaus verfügt es über Audiodateien, die sowohl die genuesischen als auch die italienischen Phraseme wiedergeben, sowie über Zeichnungen, welche zu didaktischen Zwecken sowohl die wörtliche als auch ggf. die idiomatische Bedeutung der Wortverbindungen abbilden. In *GEPHRAS* wurden 100 substantivische, mit den genuesischen Graphemen <a>, <æ>, , <c> und <ç> beginnende Lemmata phraseographisch erfasst. Geplant ist, das Wörterbuch in einem Folgeprojekt (*GEPHRAS2*) durch die Erfassung weiterer Lemmata (beginnend mit den Graphemen <d> bis <z>) zu vervollständigen. Zudem sind mit der IPA-Transkription der Phraseme sowie der Aufnahme von Beispielsätzen auch konzeptionelle Neuerungen vorgesehen.

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Lexikalische Veränderungen bei Phraseologismen mit der Bedeutung 'materieller Zustand des Menschen' (19.–20. Jahrhundert)

Zusammenfassung. Im Laufe der Sprachgeschichte sind Phraseologismen neben der Bedeutungsentwicklung auch einer Reihe von Veränderungen in ihrer Form unterworfen, was als Anzeichen für Verfestigungsprozesse und somit auch ihrer Entwicklung betrachtet werden kann. In unserem Artikel werden lexikalische Veränderungen bei den materiellen Zustand des Menschen bezeichnenden Phraseologismen der deutschen Sprache seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart behandelt. Lexikalische Varianten äußern sich in verschiedenen Abänderungen und Substitutionen von Komponenten einer phraseologischen Einheit, wobei die Semantik der Einheit weitgehend erhalten bleibt. Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird auf das Phänomen des Lexemaustauschs in einem Korpus von 516 Phraseologismen detailliert eingegangen. Unter den erforschten phraseologischen Einheiten ist ein Lexemaustausch am häufigsten bei Verben und Substantiven zu beobachten. Die ausgetauschten Lexeme werden in Gruppen eingeteilt und analysiert.

Stichwörter: *Verfestigung von Phraseologismen, lexikalische Veränderungen, Varianten, Lexemaustausch*

1. Einleitung

Gegenstand unserer Untersuchung stellen den materiellen Zustand des Menschen bzw. seine wirtschaftlich-finanziellen Verhältnisse bezeichnende Phraseologismen der deutschen Sprache dar. Untersucht wird ihre Entwicklung seit dem Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart unter folgenden Gesichtspunkten: Weiterbestehen, Veralten und Aussterben phraseologischer Wortverbindungen sowie die Entstehung neuer phraseologischer Einheiten, und auch deren Veränderungen auf dem Gebiet der Lexik, Morphosyntax, Semantik und des Stils. Das erforschte Untersuchungskorpus umfasst 516 phraseologische Einheiten, die aus Wörterbüchern der erwähnten Peri-

ode der Sprachgeschichte entnommen sind und in drei synchronen Schnitten bearbeitet wurden:

I. Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts – Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts: Die zu untersuchenden Phraseologismen wurden aus den Wörterbüchern von J. Ch. Adelung (1793–1801) und J. H. Campe (1807–1811) exzerpiert.

II. Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts – Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts: Als Quellen dienten Wörterbücher von M. Heyne (1890–1895/1905–1906), K.F. Wander (1867–1880) und von J. und W. Grimm (1854–1960).

III. Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts – Anfang des 21. Jahrhunderts, wo Belege aus den Wörterbüchern von W. Friederich (1966), K. Müller (2005) und auch aus Duden 11. Redewendungen (2002) und Duden Deutsches Universalwörterbuch (2015) analysiert wurden.

Aus unserem Belegmaterial ergibt sich, dass Phraseologismen neben ihrer Bedeutungsentwicklung auch eine Reihe von Veränderungen in ihrer Form erfahren können, was als Indiz für Verfestigungsprozesse und folglich auch für die Entwicklung von Phraseologismen im Laufe der Sprachgeschichte betrachtet werden kann. Diesbezüglich sind vor allem lexikalische und morphosyntaktische Veränderungen zu erwähnen, die in phraseologischen Einheiten in verschiedenen Ausprägungen erscheinen.

Lexikalische Varianten äußern sich in Änderungen eines Phraseologismus, wobei die denotative Semantik der Einheit weitgehend erhalten bleibt. Diese verschiedenen Formen des gleichen Phraseologismus sind meist in den Wörterbüchern belegt. Sind zunächst beide oder mehrere Varianten nebeneinander gebräuchlich, später hingegen nur mehr eine, kann dieser Prozess als allmähliche Festlegung auf eine Variante gedeutet werden (Jesko 2007: 1101). Varianten sind in erster Linie für metaphorische Phraseologismen mit klarer innerer Form charakteristisch. Fleischer (1982: 209–210) nennt drei Möglichkeiten der Variation: morphologische, bzw. syntaktische Veränderung einzelner Komponenten, Austausch lexikalischer Komponenten und Erweiterung oder Reduktion des Komponentenbestandes.

Im Rahmen des erforschten Feldes wurden zahlreiche Fälle des Lexemaustausches ausfindig gemacht. Beim Lexemaustausch weisen die variierenden Komponenten normalerweise eine semantische Verwandtschaft auf und laufen daher in keinem Fall der Gesamtbedeutung des Phraseologismus zuwider. In den meisten Fällen sind die variierenden Komponenten synchron entweder Synonyme oder bedeutungsähnliche freie Lexeme, und diachron gesehen übernimmt die eine die Position und Bedeutung der anderen (Burger, Linke 1998: 750). Im erforschten Feld findet sich ein Lexemaustausch am häufigsten bei Verben, aber auch bei Substantiven und Adjektiven. Im Folgenden gehen wir genauer auf die betreffenden lexikalischen Veränderungen ein.

2. Verben als ausgetauschte Komponenten bei Phraseologismen

Unter den Verben, die Varianten aufweisen, werden in Phraseologismen als synonymisch folgende Verben gebraucht: **„stehen, liegen, sitzen, hängen, sein, ruhen, leben“**. Außer in den Phraseologismen sind sie keine Synonyme in ihren direkten Bedeutungen, in den phraseologischen Einheiten bekommen sie aber eine gemeinsame Bedeutung ‘sich befinden’, ‘sein’.

– *liegen, leben, sitzen, sein:*

- **liegen** wie in *Abrahams schosz* (MH 3: 462); *er lebt* wie in *Abraham’s Schos*, *er sitzt* wie in *Abraham’s Schos* (KW 5: 1546); **sitzen, ruhen** wie in *Abrahams schosz* (DWB 15: 1587); (*wie*) in *Abrahams Schoß sitzen* (DUR: 30)

– *stehen, sein, sitzen:*

- Bei einem an der Kreide **stehen** (KW 2: 1602) → *in/an der kreide sein*, öfter bei jmdm an der kreide **sein** (DWB 11: 2140) → (*bei jmdm.*) *in der Kreide stehen / sein* (DUR: 443) → *bei jmdm. in der Kreide stehen/sein* (KM: 340)

– *stehen, sitzen:*

- *Uns stehet* das Messer an der Kehle (JA 3: 186) → *Das Messer steht ihm an der Kehle* (JC 3: 273) → *das Messer an der Kehle haben* (MH 2: 803–804) → *Das Messer sitzt (steht) ihm an der Kehle (Gurgel)* (KW 3: 644–645) → *das messer steht ihm an der kehle; das messer an der kehle haben* (DWB 12: 2128) → *das Messer sitzt ihm an der Kehle* (WF: 118) → *jmdm. sitzt das Messer schon an der Kehle* (DUR: 515)

– *sein, sitzen, stecken*

- *In der Klemme seyn, oder sitzen* (JA 2: 1624) → *in der klemme sein* (JC 2: 959) → *in der klemme sitzen* (MH 2: 376) → *in der Klemme sein* (KW 2: 1392) → *in der klemme stecken/sein* (DWB 11: 1138) → *in der Klemme sitzen (od. stecken)* (WF: 631) → *in der Klemme sitzen/stecken* (DUR: 417; KM: 318)

Wie aus den Belegen zu ersehen ist, neigt Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts das Verb *sitzen* dazu, den Vorrang zu haben.

Die Verben *sich setzen, kommen, gehen, geraten* drücken die Bedeutung ‘sich bewegen, die Lage ändern, von einem in einen anderen Ort ziehen’ aus und bilden meistens Paare. Dabei erweist sich das Verb *kommen* als eine modernere Variante.

– *sich setzen, kommen:*

- *sich auf den Esel setzen* (KW 1: 874) → *sich auf den Esel setzen, auf den Esel kommen* (DWB 3: 1146)
- *Sich vom Pferde auf den Esel setzen* (JA 3: 724) → *Sich vom Pferde auf den Esel setzen* (JC 3: 623) → *vom pferd auf den esel setzen* (MH 2: 1135) → *Vom Pferde auf den Esel kommen* (KW 3: 1320) → *vom pferd auf den esel*

setzen; vom ross auf den esel kommen (DWB 3: 1146) → *vom Pferd auf den Esel kommen* (WF: 451)

– *gehen, kommen:*

- *auf die Hefe kommen, auf den Hefen sitzen* (JC 2: 593) → *etwas geht, kommt auf die hefe* (MH 2: 90) → *auf die Hefe kommen; auf die Hefen gehen* (KW 2: 455) → *auf die hefen kommen, gehen* (DWB 10: 764)

– *geraten, kommen:*

- *in die Klemme gerathen* (JA 2: 1624) → *in die Klemme kommen, gerathen* (JC 2: 959) → *in die klemme gerathen* (MH 2: 376) → *in die(selbe) Klemme gerathen* (KW 2: 1392) → *in die klemme (kloppe, klopf, kluppe) gerathen* (DWB 11: 1138) → *in die Klemme geraten, kommen* (DUW: 1009)

Unter bestimmten Bedingungen werden auch die Verben *haben, halten, stecken, strecken* als Synonyme mit der Bedeutung 'haben' gebraucht, und zwar in folgenden Phraseologismen:

– *haben, strecken, stecken:*

- *die Füße unter eines Tische haben* (JC 2: 205) → *die beine unter eines anderen tisch stecken* (MH 3: 982–983) → *die Füße unter anderer Leute Tisch stecken; Die Beine unter fremden Tisch stecken* (KW 1: 302) → *die füsze unter jemandes oder anderer leute tisch stecken (strecken)* (DWB 4: 976) → *die Füße (od. die Beine) unter e-n fremden Tisch st(r)ecken; die Füße (od. Beine) unter j-s Tisch st(r)ecken* (WF: 125) → *die Füße unter jmds. Tisch strecken* (DUR: 249–250) → *die Füße/Beine unter jmds. Tisch st(r)ecken* (KM: 611)

Die Verben *spicken, füllen* mit der Bedeutung 'etwas (und zwar Geld) hineintun' wurden bei Adelung und Campe nebeneinander belegt. Später hat sich aber eine Variante verfestigt:

- *seinen Beutel füllen, spicken* (JA 1: 957–958; JC 1: 512) → *den Beutel füllen* (WF: 132)

Bei manchen untersuchten Einheiten werden die Varianten durch bestimmte Präfixe der Verben ausgedrückt.

– *ausleeren, leeren, fegen*

- *einem den Beutel ausleeren, fegen* (JA 2: 71, 612) → *einem den Beutel leeren, fegen* (JC 1: 512; KW 1: 366)

– *ziehen, ausziehen*

- *die Fettfedern ziehen* (JC 2: 65) → *einem die Fettfedern ausziehen* (DWB 3: 1573)

– *stopfen, verstopfen, zustopfen*

- *ein Loch stopfen oder verstopfen* (JC 3: 139) → *ein loch, löcher zustopfen* (MH 2: 671) → *er stopfe ein loch oder löcher zu* (DWB 12: 1098)

3. Substantive als ausgetauschte Komponenten bei Phraseologismen

Der Austausch von Substantivlexemen bei Phraseologismen ist auch sehr häufig in unserem Korpus belegt. Dabei spielt, genauso wie bei den Verben, die Ähnlichkeit der bezeichneten Konzepte bei den auszutauschenden Komponenten eine wichtige Rolle.

In vielen Phraseologismen, die sich auf *Geld*, *Geldausgabe* beziehen, treten Bezeichnungen von Behältern des Geldes wie *eine Tasche*, *ein Beutel*, *ein Geldbeutel*, *ein Sack*, *ein Säckel*, *ein Portemonnaie* als Varianten auf. Das Lexem *Geldbeutel/Beutel* erweist sich dabei als eine moderne Variante.

- *die Schwindsucht im Beutel haben* (KW 4: 480; DWB 15: 2681) → *(die) Schwindsucht im Geldbeutel haben* (WF: 87; DUR: 693)
- *einem den Beutel ausleeren/fegen* (JA 1: 612; JA 2: 71) → *einem den Beutel leereffegen* (JC 1: 512; MH 1: 880) → *einem den Beutel* (KW 1: 366), *die Tasche fegen* (KW 4: 1036) → *beutel fegen* (DWB 3: 1414), *kisten und kasten fegen, ausräumen, plündern* (DWB 3: 1414)
- *einen gefrorenen Beutel haben* (KW 1: 366), *einen gefrorenen Sack haben* (KW 3: 1818)
- *tief in die Tasche greifen* (MH 1: 1242) → *tief in die Tasche, in den Beutel, in den Sack, in den Säckel greifen* (DWB 9: 35) → *tief in Beutel greifen müssen* (DUR: 117)
- *Er musz die Hand immer in der Tasche oder im Beutel haben; Die Hand immer in der Tasche haben müssen* (JC 2: 527) → *Er muss die Hand immer in der Tasche haben; Er hat seine Hände in der Tasche* (KW 2: 321) → *die hände immer in den taschen, im beutel haben* (DWB 10: 341)

Im Phraseologismus *irgendwo ist/herrscht Ebbe* entsteht anstatt der konkreten Benennungen eine offene Leerstelle für ein Lokaladverbial, das sich auf einen Gegenstand bezieht, der zur Aufbewahrung o. Ä. von Geld dient.

- *es ist ebb im Schatz, bei ihm ist immer ebbe im beutel* (DWB 3: 6) → *Ebbe im Geldbeutel, in der Kasse* (WF: 384; KM: 98) → *irgendwo ist, herrscht Ebbe* (DUR: 178)

Gleichzeitig verändern sich die Geldbenennungen als Bestandteile der Phraseologismen. Es besteht eine Tendenz, frühere konkrete Geldbenennungen wie *Taler*, *Dukaten*, *Pfennige* durch das Lexem *Geld* zu ersetzen. Das kann unserer Meinung nach dadurch erklärt werden, dass bestimmte Geldsorten nicht mehr gebräuchlich sind und in den phraseologischen Einheiten daher durch den Oberbegriff "Geld" ersetzt werden.

– *Pfennige* → *Geld*:

- *Er schwimmt in den Pfennigen* (KW 1: 1520) → *im/in Geld schwimmen* (DUR: 268)

– *Taler* → *Geld*:

- Zehen **Thaler** zum Fenster hinaus werfen (JA 2: 109) → alles **Geld** zum Fenster hinauswerfen (JC 2: 57) → das **geld** zum fenster hinaus werfen (MH 1: 894) → Etwas zum Fenster hinauswerfen; Das **Geld** zum Fenster (mit vollen Händen) hinauswerfen (KW 1: 1520) → sein/das **Geld** (mit beiden/vollen Händen) auf die Straße werfen; sein/das **Geld** (mit beiden/vollen Händen) zum Fenster hinauswerfen/rausschmeißen/aus dem Fenster werfen/zum Schornstein hinausjagen (DUR: 268)

Einige Zeit assoziierte man Geld meistens mit Gold. Das 19. Jahrhundert ist durch eine Menge der Veränderungen im Wirtschaftssystem der Welt, und insbesondere Europas geprägt, und zwar die Einführung des Papiergeldes, die Ausweitung des bargeldlosen Zahlungsverkehrs und des Kredits, den Aufschwung der Aktienbanken usw. Das 19. Jahrhundert und Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts sind also durch den Übergang von der Zeit des Metallgeldes, welche fast die ganze Geschichte betrifft, zu der Zeit der modernen Währungen gekennzeichnet (Vilar 1984; Denzel 2004: 50). Als Ergebnis dieser Prozesse sehen wir in manchen Phraseologismen den Austausch des Lexems *Gold* durch *Geld*:

- Im **Golde** bis über die Ohren stecken (JC 2: 416) → Er sitzt im **Golde** bis über die Ohren (KW 1: 1796); Er sitzt im **Gelde** bis über die Ohren (KW 1: 1522)

Bei einer Reihe von Phraseologismen spielen regionale Differenzen in der Bezeichnung ein und desselben Gegenstands eine entscheidende Rolle, vgl. beispielsweise *Schornstein* – eine nord- und westdeutsche, *Esse* – eine ostmitteldeutsche, *Schlot* – eine ostfränkisch-mitteldeutsche und *Kamin* – eine süddeutsche Bezeichnung für ‘bis über das Dach geführter Kanal zum Abzug für die Rauchgase der Feuerstätten’ (D7).

- *etw.*, z.B. *Schuldforderung* in die **Feuermauer** schreiben (JC 4: 272) → eine *Schuld* hinter die **Esse** schreiben (MH 1: 834); eine *Schuld* in den **Schornstein** schreiben (MH 3: 462) → *etwas* in den **Schornstein** schreiben (KW 4: 328–329), *etwas* mit *Kreide* in den **Schornstein** schreiben (KW 2: 1602) → in den **Kamin** schreiben; eine *Schuld* in die **Esse** schreiben (DWB 11: 101); eine *Summe* in den **Schlot** schreiben (DWB 15: 782); *etwas* in den **Schornstein** schreiben (DWB 15: 1581) → in den **Kamin** schreiben (WF: 115); in den **Schornstein** schreiben (WF: 121) → *etw.* in den/ins **Kamin** schreiben (DUR: 394); *etw.* in den **Schornstein**, **Schlot**, in den/ins **Kamin** schreiben (DUR: 679) → *etw.* in den **Kamin** schreiben (KM: 292), in den **Schornstein**, ins **Wasser** schreiben (KM: 536)

Um Synonyme handelt es sich auch im folgenden Fall: Das Wort *Kragen* bezeichnete früher zunächst den Hals und ging später auf das den Hals

bedeckende Kleidungsstück über (D7: 448). In den folgenden Wendungen blieb jedoch die alte Bedeutung erhalten.

– *Gurgel, Kragen, Schlund, Kehle, Hals:*

- *Sein Vermögen durch die Gurgel jagen* (JA 2: 848) → *Alles das Einige, sein Vermögen durch die Gurgel jagen* (JC 2: 481); *Sein Vermögen durch die Gurgel jagen* (JC 2: 836); *durch den Kragen jagen, durch den Hals; durch die Gurgel jagen* (JC 2: 1028) → *er hat sein vermögen durch die gurgel gejagt* (MH 2: 243); *sein vermögen durch den schlund jagen* (MH 3: 402) → *Sein Geld durch die Gurgel jagen* (KW 1: 1524); *Etwas durch die Kehle jagen* (KW 2: 1234); *Das Seine durch Kragen und Magen lassen jagen* (KW 2: 1561) → *sein geld, sein gut, alles u. ä. durch die gurgel jagen; haus und hof durch die gurgel jagen* (DWB 9: 1146); *vermögen durch die kehle jagen* (DWB 11: 398); *durch den kragen jagen* (DWB 11: 1957) → *(sein Geld) durch die Gurgel jagen* (WF: 184); *durch die Kehle jagen* (WF: 214) → *etw. durch die Gurgel jagen* (DUR: 302); *etw. durch die Kehle jagen* (DUR: 403) → *(das Geld) durch die Gurgel jagen* (KM: 201); *(Geld) durch den Hals jagen* (KM: 214); *durch die Kehle jagen* (KM: 303)
- *Das Wasser geht mir bis an die Seele; Das Wasser geht ihm bis an den Hals* (KW 4: 1825); *'S Wasser geht ihm an die Kehle* (KW 4: 1832) → *das wasser geht einem (bis) an den hals, die kehle, den kragen* (DWB 27: 2331) → *das Wasser geht (od. steht) j-m (schon) bis zum (od. bis an den) Hals* (WF: 190) → *jmdm. steht das Wasser bis zum Hals/bis an die Kehle/bis zur Kehle* (ugs.) (DUR: 843)

Als Varianten werden bei einigen phraseologischen Einheiten auch die Lexeme *Fuß, Bein* gebraucht:

- *auf eigenen Füßen stehen* (MH 1: 1010); *auf seinen Beinen stehen* (MH 1: 335) → *auf eigenen Füßsen stehen* (KW 1: 1301) → *auf eigenen Füßen/Beinen stehen* (DUR: 250)
- *die Füße unter eines Tische haben* (JC 2: 205) → *die beine unter eines anderen tisch stecken* (MH 3: 982–983) → *die Füße unter anderer Leute Tisch stecken* (KW 1: 1303); *Die Beine unter fremden Tisch stecken* (KW 1: 302) → *die füße unter jemandes oder anderer leute tisch stecken (strecken)* (DWB 4: 976) → *die Füße (od. die Beine) unter e-n fremden Tisch st(r)ecken; die Füße (od. Beine) unter j-s Tisch st(r)ecken* (WF: 125) → *die Füße unter jmds. Tisch strecken* (DUR: 249–250) → *die Füße/Beine unter jmds. Tisch st(r)ecken* (KM: 611)

Manchmal besteht aber zwischen Phraseologismen, die *Fuß* und *Bein* als Komponenten beinhalten, ein Unterschied in der Bedeutung, wie z. B. bei *jm auf die Beine helfen*: bei Adellung finden wir beide Varianten *einem auf die Füße helfen* (JA 2: 372) und *einem auf die Beine helfen* (JA 1: 821), aber die

Bedeutungen werden verschieden angegeben, und zwar tritt erstere Variante mit der Bedeutung *seinen häuslichen Zustand verbessern* und zweite mit der Bedeutung *einem Kranken seine Gesundheit verschaffen; seinen verfallenen Nahrungszustand verbessern* auf. Heyne (MH 1: 335) und Campe (JC 1: 434) belegen aber nur die Variante *jm auf die Beine helfen* in Bezug auf den Kranken. Heutzutage wird der Phraseologismus offenbar nur mehr in der Form *jm auf die Beine helfen* gebraucht, mit den drei möglichen Bedeutungen 1. *einer gestürzten Person wieder aufhelfen*; 2. *jmdm. helfen, eine Schwäche od. Krankheit zu überwinden*; 3. *jmdm. finanziell helfen, damit er wieder wirtschaftlich vorankommt* (DUW: 279).

Der Lexemaustausch in folgenden Phraseologismen beruht wiederum auf dem Prinzip ähnlicher Konzepte und betrifft Substantive als Komponenten der Phraseologismen.

– Gürtel, Riemen

- *den Gürtel enger schnallen (müssen)* (WF: 134) → *den Riemen/Gürtel enger schnallen* (DUR: 193) → *den Gürtel enger schnallen* (KM: 201); *den Riemen enger schnallen* (KM: 488)

– Haut, Fell

- *einem die Haut über die Ohren ziehen* (JA 2: 1038); *jemanden die Haut / das Fell über die Ohren ziehen* (JA 3: 599) → *Einem die Haut (gewöhnlicher das Fell) über die Ohren ziehen* (JC 2: 584) → *einem die haut über die ohren ziehen* (MH 2: 82); *das fell über die ohren ziehen* (MH 1: 892) → *einem die haut über die ohren ziehen* (DWB 10: 710)

– Schlitten, Räder, Karren

- *unter den schlitten kommen* (DWB 15: 755) → *unter den Schlitten kommen (od. geraten)* (WF: 408); *unter die Räder kommen (od. geraten)* (WF: 335) → *unter den Schlitten kommen/geraten* (DUR: 668); *unter die Räder kommen/geraten* (DUR: 596–597) → *unter die Räder kommen/geraten* (KM: 475) → *unter den Schlitten kommen – veraltend* (DUW: 1471)

– Speck, Käse

- *Er lebt wie die Mad' im Käse (Speck)* (KW 2: 1862) → *wie die Made im Speck leben* (WF: 443) → *leben wie die Made im Speck* (DUR: 469) → *leben wie die Made im Speck* (KM: 393)

– Luft, Atem

- *der Athem ist ihm ausgegangen oder ausgefahren* (JA 1: 456; JC 1: 215) → *jmdm. geht der Atem aus* (DUR: 64); *jmdm. geht die Luft aus* (DUR: 491–492) → *j-m geht der Atem aus* (WF: 150) → *jmdm. geht die Luft aus* (KM: 387); *jmdm. geht der Atem aus* (DUW: 189)

Die Bedeutung dieser phraseologischen Einheit hat sich aber ebenfalls gewandelt – von *er ist gestorben* bei Adelung und Campe auf *j-d hat keine Geld-*

reserven mehr bei Friederich und *j-d ist physisch, wirtschaftlich o. ä. am Ende, jmdm. gehen die (wirtschaftlichen, finanziellen) Mittel aus* bei Duden Redewendungen.

4. Fazit

Lexikalische Substitutionen in Phraseologismen können als Zeichen für Verfestigungsprozesse und für die Entwicklung im Laufe der Sprachgeschichte betrachtet werden. Bei Phraseologismen des 19. bis 20. Jahrhunderts, die auf den materiellen Zustand des Menschen bzw. auf Geld referieren, wurden verschiedene lexikalische Veränderungen nachgewiesen und festgestellt, dass das Phänomen des Lexemaustauschs im erforschten Korpus stark verbreitet ist. Aus unserem Belegmaterial ergibt sich, dass es sich beim Lexemaustausch meistens um ähnliche Konzepte bezeichnende Lexeme handelt, die keine Auswirkung auf die Gesamtbedeutung des Phraseologismus haben. Am häufigsten werden in unserem Korpus Verb und Substantivlexeme ausgetauscht, die sich in entsprechende Gruppen einteilen lassen.

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Lexical changes of phraseological units meaning 'material status of men' (19th–20th c.)

Summary

In the course of language history not only the meaning of phraseological units can change but also their lexical structure undergoes various types of transformation which can be considered as processes of solidification and thus also of development of phraseological units. Our paper deals with the lexical changes of phraseological units of the German language that indicate the financial status of a person since the end of the 18th century to the present day. Lexical variation within phraseological units can be defined as the emergence of various changes in the lexical structure of a unit without changing the unit's overall meaning. The paper deals with the phenomenon of lexeme replacement in a corpus of 516 phraseological units that were

excerpted from dictionaries according to three synchronic periods: end of the 18th century – beginning of the 19th century; end of 19th century – beginning of the 20th century; end of the 20th – beginning of the 21st century. Among the units under analysis we identified the largest number of lexeme replacement instances among verb and noun components within phraseological units. The replaced lexemes are divided into groups and analyzed accordingly. From the semantic point of view, the results of the analysis show a similarity of the concepts denoted by the replaced and by the replacing lexemes.

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Onomasiological dictionary in bilingual phraseology

Abstract. Onomasiological dictionaries are not very common in any language. In this dictionary, i.e. thesauri, lexemes are ordered by semantic criteria. There is very large need for well-organized onomasiological dictionaries in phraseology which can lead the user from meaning to expression. Though, the arrangement of multilingual units by significance is more complicated than monolingual ones and the author is faced with many challenges in this area. We discuss specifically devised a thesauri-like system of Czech onomasiological dictionary, its metalanguage and definitions. The idiom, having its standardised form, often includes variants and should be explained in such a dictionary by its functional equivalent. This equivalent could consist of all 10 word classes and range between a single word and whole sentence. We could say that the possibilities of bilingual phraseology between Czech and Serbian languages are mainly far from exhausted.

Key words: *onomasiology, phraseology, dictionaries, metalanguage, phrasemes*

1. Introduction

In this paper, we aim to present some of the challenges the author is faced with if he or she wants to make an onomasiological dictionary for the Slavic bilingual phraseological dictionary. A dictionary like this may not necessarily be a separate publication, but often appears as an independent semantic lexicon added to the body of the main bilingual dictionary, so it can also be called “an onomasiological register” in the Czech and Serbian language. For the purpose of this paper, we will use the term *onomasiological dictionary* or *thesaurus* regardless of its type. We would like to give an answer to the question of why the onomasiological dictionary is important in phraseology and what we mean by it. As the basic unit of phraseology we use the terms *phraseme* and *idiom* synonymously.

Onomasiology is generally defined as a linguistic discipline examining the designation of fact by signs. It represents a contrast to the semasiological approach, typical in lexicography and characterized by the analysis from form to meaning. The basis in onomasiology is the meaning and the destination is an expression. Onomasiology could be defined both as a branch of linguistics and part of lexicology, responsible for an answer to the question: how do we express some meaning?

Onomasiology as a science approach was formed in the 19th century under the name *lexicologia comparativa* (Simeon 1969: 979) and has been present in the linguistics of Slavic languages for many years, ever since The Thesis of the Prague Linguistic Circle, whose representatives (primarily M. Dokulil, V. Mathesius) formulated the purpose and objectives of onomasiology, and determined the subject and object of this discipline (Кубрякова 1978: 5). There are two works in the Russian linguistics, among others in the 20th century, on the subject: *Части речи в ономаσιологическом освещении* by Elene Samojlovna Kubrjakova from 1978 and *Очерки по ономаσιологии* by Yevgenia Leonidovich Krivchenko from 1989.

As Kubrjakova states (1978: 5) “an onomasiological approach implies the study of nominating units as such”, i.e. in the field of nomination itself. Then, in the 1970s, the importance of this approach was noted and recognized by many scientists, although the theoretical foundations had been set relatively shortly before that. In the Thesis of the Prague Linguistic Circle, the study of a nominative function through which “language breaks reality (real or abstract) into elements that can be defined linguistically” was emphasized.

In addition to the undoubted importance of the theory of nomination, the so-called “range” of language units and their combinability are also important. Therefore, Krivchenko noted that the consideration of the category of “part of speech” as an onomasiological category represents the development of onomasiology and its methods. The application of the basic principles of onomasiological analysis for determining the function of a grammatical class of words (nouns and verbs) reveals a wide range of applications of an onomasiological approach to the analysis of language phenomena¹.

¹ Рассмотрение категории “часть речи”, как категории ономаσιологической, означает дальнейшее развитие основных положений ономаσιологии, а также методов ономаσιологического анализа, которые были разработаны для описания способов и средств наименования при помощи производных слов. Применение основных принципов ономаσιологического анализа при определении функций грамматических классов слов (существительных и глаголов) и при описании языковой техники, используемой для вычленения из класса языковых знаков семиологического подкласса имен существительных и подкласса глаголов, раскрывает широкие возможности применения ономаσιологического подхода к анализу рознородных языковых явлений. (Кривченко 1989: 3–4)

At the present time, Russian onomasiology and the theory of nominations, its mechanisms and types have been developed in the monograph *Русская ономаσιология* by Elena A. Kosyh (2016).

Hence, it is not surprising that in modern language studies, the onomasiological approach is used in cognitive linguistics, where research on the nominative subsystem of language, nomination processes and their motivation is essential².

2. Onomasiology in phraseography

Thesauri exist in many languages, such as English, German etc., relatively numerous and focused on the systematization and classification of words in one language. In Serbian, according to our knowledge, only one dictionary appears in this area, it is *Систематски речник српскохрватскога језика* by Jovanović and Atanacković (Јовановић, Атанацковић 1980) which does not contain the term *onomasiological* or *thesaurus* in its title; however the author introduced it as a thesaurus in the preface³. Onomasiological classification can be applied to the entire system of one language and its phraseology and idiomatic, i.e. to the area of fixed “anomalous” combinations of all kinds and at all relevant levels (anomalous of syntagmatic and paradigmatic forms) as Čermák (2007: 76) describes the irregularity and non-model-based formedness of every phraseological unit.

In a phraseographical work, we have recognized the importance of the onomasiological dictionary within the phraseological one. As we have already noted, the semasiological approach, which goes from the term to find a definition, is commonly used in lexicography and phraseography. This generally used approach is also very important in dictionary-compiling, but there is a point based on an onomasiological approach and an ability to search phraseme or idiom from a concept. The presence of this approach in existing dictionaries is, unfortunately, reversely proportional to its significance.

² Such as the monograph *Когнитивна ономаσιология* by E. A. Selivanova (2000) in which the method of cognitive-onomasiological analysis of different nominative classes motivation was developed due to a new concept of motivation as a cross-cutting linguistic psychology operation of ethnic consciousness, resulting in the formation of onomasiological structures of language units.

³ This dictionary was first published in 1938, and in the 1960s and 1970s it was updated by the publisher Atanacković who printed it in new edition in 1980.

Therefore, there are not many sources we can use if we want to create an onomasiological dictionary as part of bilingual one. As we have pointed above, such thesauri are usually not represented in phraseological dictionaries, even though they are absolutely necessary both in monolingual and bilingual phraseological dictionaries. In the first case, it is because the user may need to search for a phrase meaning in his mother tongue and in the second case – students and translators often need to get acquainted with the phraseology of a foreign language. So, every dictionary user would welcome such a search option in the printed edition of the dictionary, the possibilities of searching for expressions in electronic dictionaries are definitely wider.

A favourable circumstance in our case is the fact that we occupy with Czech-Serbian phraseology and we are able to refer to *Dictionary of Czech Phraseology and Idiomatrics (Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky SČFI)*, which upgraded the phraseological dictionaries not only in the Slavic world. The design of standard dictionary entry offers a rather rich microstructure and includes equivalents in four languages (German, English, French and Russian). *Dictionary of Czech phraseology and idiomatrics* is a multivolume edition attended to serve as a mono- and multilingual dictionary; this project started some time ago, its first volume was published in 1983. The main authors: Čermák, Hronek and Macháč intended to make the dictionary as exhaustive and comprehensive as possible. So far, total of five volumes have been published. The first four volumes are devoted to the lexicographical description of comparisons, nonverbal phrasemes (nominal, adjectival, adverbial and grammatical idioms), verb-based phrasemes and propositional phrasemes or proverbs. It has a microstructure that includes: lemma, stylistic and grammatical information, transformations, context, valency and function, meaning, exemplification of usage, additional notes, synonyms, opposites and equivalents in four languages and there is a thesaurus added to the body of main dictionary. Besides, the fifth volume, published in 2016, is *Onomasiological dictionary (SČFI V)*, which includes the previous four.

3. Onomasiological system and challenges

An onomasiological system in *Dictionary of Czech Phraseology and Idiomatrics* could be a right model for compiling this type of dictionary in the Slavic languages. There is illustrated how such system looks and some of the problems, notably those of metalanguage, are discussed: (1) systematicity in theory, (2) exhaustive coverage of the whole material, and (3) findability i.e. prac-

tical usability enabling the user to find an expression. It is not a simple classification or indexing of material, but a basic and unambiguous description of its meaning and organization in an effective and formalized description (SČFI V: 7–11).

The challenges the author faces in work with a monolingual and especially a bilingual phraseological dictionary if he wishes to add a thesaurus are as follows:

- generalisation of metalanguage;
- the possibility of precision in case when there are more idioms under the entry and
- the problem of finding short definitions.

We will try to explain each of them on the example of the future Czech-Serbian phraseology dictionary. The majority of the possible problems is universal; the issues do not immediately concern the Slavic bilingual dictionary.

3.1. Metalanguage

The main question here is what metalanguage is like and whether there is only one metalanguage applied to all dictionaries. As Čermák noted (2007: 667) fairly recently, “no one had ever attempted to define the metalanguage problem used at least to describe classifiers, and it was terra incognita particularly in mapping of paroemia”. The principle of creating onomasiological entry is to keep a common, non-metaphorical and relatively limited metalanguage. Onomasiological metalanguage, due to a functional nature of the Czech language, usually has the form of a verb sentence, a proposition, often with an explicit subject. To ensure the findability of the phrase or proverb (due to the alphabetical arrangement), this metalanguage has to be slightly formalized, mainly in the sense of breaking down the word-order variability (the offsetting of adjective attributes for its nouns, the relocation of enclitics and standard placement of adverbs to the end of the metalanguage phrase): Subj (-Atr)-V-ADV, or S-V-ADV. The definitions must also remain comprehensible to the laymen and close to the native language (SČFI V: 9).

In this dictionary, the 20 most common words of metalanguage are as follows: *to be, to have, to do, to give, to get, to stand, well, might, life, to go, to speak, good, to take, to leave, time, word, man, money, come, day* leaving out prepositions, conjunctions and other synsemantic words⁴.

⁴ *Byt, mít, u/dělat, dát, dostat, stát, dobře, moc, život, chodit, mluvit, dobrý, vzít, nechat, čas, slovo, člověk, peníze, přijít, den* (SČFI V: 9).

An entry in such a type of dictionary could be one word, a syntagma or a sentence. As far as the third kind is concerned, Čermák (2003: 49–50) states that there are three types of full sentence entry; in our case, we implemented two of them:

- indicative: Subj(-Atr)-V-(O)-ADV
jídlo dobré podporuje lásku [food good supports love] *храна добра под-ржава љубав.*
Láska prochází žaludkem. [The (best) way to a men's heart is through his stom-ach.] *Љубав на уста улази. Пут до мушког срца иде преко стомака.*
- exclamatory and/or imperative: V!
já potrestám ho [I will punish him] *ја казнићу њега*
Já ti ukážu, zač je to loktem! [I'll give him what for!] *Вид(ј)еће он свога бога!*
- interrogative: Pron-V?
kdo přichází? [who is coming?] *ко долази?*
Koho to sem čerti nesou? *Who the hell can it be?*⁵

A very important question can be posed: Should it incline to the Czech or Serbian idiom? In a dictionary, it is sufficient to include only one phrase as onomasiological entry, in relation to the user's language, thus, in our case it would be Serbian.

3.2. Definition and its precision

As far as the Czech-Serbian dictionary of somatic phrasemes or idioms is concerned, it is important to emphasise that there are idioms of a functionally different nature: comparisons and verb-based phrasemes, as well as nonverbal ones and sentence. The general verbal nature is a characteristic of the first two groups of phrasemes, while nonverbal, i.e. nominal, adjectival and adverbial phrasemes are functionally equivalent to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. The sentences are varied and the proverbs are included, which, of course, is reflected in the definition.

The entry in *Czech onomasiological dictionary* gives information on the form of the given phrase, i.e., it is a comparison, a verbal, a nonverbal idiom or sentential phrasemes, so there is an abbreviation before the phrase. Basing on this clue, the user has information on the different forms of idioms, i.e. their transformation. However, there are cases in the bilingual dictionaries where the entry provides information on the form of an idiom in one

⁵ The Czech-Serbian dictionary referred to in our paper is a dictionary of somatic phrasemes which is a part of a monograph *Česká a srbská frazeologie*. Although there is no example for this type of entry, we refer to it here illustratively.

language (as we have noted above, the first would be the Serbian language), but its equivalent in another language perhaps does not have the same form. So, the definition is either incomplete or there should be a symbol in front of a Czech idiom with the information concerning its form.

Thus, this is closely linked to the next issue: the possibility of precision in case when there are many idioms under the entry. The functional and nominative nature of the phrase or sentences provides the hierarchization.

The Czech-Serbian phraseological dictionary does not provide information on the general function of phrasemes, there are no abbreviations describing their form or type. However, the problem may occur in the future in the meaning of a sentence idiom and verbal one, because for the description of first one often uses *That is (To je)*, while the same definition does not apply to the verbal idioms. So far, we have not encountered such problems with somatisms. If the phrasemes of different type are close and their meaning differs slightly, they are quoted twice. Perhaps it will be necessary to consider a link to a related idiom in the future, as exemplified below:

(1) *не радити, беспосличити do nothing*

- *mit na bradě mozol; Dělá, až/že má (z toho) na bradě mozol.*
- *не претргнути се од посла, хватати зјале, красти богу дане, дангубити; Као (нешто) ради.*

3.3. Short definitions

The issues mentioned above correlate with proposing short definitions. A stratified hierarchy of Czech dictionaries, the principle of hyponymy, each term (word, phrase etc.) is classified according to a common meaning in a category (or multiple categories). This creates descriptive taxonomy, in which each term has its own place and according to the context can be easily found, based on similarity. The problem could consist in elaborating short definitions for each category and subcategory. The meaning of an idiom is often expressed by numerous words in a phraseological dictionary, but this way of defining is not applicable directly in a thesaurus, since the definition has to be reduced to just several words.

Such a reduced definition which represents an entry in thesaurus is called a "skeleton definition of meaning" in the *Onomasiological Dictionary of Czech Phraseology and Idiomatics*. There could be a number of similar and different semantic groups of phrasemes under one entry, given by the skeleton definition.

An example of one-word definition is given below:

(2) *insolence дрскост • drzé čelo*

(3) *together* **заједно** • *bok po boku* • *паме уз паве*

In sentential phrasemes or idioms, there may occur a problem concerning the form of generalizing the subject in the definition or speech:

(4) *ти нећеиш тако постићи циљ* / *циљ се тако не постиже*

you will not achieve the goal in that way / *the goal cannot be achieved in that way*

- *Čelem zed' / zdi neproraziš / nepovališ.*
- *He može se glavom kroz(a) zid.*

The sentence with a second-person singular pronoun is more suitable for the Czech idiom, while a passive construction without a pronoun is more appropriate to the Serbian example. In *Onomasiological Dictionary of Czech Phraseology and Idiomatics*, there is the first definition, while in the Serbian version, the other would be preferred because of the decoding purpose of dictionary for a Serbian user.

4. Conclusions

The samples from the above-mentioned monolingual dictionaries show clearly that it is possible to systematically organize entries in the onomasiological dictionary and that good practice should be applied to the bilingual dictionary with a certain adaptation. Challenges concerning metalanguage and definitions lead to the conclusion that if there are no symbols that determine the type and there is no function-based division of idioms in onomasiological dictionary, it would be impossible to implement a methodical and precise entry description unless the idioms are functionally separated. Metalanguage should be common, relatively limited and formalized, so that it could indicate a type of phrasemes and idiom. To sum up, it could be said that because of complexity of the field, onomasiology in monolingual and bilingual phraseography requires more scholarly attention and deserves a systematic approach.

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Dictionnaire onomasiologique en phraséologie bilingue

Résumé

Les dictionnaires onomasiologiques ne sont pas très répandus dans aucune langue. Il existe un très grand besoin de dictionnaires onomasiologiques bien organisés en phraséologie. Nous discutons spécifiquement du système thésaurus du dictionnaire onomasiologique tchèque, possibilités et défis du dictionnaire de phraséologie bilingue entre les langues tchèque et serbe.

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Nationality idioms across monolingual dictionaries for learners of English

Abstract. This paper deals with practical aspects of nationality idioms in dictionaries from the viewpoint of English language learners as dictionary users. Based on old stereotypical ideas and considered biased or even inappropriate in present-day communication, differences in images of foreigners across languages fixed in nationality idioms may appear intriguing and attractive to L2 learners, but lack of reliable and accessible information may also lead to confusion and inaccurate assumptions about their use. After a short outline of the treatment of cultural information in dictionaries, I will compare the inclusion and treatment of selected English idioms with *Dutch* and *French* in free-access monolingual learner's dictionaries with printed editions of idiom dictionaries aimed at learners and compiled by the corresponding publishers.

Key words: *idioms, national stereotypes, learner's dictionaries, idiom dictionaries, learners of English*

1. Introduction

Derogatory expressions with references to foreign national or ethnic groups are easily found across languages. As BurrIDGE (2002: 211) puts it, "Linguistic taunts of this kind are an international pastime". Even if nowadays such expressions are rather infrequent and no longer carry the negative load, they are certainly worth looking at in reference to educational materials for learners of English. The cultural underpinnings of such expressions can further exploit the cultural or intercultural component of foreign language learning by discovering motivating links and analysing different language registers and taboos. The Common European Framework of Reference (Council of Europe 2001) and its revised and updated version (Council

of Europe 2018) underline the knowledge of taboos and shared values as part of sociolinguistic knowledge required at more advanced levels of language learning. Differences in images of particular national or ethnic groups across languages encourage comparisons and curious discoveries of the cultural influences fixed in language. Unlike native speakers, language learners will need to rely on information in dictionaries and teaching materials to know the contexts and situations in which such expressions can be used in present-day communication. For non-native users, with their knowledge of the world and their cultural connotations about particular nationalities, there is no knowing their pragmatic properties may not coincide with similar expressions in their native language. Monolingual dictionaries, even if created with language learners in mind, cannot fully predict and address their users' L1 influences, parallels or asymmetries (Moon 2016: 124). On the other hand, dictionaries are often repositories of old or even forgotten words or phrases which reflect old values and attitudes and which users may need to understand texts from the past (Burrige 2002: 164). Therefore, precise, reliable and easily interpretable diasystematic information (information on register and restrictions of use) is vital in order to satisfy users' language queries and to show current usage and its limitations to prevent inaccurate or excessive use. Furthermore, given the amount of information which learners can freely access on the internet, the information in materials compiled by established institutional publishers is particularly relevant today as users still find it difficult to discriminate between quality, reputable resources from user-generated data of questionable quality and reliability (Lew and de Schryver 2014).

Building upon my previous study of the treatment of nationality idioms in major monolingual learner's dictionaries (MLDs) of English (Woźniak forthcoming), the present paper examines five items of nationality idioms with *Dutch* and *French* (*excuse/pardon my French*, *(take) French leave*, *double Dutch*, *go Dutch/Dutch treat*, and *Dutch courage*) regarding their inclusion and treatment in free-access online version of MLDs as compared to print idiom dictionaries for English language learners offered by the same publishing houses. It is expected that idiom dictionaries will provide a more detailed treatment of the idioms in question and will compensate for the deficiencies identified in learner's dictionaries. Before taking a closer look at the selected examples of linguistic xenophobia, it is necessary to outline the cultural load of idioms based on old stereotypes, the position of MLDs and idiom dictionaries within the spectrum of available lexicographic resources and the treatment of cultural and pragmatic information in dictionaries.

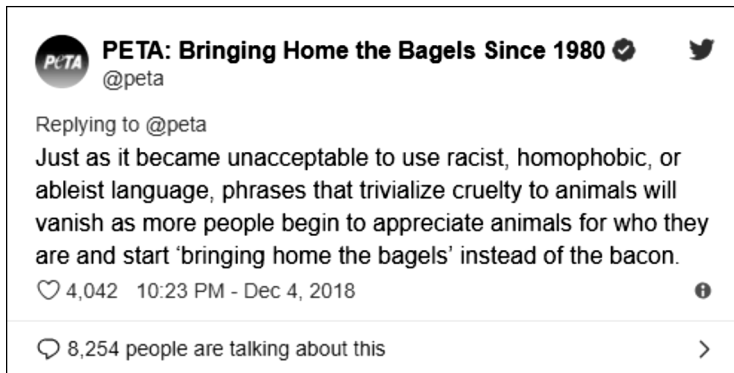
2. Culture, old stereotypes and dictionaries

The line between users' linguistic and cognitive needs is becoming increasingly blurred and dictionaries are also supposed to supply important information about the culture in question. As an integral part of language, culture is also part of dictionaries, even if cultural orientation is not their primary focus. Łozowski (2018) shows how dictionaries are cultural products which manifest human experiences and record speakers' cultural heritage, meanings and overtones like sexism or prejudice. In this way, dictionaries give us not only information about words but also about the speakers and their mentality (2018: 174). Dobrovol'skij and Piirainen (2005) distinguish stereotypes as a special type of motivation of figurative phrases which can be traced back to specific ideas shared by the speakers in a given period of time, albeit generally not valid today. Such expressions were often coined to show negative attitudes between groups in conflict, so it comes as no surprise that the images of foreigners fixed in the English language mostly showed the Dutch and the French. Idiomatic phrases with *Dutch* and *French* were primarily based on old stereotypical ideas and prejudices triggered by the spirit of rivalry and hostility. As commercial and military rivals of the English in the 17th century, the Dutch became the object of numerous anti-Dutch expressions showing the contempt and negative feelings. *The Facts on File Encyclopedia of Word and Phrase Origins* (Hendrickson 2008) lists over 60 phrases with *Dutch* and underlines that the list is still inexhaustive. References to the French, on the other hand, were mainly related to sexual life and social habits, whereas nowadays they are also used in cuisine to suggest sophistication and high quality (Allan and Burridge 2006). However, the link between language and culture is complex and not direct (Deignan 2003, Piirainen 2008). In the same line, the relationship between phraseology and stereotypes is not unidirectional and such national or ethnic references may prove difficult to be directly associated with the history, customs or traditions of a culture in question. Dobrovol'skij (2000) draws attention to the problem of determining if a given word or phraseological unit actually reflects a given culture or was borrowed from another language and by extension, a foreign culture. From the perspective of Serbian expressions, Pejović and Travić (2018) note that the issue of stereotypes in phraseological units also poses the question whether phraseology reflects stereotypes shared by the speakers or, on the contrary, it is phraseological units and images fixed in them that create stereotypes.

Mature native speakers should have little problems with idiomatic expressions as they tend to focus on the holistic meaning rather than on the un-

derlying ideas (Ruhl 1989). Culturally loaded idioms may no longer reflect their current beliefs and attitudes and speakers may even dismiss ideas embedded in language as unacceptable today, as in *to kill two birds with one stone* (Moon 2015). This and other phrases with animal constituents have been recently marked as examples of 'anti-animal' language by PETA, the activist group People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals. In their tweets, the activists suggested 'animal-friendly' alternatives such as *to feed two birds with one scone*, *to bring home the bagels* instead of *to bring home the bacon*, or *to take the flower by the thorns* instead of *to take the bull by the horns*.

Image 1. PETA post copied 9th December 2018



Source: The Internet.

The posts were widely commented upon, though the reaction of the online community concentrated on mocking the suggested anti-animal phrases and inventing new ones like *curiosity thrilled the cat* instead of *curiosity killed the cat*. Some criticism was also raised against relating phrases with animals to discrimination and prejudice towards different groups of people (Wang 2018).

The comprehension, retention and production of idiomatic expressions are one of the most difficult areas for second language learners. In the case of phraseological units with national constituents, learners will automatically recognise national references, albeit they do not always refer to the country of origin. For instance, according to Morris and Morris (1977/1998: 231), *French* in *French-fried potatoes* refers to a method of preparing food which consists in cutting vegetables or meat into strips before cooking. In nationality idioms, the additional difficulty lies in apparently easy to identify references which may have different connotative meanings whereas the cultural overtone of such items may not be predicted without sufficient encyclopaedic knowledge

or information on its origin (Boers 2001, Boers 2003, Boers et al. 2004, Boers and Demecheleer 2001). Influenced by their own language and culture, English language learners may be attracted by this type of language curiosities which, in turn, may even result in what Richards (1996) calls “idiomatosis”. This term refers to blind and excessive use of idiomatic expressions which he partially attributes to commercial materials for idiom learning such as idiom dictionaries which often record low-frequency items and fail to provide reliable usage information. One of the functions of a dictionary for language learners is to prevent such overuse by providing potential users with a realistic picture of a given idiom in present-day communication.

Belonging to pedagogical lexicography and enjoying a long tradition and prestige, famous British monolingual learner’s dictionaries are aimed specifically at non-native speaking learners of English and have developed in parallel with the growth of English language learners around the world (Jackson 2002). First published as paper books, they have gradually transitioned to the digital medium in response to technological advances and users’ changing preferences. Given the intense competition of internet-based resources available free of charge, dictionaries for learners also offer free-access online versions. Apart from their lexicographic content, internet-based MLDs also contain word games, grammar sections, graphics, multimedia, blogs, etc. in order to attract the intended users’ attention and further assist them in their learning processes. Learner’s dictionaries are under constant developments and innovations (Miller 2018), and yet their shift from paper-based to electronic has mainly focused on enhancing search methods and particular dictionaries are becoming increasingly similar and losing their individual character of the past (Yamada 2015). MLDs target English language learners and aim to teach them not only linguistic (including pragmatic) but also cultural or encyclopaedic aspects of language. Limited to the space of paper books, dictionary compilers had to make important decisions concerning the inclusion of particular lexical items with a view to maximising the space available, but as Rundell (2015: 311) notes, dictionaries still maintain traditional criteria of inclusion based on ‘exclusion criteria’ as a point of departure. He suggests that modern internet-based dictionaries should rather follow the inclusion criteria with appropriate and comprehensive information about a given item.

Although phraseology has always been one of the key concerns of pedagogically-oriented dictionaries (Rundell 1998: 317), comprehensive all-purpose tools, learner-oriented general MLDs are not able to adequately address all possible reference needs of their potential users. These will have to refer to special-purpose dictionaries which supposedly offer more

detailed and precise information concerning particular areas of language they are curious about. Idiom dictionaries have made considerable progress in their treatment of idioms to offer information language learners need, such as register or language variety, in order to use them appropriately (Liu 2008: 113–114). Addressing this need, the website of the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* draws on both its learner's dictionary and its idiom dictionary, so users do not need to consult a separate print volume (Miller 2018: 362). However, we cannot ignore the fact that nowadays users have access to countless resources not necessarily compiled by professional lexicographers. Moon (2015) compares the material provided on non-lexicographical websites and web-based establishment MLDs and finds that, despite corpus-based lexicography, the treatment of idioms is still deficient and neglects their actual usage. On the other hand, conversations and comments written by users on non-lexicographical webpages clearly indicate their engagement with idioms and interest in their meanings and metaphorical content. Users would expect more detailed information on how to use idioms and other properties which cannot be found in general dictionaries.

3. Usage labels in dictionaries

Although dictionary users primarily focus on the meaning and often ignore stylistic labels, accurate and consistent labelling indicating register and usage is particularly vital for learner's dictionaries and bilingual dictionaries (Yong and Peng 2007). Landau (2001) distinguishes the following categories of pragmatic information in dictionaries: currency/temporality, frequency of use, geographic variations, specialized terminology (field labels), restricted/taboo usage, insult, slang, style or register/functional variety, standard/nonstandard/illiterate (status labels). As indicated by Nuccorini (1993), learner's dictionaries deal with pragmatic factors both explicitly, by means of notes, charts or stylistic and register labels, and implicitly in definitions and examples provided. However, as Dobrovól'skij (2000: 76) notes, dictionaries may focus their labels more on the origin of a given phraseological unit rather than its current usage, its peculiarities or restrictions of use. Dictionaries usually link labels and offer them together, but Baranov and Dobrovól'skij (2007) underline that stylistic and discursive labels are not interchangeable and recording them separately can help learners understand the difference between the contexts in which particular idioms can be used. Stylistic categories such as *rude*, *vulgar* or *taboo* rest on language users and

their decisions to use a given idiom according to social norms. As for discursive categories, in turn, the choice is based on the frequency of particular items in discourse types used by given socio-professional groups, for example, *literary*, *journalistic*, *jargon*, *low-lettered* or *folkloric*.

MLDs are expected to give detailed information on grammar and usage, but etymological information should also be considered, especially given the lack of space restrictions in the electronic medium. Heuberger (2018: 310) notes that OALD Online is the only learner's dictionary online to offer etymological information in 'Word Origin' boxes which can be displayed by the users. He argues that "at least a basic treatment of etymologies ought to be considered for MLDs. Clearly, it should not be a lengthy paragraph [...] but rather some facts on historical linguistic forms including origin" with an option for the user to open or not. I would argue that such information would be particularly useful for nationality idioms to better understand their origin and usage throughout the years and, by extension, the target culture and its speakers.

Although a growing number of users is turning to digital resources and the future of lexicography belongs to the digital format, Vrbinc and Vrbinc (2015) demonstrate that, contrary to print dictionaries, many MLDs online are deficient as regards information on diasystematic labelling or other metalexigraphic information. In their comparison of information provided by labels in different formats of the 'Big Five' (i.e. MLDs published by five British publishing houses), Vrbinc and Vrbinc (2015) indicate deficiencies in the use of labels provided and show that even different formats of the same dictionary (i.e. print, CD-ROMS/DVD-ROMS, and online versions) use different lists of labels. Additionally, intended users are very likely to experience difficulties distinguishing between the labels as their meanings might be difficult to infer. The authors underscore that all labels used in a given dictionary should be listed and clearly explained whereas explanations need to be short, to the point and consistently used. They note that online versions normally use the same labels as their printed editions but they rarely explain the labels used or other features of the dictionary. All this, next to lack of training in digital lexicography, brings confusion even further as many labels are not self-explanatory and should be clearly explained and even subtle difference should be easy to interpret by the intended users. Additionally, Vrbinc and Vrbinc (2015) underscore that the label *figurative* combines the stylistic level with meaning extensions regarding secondary senses, or conventional metaphors, of a given lexical item. They maintain that this label should be treated separately as it indicates a meaning extension rather than usage information.

4. Dictionaries consulted

The focus of the present study is the comparison of the treatment of selected nationality idioms in free-access internet versions of four major monolingual learner's dictionaries and the latest editions of idiom dictionaries for learners offered by the same four publishers (see Table 1). For Longman, two idiom dictionaries are available, the general and the American version, so both have been consulted. The abbreviations given after the titles in the table will be used throughout the paper to refer to particular dictionaries. As for the treatment, I mainly analyse diasystematic information provided in the form of labels which give information on the connotative value of the examined items and which are particularly relevant for non-native speakers.

Table 1. Dictionaries, last consulted in August 2018

Dictionary	Monolingual learner's dictionary (free access online)	Idiom dictionary for learners of English (printed version)
Oxford	<i>Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary</i> (OALD)	<i>Oxford Idioms Dictionary for Learners of English</i> (OIDLE)
Cambridge	<i>Cambridge Learner's Dictionary</i> (CLD) in <i>Cambridge Dictionary</i> (CD)	<i>Cambridge Idioms Dictionary</i> (CID)
Longman	<i>Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online</i> (LDOCE)	<i>Longman Idioms Dictionary</i> (LID), <i>Longman American Idioms Dictionary</i> (LAID)
Collins	<i>COBUILD Advanced English Dictionary</i> (CAED) in <i>Collins English Dictionary</i> (CED)	<i>Collins COBUILD Idioms Dictionary</i> (CCID)

Source: own research.

What regards MLDs online, OALD and LDOCE can be consulted as separate dictionaries on official websites, whereas CLD and CAED are incorporated into clusters of several dictionaries offered by their respective publishers and available together on the same website, *Cambridge Dictionaries Online* and *Collins Dictionary* respectively. In the CLD dictionary, the user needs to select the Learner's Dictionary as the source to be consulted, whereas the results in the CAED dictionary are displayed together with the results from other dictionaries included on the dictionary website and divided by means of easily selectable tags at the top.

Idiom dictionaries are special purpose dictionaries and are supposed to assist language learners in their learning and use of idioms and address their needs not satisfied by general dictionaries. The idiom dictionaries offered by the same publishers and examined in this paper are printed versions which record between 4,000 (LAID) and over 10,000 idioms (CCID). All the idiom dictionaries except for those published by Longman include amusing cartoons as additional comprehension help. The idiom dictionaries start with a guide explaining how to use the dictionary, find particular idioms and interpret the entries and labels used. As for regional variations considered, dictionaries for language learners still concentrate on British and American English with very scarce attention to other English-speaking regions around the world (Miller 2018). In the sample of idiom dictionaries examined, only OIDL and CCID offer label *Australian*. The latter dictionary describes itself as follows: "With over a thousand new idioms, this major new edition is packed with information on what idioms really mean and how to use them. Many of the new idioms come from varieties of English spoken all over the world, from Britain to the USA, from South Africa to Australia". The organization of all these idiom dictionaries is based on keywords listed in alphabetical order. The keywords in OIDL and CID are important words, nouns, verbs or adjectives, whereas LID and LAID chiefly record the idioms under the first noun. For this reason, some of the idioms discussed in this paper may not be easy to find for an untrained user. For example, at *French* LID records *pardon my French* (p. 129), but *(take) French leave* is recorded at *leave* (p. 205).

The idiom dictionaries examined underline that they aim to supply the information about the contexts and situations in which given idioms are used. The OIDL dictionary offers notes on the origin for some of its idioms and as far as our sample is concerned, a note for *(take) French leave* explains that it comes from the 18th century custom of leaving a party without saying goodbye to the hosts. Some of the idioms in the CCID dictionary are accompanied by additional notes on their history which are signalled by the vertical line beside them. For the idioms studied, only *Dutch courage* has an explanation and refers to the reputation of the Dutch in the past for drinking a lot of alcohol. No other idiom from the sample is offered a similar explanation although the Dutch were also attributed stinginess and other negative qualities. Given the cultural and historical underpinnings of the idioms discussed in this paper, it might be surprising that so little information about our sample is provided.

In the CID dictionary, some of the idioms are recorded in blue boxes as a way of signalling that they are common and useful to learn. As ex-

pected, none of our idioms is recorded in this way. The CCID dictionary uses frequency stars to highlight the most frequent idioms and thus guide learners and teachers. The *Guide* to using the Longman dictionaries explains that idioms with only one example are not used frequently. This is a useful piece of information though certainly easy to overlook when referring to the dictionary quickly and without a thorough reading of the guide. A label or a short note about the infrequent usage could be more effective.

The CCID dictionary includes exercises with idioms divided by themes like *Happiness* or *Money* as well as different types of vocabulary such as idioms with animals or colours, similes and proverbs with *Answer key* in the middle of the book. The *Topic index* section at the end of the book lists all idioms with example sentences under 18 topics. From our sample, *Dutch courage* is recorded under *Frustration and Fear* (p. 514) and *go Dutch* under *Money* (p. 522). Other idiom dictionaries also include sections with idioms grouped by their topic or constituents. The OID dictionary contains *Study Pages* in the middle of the dictionary with explanations on the nature and origin of idioms and practical exercises containing idioms from the dictionary and the key at the end. One of the sections is titled *Naming Names* and offers practice exercises with idioms with national or local references. CID contains *Topic Pages* with lists of idioms under 15 topics like *Agreeing and disagreeing*, *Anger* or *Money* and subsections for each topic with example sentences followed by practice exercises. For example, under *Money*, idioms are recorded in sentences under the following subsections (p. 485): *earning money*, *having a lot of money*, *not having much money*, *costing a lot of money*, *costing a little*. Nonetheless, none of the idioms described in this paper is included. The LID and LAID dictionaries contain *Idiom Activator* pages showing idioms in meaning groups, like *Problem*, *Start*, or *Difficult*.

5. Nationality idioms in dictionaries

The following subsections will show the treatment of the selected idioms in the dictionaries consulted.

5.1. *Excuse/pardon my French*

Excuse/pardon my French means 'I'm sorry for swearing' and might sound familiar to young users as it could be seen on T-shirts a few seasons ago. This

phrase is recorded in all dictionaries examined and features a great variety of labels used, which makes it quite problematic to decide when it can be appropriate.

Table 2. The idiom *Excuse me/pardon my French* in selected dictionaries of English

	Oxford		Cambridge		Longman		Collins	
	OALD online	OIDLE	CLD/CD online	CID	LDOCE online	LID	CAED/CED online	CCID
<i>Excuse/pardon my French</i>	informal	informal, humorous	Old-fashioned humorous	British humorous	spoken	spoken	no label (user suggestion pending investigation since 2013)	informal
						LAI		
						spoken		

Source: own research.

The dictionaries chiefly focus on the informal, humorous or spoken use of this phraseological unit. The definition offered by OID (p. 139) is more detailed than the one in OALD and indicates that the phrase is used after or before swearing, so the listener may expect bad language and examples show these two uses in sentences. Only CLD labels it as old-fashioned, which brings the question of what this label actually means. As Miller (2018) asks: "Does 'old-fashioned' mean that the word is no longer used, or that it is used by older speakers?" The dictionary explains that it means that the idiom is still used but sounds old-fashioned, which does not seem really helpful. The entry *pardon* includes the idiom *Pardon my French!* (no variant with the verb *excuse*) which is labelled as British and humorous, though not old-fashioned as in CLD. The definition is slightly longer, and a different example is provided. The entry *French* (p. 153) only records *French leave* and *French letter*, which makes finding *Pardon my French* difficult for a less experienced user. The definitions in the two versions of Longman idiom dictionaries are very similar, though slightly modified.

Another interesting example found in CED is related to the increasing trend to invite users to contribute to the dictionary content. In this dictionary, this phrase is recorded as a user's suggestion, but an untrained dictionary user may easily fail to notice this detail. Although one of the advantages of the digital format is the possibility to update the dictionary content quickly and easily, this user's suggestion has been displayed with the status Pending Investigation for five years (sic!). Displaying the user's suggestion may also lead to an assumption that the phrase is new and therefore not yet recorded in the official part of the dictionary (Woźniak forthcoming).

5.2. (*take*) *French leave*

The expression (*take*) *French leave* means ‘to leave work without asking for permission’. Although recorded only by some of the dictionaries, they show a greater level of agreement as for the labels used.

Table 3. The idiom (*take*) *French leave* in selected dictionaries of English

	Oxford		Cambridge		Longman		Collins	
	OALD online	OIDLE	CLD/CD online	CID	LDOCE online	LID	CAED/CED online	CCID
<i>(take)</i> <i>French leave</i>	British English	BrE, old-fashioned or humorous + info on the origin	no record	old-fashioned, humorous	no record	BrE, old-fashioned	no label	no record
						LAI		
						no record		

Source: own research.

The OIDL dictionary additionally offers a note on the origin which seems to be beneficial to understanding the idiom and its cultural background: ‘This idiom is said to refer to the eighteenth-century French custom of leaving a dinner or party without saying goodbye to the host or hostess.’ The CED dictionary does not offer register labels but it gives information about the origin and frequency accompanied by a line graph representing the usage throughout the years.

5.3. *Double Dutch*

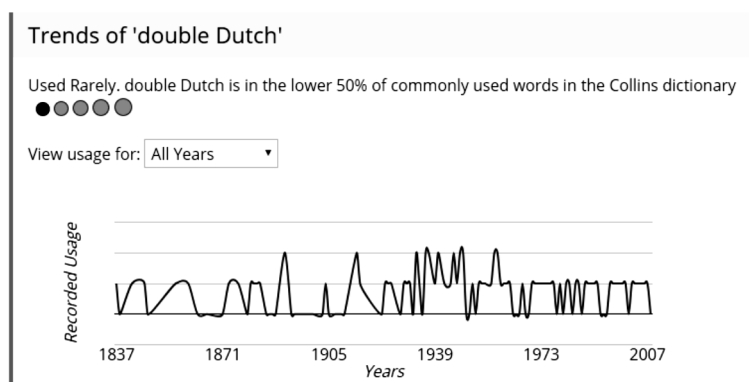
The expression *Double Dutch* can have two meanings and almost all learner’s dictionaries, apart from OALD, record both of them. The first meaning, which is relevant here, is ‘incomprehensible language’, whereas the other one is more American and refers to ‘a game with two skipping ropes’.

As for Oxford dictionaries, the definition in OALD specifies that the language which does not make sense can be both spoken or written, whereas OIDL does not specify it. Almost all dictionaries label it as British, but the CID dictionary also labels this phrase as Australian. The Collins dictionary displays records from CED for both meanings, but the accompanying graph of usage trends does not specify which of the two meanings are displayed, probably both.

Table 4. The idiom *double Dutch* in selected dictionaries of English

	Oxford		Cambridge		Longman		Collins	
	OALD online	OIDLE	CLD/CD online	CID	LDOCE online	LID	CAED/CED online	CCID
<i>double Dutch</i>	British English, informal	British English, informal	UK informal	British and Australian	British English informal	Spoken	British informal	no record
						LAI		
						no record		

Source: own research.

Image 2. *double Dutch* in CED online

Source: The Internet.

5.4. *Go Dutch / Dutch treat*

Go Dutch means 'to share the cost of something', whereas 'an occasion when you share the cost of something' can be referred to as a *Dutch treat*. Both variants are based on the old reputation of the Dutch as thrifty.

The word origin section in OALD refers to the primary meaning of the word *Dutch* with no reference to the idiom recorded at the bottom or the secondary meaning of *Dutch* in numerous English expressions. The definition of the idiom *go Dutch*, recorded as *go Dutch (with somebody)*, does not specify what kind of costs can be shared, whereas other dictionaries indicate restaurants and meals as the main areas in which this practice can take place. As for Cambridge dictionaries, *Dutch treat* is not recorded in CLD/CD online, yet it is in CID, and is even accompanied by an illustrative cartoon

Table 5. The idiom *go Dutch* in selected dictionaries of English

	Oxford		Cambridge		Longman		Collins	
	OALD online	OIDLE	CLD/CD online	CID	LDOCE online	LID	CAED/CED online	CCID
<i>go Dutch</i>	no label	informal	informal	no label	no label	no label	informal	British, old-fashioned
						LAID		
						no label		
<i>Dutch treat</i>	no record	no record	no record	no label, illustrative cartoon	American English	no record	informal	recorded as a variant of 'go Dutch', not clear if the same labels apply
						no record		

Source: own research.

to reinforce comprehension and learning. LID and LAID offer *go Dutch* without any labels. CID offers *Dutch treat* as a variation of *go Dutch* but does not offer any labels and it is not clear if the same usage labels apply as in *go Dutch*.

5.5. *Dutch courage*

Dutch courage is 'the feeling of confidence after drinking alcohol'. Dictionaries offer a range of labels except for Longman dictionaries which do not offer any labels. Entries in LID and LAID are practically the same apart from an American variant *liquid courage* in the latter dictionary. Whereas CAED labels it as informal, CCID labels it as mainly British. The entry ends with a brief note explaining that the phrase can be traced back to the fame of the Dutch as heavy drinkers. Giving more details about the context in which the phrase was coined together with other negative qualities associated with the Dutch could be helpful for the users.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to ascertain the nature of the information provided for nationality idioms in learner-oriented monolingual dictionaries of English. It could be argued that idioms with national references are very few and far between and that nowadays native speakers do not use them

Table 6. The idiom *Dutch courage* in selected dictionaries of English

	Oxford		Cambridge		Longman		Collins	
	OALD online	OIDLE	CLD/CD online	CID	LDOCE online	LID	CAED/CED online	CCID
<i>Dutch courage</i>	British English, informal	British English, informal	UK; US liquid courage	humorous	No label	no label	informal	mainly BRITISH + a note at the end: 'In the past, the Dutch had a reputation for drinking a lot of alcohol'.
LAI								
no label								

Source: own research.

very often, but lack of sufficiently clear and easily accessible information to answer users' queries about this type of idioms may lead to puzzlement and inaccurate assumptions about their properties. The cultural load and connotations involved in meaning extensions of nationality constituents make them difficult for language learners with other linguo-cultural backgrounds who need precise information to infer meanings and use them appropriately. The findings show that despite their focus on idioms and their learning, idiom dictionaries offer insufficient treatment as regards nationality idioms. In general, similar deficiencies have been identified in idiom dictionaries as in learner's dictionaries and both types of dictionaries may lead users astray (Woźniak forthcoming). In the light of the digital age and the high number of easily available resources of different quality, it seems even more vital for publishers to offer clear and comprehensive data to compete with less professional or unreliable initiatives which learners have at their disposal.

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Modismos con nacionalidades en diccionarios monolingües para estudiantes de inglés

Resumen

Este artículo trata sobre los aspectos prácticos de modismos con referencias a las nacionalidades desde la perspectiva de los estudiantes de inglés como usuarios de diccionarios. Aunque los modismos con componentes nacionales o étnicos como *Dutch courage* o *excuse/pardon my French* pueden no ser numerosos ni frecuentes en el inglés contemporáneo, su dimensión cultural se basa usualmente en circunstancias históricas, rivalidades y estereotipos que hoy en día pueden convertirse en un tema polémico tanto para los estudiantes extranjeros como para hablantes nativos. Sin embargo, como las referencias a extranjeros en lenguaje figurado se encuentran fácilmente en todos los idiomas, unidades fraseológicas de este tipo pueden resultar atractivas para los estudiantes, ya que fomentan las comparaciones y los descubrimientos sobre similitudes o diferencias en las imágenes de extranjeros en L1 y L2, además de contribuir a la conciencia cultural de los estudiantes. No obstante, la falta de información fiable y accesible en los materiales de aprendizaje y las fuentes de referencia también puede generar confusión y suposiciones inexactas sobre su uso. Después de una breve presentación del tratamiento de la información cultural en los diccionarios, el artículo compara la inclusión y el tratamiento de modismos seleccionados, con componentes *Dutch* y *French*, en diccionarios monolingües para estudiantes de acceso gratuito en internet con ediciones impresas de diccionarios de modismos dirigidos a los estudiantes y publicados por las mismas editoriales. Aunque los diccionarios de modismos se suelen consultar en busca de información más detallada que no se encuentra en los diccionarios generales para estudiantes de idiomas, los resultados sobre la información pragmática proporcionada indican que la cantidad y el carácter de la información para este grupo específico de modismos también puede dejar a los usuarios en la confusión o la ambigüedad.